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JOSEPHUS.
THE WORKS
OF
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS,
THE
LEARNED AND AUTHENTIC JEWISH HISTORIAN
AND CELEBRATED WARRIOR.
WITH
THREE DISSERTATIONS,
CONCERNING
JESUS CHRIST, JOHN THE BAPTIST, JAMES THE JUST, GOD'S COMMAND
TO ABRAHAM, &c.
AND
EXPLANATORY NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS.

TRANSLATED BY
WILLIAM WHISTON, A. M.
Professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge.

STEREOTYPE EDITION, COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME.
WITH PORTRAIT AND ENGRAVINGS.

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LIFE OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

§ 1. The family from which I am derived is not an ignoble one, but hath descended all along from the priests; and as nobility among several people is of a different origin, so, in the same manner, is the sacerdotal dignity, is an indication of the splendour of a family. Now, I am not only sprung from a sacerdotal family in general, but from the first of the twenty-four courses; and as among us there is not a considerable difference between one family of each course and another, I am of the chief family of that first course also; nay, farther, by my mother I am of the high priestly blood; for the children of Asahamoneous, from whom that family was derived, had both the office of the high priesthood, and the dignity of a king, for a long time together. I will accordingly set down my position in strict order. My grandfather's father was named Simon, with the addition of Peclusus: he lived at the same time with that son of Simon the high priest, who, first of all the high priests, was named Hyrcanus. This Simon Peclusus had nine sons, one of whom was Matthias, called Ephrius; he married the daughter of Jonathan the high priest, which Jonathan was the first of the sons of Asamonous, who was high priest, and was the brother of Simon the high priest also.—This Matthias had a son called Matthias Curtus, and that in the first year of the government of Hyrcanus; his son's name was Jona. He was born in the sixth year of the reign of Alexander; his son Matthias was born in the tenth year of the reign of Archelaus; as was I born to Matthias on the first year of the reign of Caius Cæsar. I have three sons: Hyrcanus, the eldest, was born on the fourth year of the reign of Verusianus; as was Jona, born on the seventh, and Agrippa on the eleventh: and all the reckonings of the story of my family, as I have found it described in the public records, and so bid adieu to those who care to examine me (as any one ever did).

2. Now my father Matthias was not only eminent on account of his nobility, but had a higher commendation on account of his righteousness, and was in great reputation in Jerusalem, the greatest city we have. I was myself brought up with my brother, whose name was Matthias, for he was my own brother, by both father and mother; and I made mighty proficiency in the improvements of my learning, and appeared to have both a great memory and understanding. Moreover, when I was a child, and about fourteen years of age, I was recommended by all for the love I had to learning; on which account the high priests and principal men of the city came there frequently to me together, in order to know my opinion about the accurate understanding of points of the law. And when I was about sixteen years old, I had a mind to make trial of the several sects. These sects are three: the first is that of the Pharisees, the second that of the Sadducees, and the third that of the Essenes, as we have frequently told you; for I thought that, inasmuch as I might choose the best, if I were once acquainted with them all; so I contented myself with hard fare, and underwent great difficulties, and went through them all. Now I shall content myself with these trials only; but when I was informed that one whose name was Banne, lived in the desert, who used no other clothing than grew upon trees, and had no other food than what grew in its own accord, and bathed himself in a losing water; whereby, both by night and by day, in order to preserve his chastity, I limited him in those things, and continued with him for three years. So when I had accomplished my desires, I returned back to the city, being now nineteen years old, and began to conduct myself according to the rules of the sect of the Pharisees, which is of kin to the sect of the Stoics, as the Greeks call them.

3. But when I was in the twenty-sixth year of my age, it happened that I took a voyage to Rome, and this on the occasion which I shall now describe. At the time when Felix was procurator of Judea, there were certain priests of my acquaintance, and very excellent persons they were, whom on a small and trifling occasion he had put into bonds, and sent to Rome to plead their cause before Cæsar. These I was desirous to procure deliverance for, and that especially because I was informed that they were not unmindful of piety towards God even under their afflictions, but supported themselves with figs and nuts. Accordingly I came to Rome, and, or for three years, he made trial of the three Jewish sects, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes, and yet says presentiments in this manner: there were then only four tribes or courses of the priests, instead of twenty-four. Now as this testimony is to be disregarded, as if Josephus there contradicted what he had affirmed here, because even the account there gives better agrees to twenty-four than to those courses, while he says that each of those courses contained about 3000 men, which multiplied by only four, will make not more than 30,000 priests; whereas the number 120,000, as multiplied by 24, seems much more likely to be the real number. Now the reading or motion of but four courses of priests, agree with Josephus's own further assertion elsewhere. Antiqu. b. viii. ch. 17. sect. 7, that David's partition of the tribes into twenty-four courses had continued to that day.

An eminent example of the care of the Jews about their genealogies, especially as to the priests. See Contra Ap. b. l. ch. 7. When Josephus here says, that from sixteen to nineteen, or for three years, he made trial of the three Jewish sects, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes, and yet says presentiments in this manner: there were then only four tribes or courses of the priests, instead of twenty-four. Now as this testimony is to be disregarded, as if Josephus there contradicted what he had affirmed here, because even the account there gives better agrees to twenty-four than to those courses, while he says that each of those courses contained about 3000 men, which multiplied by only four, will make not more than 30,000 priests; whereas the number 120,000, as multiplied by 24, seems much more likely to be the real number. Now the reading or motion of but four courses of priests, agree with Josephus's own further assertion elsewhere. Antiqu. b. viii. ch. 17. sect. 7, that David's partition of the tribes into twenty-four courses had continued to that day.

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though it were through a great number of hazards by sea; for as our ship was drowned in the Adriatic sea, we that were in it, being about six hundred in number,\(^*\) swam for our lives all the way. But on the first day, and upon our sight of a ship of Cyrene, I and some others, eighty in all, by God's providence prevented the rest, and were taken up into the ship, and thanked them. And I had sent for, and was come to Dicerecha, which the Italians call Putoelli, I became acquainted with Aliturius, an actor of plays, and much beloved by Nero, but in his interest became known to Poppea, Caesar's wife, and took care as soon as possible to entreat her to procure, that the priests at least be set at liberty. And when, besides this favour, I had obtained many presents from Poppea, I returned home again.

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

I was then afraid, lest by inciting these things so often, I should incur their hatred and their suspicions, as if I were of our enemies' part, and should turn to the dangers of the robbers and innovators; and by them, and slain; since they were already possessed of Antonia, which was the citadel; so I retired into the inner court of the temple. Yet did I go out of the temple again, after Manashe, and the principal of the band of robbers were put to death, when I abode among the high priests and the chief of the Pharisees. But no small fear seized upon us when we saw the people in arms, while we ourselves knew not what we should do, and were not able to restrain their auditions. However, as the danger was directly upon us, the council of the same opinion with them, but only advised them to be quiet for the present, and to let the enemy go away, still hoping that Gesius [Florus] would not come, and that with great forces, and so put an end to these sedition proceedings.

But, upon his coming and fighting, he was beaten, and a great many of those that were with him fell. And this disgrace [which Gesius with Cestius] received, became the calamity of our whole nation; for those that were fond of the war were so far elevated with this success, that they had hopes of finally conquering the Romans. Of which war another occasion was ministered, which was this: Those that dwelt in the cities of the province of Syria, the Jews as dwell among them, with their wives and children, and slew them, when they had not the least occasion of complaint against them: for they had no attempt and no innovation of revolt from the Romans, nor had they given any marks of hatred or treacherous design towards the Syrians. But what was done by the inhabitants of Scythopolis was the most impious and highly criminal of all; for, when the Jews, their enemies, came upon them from without, they forced the doors that were among them to bear arms against their own countrymen, which it is unlawful for us to do; and when by their assistance they had joined battle with those that attacked them, and tricked them, then they took their victory they forgot the assurances they had given these their fellow-citizens and confederates, and slew them, being in number many ten thousands [15,000]. This they did; there were those by those Jews that were the inhabitants of Damascus. But we have given a more accurate account of these things in the books of the Jewish war. I only mention them now, because I would demonstrate to my readers, that the Jews' war with the Romans was not voluntary, but that, for the main, they were forced by necessity to enter into it.

7. So when Gesius had been beaten, as we have said already, the principal men of Jerusalem, seeing that their affairs were in this condition, went to the robbers and innovators, and arms in great plenty, and fearing lest they should be unprovided with arms, should be in subjection to their enemies, which also came to be the case, desired them not to make war, and in that all Galilee had not yet revolted from the Romans, but that some part of it was still quiet, they sent me and two others of the priests, who were men of excellent name, and this same, in order to persuade the ill men there to lay down their arms, and to teach them this lesson, that it were better to have those arms reserved for the most courageous men that the nation had, [than to be kept there] for that it had been resolved, that those our best men should always have their arms ready against futurity, but still so, that they should wish for a good time. But when I had received these instructions, I came into Galilee, and found the people of Sepphoris in no eminently anxious about their country, by reason that the "..." men had resolved to plunder it, on account of the friendship they had with the Romans, and because they had given their right hand, and made a league with Cestius Gallus, the president of Syria.—But I delivered them all out of the fear they were in, and persuaded the multitude to deal kindly with them, and permitted them to send to those that were then in the town of Dora, which is a city of Phoenicia, as often as they pleased; though I still found the inhabitants of Tiberias ready to take arms, and that on the 9. There were three factions in this city. The first was composed of men of worth and gravity of these Julius Capellus was the head. Now he as well as all his companions, Herod the son of Miacus, and Herod the son of Gamalus, and Compasus the son of Compassus, for as to Compassus' brother Crispus, who had once been governor of the city under the great king, [Agrippa,] he was beyond Jordan in his own possessions; all these persons before named gave their advice, that the city should then continue in their allegiance to the Romans. But as soon as it was known that was guided by his son Justus, did not acquiesce in that resolution; otherwise he was himself naturally of a good and virtuous character. But the second faction was composed of the most ignoble persons, and was determined for war. But as for Justus, the son of Pistas, who was the head

\(^*\) It has been thought the number of Paul and his companions on ship board, Acts xxvii. 38, which are 376 in our copies, are too many; whereas we find here that Jerusalem, in this company, as well as the Pentecost and Prophets, Acts viii. 26, and Acts vii. 58, asLuke viii. 26, as Luke xvii. 16. Thou shalt not stand against the blood of thy neigh-

bours; and that, ver. 17. "Thou shalt not avenge, nor bear any grudge against, the children of thy people; but thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;" as well as from many others, as says "..." in this case also appears by his own still remaining; to which Hasaracap refe...
of the third faction, although he pretended to be deceitful about going to war, yet he really dissembled; for these might not be persuaded, and would gain power to himself by the change of affairs. He therefore came into the midst of them, and endeavoured to inform the multitude, "the city of Tiberias had been the city of Galilee, and that in the days of Herod the tetrarch, who had built it, it had obtained the principal place, and that it should be subordinate to the city of Sepphoris;" Tiberias; that they had not lost this pre-eminence even under Agrippa the father, but had seen it at that time. But he told them, that now they had been so unfortunate as to be made a present by Nero to Agrippa junior; and that upon Sepphoris' submission of itself to the Romans, that was become the capital city of Galilee, and that the royal treasury and the archives were now removed from them. When he had spoken these things, and a great many more against Agrippa, in order to provoke the people to a revolt, he added, That "this was the time for them to take arms, and join with the Galileans as their confederates, (as it were) in order to revenge their misfortunes, and that who would willingly assist them, out of the hatred they bare to the people of Sepphoris, because they preserved their independence, and were not subject to the great number of forces in order to punish them." And, as he said this, he exhorted the multitude to go to war; for his abilities lay in making harangues in which he was so hard in his speeches for such as opposed him, though they advised what was more to their advantage, and thus by his craftiness and his fulness, for he was a very subtle and cunning persuader of the Greeks, and in dependence on that skill it was, that he undertook to write a history of these affairs, as aiming by this way of haranguing to disguise the truth. But as to this man, and how ill were his character and conduct in life, and how he and his brother were, in a great measure, the authors of our destruction, I shall give the reader as account in the progress of my narration. So when Justus had, by his persuasions, prevailed with the citizens of Tiberias to take arms, nay, and had raised many men against their will, he went out, and set the villages that belonged to Gadara and Hippos on fire; which villages were situated on the borders of Tiberias, and the Babylonia Jews that were at Bethana; for that was the name they went by. He therefore called to him twelve of the Jews of Cesarea of the best character, and ordered them to go to Echabata, and inform their countrymen who dwelt there, that Varus hath heard, that "you intend to march against the king; but, not believing that report, he hath sent us to persuade you to lay down your arms, and that this compliance will be a sign that he did well "not to give credit to those that raised the revolt concerning you." He also enjoined them, to send seventy of their principal men to make defence for them as to the accusation laid against them. So when the twelve messengers came to their countrymen at Echabata, god found that they had no design of innovation or rebellion, and persuaded them to send the seventy men also; who not at all suspecting what would come, sent them accordingly. So these seventy went down to Cesarea, took the twelve Jews, the Euchabatans, dores, where Varus met them with the king's forces, and slew them all, together with the twelve Jews ambassadors, and made them repealed the Jews of Echabata. But there was one of the seventy who escaped, and made haste to inform the Jews of their coming; upon which they took

* The famous Jewish numbers: Twelve and Seventy are here remarkable.
their arms, with their wives and children, and retired to the citadel at Gamala, leaving their own villages full of all sorts of good things, and having many tens of thousands of cattle therein.— We followed all of these things, and also came to the citadel of Gamala; and when he was come, the multitude cried aloud, and desired him to resume the government, and to make an expedition. He feared me to give him, lest they should overthrow the government of the Romans, and said it was not for their advantage to make war with them; and at length he prevailed with them. But now, when the king was acquainted with Varus’s design, which was to cut off the Jews of Cesarea, being many tens of thousands, with their wives and children, and all in one day, he called to him Equilicus Modius, and sent him to be Varus’s successor, as we have elsewhere related. But still Philip kept possession of the citadel of Gamala, and of the country adjoining to it, which thereby remained in their allegiance to the Romans.

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

13. When I understood this state of things, I was surprised and went down to Tiberias, and took all the care I could of the royal furniture, to recover all that could be recovered from such as had plundered it. They consisted of costly vessels of Corinthian brass; and of royal tables, and of a great quantity of uncloined silver; and I resolved to preserve whatsoever came to my hand for the king.

14. But when I had dismissed my fellow-legates, and sent them back to Jerusalem, I took care to guard this my care to the last, and to discharge myself as satisfactorily as I could. And, when I had sent for the most hardy among the robbers, I saw that it was not in my power to take their arms from them; but I persuaded them to take a little of what they had, to pay, and told them it was better for them to give them a little willingly, rather than to [be forced to] overlock them when they plundered their goods from them. And when I had obliged them to take an oath not to come into that country, unless they were invited to come, or else when they had not their pay given them, I dismissed them, and charged them neither to make an expedition against the Romans, nor against those their neighbours that lay round about them; for my first care was to keep Galilee in peace. So I was very glad when I had the principal men of the city, in all seventy, as hostages for their fidelity, but still under the notion of friendship.

Accordingly, I then set my mind on journeying, and set them to various causes: and with their approbation it was that I gave my sentences, while I endeavoured not to be too quick in my sentences, and to keep my hands clear of all bribery in these deliberations.

15. I was now about the thirtieth year of my age; in which time I was sent by the king to the city one to escape the commotions of the environs, although he restrains himself from fulfilling and unlawful desires, especially where a person is
THE LIFE OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

in great authority. Yet did I preserve every woman free from injuries; and as to what persons desired me, I kept them standing in need of them. Nor indeed would I take those tides which were due to me as a priest, from those that brought them. Yet do I consider, that I took part of the spoils of those Syrians which inhabited the cities that adjoined to us, when I had conquered them, and that I sent them to my kindred at Jerusalem; although, when I twice took the city of Tiberias, and burned it four times, and Gadara once, and when I had subdued and taken John, who often laid treacherous snare for me, I did not punish (with death) either him or any of his people for it; for I knew the progress of this discourse will show. And on this account, I suppose, it was that God, who is never unacquainted with those that do as they ought to do, delivered me still out of the hands of these my enemies, and afterward preserved me when I fell into those many dangers which I shall relate hereafter.

16. Now the multitude of the Galileans had that great kindness for me, and fidelity to me, that when their cities were taken by force, and their wives and children carried into slavery, there was no necessity to take a great number of their people, as they were solicitous for my preservation. But when John saw this, he envied me, and wrote to me, desiring that I would give him leave to take those cities, and to carry away all the people, and even the children of Tiberias for the recovery of the health of his body. Accordingly, I did not hinder him, as having no suspicion of any wicked designs of his, to do what from him I had transmitted the administration of the affairs of Tiberias by name, that they should provide a lodging for John, and for such as should come with him; and for all others that never did any thing to him, he should stand in need of. Now at this time my abode was in a city of Galilee, which is named Cesarea.

17. But when John was come to the city of Tiberias, he persuaded the men to revolt from their fidelity to me, and to adhere to him; and many of them gladly received that invitation of his, as being fond of innovations, and by nature disposed to changes, and delighting in seditions; lest they were chiefly Justus and his father Pias, that were earnest for their revolt from me, and Zacharias, the son of John, whom I had transmitted the administration of the affairs of Tiberias by name, that they should provide a lodging for John, and for such as should come with him; and for all others that never did any thing to him, he should stand in need of. For at this time my abode was in a city of Galilee, which is named Cesarea.

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

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

21. But now another great number of the Galileans came together again with their weapons, as knowing the man, how wicked and how cruelly he has been, and desired me to lead them against him, and promised me that they would utterly destroy both him and Gischala. Hereupon I professed that I was obliged to them for their readiness to serve me, and that I would do no more than requite them for me. But, however, I entreated them to restrain themselves, and begged of them to give me leave to do what services, in those of danger, to God's blessing him, and taking care of him, and this on account of his sons of piety, justice, humanity and charity to the Jews his brethren.
THE LIFE OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

I intended, which was to put an end to those troubles without bloodshed; and when I had prevailed with the multitude of the Galileans to let me do so, I came to Sepphoris.

When I arrived over this city, having determined to continue in their allegiance to the Romans, were afraid of my coming to them, and tried, by putting me upon another action to divert me, that they might be freed from the terror they were in. Accordingly they sent to Jesus, the captain of those robbers, who were in the confines of Ptolemais, and promised him to give a great deal of money to do what would agree with those forces he had with him, which were in number eight hundred, and fight with us. Accordingly he complied with what they desired, upon the promises they had made him, and was desirous to fall upon us when we were unprepared for him, and knew nothing of his coming beforehand. So he sent to me, and desired that I would give him leave to come and salute me. When I had given him that leave, which I did without the least knowledge of his treacherous intentions beforehand, he took his band of robbers, and made as if he would come. Yet I did not think this his knavery would succeed: at last; for, as he was already nearly approaching, one of those with him deserted him, and came to me, and told me what he had to do. When I was informed of this, I went into the market-place, and pretended to know nothing of his treacherous purpose. I took with me many Galileans that were armed, as also some of those of Tiberias, and, when I had given orders that all the roads should be carefully guarded, I charged the keepers of the gates to give admittance to none but to the principal of his enemies, the robbers, and men, and to exclude the rest; and in case they aimed to force themselves in, to use stripes in order to repel them. Accordingly, those that had received such a charge did as they were bidden, and Jesus came in with a few others; and when I had ordered him to throw down his arms immediately, and told him, that if he refused so to do, he was a dead man, he, seeing armed men standing around him, was terrified and compelled; and as for those of his followers that were excluded, when they were taken, I had not said a word or done anything, than called Jesus to me by himself, and told him, that I "was not a stranger to that treacherous design he had against me, nor was I ignorant by what artifice he was to come in; and that, however, I would forgive what he had done already, if he would repent of it, and be faithful to me hereafter."—

And thus upon his promise to do all that I desired, I gave him leave to get those whom he had formerly had with him together again. But I threatened the inhabitants of Seph- phoris, that, if they would not leave off their ungrateful treatment of me, I would punish them sufficiently.

23. At this time it was that two great men, who were under the jurisdiction of the king, [Agrippa,] came to me out of the region of Tra- chebonis, bringing their horses and their arms, and carrying with them their money also; and when the Jews would force them to be circum- cised, if they would stay among them, I would not permit them to have any force put upon them, but said to them. "Every one ought to worship God according to his own inclination, and not to be constrained by force; and that these men, who had fled to us for protection, ought not to be so treated as to repel their coming hither."—

And when I had pacified the multitude, I provided for the men that were some to us whatso-

ever it was they wanted, according to their usual way of living, and that in great plenty also.

24. Now king Agrippa sent an army to make themselves masters of the citadel of Gamala, and because he thought the forces that were sent were not enough to encompass the citadel quite round, but lay before it in the open places and besieged it. But when Eubutius the procurator, who was instructed and appointed by the government of the great plain, heard that I was at Simionis, a village situated in the confines of Galilee, and was distant from him sixty furlongs, he took a host, and came to me, with a great number of footmen, about two hundred, and brought the inhabitants of the city Gibeon along with him as auxiliaries, and marched in the night, and came to the village where I abode. Upon this, I pitched my camp against him, which had a great number of forces in it; but Eubutius tried to draw us down into the plain, as greatly depending on his horse- men; but we would not come down: for when I was satisfied of the advantage that his horse would have if we came down into the plain, while we were on a mountain, then I was in the enemy where I was. Now Eubutius and his party made a courageous opposition for some time; but when he saw that his horse were use- less to him, he retired away from the city Gibeon, having lost three of his men in the fight. So I followed him directly with two thou- sand armed men; and when I was at the city Besara, that lay in the confines of Ptolemais, and twenty furlongs from Gibeon where Eubutius abode, I placed my armed men on the outside of the vil- lage, and gave orders that they should guard the passes which led from Besara, in order not to disturb us, until we should have carried off the corn, a great quantity of which lay there: it belonged to Bernice the queen, and had been gathered together out of the neighbouring vil- lages into Besara; so I loaded my camels and asses, a great number of which I had brought along with me, and sent the corn into Galilee. When I had done this, I offered Eubutius battle; but when he would not accept of the offer, for he was terrified at our readiness and courage, I altered my route, and marched towards Neopol- itanium, that I might make a survey of the things that referred to the war on account of Tiberias being laid waste by him. This Neopolitanus was captain of a troop of horse, and had the custody of Scythopolis intrusted to him. He was an impostor, and would give him from doing any further mischief to Tiberias, I set myself to make provision for the affairs of Galilee.

25. But when John, the son of Levi, who, as we before told you, abode at Gischala, was in- formed how all things had succeeded to my mind, and that I was much in favour with those that were under me as also that the enemy were greatly afraid of me, he was not pleased with it, as thinking my prosperity tended to his ruin.—

So he took up a bitter envy and enmity against me; and hoping, that if he could inflame those that were under me to hate me, he should put an end to the prosperity I was in, he tried to per- suade the inhabitants of Tiberias and of Seph- phoris, (and for those of Gabala he supposed they would be also of the same mind with the others,) which were the greatest cities of Galilee, to re-volt from their subjection to me, and to be of his party; and told them that he would command them better than I did. As for the people of Sephoris, who belonged to neither of us, he be- cause they had chosen to be in subjection to the Romans, they did not comply with his proposals; that the rest of the Jews were still for obliging all those to revolt who married either to women not circumcised, which became Jews and were ready to destroy all that would not submit to do so. See sect. 51; and Luke, iii. 56.
and those of Tiberias, they did not indeed so far cease as to make a revolt from under me, but they agreed to be his friends, while the inhabitants of Gabara did go over to John; and it was not long after that I destroyed those who was both the principal man in the city, and a particular friend and companion of John. It is true, these did not openly own the making a revolt to him, the tidings of the rebellion of the Galileans, and had frequent experience of the good they bore to me; yet did they privately watch for a proper opportunity to lay snares for me, in order to come to the greatest danger, on the occasion following:

28. There were some bold young men of the village Dabarrita, who observed that the wife of Ptolemy, the king's procurator, was to make a journey over the great plain with a mighty attendance, and with some horsemen that followed, as a guard to them, and this out of a country that was subject to the king and queen, into the jurisdiction of the Romans; and fall upon them in the sudden, and obliged the wife of Ptolemy to fly away, and plunder all the carriages. They also came to me androught all the gold and silver spoons, and other furniture; and the weight of the silver they brought was not small, and there were five hundred pieces of gold there. Now I had in my hand these spoons, and the Roman laws that provided that they should belong to the country of Ptolemy, who was my countryman; and it is prohibited by our laws even to spoil our enemies' goods; I caused those that brought in these spoons, that they ought to be kept in order to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem with them, when they came to be sold. But the young men took it very ill that they did not receive a part of those spoons for themselves, as they expected to have done; so they went among the villages, in the neighbourhood of Tiberias, and told the people this news: I sent to those that brought in those spoons, and I used deceitful language to them; when I said, that what had been thus gotten by rapine should be kept for the rebuilding of the walls of the city of Jerusalem; although I had resolved to restore those spoons again to their former owner. And indeed they were here in not mistaken as to my intentions; for when I had gotten clear of them, I sent for two of the principal men, Dassion, and Janneus the son of Levi, persons that were among the chief friends of the king, and commanded them to take the furniture that was given, and bring it to me; and I threatened that I would order them to be put to death by way of punishment, if they discovered this my command to any other person.

29. When the Roman nation, from this rumor, that their country was about to be betrayed by me to the Romans, and when all men were exasperated against me, and ready to bring me to punishment, the inhabitants of Tiberias did also themselves suppose that what the young men said was true, and persuaded my guards and armed men to leave me when I was asleep, and to come presently to the hippocrene, in order there to take counsel against me their commander. And when they had prevailed with them, and they were gotten together, they found that Josephus had also joined in one clamour, to bring the man, who was so wicked to them as to betray him, to his due punishment; and it was Jesus the son of Sapphira, a young man of the name of Chusai, who was the chief of the sect of the Sababians in Tiberias, a wicked man, and naturally disposed to make disturbances in matters of consequence; a seditious person he was indeed, and an innovator beyond every body else. Then he took the laws of Moses into his hands, and came into the midst of the multitude of the Galileans, and said to them, if you are not disposed to hate Josephus on your own account, have regard however to these laws of your country, which your commander in chief has profaned; and if they profess to insult him, kill him, and if they fail to do so, take his head, and make it an example of the vengeance of the people of Israel upon those who should have recourse to both these accounts, and bring the man who hath acted thus insolently to his deserved punishment. But Simon, who was intrenched with the care of my body, and was the only person that stayed with me, and saw the violent incursion the citizens made upon me, he awaked me, and told me of the danger I was in, and desired me to let him kill me, that I might escape by a quicker method. And now I was very much afraid; and considering how it was, I accordingly put on a black garment, and hung my sword at my neck, and went by such a different way to the hippocrene, where I thought some of my adversaries would meet me; so I appeared among them on the sudden, and fell down flat on the earth, and bewedeved the ground with my tears: then I seemed to them all an object of compassion. And when I perceived the change that was made in the multitude, I tried to divide their opinions, before the armed men should return from my house: I granted them that I had been as wicked as they supposed me to be, but still I entreated them to let me first inform them for what use I had kept that money which arose from the plunder, and that they might then kill me if they pleased; and upon the multitude's ordering me to speak, the armed men came upon me, and when they saw me, they ran to kill me; but when the multitude bid them hold their hands, they complicit, and expected that as soon as I should own to them that I kept the money for the king, it would be looked on as a confession of my treason, and they should then be allowed to kill me.

29. When therefore silence was made by the whole multitude, I spoke thus to them: "O my countrymen, do not require. However, I am desirous to tell you the truth of this matter before I die: for as I know that this city of yours [Tarchae] was a city of great hospitality, and filled with abundance of such men as have left their own countries, and are come hither to be partners of your fortune whatever it be, I had a mind to build walls about it, out of this money, for which you are so angry with me, while yet it was to be expended in building your own walls." Upon my saying this, the people of Tarchae and the strangers that cried out, that it was "the king that had caused me to be of good courage." Although the Galileans and the people of Tiberius continued in their wrath against me, insomuch that there arose a tumult among them, while some threatened to kill me, and some bid me not to regard verses, which, though he might not read in St. Matthew's gospel, yet might he have read much the same exposition in their own Ebionite or Nazarene gospel itself; no man after the manner of which interpretation love they their neighbour, and hate thine enemy," Matt. v. 43, is worth our inquiry. I take it that Josephus, having been now for so many years a Christian, he learned the true interpretation of the law of Moses from Christ, whom he owned for the true Messiah, as it follows in the succeeding
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them; but when I promised them that I would build them walls at Tiberias, and at other cities that wanted them, they gave credit to what I promised, and returned every one to his own home. So I escaped the pernicious danger, because I had any hopes, and returned to my own house, accompanied with my friends, and twenty armed men also.

31. There were likewise other authors of this tumult, who were afraid on their own account, lest I should punish them for what they had done, took six hundred armed men, and came to the house where I should have set it on fire. When this their insult was told me, I thought it indelicacy for me to run away, and I resolved to expose myself to danger, and to act with some boldness, in order to save the house, and guard against such an affront.

32. But as for the inhabitants of the city of Tiberias, they wrote to the king, and desired him to send them forces sufficient to be a guard to their persons; for they said that the boat which had come over to them: this was what they wrote to him. But when I came to them, they desired me to build their walls, as I had promised them to do: for I was in order that the town of Tarichæs was already built: I agreed to their proposal accordingly. And when I had made preparation for their entire building, I gave order to the architects to go to work; but on the third day, when I was gone to Tarichæs, which was thirty furlongs distant from Tiberias, it so fell out, that some Roman horsemen were discovered on their march, not far from the city, which made it to be supposed that the forces were come from the king; upon which they shouted, and lifted up the voices in commendations of the king, and reproaches against me. Hereupon one came running to me, and told me what their dispositions were, and that they had resolved to come over to me this same day. And when I heard the news I was very much alarmed; for I had already sent away my armed men from Tarichæs to their own homes, because the next day was our Sabbath; and I would not have the city be disturbed on that day by a multitude of soldiers; and indeed, whenever I sojourned at that city, I never took any particular care for a guard about my own body, because I had had frequent instances of the fidelity its inhabitants bore to me. I had now about me no more than seven armed men, besides some friends, and was doubtful what to do; for I saw in mind to recall my own forces I did not think proper, because the present day was almost over, and had those forces been with me, I could not take up arms on the next day, because our laws forbid us to do so, even though our necessity should be very great; and if I should permit the people of Tarichæs, and the strangers with them, to guard the city, I saw that they would not be sufficient for that purpose, and I perceived that I should be obliged to delay my assistance a great while; for I thought with myself that the forces that came from the king would be added to the number of those who had been my enemies by wizards. Upon my saying this, the people assembled for a while; but they returned again afterward, as irritated by some ill people among them, and encouraged by some who were of their opinion. I then went to the house in which they dwelt at Tarichæs, in order to kill them; when I was informed of this, I was afraid lest so horrid a crime should take effect, and nobody else would make that city their refuge any more. Therefore came myself, and some others with me, to the house where these people lived, and locked up the doors, and had a trench drawn from their house leading to the lake, and sent for a ship, and embarked them in it, and sailed to the confines of Galilee: I also paid them the wages of their services, nor in such a plight could I have their hands brought to them. Then dismissed them, and begged of them earnestly that they would courageously bear this distress which affliet them. I was also myself greatly displeased that I was compelled to expose those that had fled to me to go again into an enemy’s country. For I was informed that these should perish among the Romans, if it should so happen, than in the country that was under my jurisdiction. However, they escaped at length, and king Agrippa forgave them their offences. And this was the conclusion of what concerned these matters. So the Romans who were in the city of Tiberias, immediately furnished themselves with armed men, and sent them forth to the king, and to their own towns; and the rest of the city they divided among their inhabitants, according to their necessities and would abide the necessity of your desertion; I am already gone about the business of the Roman nation, and am about to return to them. As for your discourse of the philosophers, I am already prepared for it sufficiently. (The end.)
against me) so they persuaded me to spare the city. But when I was come near enough, I gave order to the masters of the ships to cast anchor a good way off the land, that the people of the Roman city might see us and the ships and the men on board; but I went nearer to the people in one of the ships, and rebuked them for their folly, and that they were so fickle as, without any good reason, to show their face from their fidelity to me. However, I assured them that I would entirely forgive them for the time to come, if they would send ten of the ring-leaders to me and undertake to make sure that none of the people therefrom was to be sent to Caesar. So they complied readily with this proposal, and sent me the men forementioned, I put them on board a ship, and sent them away to Taricheae, and ordered them to be kept in prison.

34. And by this stratagem it was that I gradually got all the senate of Tiberias into my power, and sent them to the city forementioned, with many of the principal men among the populace; and those not fewer in number than the other. But when the multitude saw into what great miseries they had brought themselves, they desired their foolish sedition to be ended, for his name was Cilicia, a young man, bold and rash, if he undertakes. Now, since I thought it not agreeable to please to put one of my own people to death, and thus joyned to punish, as it were, him, I ordered Levi, one of my own guards, to go to him, and cut off one of Cilicia's hands; but as he was that was ordered to do this was afraid to go out of the ship alone, among so great a multitude, I was not willing that the timorousness of the soldier should appear to the people of Tiberias. Seeing, therefore, I called to Cilicius himself, and said to him, "Sir, we understand those that satisfy thine executioner, of thy ingratitude to me, be thou thy own executioner, lest, if thou refusest so be, thou undergo a worse punishment. And, when he earnestly begged of me to spare him one of his hands, it was with difficulty that I granted it. So I ordered to prevent the loss of both hands, he willingly took his sword, and cut off his own left hand; and this put an end to the sedition.

35. Now the men of Tiberias, after I was gone to Taricheae, perceived what stratagem I had used against them, and they admired how I had put and by their foolish folly and by shedding of blood. But now, when I had sent for some of those multitudes of the people of Tiberias out of prison, among whom were Judas and his followers, I made them my friends, and during our supper time I said to them, that I knew the power of the Romans was superior to all others, but did not care so much for their money, because of their diuers. So I advised them to do as I did, and to wait for a proper opportunity, and not to be uneasy at my being their commander; for that they could not expect to have another who would use the like moderation as I had done. I also put Justus in mind how the Galileans had cut off his brother's hands, before ever I came to Jerusalem, upon an accusation laid against him, as if he had been a rogue, and had forged some letters; as also how the people of Gamala, in a sedition they raised against the Babylonians, after the death of Philip, also, and Chares, who was a kinsman of Philip, and withal how they had wisely punished Jesus, his brother Justus's sister's husband (with death.) When I had said this, I gave them the same time as they had to consider, and afterwards ordering Justus, and all the rest that were in prison, to be loosed out of it, and sent away.

36. But before this it happened that Philip, the son of Herod the tetrarch of Galilea, was put upon the following occasion: when Philip had been informed that Varus was put out of his government by king Agrippa, and that Modius Equeclus, a man that was of old his friend and companion, was come to succeed him, he wrote to Varus and told him, and also desired him to forward the letters he sent to the king and queen. But when king Agrippa knew that the story about Philip was false, (for it had been given out, that the Jews had begun to revolt from their king,) he sent some horsemen to conduct Philip to him, and, when he was come, he saluted him very obligingly, and showed him to the Roman consuls, and told them that this was the man of whom the report had gone about as if he had revolted from the Romans. He also bid him take some horsemen with him, and to go quickly to the citadel of Gamala, and to bring out there all his domestics, and to restore the Hyaklonians to Sotades again. He also gave it him in charge to take all possible care that none of his subjects should be guilty of making any innovation. Accordingly, upon these directions from the king, he made haste to do what he was commanded.

37. Now there was a female physician, a young man to join with him. He also insolently addressed himself to the principal persons at Gamala, and persuaded them to revolt from his king, and take up arms, and gave them hopes that they should, by his means, recover their liberty. And some they forced into the service, so that those that were there and the whole tribe of Israel, who had resolved on, they slew. They also slew Chares, and with him Jesus, one of his kinsmen, and a brother of Justus of Tiberias, as we have already said. Those of Gamala also wrote to me, desiring me to send them an armed force, and workmen to raise up the wall of their city; nor did I reject either of their requests. The region of Gauloestias did also revolt from the king, as far as the village Solyma. I also built a wall about Seleucia and Sogamni, which are villages naturally of very great strength. Moreover, I in like manner walled several villages of Upper Galilee, though they were very rocky of themselves. Their names are Janemis, and Merota, and Ahabis, and the Lower Galilee, the cities of Tiberias, Tiberiopolis and the villages, the caves of Araba, Horshe, Sehinn, notepa, Caphareccho, and Sigoi, and Japha, and Nazchalis, which, for a great quantity of corn in these places, and arable, which might be for their security afterward. 38. But the hatred that John, the son of Levi, bore to me, grew now more violent, while he could not bear my prosperity with patience. So he proposed to himself, by all means possible, to make away with me, and built the walls of Gmschala, which was the place of his nativity. He then sent his brother Simon, and Jonathan the son of Sienna, and about a hundred armed men, to Jerusalem, to Simon the son of Gamaliel; for he was a kinsman of Philip, and withal how they had wisely punished Jesus, his brother Justus's sister's husband (with death.) When I had said this, I gave them the same time as they had to consider, and afterwards ordering Justus, and all the rest that were in prison, to be loosed out of it, and sent away. The hatred that John, the son of Levi, bore to me, grew now more violent, while he could not bear my prosperity with patience. So he proposed to himself, by all means possible, to make away with me, and built the walls of Gmschala, which was the place of his nativity. He then sent his brother Simon, and Jonathan the son of Sienna, and about a hundred armed men, to Jerusalem, to Simon the son of Gamaliel; for he was a kinsman of Philip, and withal how they had wisely punished Jesus, his brother Justus's sister's husband (with death.) When I had said this, I gave them the same time as they had to consider, and afterwards ordering Justus, and all the rest that were in prison, to be loosed out of it, and sent away. The hatred that John, the son of Levi, bore to me, grew now more violent, while he could not bear my prosperity with patience. So he proposed to himself, by all means possible, to make away with me, and built the walls of Gmschala, which was the place of his nativity. He then sent his brother Simon, and Jonathan the son of Sienna, and about a hundred armed men, to Jerusalem, to Simon the son of Gamaliel; for he was a kinsman of Philip, and withal how they had wisely punished Jesus, his brother Justus's sister's husband (with death.) When I had said this, I gave them the same time as they had to consider, and afterwards ordering Justus, and all the rest that were in prison, to be loosed out of it, and sent away.
they were in an ill posture. He was also an old friend and companion of John; and not only he, but all his kin, were at that time in the city. When therefore he had received such an exhortation, he persuaded the high priests, Ananus, and Jesus the son of Gamala, and some others of the same sect, to set me down, now I was growing so great, and not to overlook me while I was aggrandizing myself to the height of glory; and he said, that it would be for the advantage of the Galileans, and as a discrediting of my government, if my fellow-citizens proved so ungrateful to me, as, out of envy, to give order that I should be slain; my father considered me also in his letter to come to him, for that he saw no reason upon this account to send me to him. 

I informed my friends of these things, and that in those days' time I should leave the country, and go home. Upon hearing this they were all very sorry, and desired the, with tears in their eyes, not to leave them to be destroyed; for so they thought they should be, if I were deprived of the command over them: but as I did not grant their petition, but was taking care of my own safety, the Galileans, out of their dread of the consequences of my departure, that they should then be at the mercy of the robbers, sent messengers to all Galileans of my resolution to leave them. Whereupon, as soon as they heard it, they got together in great numbers, especially the wives and children; and this they did, as it appeared to them not more out of their affection to me, than out of their fear on their own account; for while I staid with them, they supposed that they should suffer no harm to them all came into the same plain, wherein I lived, the name of which was Asoschis.

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

43. When I heard this, and saw what sorrow the people were in, I was moved with compassion to the Romans, and thought it became me to undergo the most manifest hazards for the sake of so great a multitude; so I let them know I would stay with them. And when I had given order that five thousand armed soldiers should be armed, and with provisions for their sustenance, I sent the rest away to their own homes, and when those five thousand were come, I took them, and marched with them. There they would keep the soldiers that were with me before, and eighty horsemen, and marched to the village of Chabolo, situated in the confines of Ptolemais, and there kept my forces together, pretending to get ready or divine dreams, which were predictive of the great things that were to come to pass: of these is the note in Antiq. B. ii. ch. viii. sect. 9. The other is in the War, B. iii. ch. viii. sect. 3.
to fight with Placidus, who was come with two cohorts of footmen, and one troop of horsemen, and was sent thither by Cestius Gallius, to burn their camps and destroy all that was in the city of Ptolemais. Upon whose casting up a bank before the city of Ptolemais, I also pitched my camp about the distance of sixty furlongs from that village. And now we frequently went out one to force Galilee; and thus he did not remove from the neighbourhood of Ptolemais.

44. About this time it was that Jonathan and his fellow-legates came. They were sent, as we have said already, by Simon and Ananus the high priest. And Jonathan contrived how he might catch me by treachery; for he durst not make any attempt upon me openly. So he wrote me the writing, that is, as well as he could, to the messengers that are with him, and are sent by the people of Jerusalem, to Josephus, send greeting. We are sent by the principal men of Jerusalem, who had much reproach and reproachfulness in many matters that concern thee, to rebuke him, and to exhort him to be subject to thee hereafter. We are also desirous to consult with thee about our common concerns, and to come to you to Galilee; therefore desire thee to come to us quickly, and to bring only a few men with thee, for this village will not contain a great number of soldiers.

The letter was sent among me warning me of these two things, either that I should come without armed men, and then they should have me wholly in their power; or, if I came with a great number, they should judge me for a public enemy. Now it was a horseman who brought the letter, a man at other times bold, and one that had served in the army under the king. It was the second hour of the night that he came, when I was asleep with my nearest friends, and the principal of the Galileans. This man, upon my servant's telling me, that a certain horseman of the Jewish nation was come, was called in at my commandment, but did not as much as salute me at all, but held out a letter, and said, "This letter is sent thee by those that are come from Jerusalem. Do thou write an answer to it quickly, for I said that he took the money, and said he trusted these letters, and that my messengers could not but wonder at the boldness of the soldier. But I desired him to sit down and sup with us, but when he refused so to do, I held the letter to his face and said, I am talking with my guests about other matters. But a few hours afterward, I got up, and, when I had dismissed the rest to go to their beds, I bid only four or five of my intimate friends to stay, and ordered my servant to get some wine ready. I also opened the letter so that nobody could perceive it and understand therefrom the purport of it. As if I had not yet read it, but only held it in my hands. I ordered twenty drachmae should be given the soldier, for the charges of his journey; and when he took the money, and said he trusted me for it, I perceived that he loved money, and that he was to be caught chiefly by that means, and I said to him, "If thou wilt but drink with us, thou shalt have a drachma for every glass thou drinkest." So he gladly embraced this proposal, and drank a great deal of wine, in order to get the more money, and was so drunk that at first he could not keep the secrets he was entrusted with, but discovered them, without my putting questions to him, viz. that a treacherous design was contrived against me, and that I was desirous to take my relations and friends up with him. When he had heard this, I wrote back this answer: "Josephus to Jonathan and those that are with him, send greeting. Upon the information that you sent me in your last letter, I cannot judge of this especially, because I can now resign the care of public affairs here into your hands, and return into my native country, which is what I have desired to do a great while; and I confess I ought not only to do it, but further, and this without your commands. But I desire you to excuse me, because I cannot do it now, since I watch the motions of Placidus, who hath a mind to force Galilee; and this I do here at Chabolo. Do you therefore, on the receipt of this epistle, come hither to me. Fare you well."
arience with me, and that they should be invited to come to oppose me as an enemy. He would also have them send this resolution of theirs to the city Jerusalem, that its citizens, upon the knoll overlooking it, might see what was being done by the Galileans, meet themselves also and confirm that determination. He said also, that when this was done, even those Galileans who were well affected to me would desert me in fear. When John had given them this counsel, what he had said was very agreeable to the rest of them. I was also made acquainted with these affairs about the third hour of the night. I was with one Stachaeus, who had belonged to them, but now deserted them and came over to me, and told me what they were about; so I perceived that no time was to be lost. Accordingly I gave command to Jacob, an armed man of my guard, whom I esteemed faithful to me, to take two hundred men, and to guard the passages that led from Gabara to Galilee, and to seize upon the passengers, and send them to me, especially such as were caught with letters about them: I also sent Jeremiah, one of my friends, with six hundred armed men, to the army of those that were in Galilee, in order to watch the roads that led from this country to the city Jeru-
salem, and gave him charge to lay hold of such as travelled with letters about them, to keep the men from passing upon the place, but to send me the letters.
47. When I had laid these commands upon them, I gave them orders, and bid them to take their arms and march three days provision with them, and be with me the next day. I also part
ed those that were about me into four parts, and ordained those of them that were most faithful to me to be my guard to my body. I also set over them centurions, and commanded them to take care that not a soldier which they did not know should mingle himself among them. Now on the fifth day following, when I was in Gabara, I found the entire plain that was before the village full of armed men, who were come out of Galilee to assist me; many others of the multitude also, out of the village, ran along with me. But as soon as I had taken my place, and began to speak to them, they all made an acclamation, and called me the benefactor and saviour of the country. When I had met them, I acknowledged, and thanked them, [for their affection to me,] I also advised them to fight " with nobody, nor to spoil the country; but to pitch their tents on the plain, and be content with the sustenance they had brought with them; for I told them that I had a mind to compose these troubles without shedding any blood. Now it came to pass, that on the very same day those who were sent by John with letters, fell among the guards whom I had appointed to watch the roads; so the men were themselves kept upon the place, as my orders were, but I got the letters, which were full of reproaches and lies; and I intended to fall upon these men without saying a word of these matters to any body.
48. So Jonathan and his compa-
nions heard of my coming, they took all their own friends, and John with them, and retired to the house of Jesus, which indeed was a large castle, and no unlike a citadel; so they pri-
vately laid a band of armed men therein, and shut all the other doors but one, which they kept open; and they expected that I should come out of the road to them, to salute them. And indeed they had given orders to the armed men, that when I came they should let nobody besides me come in, for they should come upon my being opposing that, by this means, they should easily get me under their power: but they were deceived in their expectation; for I perceived what snares they had laid for me, and I was safe. So I went off my journey, I took up my lodging over against them, and pretended to be asleep; so Jonathan and his party, thinking that I was really asleep, and at rest, made haste to go down into the plain, to persuade the people that it was an ill governor. But the matter proved otherwise, for upon their appearance, there was a cry made by the Galileans immediately, declaring their good opinion of me as their governor; and they made a clamour against Jonathan and his partners, for coming to them when they had suffered no harm, and as though they would overturn their happy settlement; and desired them by all means to go back again, for that they would never be persuaded to have any other to rule over them but myself. When I heard of this, I marched not with my men, but I went back; for I went therefore myself down presently to hear what Jonathan and his companions said. As soon as I appeared, there was immediately an accla-
mation of the people by the whole multitude, and a cry in my commendation by them, who con-
fessed their thanks were owing to me for my good government of them.
49. When Jonathan and his companions heard this, they were in fear of their own lives, and in danger lest they should be assaulted by the Ga-
lieans on my account; so they contrived how they might unharmed get off out of the town, to get off, for I desired them to stay, they looked down with concern at my words to them. I or-
dered therefore the multitude to restrain entirely their acclamations, and placed the most faithful of my armed men upon the avenues, to be a guard to us, lest John should unexpectedly fall upon us; and I encouraged the Galileans to take their weapons, lest they should be disturbed at their enemies, if any sudden assault should be made upon them. And then, in the first place, I put Jonathan and his partners in mind of their former conduct, when they had written unto me, and declared they were sent by the common consent of the people of Jerusalem, to make up the differences I had bad with John, and that I might be at peace with them; which as I spake thus, I publicly showed that letter they had written, till they could not at all desay what they had done, the letter itself convicting them. I then said, ["O Jonathan, and ye that are sent with him as his colleagues, if I were to be judged as to my behaviour, compared with that of John's, and had brought no more than two or three witnesses, good men and true, it is plain you had been forced, upon the examination of their characters beforehand, to discharge the accusations: that therefore you may be informed that I have acted well in the affairs of Galilee, I think three witnesses too few to be brought by a man that hath done as he ought to do; so I give you all these for witnesses. Inquire of them how I have lived, and whether I have not be-
haved myself with all decency, and after a virtu-
tous manner among them. And I further cou-

* Josephus' directions to his soldiers here are much the same that John the Baptist gave, Luke iii. 14. "Do violence to no man, neither accuse any man falsely: be reasonable with your wages." Whence Dr. Hodge forms this conjecture, that Josephus, in some things, was, even now, a follower of John the Baptist; which is no way improbable. See the note on 2 Cor. xiii. 11.
† This appeal to the whole body of the Galileans by Josephus, and the testimony they gave him of integrity in the case of the present, is very like that of the formal testimony in the case of the Samaritan, John iii. 1. 5. and perhaps was done by Josephus in imitation of him.
THE LIFE OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS. 15

just you, O Galileans, to hide no part of the truth, but to speak before these men as before Joseph, whether I have in any thing said otherwise.

50. While thus speaking, the united voices of all the people joined together, and called me their benefactor and saviour, and at that moment theatter behaviour made me continue so to do hereafter; and they all said, upon their oaths, that their wives had been preserved free from injuries, and sent them to the city of Tiberias, expec-
tation it would submit itself to them. This was founded on a letter which Jesus, their then governor, had written them, promising, if they came, that the people would receive them, and choose to be under their government; so they went on their way with this expectation. But Sil-
ias, who, as I said, had been left curator of Tibe-
rias by me, informed me of this, and desired me to make haste thither. Accordingly I complied with his advice immediately, and came thither, but found myself in danger of my life, from the following occasion: Jonathan and his colleagues had been at Tiberias, and had persuaded a great many of such as had a quarrel with me to desert me; but when they heard of my coming they were in fear for themselves, and came to me, and heard these things, they were greatly provoked at Jonathan, and his colleagues that were with him, and were going to attack them and kill them; and this they had done, when I had endeavored that the governor of the Galileans, and said, That "I forgave Jonathan and his colleagues what was past, if they would repent, and go to their own coun-
tries;" still those that went them to death, said, that his梭 was an enemy of Tiberias, and that he ought to be punished. And thus did I try all means to persuade them to spare the man; for I knew that every instance of sedition was pernicious to the public welfare. But the multitude were too an-
gry with them to be dissuaded, and all of them went immediately to the house in which Jon-
athan and his colleagues abode. However, when I perceived that their rage could not be restrains, I got on horseback, and ordered the multitude to follow me to the village Soganue, where my men were, and, by using this stratagem, I so managed myself, as not to appear to begin a civil war among them.

52. But when I was come near Soganue, I came to them, and, by using the same stratagem, extorted them not to be so easily provoked to anger, and to the inflicting such punishments as could not be afterwards recalled; I also gave or-
er, that a hundred men who were already in years, and were principal men among them, should get themselves ready to go to the city Jeru-
salem, and make a complaint before the people, of such as raised seditions in the coun-
try. And I said to them, that "in case they be moved with what you say, you shall desire the community to write to me, and to enjoic me to continue in Galilee, and not to order Jonathan and his colleagues to depart out of it." When I had suggested these instructions to them, while they were getting themselves ready as fast as they could, I sent them on this errand the third day after they had been assembled; I also sent five hundred armed men with them [as a guard.] I then wrote to my friends in Samaria, to take care of the public affairs in the country; for Samaria was already under the Ro-
man, and it was absolutely necessary for those that go quickly [to Jerusalem] to pass through

that country; for in that road you may, in three days' time, go from Galilee to Jerusalem. I also went myself, and conducted the old men as far as the bounds of Galilee, and set guards at the roads, that it might not be easily known by any one that these men were gone. And when I had thus done, I went and rode at Jerusalem.

53. Now Jonathan and his colleagues having failed of accomplishing what they would have done against me, they sent John back to Gischal-
la, but went themselves to Tiberias, expec-
tion it would submit itself to them. This was founded on a letter which Jesus, their then governor, had written them, promising, if they came, that the people would receive them, and choose to be under their government; so they went on their way with this expectation. But Sil-
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rias by me, informed me of this, and desired me to make haste thither. Accordingly I complied with his advice immediately, and came thither, but found myself in danger of my life, from the following occasion: Jonathan and his colleagues had been at Tiberias, and had persuaded a great many of such as had a quarrel with me to desert me; but when they heard of my coming they were in fear for themselves, and came to me, and heard these things, they were greatly provoked at Jonathan, and his colleagues that were with him, and were going to attack them and kill them; and this they had done, when I had endeavored that the governor of the Galileans, and said, That "I forgave Jonathan and his colleagues what was past, if they would repent, and go to their own coun-
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man, and it was absolutely necessary for those that go quickly [to Jerusalem] to pass through
chess, and found the multitude already assembled in the Proseucha; but on what account they had gathered there, the more assembled did not know. But when Jonathan and his colleagues saw me there unexpectedly, they were in disorder; after which they raised a report of their own escape. In the mean time, two men were seized in a place called Union, in the borders of Galilee, thirty furlongs distant from the city. Upon which report Jonathan and his colleagues cunningly expelled me not to neglect this matter, nor suffer the land to be spoiled by the enemy. And this they said with a design to remove me out of the city, under the pretence of the want of extraordinary assistance, while they might dispose the city to be my enemy.

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

56. Now there was one, whose name was Ana- nias, a wicked man he was, and very mischievous; he proposed that a general religious fast should be appointed the next day, for all the people, and gave order that at the same hour they should come to the same place without any weapons, to make it manifest before God, that while they obtained his assistance they thought all these weapons useless. This he said, not out of piety, but that he might catch me and my friends unarmed. Now I was hereupon forced to comply, lest I should appear to despise a proposal that tended to piety. As soon, therefore, as we were gone home, Jonathan and his colleagues sent word to me, to come to them in the morning, and desiring him to come with as many soldiers as he possibly could, for that they should then be able easily to hold me and the multitude. When I had received this letter, I resolved to comply with it. As for myself, on the next day, I ordered two of the guards of my body, whom I esteemed most faithful, to hide daggers under their garments, and to go along with me, that we might defend ourselves, if any attack should be made upon us. In the mean time, the multitude were engaged in the duties of the day, and had betaken themselves to our prayers, Jesus got up, and inquired of me what was become of the vessels that were taken out of the king's palace, when it was burnt down, and of that uncoined silver, and in whose possession they now were! This he said, in order to drive away evil till John should come. I said that Capelias, and the ten principal men of Tiberias, had them all; and I told him that he might ask them whether I told a lie or not. And when they said they bad them, he asked them who got so much silver; the people replied, that pieces of gold which thou didst receive upon the sale of a certain weight of uncoined money! I replied, that I had given them to those ambassadors, who did not do as I had bidden them, but sent them by me to Jerusalem. So Jonathan and his colleagues said, that I had done well to pay the ambassadors out of the public stock, leave off your anger at me, for I will repay the twenty pieces of gold myself!''

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

59. But, as I went out a little way, I was just turned aside, and escaped by a narrow passage to the lake, and seized upon a ship, and embarked that same morning. In the evening, I even to do evil to me, for I thought upon my expectation, I escaped this danger. Whereupon I appoint a fast at Tiberias, and was obeyed; though indeed it was not out of religion, but hasty policy.
upon I presently sent for the chief of the Gal-
leans, and told them what manner, against
all faiths, I had been very near to destruc-
tion from Jonathan and his colleagues, and the
people of Tiberias. This news, therefore, the
Galileans were very angry, and encouraged me
to delay no longer to make war upon them,
but to permit them to go against John, and ut-
terly to destroy him and his colleagues.
Jonathan, however, restrained them, though
they were in such a rage, and desired them to
carry awhile, till we should be informed what
orders from the council, which is at Jerusalem,
should bring them to the city of Jerusalem, should bring them to;
for I told them that it was best for them to act ac-
gording to their determination: whereupon they
were prevailed on. At which time also, John,
when the mares he had laid did not take effect, re-
turned back to Gischala.
60. Now in a few days those ambassadors whom
we had sent, came back again and informed us,
that the people were greatly provoked at Ana-
sus, and Simon the son of Camahel, and their
friends; that, without any public demonstration,
they had sent to Galilee, and had chosen six
despots that I might be turned out of the go-
vernment. The ambassadors said further, that the
people were ready to burn their houses. They also bid me rejoice, whereas he this man
of Jerusalem, at the earnest petition of the
people, confirmed me in the government of Ga-
liche, and enjoined Jonathan and his colleagues to
return home quietly. Upon this advice, I sent for
these letters, I came to the village Abelos, where I
procured an assembly of the Galileans to meet,
and bid the ambassadors declare to them the
anger of the people of Jerusalem, what had
been done by Jonathan and his colleagues, and
how much they hated their wicked doings, and
how they hated me, too, in the government of their
country; as also what related to the or-
der they had in writing for Jonathan and his col-
leagues to return home. So I immediately sent
them the letter, and bid him that carried it to
inquire, as well as he could, how they intended
act [on this occasion.]
61. Now when they had received that letter, and
were thereby greatly disturbed, they sent
for John, and for the senators of Tiberias, and
for the principal men of the Galileans; and pro-
posed to hold a council, and desired them to con-
vene. So they assembled him, there was no one
of the governors of Tiberias were greatly disposed to
keep the government to themselves; for they
said it was not fit to desert their city now it was
considered, to, and the government there to be a
should not delay to fall upon them; for they
prevented falsely that so I had threatened to
them. Now John was not only of their opinion, but
advised them that two of those should go to
me to accuse me before the multitude, [at Jerus-
alem,] that I do not manage the affairs of Galilee as I
ought to do, and that they would daily persuade
the people, because of their dignity, and because
the whole multitude are very mutable. When
therefore it appeared that John had suggested
the wisest advice to them, they resolved that two
at least should be sent thither. And when the
people of Jerusalem, and the other two [Simon
and Joazar] should be left behind to tarry at Ti-
berias. They also took along with them a hun-
tred men, that I might not spare their city. So
I was over-ruled by their entreaties, and re-
strained the soldiers from the vehemence with
which they pursued them; while I myself, upon
the coming of their messengers, went back
with my soldiers, and went to refresh myself.
I also invited Simon to sup with me, and comfort-
ed him on occasion of what had happened, and promised that I would send him safe and secure
to Jerusalem, and wishal would give him pre-
visions for his journey thither.

3
64. But on the next day I brought ten thousand armed men with me, and came to Tiberias. I then sent for the principal men of the multitude into the city, and told them to tell me who were the authors of the revolt; and when they had told me who the men were, I sent them bound to the city Jotapata. But as to Jonathan and Ananias, I freed them from those who had taken them, and cast them into prison for Tiberias also came to me again, and desired that I would forgive them for what they had done, and they said they would amend what they had done amends with regard to me, by their fidelity for the time to come; and they besought me to preserve what spoils remained upon the plunder of the city, for those that had lost them. Accordingly I enjoined those that had got them to bring them all before us: and when they did not comply for a great while, and I saw one of the senators that were about me with a gurny on his head more mocking than ordinary, I asked him whence he had it; and when he replied, that he had it out of the plunder of the city, I had him taken and made to stand in the midst of all, and thenceforth the rest of the city took the severer punishment upon them, unless they produced before us whatsoever they had plundered; and when a great number were brought together, I restored to every one of those what they claimed to be their own.

65. And now I come to this part of my narration, I have a mind to say a few things to Justus, who hath himself written a history concerning those affairs; as also to others who profess to write history, but have little regard to truth, and are not afraid to cover out of their wills happily, to will to some persons, to relate falsehoods. These men do, like those who compose forged deeds and conveyances; and because they are not brought to the like punishment with them, they have no regard to truth. When therefore Justus undertook to write about these facts, and about the Jewish war, that he might appear to have been an industrious man, he falsified in what he related about me, and could not speak truth even about his own country; whence it is, that being bribed by him, I am under a necessity to make my case clear, if I shall say I have credit to-day, which to-came till now. And let no one wonder that I have not told the world these things a great while ago, and I am necessary for an historian to write the truth, yet is such a one not bound severely to unimadventr the wickedness of certain men; not out of any favour to them, but out of regard to my own moderation. How then comes it to pass, O Justus, thou most sagacious of writers, (that I may address myself to him as if he were here present,) for so thou boastest of thyself, that I and the Galileans have been the authors of that sedition which thy country engaged in, both against the Romans and against the king [Agrippa junior]? For before ever I was appointed commander of the Galilean community of Jerusalem, both thou, and all the people of Tiberias, had not only taken up arms, but had made war with Decapolis of Syria. Accordingly, thou hast ordered their villages to be burnt, and a domestic servant of thine fell in the battle. Ner is it only who say this; but so it is written in the commentaries of Vespasian the emperor, as also how the thorr of the whole nation clamoured to Vespasian at Ptolemais, and desired that thou, who wast the author of that war, might be put upon a punishment. And thou hast certainly been punished at the command of Vespasian, had not king Agrippa, who had power given him to have thee put to death, at the earnest entreaty of his sister Berenice, charged the punishment of death into a long imprisonment. Thy political administration of affairs afterwards does also clearly discover both thy other behaviour in life, and that thou wast the author of the war even against the Romans; plain signs of which I shall produce presently. I have also a mind to say a few things to the rest of the people of Tiberias on thy account, and to inform thee that by my research upon this history, that thou bear no good-will, neither to the Romans, nor to the king. To be sure, the greatest cities of Galilee, O Justus, were not Sabbothai, but Tiberias, situated in the very midst of Galilee, and having many villages about it, and able with ease to have been bold and troublesome to the Romans, if they had so pleased, yet did it resolve to continue faithful to those their masters, and at the same time excluded me out of their city, and prohibited all their citizens from joining with the Jews in the war, and that they might be out of danger from me, they by a wise and of fealty to fortify their city with walls: they also, of their own accord, submitted a garrison of Roman legions, and sent them by Cestus Gallus, who was then president of Syria, and so bad me in contempt, though I was then very powerful, and had all the power and all the weight; and at the same time that the greatest of our cities, Jerusalem, was besieged, and that temple of ours, which belonged to us all, was in danger of falling under the enemies' power, you, O Justus, it may be, as not willing to have it thought they would bear arms against the Romans. But as for thy country, O Justus, situated upon the lake of Genesareth, and distant from Hippos thirty furlongs, from Gadara sixty, and from Scythopolis, which was under the king's jurisdiction, a hundred and twenty; when there was no Jewish city near, and that city preserved its fidelity to the Romans] if it had so pleased them to do; for the city and its people had plenty of weapons. But, as thou sayest, I was the author of their revolt.] And pray, O Justus, who was the author afterwards. For thou knowest that I was in the power of the Romans before Jerusalem was besieged, and before the same time Jotapata was taken by force, as well as many other fortresses, and a great many of the Galileans fell in the war. It was therefore then a proper time, when you were certainly freed from any fear on my account, to have been more pious towards the king and to the Romans, that it was not of choice, but as forced by necessity, that you fell into the war against them; but you stood till the king came himself as far as the walls, with his whole army; and then you did indeed lay aside your weapons out of fear, and your city had not been taken by force, unless Vespasian had complied with the king's supplication for you, and had excused your madness. It was nott, therefore, who was the author of this, but your own perverseness in war. Do not you remember how often I got you under my power, and yet put none of you to death? Nay, you once fell into a tumult one against another, and slew one hundred of your citizens, not on account of your good-will to the king and to the Romans, but on account of your own wickedness, and this while I was besieged by the Romans in Jotapata. Nay, indeed, were there not reckoned up two thousand of the people of Tiberias, during the siege of Jerusalem, some of which were slain, and the rest cast away and carrion-captives? But thou didst not engage in the war, since thou didst face to the king. Yes, indeed, thou didst face to him; but I say it was out of fear of me. Thou sayest, Indeed, I say, I am a wicked man, so that then, for what reason was it that king Agrippa, who procured thee thy life when thou wast condemned to die by Vespasian, and who bestowed so much riches upon thee, did twice afterwards
put thee into bonds, and as often obliged thee to run away from thy country, and, when he had espied thee, when he had espied thee, when he had espied thee a pardon at the earnest desire of Bernice, and, when (after so many of thy wicked pranks) he had made thee his secretary, he caught thee failing the epistle, and drove thee away for thy life. But I shall not enquire accurately into these matters of scandal against thee. Yet cannot I but wonder at thy impudence, when thou hast the honest way to say, that thou hast better related these affairs [of the war] than have all the others that have written about them, whilst thou didst not know what was done in Galilea; for thou hast taken at Berea with the king; nor didst thou know how much the Romans suffered at the siege of Jotapata, or what miseries they brought upon us; nor couldst thou learn by inquiry what I did during that siege myself; for all those that might afford such information were quite destroyed in that siege. But perhaps thou wilt say, thou hast written of what was done against the people of Jerusalem exactly, but how should that be? for neither wast thou concerned in that war, nor hast thou read the commentaries of Caesar; of which we have evidence and I could not find. But the commentaries of Caesar in thy history. But if thou art so hardy as to affirm that thou hast written that history better than all the rest, why didst thou not write a history which thou hast kept ten these twenty years, and then mightest thou have had the testimony of thy accuracy. But now, when these men are no longer with us, and there is no voice to be heard, I deign to venture it. But then I was not in like manner afraid of my own writing, but I offered my books to the emperors themselves, when the facts were almost under men's eyes; for I was conscious to myself, that I had observed the truth of the facts; and as I expected to have their attestation to them, so I was not deceived in such expectation. Moreover, I immediately presented my history to many other persons, some of which were concerned in the war, as was king Agrippa, and some of his kindred. Now the emperors assured me that the knowledge of these affairs should be taken from the books alone, that he subscribed his own hand to them, and ordered that they should be sent, and for Agrippa, he wrote me sixty-two letters, and attested to the truth of what I had therein delivered; two of which letters I have here subjoined, and thou mayest thereby know their sentiments. "King Agrippa to Josephus, his dear friend, sendeth greeting. I have read over thy book with great pleasure, and it appears to me, that thou hast done it much more accurately, and with greater care, than have the other writers. Send me the rest of these books. Farewell, my dear friend." King Agrippa to Josephus, his dear friend, sendeth greeting.

The character of this history of Justus of Tiberias, the son of Agrippa, is such as to make it unnecessary to be written, at least in part, by myself; and what is more, the fragments, or those parts of it, which are wanting, are given us by a very able critic, Ptolemy, who read that history. It is in the third code of his works: "I have also preserved (Ptolemy's Phaenomena) the chronology of Justus of Tiberias, whose title is thus, The Chronology of the Kings of Judah which concludes with the twenty-first year of the reign of Tiberius at Jerusalem. He begins his history from Moses, and ends it not till the death of Agrippa, the seventh [sixth] king of the Jews; and it is related, that he laid many plots against him, but that Josephus, though he had his enemy frequently under his eyes, did only report to me, I wish and let him go without further punishment. He says also, that the history which this man wrote is, for the most part, false, and very much according with the Roman war with the Jews, and the taking of Jerusalem."
upon their countrymen. When I saw this, I was exceedingly troubled at it, and commanded them to leave off, and put them in mind that it was not agreeable to piety to do such things to their countrymen, but that they would not be a

ken to what I exhorted, nor to what I commanded them to do, (for the hatred they bore to the people there was too hard for my exhortations to break; for they said, those men, who wore the sword, were too faithful to me, and were about me, to give out reports, as if the Romans werefalling upon the other part of the city with a great army; and that I should remove the riders from the city abroad, I might restrain the violence of the Galileans, and preserve the city of Sepphoris. And at length this stragleng had its effect; for, upon hearing this report, they were in fear for themselves, and so they left off plundering, and ran away; and this more especially, because they saw me, their general, do the same also; for, that I might cause this report to be believed, I pretended to be in fear as well as they. Thus were the inhabitants of Sepphoris unexpectedly preserved by this contrivance of mine.

68. Tiberius Gallicus, that had been plundered by the Galileans also upon the following occasion: the chief men of the senate wrote to the king, and desired that he would come to them that very day; and that they did not think it proper to keep the king promised to come, and wrote a letter in answer to theirs, and gave it to one of his body-chamber, whose name was Cripsas, and who was by birth a Jew, to carry it to Tiberius. When the Galileans knew that this man carried such a letter, they caught him, and brought him to the king; but as soon as the whole multitude heard of it, they gathered themselves together, and came to their arms. So a great many of them got together from all quarters the next day, and came to the city Aserich, where I then lodged, and made heavy clamours, and called the city Tiberias a traitor to them, and a friend to the king; and desired leave of me to go down and utterly destroy it; for they bore the like ill-will to the people of Tiberias, as they did to those of Sepphoris.

69. When I heard this, I was in doubt what to do, and hesitated what I judged I might deliver Tiberias from the danger: and I thought I could not own that those of Tiberias had written to the king, and bad invited him to come to them; for his letters to them in answer were not written in our own country. So I sat a long time musing with myself, and then said to them, "I know well enough that the people of Tiberias have offended; nor shall I forbid you to punish them; but things ought to be done with discretion; for they of Tiberias have not been the only betrayers of our liberty, but many of the most eminent patriots of the Galileans, as they pretended to be, have done the same. Tarry therefore till I shall thoroughly find out those authors of our danger, and then you shall have them all at once under your power, with all such as you shall yourselves bring in also." Upon my saying this I pacified the multitude, and they left off their anger, and went their ways; and gave me a bill, near to which I brought the king’s letters should be put into bonds; but in a few days I pretended that I was obliged, by a necessary affair of my own, to go out of the kingdom. I then called in, in a certain place, an army, and ordered him to make the soldiers that kept him drunk, and to run away to the king. So when Tiberias was in danger of being utterly destroyed in a second time, it escaped the calamity by a proper management, and the care that I had for its preservation.

70. About this time it was that Justus, the son of Libnas, without my knowledge, and not the king’s occasion, of which I will here relate. Upon the beginning of the war between the Jews and the Romans, the people of Tiberias resolved to submit to the king, and not to revolt from the Romans; while Justus tried to persuade them to betake themselves to their arms, and not to be subject to a nation that was a stranger to them. I had hopes of obtaining the government of Galilee, as well as of his own country (Tiberias) also. Yet did he not obtain what he hoped for. Therefore those men, who wore the sword, and were faithful to me, and were about me, to give out reports, as if the Romans were falling upon the other part of the city with a great army; and the king, and the Roman lictors, and the king’s officers also, who had been entrusted by the community of Jerusalem with the government of Galilee, did frequently come to that degree of rage at Justus, that I had almost resolved to kill him, as not able to bear his mischievous disposition. He was therefore much afraid of me, lest at length my passion should come to extremity; so he went to the king, and as supposing that he should dwell better, and more safely with him.

71. Now when the people of Sepphoris had, in so surprising a manner, escaped their first danger, they were under the great desire to come to them immediately, and take possession of their city, or else to send forces sufficient to repress all their enemies’ incursions upon the country. I therefore ordered Gallicus to send a considerable army, both of horse and foot, which came in the night-time, and which they admitted into the city. But when the country round about it was harased by the Roman army, I took those soldiers that were about me, and came to Garamis; where I cast up a bank, a good way off the city Sepphoris; and when I had ordered a considerable number of my soldiers to scale them with ladders, I became master of the greatest part of the city. But soon after, our unacquaintedness with the places forced us to retire, after we had killed twelve of the Roman footmen, and two horsemen, and a few of the people of Sepphoris, with the loss of only a single man of our own. And when it afterwards came to a battle in the plain against the horsemen, and we had undergone the danger of it courageously for a long time, we were beaten; for upon the Romans encompassing me about, my soldiers were afraid, and fled away. The battle was so great that battle out of those that had been entrusted to guard my body; his name was Justus, who at this time had the same part with the king. At the same time also, there came upon the roads, both that which led to Cana, and that which led to the fortress Gamala, that he might hinder their inhabitants from getting provisions out of Galilee.

72. As soon as I had gotten intelligence of this, I sent two thousand armed men, and a captain over them, whose name was Jeremia, who raised a bank at a certain place near to the valley of Jordan, and did no more than skirmish with the enemy; till I took three thousand soldiers myself, and came to them. But on the next day, when I had landed in a certain valley, not far from the banks, I provoked those that belonged to the king to come to a battle, and gave orders to my own soldiers to turn their backs upon them, until they were come near to the army of our dragoons in their camp, and brought them out into the field, which was done accordingly; for Sylla, supposing that our party did really run away, was surprised, and readily set forward; when our dragoons fell upon them in ambush, and put them all into great disorder. I also immediately
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made a sudden turn with my own forces, and set those of the king's party, and put them to flight. And I had performed great things that day, if a certain fate had not been my hinder-
ance. For I was borne on the back of a horse whose back I fought, fell into a quagmire, and threw me on the ground, and I was bruised on my wrist, and carried into a village named Sephar-
nesan or Gennan, and the rest of the village; and of this, they were afraid I had been worse hurt than I was, and so they did not go on with their pursuit any farther, but returned in very great numbers, and surrounded the village in which I was, and took many men whose horses I had ridden back. But I continued feverish that day; and, as the physi-
cians directed, I was at night removed to Tari-
chees.

73. When Sylua and his party were informed what had happened to me, they took courage again, and understanding that the watch was neglig-
gently kept in our camp, they by night placed a body of horsemen in ambush beyond Jordan, and when it was day they provoked us to fight; and as we did not refuse it, but came into the place, they were put into confusion that am-
busch in which they had lain, and put our men into disorder, and made them run away; so they slew six men of our side. Yet did they not go off with the spoil, but the bodies of these six men and some armed men were carried from Tarichees to Jelasius, they were afraid and retired.

74. It was not long now before Vespasian came to Tyre, and king Agrippa with him; but the Tyrians began to speak reproachfully of the king, and called him an enemy to the Romans. For they said, that Philip, the general of his army, was put to be prisoner, and that the Roman forces that were in Jerusalem, and that it was done by his command. When Vespasian heard this report, he rebuked the Tyrians, for abusing a man who was both a king, and a friend to the Romans; but he exhorted the king to send Philip to Rome, to answer for what he had done before Nero. But when Philip was sent thither, he did not come into the sight of Nero, for he found him very near death on account of the troubles that then happened, and a civil war; and so he returned to the king. But when Ves-
pasian had come to Tyre again, and the chief men of Decapolis of Syria, made a clamour against Judas, of Tiberias, because he had set their villages on fire; so Vespasian delivered him to the king, to be under the king's jurisdiction, yet did the king (only) put him into bond, and concealed what he had done from Vespasian, as I have before related. But the king's son went to him, and asked him, and had forces sent them, with Placidus their commander: he also went up with them, as I also followed them, till Vespasian came into Tyre. As to which coming of him, and after what manner it was ordered, and how he fought his first battle with me near the village of Tari-
chees, and how from thence they went to Jotap-
ta, and how I was taken alive and bound, and how I was afterwards loosed, with all that was done by me in the Jewish war, and during the siege of Jerusalem, I have accurately related them in the books concerning the War of the Jews. However, it will, I think, be fit for me to add now an account of those actions of my life, which I have not related in that book of the Jew-
ish War.

75. When for the siege of Jotapata was over, and I was among the Romans, I was kept with much

care, by means of the great respect that Vespas-
ian showed me. Moreover, as his command, I married a virgin, who was from among the cap-
tives of that country: yet did she not live with me long, but was delivered when whom I was married, and by my commands, and for the sake of my bonds, and my going to Alexandria. — However, I married another wife at Alexandria, and was then sent, together with Titus, to the siege of Jerusalem, and was respected and regarder of being put to death: while both the Jews were very desirous to get me under their power, in order to have me punished; and the Romans also, whenever they were beaten, summoned it curios would be to have me in Titus's regiment. And when it was occasioned by my treachery, and made continual clamours to the emperors, and desired that they would bring me to punishment, as a traitor to them; but Titus Caesar was well ac-
quainted with the uncertain fortune of war, and returned no answer to the soldiers' vehement sol-
icitations against me. Moreover, when the city of Jerusalem was taken by force, Titus Caesar persuaded me frequently to take whatsoever I would out of the ruins of my country, and said, that he gave me leave so to do. But when my messengers returned, and said that there was to be of any value, which I could take and keep as a comfort under my calamities; so I made this request to Titus, that my family might have their liberty; and he also let both my sons and Titus's concession. Nor was it long after that I asked of him the life of my brother, and of fifty friends with him, and was not denied. When I also went once to the temple, by the permission of Titus, where there were a great multitude of captive women and children, I got all those that I remembered as among my own friends and ac-
fquaintances to be set at liberty, and to the amount of one hundred and ninety; and so I delivered them without their paying any price of redemption, and restored them to their former fortune. And when I was sent by Titus Caesar with Cœrilus, and a thousand horsemen, to a certain village called Thacoos, in order to know whether it were a place fit for a camp, as I came back, I saw many captives crucified, and paid remembrance three of them as my former acquaintance. I was very sorry at this in my mind, and went with tears in my eyes to Titus, and told him of them; so he immediately ordered them to be removed, and to have the greatest care taken of them in order to their recovery; yet two of them died under the physician's hands, while the third re-
covered.

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

* Of this Epaphroditus, see the note on the Preface to the Antiquities.
I. Those who undertake to write histories, do not, I perceive, take that trouble on one end and the same account, but for many reasons, and those such as are very different one from another. For some of them apply themselves to this part of learning, to show their great skill in composition, and that they may thereby acquire a reputation for speaking finely. Others of them there are who write histories in order to gratify those that happen to be concerned in them; and on that account have spared no pains, but rather gone beyond their own abilities in the performance. But others there are, who, of necessity and by force, are driven to write history, because they were concerned in the facts, and so cannot excuse themselves from committing them to writing, for the advantage of posterity. Nay, there are not a few who are induced to draw their historical facts out of darkness into light, and to produce them for the benefit of the public, as account of the great importance of the facts themselves with which they have been concerned.

Now of these several reasons for writing history, I must profess the two last were my own reasons also; for I was not only interested in that war which we Jews had with the Romans, and knew myself its particular actions, and what conclusion it had, but I was forced to give the history of it, because I saw that others perplexed the truth of those actions in their writings.

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

3. I found, therefore, that the second of the Ptolemies was a king, who was extraordinary diligent in what concerned learning, and the collection of books; that he was also peculiarly ambitious to procure a translation of our law, and of the constitution of our government themselves, into the Greek tongue. Now Eleazer the high priest, one not inferior to any other of that dignity among us, did not shun to name the king the participator of that advantage, which otherwise he would for certain have denied him; but that he knew the custom of our nation was, to hinder nothing of what we esteemed ourselves from being communicated to others. Accordingly I thought it became me, both to imitate the generosity of this high priest, and to suppose there might even now be many lovers of learning like the king; for he did not obtain all our writings at that time; but those who were sent to Alexandria as interpreters gave him only the books of the law, there being there a vast number of other matters in our sacred books. They indeed contain in them the history of five thousand years; in which time happened many strange accidents, many great actions of the commanders, and mutations of the form of our government. Upon the whole, a man that will peruse this history may principally learn from it, that all events succeed even to an incredible degree, and the reward of felicity is proposed by God; but then it is to those that follow his will, and do not venture to break his excellent laws; and that so far as men any way apostatize from the accurate observation of them, what was practicable before becomes impracticable; and whatsoever they set about as a good thing is converted into an incorruptible calamity. And now I exhort all those that peruse these books, to apply their minds to God, and to examine the mind of our legislator, whether he hath not understood his nature in a manner worthy of him; and hath not never as year of Trajan, A. D. 109. See the note on Annal. b. l, against Apcin, sect. 1: Who he was we do not know; for as to Epaphroditus, the freedman of Nero, and afterwards Domitian's secretary, who was put to death by the Punic wars, he might not be alive in the third of Trajan.

Josephus here plainly alludes to the famous Greek proverb, 'If God doth assist us, every thing that is attempted becomes possible.'
scribed to him such operations as became his power, and hath not preserved his writings from those indecent fables which others have framed; although, by the great distance of time when he lived, he might have securely forged such lies; for he lived two thousand years ago; at which vast distance of ages the poets themselves have not been so hardly as to fix even the generations of their gods, much less the actions of their men, or their own laws. As I proceed, therefore, I shall accurately describe what is contained in our records, in the order of time that belongs to them; for I have already promised so to do throughout this undertaking; and this, without adding any thing to what is therein contained, or taking away any thing therefrom.

4. But because almost all our constitution depends on the wisdom of Moses our legislator, I cannot avoid saying somewhat concerning him beforehand, though I shall do it briefly; I mean, because otherwise, those that read my books may wonder how it comes to pass that my discourse, which promises an account of laws and historical facts, contains so much of philosophy. The reader is therefore to know, that Moses deemed it exceeding necessary that he who would conduct his own life well, and give laws to others, in the first place should consider the divine nature; and, upon the contemplation of God's operations, should thereby imitate the best of all patterns, so far as it is possible for human nature to do, and to endeavour to follow after it: neither could the legislator himself have a right mind without such a contemplation; nor would any thing he should write tend to the promotion of virtue in his readers: I mean, unless they be taught first of all that God is the Father and Lord of all things, and sees all things; and that thence he bountons a happy life upon those that follow him, but plagues such as do not walk in the paths of virtue into inevitable miseries.

As to this intended work of Josephus concerning the reasons of many of the Jewish laws, and what philosophical or allegorical sense they would bear, the loss of which has caused not much regret; I am included, in part, to Fabricius's opinion, aop. Havercamp, p. 63, 64: That "we need not doubt, when Moses was desirous to teach this lesson to his countrymen, he did not begin the establishment of his laws after the same manner that other legislators did; I mean, upon contracts and other rights between one man and another; but by raising their minds upwards to regard God, and his creation of the world; and by persuading them, that we men are the most excellent of all creatures of God upon earth. Now when once he had brought them to submit to religion, he easily persuaded them to submit in all other things; for as to other legislators, they followed fables, and by their discourses transferred the most reproachful of human vices unto the gods and so afforded wicked men the most plausible excuses for their crimes; but as for our legislator, when he had once demonstrated that God was possessed of perfect virtue, he supposed that men also ought to strive after the participation of it; and on those who did not so think, and so believe, he inflicted the severest punishments. I exhort, therefore, my readers to examine this whole undertaking in that view; for thereby it will appear to them, that there is nothing therein disagreeable either to the majesty of God, or to his love to mankind; for all things have here a reference to the nature of the universe; while our legislator beholds some things wisely but enigmatically, and others under a decent allegory, but still explains such things as required a direct explication, plainly and expressly. However, those that have a mind to know the reasons of every thing, may find here a very curious philosophical theory, which I now indeed shall wave the explication of; but if God afford me time for it, I will set about writing it after I have finished the present work. I shall now betake myself to the history before me, after I have first mentioned what Moses says of the creation of the world, which I shall describe in the sacred books after the manner following. Among some men and friars conjectures derived from Jewish imaginations, Josephus would have taught us a greater number of excellent and useful things, which perhaps might not be among the Jews now; among the Christians, can now inform us of; so that I would give a great deal to find it still extant."

[Vide Bishop Porteus's Lectures, vol. ii. page 324.)

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

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

BOOK I.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THREE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND THIRTY-THREE YEARS—FROM THE CREATION TO THE DEATH OF ISAAC.

CHAP. 1.

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

2. Moreover Moses, after the seventh day was over, begins to talk philosophically; and concerning the formation of man says thus, That God took dust from the ground, and formed man, and inserted in him a spirit and a soul. This man was called Adam, which in the Hebrew tongue signifies one that is red, because he was formed out of red earth compounded together; for of that kind is virgin and true earth. God also preserved the likeness of man throughout when he had made them according to their kinds, both male and female, to Adam; and he gave them those names by which they are still called. But when he saw that Adam had no female companion, he made a woman; whereupon Adam knew her when she was brought to him, and acknowledged that she was made out of himself. Now a woman is called Eve, in the Hebrew tongue, Ias̃; but the name of this woman was Ees, which signifies the Mother of all living.

3. Moses says further, that God planted a paradise in the East, flourishing with all sorts of trees; and that among them was the Tree of Life, and another of Knowledge, whereby was to be known what was Good and Evil. And that when he had brought Adam and his wife into this garden, he commanded them to take care of the plants. Now the garden was watered by one river, which ran round about the whole earth, and was parted into four parts. And Phison, which denotes a Multitude, running into India, makes its exit into the sea, and is by the Greeks called Gangriv. Euphrates also, as well as Tigris, goes down into the Red Sea. Now the name Emepares, or Phrath, denotes either a Dispersion or a Flower; by Tigris, or Dighlat, is signified what is swift with swiftness; and Geon runs through Egypt, and a river arises from the East, which the Greeks call Nile.

4. God therefore commanded that Adam and his wife should eat of all the rest of the plants, but to abstain from the Tree of Knowledge; and peculiar to Josephus, but, as Dr. Hucources here is derived from other authors, as if four of the greatest rivers of the world, running two of them at vast distances from the other two, by some means or other wandered Paradies, is hard to say. Only since no hint of any such change is given, nor is it very improbable that he and multiplied the rest of the second and the third chapters in some enigmatical or allegorical or philosophical sense. The change of the name, of God just as this place. From Ekeon to Ischemis Elakim, from God to Lord God, in the Hebrew, Bammaram, and Septuagint, does not also a little favour some such change in the translation or construction. We may observe here, that Josephus supposed man to be compounded of spirit, soul, and body, with St. Paul, 1 Thess. v. 23, and the rest of the ancients. He elsewhere says also, That the blood of animals was forbidden to be eaten, that having in it soul and spirit, Antiq. B. iii. chap. 2. sect. 2.

4. Whereas this strange notion came, which yet is not
ANTiquities OF THE JEvS.

§ 1. Adam and Eve had two sons; the elder of them was named Cain; which name, when it is interpreted, signifies Possession; the younger was Abel, which signifies Sorrow. They had also daughters. Now the two brethren were pleased with different courses of life; for Abel the younger was a lover of righteousness; and, believing that God was present at all his actions, he excelled in virtue; and his employment was that of a shepherd. But Cain was not only very wicked in other respects, but he was wholly intent upon mauvais pens, and contrived at first contrary devices to ruin his brother, who then was in the ground. He slew his brother on the occasion following. They had resolved to sacrifice to God. Now Cain brought the fruits of the earth, and of his husbandry; but Abel brought the first fruits of his flock: But God was more delighted with the latter oblation, for he was honoured with what grew naturally of its own accord, and with what was an invention of a covetous man, and gotten by forcing the ground; whence it was, that Cain was very angry that Abel was preferred before him; and he slew his brother, and hid his dead body, thinking to escape discovery. But God, knowing what had been done, came to Cain, and asked him, What is become of his brother? because he had not seen him of many days; wherefore he desired to observe them conversing together at other times. But Cain was in doubt with himself, and knew not what answer to give to God. At first, he said that Cain himself was at a loss, and before about his brother’s disappearance; but when he was provoked by God, who pressed him vehemently, and said, ‘what knowest thou what is become of him?”—he replied, ‘He was not his brother’s guardian, or keeper, nor was he an observer of what he did. But, in return, God convicted Cain, as he did the accused of his wife; and said, ‘I wonder at thee, thou knowest not what is become of a man whom thou thyself hast destroyed.” God therefore did not inflict the punishment [of death] upon him, on account of his offering sacrifice, and thereby making supplication to him not to be extreme in his wrath to him; but he made him accursed, and threatened his posterity in the seventh generation. He also cast him, together with his wife, out of that land. And when he was afraid, that in wandering about he should fall among wild beasts, and by that means perish, God bid him not to man’s mortality, seems almost entirely groundless; and that because the soul, with the other subordinate creatures, is hereafter to be delivered from the curse then brought upon them, and at last to be delivered from that bondage of corruption. 1 St. John’s account of the reason why God accepted the sacrifice of Abel, and rejected that of Cain; as also that because the other subordinate creatures are capable of the grace of God, is much better than this of Josephus. I mean, because Cain was the evil one, and slew his brother Abel. And, since he has permitted, I have somewhat more to say in way of conjecture; but being aware of the difficulty, I omit it. Only thus far, that the imputation of the sin of our first parents to their posterity, may farther than by some way the cause or occasion of the...
entertain such a melancholy suspicion, and to go over all the earth without fear of what mischief he might suffer from wild beasts; and, setting a mark upon him, that might be known, he commanded him to depart.

2. And when Cain had travelled over many countries, he, with his wife, had a son named Abel, which is a place so called, and there he settled his abode, where also he had children. Nevertheless, he did not accept of this punishment in one just to a man; for he went about wickedness; for he only aimed to procure every thing that was for his own bodily pleasure, though it obliged him to be injurious to his neighbours. He wasgetthenet of the house of his household riches which he had, which were very great, and he became very rich and could discourse much wisely; and he excised his acquaintance to procure pleasure and spoils by robbery, and became a great leader of men into wicked courses. He also introduced a change in that way of simplicity wherein men lived before; and was the author of measures and weights; and whereas they lived innocently and generously while they knew nothing of such arts, he changed the world into cunning craftiness. He first of all set boundaries about lands; he built a city, and fortified it with walls, and he compelled his family to come together to it; and called that city Enoch, after the name of his eldest son Enoch. Now Jared was the son of Enoch, whose son was Malakiel, whose son was Methuselah, whose son was Lamech, who had seventy-seven children by two wives, Silla and Ada. Of those children by Ada, one was Jobel; he erected tents, and loved the life of a shepherd. But Tubal, who was the master of the music with him, exercised himself in music, and invented the pulley and the harp. But Tubal, one of his children by the other wife, exceeded all Tubal in strength, and did neither fall nor hurt him in his service, and was famous in martial performances. He procured what tended to pleasures of the body by that method; and first of all invented the art of making brass. Lamech was also the father of a daughter, whose name was Nannah; and because he was so skilful in matters of divine revelation, that he knew he was to be punished for Cain's murder of his brother, he made that known to his wives. Nay, even while Adam was alive, it came to pass, that the postcrity of Cain became exceeding wicked, even so exceedingly dying, one after another, more wicked than the former. They were intolerable in war, and vehement in robberies; and if any one were slow to murder people, yet was he not sedent in his professional behaviour, in acting unjustly, and doing injuries for gain.

3. Now Adam, who was the first man, and made out of the earth, (for our discourse must now be about him,) after Abel was slain, and Cain fled away on account of his murder, was solicitous for posterity, and had a vehement desire of children; he being two hundred and thirty years old; after which time he lived other seven hundred, and then died. He had indeed many other children, but Seth in particular. As for the rest, it would be tedious to name them.\n
From this Jabal, not improbably, came Jabal, the name of the first musician and instrumental musical instrument, used in proclaiming the liberty at the year of Jubilee.

The number of Adam's children, as says the old tradition, was thirty-three sons, and twenty-three daughters.

What is here said of Seth and his posterity, that they were not like Cain, in wickedness, is very happy, without any considerable misfortunes, for seven generations, (see chap. ii. sect. 1, before, and chap. iii. section 1, afterwards,) which they did not suffer; but it seems to be the history of the world, and the conduct of Providence in all the first ages.

5. Of Josephus's mistake here, when he took Seth the son of Adam, from the tribe of Reu, that is, from Egypt, the protector of these pillars in the land of the Nile, see Essay on the Old Testament, Appendix, p. 159, 150. Although the man of this relation might be true, and Adam might have will therefore only endeavour to give an account of those that proceeded from Seth. Now this Seth, when he was brought up, and came to those years in which he could discourse reasonably well, he became a virtuous man; and, as he was himself of an excellent character, so did he leave children behind him, who imitated his virtues. They also were the inventors of that kind of the sort of wisdom which is concerned with the heavenly bodies and their order. And, that their inventions might be known, they were sufficiently known, upon Adam's prediction that the world was to be destroyed at one time by the force of fire, and at another time by the violence and quantity of water, they made two pillars; the one of brick, the other of stone; they inscribed their discoveries on them both, that in case the pillar of brick should be destroyed by the flood, the pillar of stone might remain, and exhibit those discoveries to mankind; and also in form that there was another pillar of brick erected by them. Now this remains in the land of Shinar to this day.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the Flood; and after what manner Noah was taken in an Ark, with his Kindred; and afterwards dwelt in the Plain of Shinar.

§ 1. Now this posterity of Seth continued to esteem God as the Lord of the universe, and to have an entire regard to virtue for seven generations; but in process of time they were perverted, and forsook the practices of their forefathers; and they were divided among them, and did neither serve those who were appointed them, nor had they any concern to do justice towards men; but for what degree of zeal they had formerly shown for virtue, they now showed by their actions a double degree of wickedness, whereby they made God to be their enemy. For many angels of God accompanied with women, and begat sons that proved unjust, and despisers of all that was good, on account of the confidence they had in their own strength; for the tradition is, that these men did what resembled the acts of those whom the Greeks called Giants. But Noah was very uneasy at what they did; and, being displeased at their conduct, persuaded them to change their dispositions and their actions for the better; but having they did not yield to him, but were slaves to their wicked pleasures, he was afraid they would kill him, together with his wife and children, and those they had married; so he departed out of that place.

2. Now God loved this man for his righteous ness. Yet he not only condemned those other men for their wickedness, but determined to destroy the whole race of mankind, and to make another race that should be pure from wickedness, and cutting short their lives, and making their years not so many as they formerly lived, but one hundred and twenty only; if he turned the dry land tell a Conflagration and a Deluge, which all antiquity is not able to deny, and not an error of the posterity; it may engrave their inventions in astronomy on two such pillars; yet, it is no way credible that they could survive the deluge, for which much had been prepared and collected for under ground, in the sediment of its waters, especially since the like pillars of the Egyptian Noah or the Egyptians were destroyed at once by the flood, and perhaps in the days of Josephus also, as is shown in the place here referred to.

This notion, that the old sages were in some sense the fathers of the old giants, was the constant opinion of antiquity.

Josephus here supposes, that the life of these giants (for of them only I understand him) was now reduced to 190 years; which is confirmed by the fragment of Enoch, sect. 10, in Aesthet. Res. part 1, p. 635. For as
ANTIOQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

father was one hundred and sixty-two years old when he died. Now he, when he had died, was buried at seventy-six years, departed, and went to God, whence it is that they have not written down his death. Now Methuselah, the son of Enoch, who was one hundred and eighty-two years old, had Lamach for his son, when he was one hundred and eighty-seven years of age; to whom he delivered the government, when he had retained it nine hundred and sixty-nine years. Now Lamach, when he had governed seven hundred and seventy-five years, appointed Noah his son to be ruler of the human people, who was born to Lamach when he was one hundred and eighty-two years old, and retained the government nine hundred and fifty years. These years collected together make up the sum before set down. But let no one inquire into the deaths of these men; for they extended their lives all along, together with their children and grandchildren; but let him have regard to their births only.

When God gave the signal, and it began to rain, the water poured down forty entire days, till it became fifteen cubits higher than the earth; and which was the reason that there were not another year numbered, since they had no place to fly to. When the rain ceased, the water did just begin to abate after one hundred and fifty-five days; that is, on the seventh month. So the seventh month, it then ceasing to subside for a little while. After this, the ark rested on the top of a certain mountain in Armenia; which, when Noah knew, he opened it, and seeing a small piece of land about it, he continued quiet, and conceived some cheerful hopes of deliverance. But a few days afterward, when the water was decreased a great degree, he sent out a raven, as desirous to learn whether any other part of the earth was left dry by the water, and whether he might go out of the ark with safety; but the raven returned not. And after seven days, he sent out a dove, to know the state of the ground, which came back to him covered with mud, and bringing an olive branch. Here Noah learned that the earth was become clear of the flood. So after he had stayed seven more days, he sent the living creatures out of the ark, and both he and his family went out, when he had performed the sacrifice to God, and presented the things appointed for the offering of the holocaust. However, the Armenians call this place Anisjrapor, the Place of Descent; for the ark being landed in that place, its remains are shown there by the inhabitants of this nation.

6. Now all the writers of the barbarian histories make mention of this flood, and of this ark among whom is Gerasmus the Chaldean. For when he was describing the circumstances of the flood, he goes on thus: "It is said, there is still suppose to be the true account of that matter. For there is no reason to imagine that men were not taught to read and write soon after they were taught to speak: and perhaps all by the same himself; who, under the Father, was the Creator or Governor of mankind, and who frequently in those early days appeared to them.

6. This Anisjrapor, or place of descent, is the properly rendering of the Armenian name of this very city. It is called in Polycy, Namaz, and by Moses Cheranarma, which signifies the first place of descent, and is a lasting monument of the preservation of Noah and his ark, upon the top of a mountain, at whose foot, as it was built, as the first city or town after the flood. See Antic. B. x. chap. ii. sect. 3. and Moses Cheranarama, p. vii, 78; who also says, p. 111, that another town was rebuilt by tradition to have been called Seres, or the place of disembarkation, on account of the disposition of Xercura, or Xercura, the first town, which was the remains of this ark be still preserved, as the people of the country suppose, I cannot certainly say. None. Therefore now not very long since they have put in the place the doors of the country, but met with too great dangers and difficulties to venture through them.
some part of this ship in Armenia, at the moun- 
tain of the Cordyssian; and that many people carry off pieces of the bitumen, which they take away, and use chiefly as amulets, for the averting of mischiefs."—Hieronymus the Egyptian also, who resided in Tyre, Gerassa, and Masaeus, and a great many more, make mention of the same. Nay, Nicholas of Damascus, in his ninety-sixth book, hath a particular relation about them, where the blood of a "There was a great mountain in Armenia, over Minyas, called Barte, upon which it is reported, that many who fled at the time of the deluge shout out, and that one was drowned in the dark, came on shore upon the top of it; and that the remains of the timber were a great while preserved. This might be the case about whom Moses the legislator of the Jews wrote."

7. But as for Noah, he was afraid, since God had determined to destroy mankind; lest he should drown the earth every year; so he offered burnt offerings; and besought God that nature might hereafter go on in its former orderly course; and that he would not bring on so great a judgment and calamity. For he thought that the destruction might be in danger of destruction; but that, hav- ing now punished the wicked, he would of his goodness spare the remainder, and such as he had good cause to be preserved; lest they in- sult upon a great calamity; for that otherwise these last must be more miserable than the first, and that they must be condemned to a worse condition than the others if all they be suffered to escape entirely; that is, if they be reserved for another deluge, while they must be afflicted with the ter- ror and the sight of the first deluge, and must also be destroyed by a second. He also entreat- ed God to accept of his sacrifice, and to grant, that the earth might never again undergo the like effects of his wrath; that men might be per- mitted to go on cheerfully in cultivating the same; to build cities, and live happily in them; and that they might not be deprived of any of those good things which they enjoyed before the flood; but might attain to the like length of days, and old age, which the ancient people had arrived at before.

8. When Noah had made these supplications, God also commanded him to send forth doves, for the peopling of the earth, that they might not raise seditions among themselves, but might cultivate a great part of the earth, and enjoy its fruits after God's manner. But they were instructed that they did not obey God; for which reason they fell into calamities, and were made sensible, by experience, of what sin they had been guilty. Nevertheless, when they flourished, with a numerous youth, God admonished them again to send out colonies; but they, imagining that the prosperity they enjoyed was not derived from the favour of God, but supposing that their own pow- er was the proper cause of the plentiful condition they were in, did not obey him. Nay, they added to this their disobedience to the Divine will, the suspicion that they were therefore ordered to send out separate colonies, that being divided among them, they might be more easily oppressed.

2. Now when Noah had lived three hundred and fifty years after the flood; and all that time happily, he died, having lived the number of nine hundred and fifty years. But let no one upon comparing the lives of the ancients with our own, and with the lives of the Greeks, and Egyptians, and Assyrians, and Philistians, and Mesopotamians, and Phrygians, and Histians, and many other nations, think that what we have said of them is false; or make the shortness of our lives at present an argument, that neither did they attain to so long a duration of life, because the ancients were admired; and besides, a number of years were added them a longer time of life on account of their virtue, and the good use they made of it in astronomical and geometrical discoveries, which would not have afforded the time for foretelling, [the periods of the stars,) unless they had lived six hundred years; for the great year is comple- ted in that interval. Now I have for witnesses to what I have said, all those that have written antiquities, both among the Greeks and Bar- barians: for even Manetho, who wrote the Epyt- opian history, and Herodotus, and the Chaldean monuments, and Nearchus and Aristides, and besides these Hieronymus the Egyptian, and those that composed the Phoenician history, agree in this respect. And as for the Phoenicians and Histians, and the ancients, and these, Ephorus and Nicomaus relate that the an- cients lived a thousand years. But as to these matters, let every one look upon them as they think fit.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the Tower of Babylon and the Confu- sion of Tongues.

§ 1. Now the sons of Noah were three, Shem, and Japhet, and Ham, born one hundred years before the deluge. These first of all descended from the mountains into the plains, and fixed their habitation there; and persuaded others who were greatly afraid of the lower grounds on account of the flood, and so were very loathy to come down from the higher places, to venture to follow their examples. Now the plain in which they first dwelt, was called Shinar. God also commanded them to send from them to the parts of the earth, to peopling the earth, that they might not raise seditions among themselves, but might cultivate a great part of the earth, and enjoy its fruits after God's manner. But they were instructed that they did not obey God; for which reason they fell into calamities, and were made sensible, by experience, of what sin they had been guilty. Nevertheless, when they flourished, with a numerous youth, God admonished them again to send out colonies; but they, imagining that the prosperity they enjoyed was not derived from the favour of God, but supposing that their own pow- er was the proper cause of the plentiful condition they were in, did not obey him. Nay, they added to this their disobedience to the Divine will, the suspicion that they were therefore ordered to send out separate colonies, that being divided among them, they might be more easily oppressed.

2. Now it was Nimrod who excited them to such an affront and contempt of God. He was the grandson of Ham, the son of Noah, a bold man, and of great strength of hand. He per- suaded them not to ascribe it to God, as if it was through his means they were happy, but to be- lieve that it was their own courage which procured that happiness. He also gradually changed the government into tyranny, seeing no other way of turning men from the fear of God to bring them into a constant dependence on his own power. He also said, "He would be revenged on God, if he should have a mind to drive the world again; for that he might ascend a tower too high for the waters to be able to
reach; and that he would avenge himself on God for destroying their forefathers."

3. Now the multitude were very ready to follow the determination of Nimrod, and to esteem it a piece of cowardice to submit to God; and they built a tower, neither sparing any pains, nor being in any degree negligent about the work. And, by reason of the multitude of hinds employed in it, it grew higher than any one could expect; but the thickness of it was so great, and it was so strongly built, that thereby it might seem solidly upon the view, to be less than it really was. It was built of burned brick, cemented together with mortar made of bitumen, that it might not be liable to admit water. When God saw that they acted so madly, he did not resolve to destroy them utterly, since they were not grown wiser by the destruction of the former sinners, but he caused a tumult among them, by accounting their languages, and causing that through the multitude of those languages, they should not be able to understand one another. The place wherein they built the tower is now called Babel, because of the confusion of that language which they readily understood before; for the Hebrews mean by the word Babel, confusion. The Sibyl also makes mention of this tower. There was also another of the languages which the Hebrews speak she says thus: "When all men were of one language, some of them built a high tower, as if they would thereby ascend up to heaven, but the gods assembled and overthrew the tower called Babel, and gave every one his peculiar language; and for this reason it was that the city was called Babylo.

As to the plains of Shinar, in the country of the Caldeans, the Sibyl mentions it, when she says thus: "Such of the priests as were saved took the sacred vessels of Jupiter Eayahus, and came to Shinar of Babylon."

CHAP. V.

After what manner the Posterity of Noah sent out Colonies, and inhabited the whole Earth.

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

CHAP. VI.

How every nation was denominated from their first Inhabitants.

§ 1. Now they were the grandchild of Noah, in honour of whom names were imposed on the nations by those that first seized upon them. Japhet the son of Noah had seven sons. They inhabited the lands on the sides of the mountains of Taurus and Amanus, they proceeded along Asia, as far as the river Tanais, and along Europe to Cadiz; and settling themselves on the lands they lighted upon, as soon as the nations had inhabited the lands, they called the nations by their own names. For Gomer founded those whom the Greeks now call Gallienses, [Galls,] but were then called Gomese.

rites. Magog founded those that from him were named Magogitides, but who are by the Greeks called Scythians. Now as to Javan and Madani, the sons of Japhet; from Madani the Minoans are descended, that were to God; and they built a tower, neither sparing any pains, nor being in any degree negligent about the work. And, by reason of the multitude of hinds employed in it, it grew higher than any one could expect; but the thickness of it was so great, and it was so strongly built, that thereby it might seem solidly upon the view, to be less than it really was. It was built of burned brick, cemented together with mortar made of bitumen, that it might not be liable to admit water. When God saw that they acted so madly, he did not resolve to destroy them utterly, since they were not grown wiser by the destruction of the former sinners, but he caused a tumult among them, by accounting their languages, and causing that through the multitude of those languages, they should not be able to understand one another. The place wherein they built the tower is now called Babel, because of the confusion of that language which they readily understood before; for the Hebrews mean by the word Babel, confusion. The Sibyl also makes mention of this tower. There was also another of the languages which the Hebrews speak she says thus: "When all men were of one language, some of them built a high tower, as if they would thereby ascend up to heaven, but the gods assembled and overthrew the tower called Babel, and gave every one his peculiar language; and for this reason it was that the city was called Babylo.

As to the plains of Shinar, in the country of the Caldeans, the Sibyl mentions it, when she says thus: "Such of the priests as were saved took the sacred vessels of Jupiter Eayahus, and came to Shinar of Babylon."
the Evileans, who are called Setaii; the Sabataians were all called by the Greeks Ablabaraum; Sabataus settled the Sabatians; and Ragmuas the Ragmanes; and he had two sons, the one of which, Judalas, settled the Sabataius, and became Sabatius; and the other, Baisius, and left them his name; as did Sabas, to the Sa- 
beans. But Nimrod, the son of Chus, stayed and tyrannized at Babylon, as we have already in-
formed you. Now all the children of Mesrain, being eight in number, possessed the country from 
Gaza to Egypt, though it retained the name of 
one only, the Philistians, for the Greeks called 
part of them Physthees, and their father Physthe 
Indium, and Enemim, and Labim, who alone in-
habitcd in Libya, and called the country from 
himself; Nedim and Pethrosim, and Chalstaim, 
and Cephorim, we know nothing of them be-
side their names; for the Ethiopian war, which 
we shall describe hereafter, was the cause that 
these cities were overthrown. The sons of Ca-
nan were these: Sidonius, who also built a city 
of the same name; it is called by the Greeks 
Sidon; Amathus inhabited in Amathine, which is 
even now called Amastie by the inhabitants, 
though they are of the Greek nation, and resided 
from one of his posterity; Arduous possessed the 
Island Aradus; Arucas possessed Arca, which is 
Libanus. But for the seven others [Eueus,] 
Chachi, and Tebe, and Bredane, Nahron, and Harim, 
Deeus, Sineus, Samareus, we have nothing in the 
sacred books but their names, for the Hebrews 
overthrew their cities; and their calamities came 
upon them as the same as it was the case with 
the marriage of the weiss. 
3. Noah, when after the deluge the earth was 
resettled in its former condition, set about its 
recovery; and when he had planted it with vineyards, he then reaped the first fruits of 
gathered the grapes in their season, and the wine 
ready for use, he offered sacrifice, and feast-
ed, and being drunk, he fell asleep, and lay as-
ked in an unseemly manner. When his youngest 
son saw this, he came laughing, and showed him to 
his brethren; but they covered their father's 
 nakedness. And when Noah was made sensible 
of what had been done, he prayed for posterity 
to his other sons; but for Ham, he did not curse 
him, by reason of his nearness in blood, but cur-
sed his posterity. And when the rest of them 
came out of the skins which they had cut, the indigent 
children of Canaan. But as to these matters, we 
shall speak more hereafter. 
4. Shem, the third son of Noah, had two sons, 
who inhabited the land that began at Ephraim, 
and reached to the Indian ocean. For Elam left 
behind him the Elamites, the ancestors of the 
Persians. Ashur lived at the city Nineve; and 
named his subjects Assurians, who became the 
most fortunate nation beyond others. Arphaxad 
named the Arpaxadites, who are now called 
Chaldeans. Aram had the Aramites, which the 
Greeks called Syriana; as Land founded the 
Laodites, which are now called Lydians. Of the 
four sons of Aram, Uz founded Trachonitis and 
Damascus; this country lies between Palestine 
and Cilicia. Uz founded Armenia. And, even 
the Electrians; and Mean the Messenians; it 
now called Charax Spasa. Sala was the son of 
Arphaxad; and his son was Heber, from whom 
they originally called the Jews Hebrews. He-
ber begot Jocana and Phaleg; he was called Pha-

* One observation ought not to be here neglected, with 
regard to that Ethiopic war, which Moses, as general of 
the Egyptians, put an end to, Antioch, B. ii. ch. x. and 
about which we have already written. I say, it was not 
that it was a war of that consequence, as to occasion the remo-
val or destruction of six or seven nations of the posterity 
of Noah; but there was an other reason why Moses 
would not say more, if he had not had ancient records to justify 
those his assertions, though those records be all now lost. 
I part of that country Paul Tisch. Ant. the Tisch. 
ators of Heber, our author Josephus here rightly af-

lege because he was born at the dispensation of the 
nations to this people, both between the people of the 
Hebrews signifies division. Now Joc-
tan, one of the sons of Heber, had these sons, 
Elmodad, Seiph, Asermoth, Jer, Adoram, Al-
zel, Dac, Elho, Emel, and Eliphthah. 
jobab. These inhabited from Cophen, an 
Indian river, and in part of Aria adjoining to it. 
And this shall suffice concerning the sons of 
Shem. 
5. I will now treat of the Hebrews. The son 
of Phaleg, whose father was Heber, was Ragun; 
whose son was Serug, to whom was born Nahor; 
and his son was Terah, of whom was the father of 
Abraham, who accordingly was the tenth from Noah, 
and was born in the two hundred and ninety-second year after the deluge; for Terah begat Abram in 
his seventieth year. Nahor begat Haran, when 
he was one hundred and twenty years old; Na-
hor was born to Serug at his hundred and thirty-
second year; Ragun had Serug at one hundred 
and thirty; at the same time also Phaleg had 
Ragun; Heber begat Phaleg in his hundred and 
thirty-fourth year; he himself being begotten 
by Sala, when he was a hundred and thirty 
years old, when the rite of the Hebreats began; and 
had lived one hundred and thirty and fifty-year of his age. Ar-
phaxad was the son of Shem; and born twelve 
years after the deluge. Now Abram had two 
brothers, and brethren, Nahron, and Harim, of whom 
was Lot, as also Sarai and Milcha his daugh-
ters; and died among the Chaldeans, in a city of 
the Chaldeans called Ur; and his monument is 
showed to this day. Abram married Sarai, Nahor married Milcha, and Abraham married 
Sarai. Now Terah hating Chaldea, on account 
of his mourning for Haran, they all removed to 
Haran of Mesopotamia; and he died there, and 
was buried, when he had lived to be two hundred 
and five years old; for the life of man was already by degrees diminished, and became 
shorter than before, till the birth of Moses; after 
whom the term of human life was one hun-
dred and twenty years, God determining it to 
the length that Moses happened to live. Now Na-
hor had eight sons by Milcha; Uz, and Buz, 
Kemuel, Chedes, Azan, Pheljas, Jadelphia, 
and Bethuel. These were all the genuine sons of 
Nahor; for Teba, and Gaam, and Tachas, and 
Ishmael, were not children of Nahor. Bethuel 
married Rebecca, and a son Laban.

CHAP. VII.

How Abram our Forfather went out of the Land of the Chaldeans, and lived in the Land then called Canaan, and now Jutzas.

§ 1. Now Abram, having no son of his own, adopted Lot, his nephew Haran's son, and his wife Sarai's brother; and he left the land of Chaldea when he was seventy-five years old, and at the command of God went into Canaan, and therein he dwelt himself, and left it to his 

posterity. He was a person of great sagacity, 
both for understanding all things, and persuading 
his hearers, and not mistaken in his opinions, 
for which reason he began to have higher notions 
of virtue than others had, and he desired to 

renew and to change the opinion, all men hap-
pened then to have concerning God; for he was 

firms; and not from Abram the Hebrew, or Passenger 
over Euphrates, as many of the moderors suppose. Thom 
is also called the Father of all the children of Heber, or 
when he was by all the Hebrews called Abram, and before 
over Euphrates, Gen. x. 21, though it must be confessed, 
that, Gen. xiv. 13, where the original says, they told 
Abram the Hebrew, that the king had offered it the Passer-
enger, super; but this is spoken only of Abram himself, 
and who had then lately passed over Euphrates, and is in another 
signification of the word, taken as an appositive 
and not as a proper name.
ANTIOCHIES OF THE JEWS.

was derived from the wrath of God, upon account of his inclinations to abuse the stranger's wife.

He then, out of fear, asked Sarai, who she was? for she was not his wife, but his sister: And when he had found out the truth, he excused himself to Abram, that supposing the woman to be his sister, and not his wife, he set his affection upon her, as desiring her company with him by marrying her; but not as incited by last to abuse her. He also made him a large present in money; and gave him leave to enter into conversation. As he had learned from the Egyptians; from which conversation, his virtue and his reputation became more conspicuous than they had been before.

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

3. As soon as Abram was come back into Canaan, he set the jewels that were upon his wife's neck, and his son's garments, upon account of the tumultuous behaviour of their shepherds, concerning the pastures where in they should feed their flocks. However, he gave them leave to take the choice parts of learning; for that science came from the Chaldæans into Egypt, and from thence to the Greeks also.

CHAP. VIII.

That which when a Famine in Canaan, Abram went thence into Egypt; and after he had continued there twelve, he returned back again.

§ 1. Now after this, when a famine had invaded the land of Canaan, and Abram had discourse with the Egyptians, who were in a flourishing condition, he was disposed to go down to them, both to partake of the plenty they enjoyed, and to become an auditor of their priests, and to know what they said concerning the gods; designing either to follow them, if they had better notions than he, or to convert them into a better way, if his own notions proved the truest. Now seeking to be taken Sarra with him, and was afraid of the madness of the Egyptians with regard to women, lest the king should kill him on occasion of his wife's great beauty, he contrived this device: He pretended to be her brother, and directed her in a dissembling way to pretend the same; for he said it would be for their benefit. Now as soon as they came into Egypt, it happened to Abram as he supposed it would, for the sake of his wife's beauty was greatly talked of; for which reason Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, would not be satisfied with what was given to her, but desired, not only what was given to her, but desired himself, and was preparing to enjoy her; but God put a stop to his unjust inclinations, by sending upon him a distemper, and a sedition against his government in their own persons, to prepare, by how he might be freed from those calamities, they told him, that his miserable condition

CHAP. IX.

The Destruction of the Sodomites by the Assyrian War.

§ 1. At this time, when the Assyrians had the dominion over Asia, the people of Sodom were in a flourishing condition, both as to riches and number of their youth. There were five kings that managed the affairs of this country, Balba, Blass, Seunah, and Sumnor, with the king of Hela, and each king led on his own troops. And the Assyrians made war upon them, and dividing their army into four parts, fought against them. Now every part of the army had its own commander; and when the battle was joined, the Assyrians were conquerors, and imposed a tribute upon the kings of the Sodomites, who submitted to this slavery twelve years, and so long they continued to pay their tribute no the thirteenth year they rebelled, and took the many of the Assyrians came upon them, under their commanders, Arrepheb, Aroth, Chodoromar, and Tidal. These kings had laid waste all Syria, and overthrew the offspring of the giants. And when they were come upon Sodom, they pitched their camp at the vale called the Stoner-pits, for at that time there were pits in that place, but now, upon the destruction of the city of Sodom, there were no longer observed; and, as it is called; however, concerning this lake we shall speak more presently. Now when the So-
born, having taken the form of a man. He was called the Friend of God. His name was Abraham, son of Terah, from Ur of the Chaldees. He was a Hebrew, and he and his descendants were to inherit the land of Canaan.

He lived in a time when the empires of Egypt and Assyria were powerful. The people of Canaan were oppressed by their neighbors and often had to flee to the desert for safety. Abraham and his family were among those who sought refuge in the land of Canaan. They lived in tents and were farmers and shepherds.

One day, the Lord appeared to Abraham and promised him a land where his descendants would be able to live in peace and prosperity. This land was the Promised Land, which is now known as the land of Israel. The Lord also promised that Abraham would be the father of many nations.

Abraham obeyed the Lord and trusted in his promises. He and his family moved to Canaan and lived there for many years. They faced many trials and difficulties, but they remained faithful to the Lord.

Abraham lived a long life and had many children. He died at the age of 175 years, and he and his wife Sarah were buried in the Cave of Machpelah near Hebron. Abraham was a great man of faith, and his descendants continue to look to him as a model of faithfulness and obedience to God.
pleased at them, and determined to punish them for their pride, and to overthrow their city, and to lay waste their country, until there should neither plant nor fruit grow out of it.

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

5. When Abraham heard this, he was grieved for the Sodomites; and he rose up, and besought God for them, and entreated him that he would not destroy the righteous with the wicked. And when God had replied, That there was no good man among the Sodomites, for if there were but ten such men among them, he would not punish any of them for their sins, Abraham held his peace. And the angels came to the city of the Sodomites, and Lot entertained them as an accept-
of a lodging with him; for he was a very gene-
rous and hospitable man, and one that had learned
 to imitate the goodness of Abraham. Now when the angels came to the young men to be of
beautiful countenances, and this to an extraordinary
degree, and that they took up their lodg-
ings with Lot, they resolved themselves to enjoy
these beautiful boys by force and violence; and
when Lot expelled them to sobriety, and not to
off any thing immoest to the strangers, but to
have them to their lodging in his house; and
promised, if their inclinations could not be
persuaded, he would expose his daughters to
their lust, instead of these strangers: neither
was this answer abolished.

4. But God was much displeased at their
improper behaviour, so that he both smote those
men with blindness, and condemned the Sodom-
ites for their great destruction. But Lot, upon
God's informing him of the future destruction of
the Sodomites, went away, taking with him his
wife and daughters, who were two, and still vir-
gins; for those that were betrothed to them were
above the thoughts of going, and deemed that
Lot's words were trudging. God then cast a
thunderbolt upon the city, and set it on fire, with
its inhabitants; and laid waste the country with
the like burning, as I formerly said when I wrote

* These words come from Lot, as they are called, Gen. xix. 13—14, might be so styled because they were be-
 trothed to Lot's daughter, though not yet married to her, see Gen. xiii. sect. 1.

1 Of the War, IV. ch. vii. sect. 4.

This pillar of salt was, we see here, standing in the days of old, and had seen it. That it was stand-
ing there is also attested by Clement of Rome, contemptu-
ary with Josephus: as also that it was so in the next cen-
tury, is attested by Irenæus. I cannot add to the addi-
thens how it came to last so long, with all its members en-
tire. Whether the account that some modern travellers
give of the existence of a pillar, in the case of Ram, is it is still standing, I do not know. Its
remote situation, at the utmost southern point of the sea
of Galilee, in the wild and dangerous deserts of Arabia, in-
makes it, for visitors, from the costliness of their travels,
to accomplish the place; and for common reports of country
greetings, of which there are not very satisfactory. In
the same time, I have no reason to believe of Cleir's dissocia-
tion of hypothetic about this question, which can only be
determined by eye-witnesses. When Christian princes, as
cailed, laid aside their foolish and unchristian wars and
quarrels, and send a body of fit persons to travel over
the country of France, and bring us accurate accounts of all
the events, and procure us copies of all ancient records, at
pressent lost among us, we may hope for full satisfaction
in such inquiries, but hardly before.

§ I see no proper wicked intention in those daughters
of Lot, when in a case which appeared to them of unau-
justifiable or provoking, to make their child to be
child by their father. Without such an unavoidable
cessity, incest is a horrid crime; but whether, in such a
case, they may be excused, is to say of which I know not. As
ning to Josephus, it was any such crime, I am not satisfied.
In the meantime, they making their father drunk, and their
she beneath the pretext of a hospitable relation, that they
despaired of persuading him to an action, which, as it the best, could not but be very suspicious and
casting to so good a man.
propositions to him, and that if he thought fit to continue with him, he should have all that he wanted in abundance; but that if he designed to go away, he should be honourably conducted, and have whatsoever supply he wanted when he reached his father. His saying this, he had taken him with him, and told him, that his presence of kindred to his wife was no lie, because she was his brother's daughter; and that he did not think himself safe in his Izrael, and feared for his protection. His brother's daughter, which he knew, and that he was not the cause of his distress, but was only solicitous for his own safety; he said also, that he was ready to stay with him. Whereupon he pressed him to come with him, and they covenanted to live together without guile, and took an oath at a certain well, called Beth-rachah, which may be interpreted, *The seat of the oath,* and so it is named by the people of the country unto this day.

2. Now in a little time Abraham had a son by Sarah, as God had foretold to him, whom he named Isaac, which signifies Laughter. And indeed they so called him, because Sarah laughed when God said she should bear a son, she not expecting such a thing, as being past the age of childbearing, and the aged of life; and Abraham a hundred; so that this son was born to them both in the last year of each of those decimal numbers. And they circumcised him upon the eighth day, and from that time the Jews continue the custom of circumcising their sons within that number of days. But as for the Arameans, they circumcise after the thirteenth year, 1. cause having the mind of their nation, who was born to Abraham of the concubine, was circumcised at that age; concerning whom I will presently give a particular account with great exactness.

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

4. When the lad was grown up, he married a wife, by birth an Egyptian, from whence the mother was herself derived originally. Of this wife were born to Isaac twelve sons, Nebaioth, Kedar, Abdeel, Mador, Medan, Midian, Ishmael, Shalem, and Socon, Choulah, Therman, Jetur, Naspus, Kadmus. These inhabited all the country from Euphrates to the Red Sea, and called it Natabene. They were an Arabian nation, and took their name from these, both because of their own virtue and because of the dignity of Abraham their father.

**CHAP. XIII.**

**Concerning Isaac, the legitimate Son of Abraham.**

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

2. Now Abraham thought that it was not right to disobey God in any thing, but that he was obliged to serve him in every circumstance of life; since all other was of no concern to him, except by his providence and the kindness he bestowed on them. Accordingly he concealed this command of God, and his own intentions about the son, daughter of his old age, and his child according to his mother, and according to his own will in every one of his servants; otherwise he should have been hindered from his obedience to God; and he took Isaac, together with two of his servants, and laying what things were necessary for a sacrifice upon an ass, he went away to the mountain. Now the two servants went along with him two days; but on the third day, as soon as he saw the mountain, he left those servants that were with him till then, in the plain, and having his son alone with him he came to the mountain. It was that mountain upon which King David afterwards built the temple. And they had brought with them every thing necessary of War, b. i. chap. 2. And Aristobulus is styled a very little child at 16 years of age, Antiqu. b. xvii. chap. ii. sect. 8, 9. Domitian is also called by him a very young child, when he was six years old, according to a frequent expression of that age, 18 years of age, Of the War, b. vii. chap. iv. sect. 2. Samson's wife, and Ruth, when they were widows, are called a very young woman, Antiqu. b. vii. chap. 4, and the same is 1. as 2. both common. Not is the other expression of divine angel, most properly, and before also, of any other signification.

* It is well worth observation, that Josephus here calls that principal angel who appeared to Abraham, and foretold the birth of Isaac, directly God; which language of Josephus, and other authors, is not sufficient, because it leaves the impression of his, that Jesus was a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, Antiqu. B. xvii. chap. iii. sect. 3, and of the divine providence of the angels, called the wise men, Antiqu. b. xvi. chap. 4, 5, and of the writings of the philosophers, in the same four sentences. Now, that both here, and Heb. xi. 17, Isaac is called Abraham's onlybegotten son, though he at the same time had another son, is not supported by any of the true meaning, by rendering the text the beloved son.

* Here is a plain error in the copies, which say, that he was twenty years old. King David afterwards speaks of Isaac, as one that was eighteen years old, and concerning him, when he was three years old, and says, so that the 8. was 25. See the note on Antiqu. b. xvi. chap. ii. sect. 2. 9. In a very little child at 16 years of age, 18

18
sary for a sacrifice, excepting the annual that was called "Cathy". Now Isaac was twenty-five years old. And as he was building the altar, he asked his father, "What he was about to offer, since there was no animal there for an offering." "The Lord will provide Himself a lamb," said he. God would provide himself an oblation, he being able to make a plentiful provision for men out of what they have not, and to deprive others of what they have when they are in need; God is not so trusted thereon; that, therefore, if God pleased to be present and propitious at this sacrifice, he would provide himself an oblation.

So the altar was prepared, and Abraham laid on the wood, and all things were entirely ready, he said to his son, "O son, I poured out a vast number of prayers that I might have thee for my son; when thou wast come into the world, there was nothing that would contribute to thy support, for which I was not greatly solicitous, nor any thing wherein I thought myself happier than to see thee grown up to man's estate, and that I might leave thee at my death the successor to my dominion; but since it was by God's will that I became thy father, and it is now his will that I relinquish face, bear this consecration to God with a gen- erous mind; for I resign thee up to God, who thought of which to require of thee or of none other testimony on behal of himself on account of thy favours he both conferred on me, in being to me a supporter and defender. Accordingly thou, my son, wilt now die, not in any continuance of going out of the world, but sent to God the Father of all men beforehand, by thy own father, in the nature of a sacrifice. I suppose he thinks thee worthy to get clear of this world, neither by a disease, neither by war, nor by any other severe way, by which death usually comes upon men, but so that he will receive thy soul with prayers and holy offices of religion, and will place thee near to himself, and thou wilt there be to me a succourer, a supporter in my old age; on which account I principally brought thee up, and thou wilt thereby procure me God and my comforter instead of thyself." 4.

Now Isaac was of such a generous disposition as became the son of such a father, and was pleased with this discourse; and said, "That he was not worthy to be born at first, if he should reject the determination of God and of his father, and should not resign himself up readily to both these things; it would have been unjust of me, if he had not obeyed, even if his father alone had so resolved." So he went immediately to the altar to be sacrificed. And the deed had been accomplished, and God had spared it; for he called loudly to Abraham by his name, and forbade him to slay his son, and said, "I was not out of a desire of human blood that he was commanded to slay his son, nor was he willing that he should be taken away from him when he had made his father, but to try the temper of his mind, whether he would be obedient to such a command. Since, therefore, he was satisfied as to that, his alacrity, his surprising readiness he showed in this his piety, he was delighted in having bestowed such blessings upon him; and that he would not be wasting in all sorts of concern about him, and in seeking of other children upon him; and that his son should live to a very great age; that he should live a happy life, and beget a large principality to his children, who should be who would he would be doing all that his family should increase into many nations; and that those patriarchs should leave behind them an everlasting name; that they should obtain the possession of the land of Canaan, and be remarkable to all men. When God had said this, he produced to them a ram, which did not appear before, for the sacrifice. So Abraham and Isaac, receiving each such unexpectedly, and having obtained the promises of such great blessings, embraced one another; and when they had sacrificed, they returned to Sarah, and lived happily together, God affording them his assistance in all things they desired.

CHAP. XIV.

Concerning Sarah, Abraham's Wife, and how she ended her days.

§ 1. Now Sarah died a little while after having lived one hundred and twenty-seven years. They buried her in Hebron; the Canaan its publicly allowing them a burying-place: for which they both of them testified to GOD. hundred shekels of Ephron, an inhabitant of Hebron. And both Abraham and his descendant built themselves sepulchres in that place.

CHAP. XV.

How the Nation of the Troglopedyes were derived from Abraham by Keturah.

§ 1. ABRAHAM, after this, married Keturah, by whom six sons were born to him, men of courage and of sagacious minds: Zambron, and Jazar, and Madan, and Madian, and Johabak, and Sos. Now the sons of Sos were, Sabaht, and Dadan. The sons of Dadan were, Latusim, and Assur, and Luom. The sons of Madian were, Ephron, and Ophren, and Amoch, and Ebin, and Elda. Now for all these sons and grandsons Abraham contrived to settle them in colonies; and they took possession of Troglopedyes, and the country of Arothe the Happy, as far as it reaches to the Red Sea. It is related of this Ophren, that he made war against Libya, and took it, and that his grandchildren, when they were victorious, inhabited it. And indeed Alexander Polyhistor gives his attestation to what I here say, who speaks thus: "Creode- mus the prophet, who was also called Malouchus, who wrote a history of the Jews, in agreement with the history of Moses, their legislator, relates, that there were many sons born to Abraham by Keturah: nay, he names three of them, Apher, and Surim, and Japhran. That from Surim was the land of Assyria denominated; and that from the other two, Apher and Japhran, the country of Africa took its name, because these men were auxiliaries to Hercules, when he fought against Libya and Anteus; and that Hercules married Apher's daughter, and of her he begat a son, Didorous; and that Sophon was his son effect. St. Paul's exposition in the Testament of Reshaba, sect. 6, in Antient. Rec. part I. p. 360, who charges his sons, "To worship the God of Judah, who should conduct them in visible and invisible wars; and should be as an eternal King." Nor is that observation of a learned for- migner, "Your intrepid assistance to be despised, when you notice that as need be plural may signify posteriority, so need in the singular may signify posteriority or a simple person; and that in this promise of all nations hereof is included in the seed of Abraham, or Isaac, or Jacob, &c. it is always used in the singular, so that as Eishel shall be used in the same, is sometimes, as it were, paraphrase by the son of Abraham, the son of David, &c. which is capable of no such ambiguity.
safely than to such as she had showed herself to be; and that he believed he might guess at the humanity of her mother and brother, that they would not be displeased from the virtue she showed in her, for he would not be burdensome, but would pay the hire for his entertainment, and spend his own money. To which she replied, that he guessed right as to the humanity of her parents; but complained, that he should think them so parsimonious as to take money; for that he should have had the free use. But as she said, she would first inform her brother Laban, and, if he gave her leave, she would conduct him in.

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

BOOK I.—CHAP. XVI. XVII. XVIII.

How Isaac took Rebekah to wife.

1. Now when Abraham, the father of Isaac, had resolved to take Rebekah, who was grand-daughter to his brother Nahor, for a wife to his son Isaac, who was then about forty years old, he sent the nearest of his servants, who had been under his eyes all his life, to get him, and obliged him to give him the strongest assurances of his fidelity. Which assurances were given after the manner following: They put each other's hands under each other's thighs, then they called upon God as the witness of what was to be done. He also sent such presents to those that were there, as were in esteem, on account that they either rarely or never had been in that country. This servant got thither not under a considerable time; for it requires much time to pass through Mesopotamia, in which it is tedious travelling, both in winter for the depth of the clay, and in summer for want of water; and besides this, for the robberies there committed, which we are not to avoid by travellers but by caution. And when the servant was returned, he brought a considerable number of maidens going to the water; because therefore he prayed to God, that Rebekah might be found among them, on whose account he desired that Abraham sent him as his servant to espouse to his son, in case his will were that this marriage should be consummated; and that she might be made known to him by this sign, that whereas others denied him water to drink, she might give it him.

2. With this intention he went to the well, and desired the maidens to give him some water to drink; but while the others refused, on pretence that they wanted it all at home, and could spare none for him, one only of the company relented them for their peevish behaviour towards the stranger; and said, What is there that you will ever communicate to any body, who have not so much as given the man some water? She then offered him water in an obliging manner. And now he began to hope that his grand affair would succeed; but desiring still to know the truth, he commended her for her generosity and good nature, that she did not scruple to give a sufficiency of water to those that wanted it, though it cost her some pains to draw it; and asked who were her parents, and wished them joy of such a daughter, and prayed them to be good to her; and he, to their satisfaction, into the family of an agreeable and hospitable husband, and bring him legitimate children. Nor did she disdain to satisfy his inquiries, but told him her family. They, says she, call me Rebekah; my father was Bethuel, but he is dead; and Laban is my brother, and, together with my mother, takes care of all our family affairs, and is the guardian of my virginity. When the servant heard this, he was very glad at what had happened, and at what was told him, as perceiving that God had thus planned his journey; and producing his bracelets and some other ornaments, which it was esteemed decent for virgins to wear, he gave them to the damsel, by way of acknowledgment, as a reward for her kindness in giving him water to drink; saying, it was but just that she should have them, because she was so much more obliging than any of the rest. He accordingly came and lodged with them, since the approach of the night gave him no time to proceed farther. And producing his precious ornaments for women, he said, he desired to trust them to none more

* The birth of Jacob and Esau is here said to be after Sarah's death; it should have been after Sarah's death. The order of the narrative in Genesis is not always exactly according to the order of time, seems to have lost Josephus into it, as Dr. Bernard observes here.
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ROUGHNESS, for the Hebrews call such a hairy roughness (Esau, or Seir); but Jacob, the younger, was best beloved by his mother.

3. Now Isaac was old and he called to his son, and told him in his bed, and said, Arise, go into the land, Isaac resolved to go into Egypt, the land there being good; but he went to Gerar, as God commanded him. Here Abimelech the king received him, because he was a God-fearing man, and had been his friend. And as in the beginning he treated him exceeding kindly, so he was hindered from continuing in the same disposition to the end, or his envy at him; for when he saw that God was with Isaac, and took such great care of him, he drove him away from him. But Isaac, when he saw how envy had changed the temper of Abimelech, retired to a place called The Valley of Rephaim, not far from Gerar; and as he was digging a well, the shepherds fell upon him, and began to fight, in order to hinder the work, and because he did not desire to contend, the shepherds seemed to get the better of him, so he still retired, and dug another well; and when certain other shepherds of Abimelech's began to offer him violence, he left that also, and still retired, thus purchasing security to himself by a rational and prudent conduct. At length the king gave him leave to dig a well without disturbance. He was named it The Valley of Rephaim, which denotes a far greater space; but of the former wells, one was called Eacon, which denotes strife, the other Sitimana, which name signifies emulosity.

4. Now that Isaac's affairs increased, and his power was in a flourishing condition; and this from his great riches. But Abimelech thinking Isaac thrice in opposition to him, while their dispute was going on, there was a dispute between them, and he saw that his father had formerly offered him; he therefore renewed his friendship with him, and brought with him Phoebe, one of his generals. And when he had obtained every thing he desired, by reason of Isaac's good nature, who preferred the earlier friendship Abimelech had shown to himself and his father to his later wrath against him, he returned home.

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

5. But when he was old, and could not see at all, he lived alone in his tent, and the men of the land, besides blindness, and the disorder of his eyes, his very old age hindered him from his worship of God [by sacrifice]; he bid him therefore to go out a hunting, and came with venison as he could, to prepare him a supper, that after this he might make supplication to God, to be to him a supporter and an assister during the whole of his life; saying, that it was uncertain when he should die, and that he was desirous, by prayers for him, to procure beforehand God to be merciful to him.

6. Accordingly Esau went out a hunting. But Rebekah thinking it proper to have the supplication made for obtaining the favour of God to Jacob, and that without the consent of Isaac, bid him kill him, and go to prepare a supper for Jacob, and so obeyed, according to the prayer of his mother, according to all her instructions. Now when the supper was got ready, he took a goat's skin, and put it about his arm, that he might, by his father, be believed to Esau; for they were twins, and in all things else alike, differed only in this thing. This was done out of his father's desire that he should have suplications, he should be caught in his evil practice, and lest he should, on the contrary, provoke his father to curse him. So he brought in of his own motion his hand to his father's; and he said, "O Lord of all ages, and Creator of all substance; for it was thou that didst propose to my father great plenty of good things, and hast vouchsafed to bestow on me what I have; and hast promised to my posterity to be their kind supporter, and to bestow on them still greater blessings; do thou therefore confirm these thy promises, and do not overlook me because of my present weak condition, on account of which I most earnestly pray to thee. Be gracious to this my hand, the hand of my father, from every thing that is evil. Give him a happy life, and the possession of as many good things as thy power is able to bestow. Make him terri ble to his foes, and worthy of all good and honourable and beloved among his friends."...

7. Thus did Isaac pray to God, thinking his prayers had been made for Esau. He had but just finished them, when Esau came in from hunting. And when Isaac perceived his mistake, he was silent; but Esau required that he forrestling things to befall to the posterity of Jacob and Esau, in future ages, was for certain prepared: and according to what Rebekah knew to be the purpose of God, when he answered her inquiry, "What thy hand shall find, to that let his brother's hand be as far from that thing that is evil. Give him a happy life, and the possession of as many good things as thy power is able to bestow. Make him terrible to his foes, and worthy of all good and honourable and beloved among his friends."...

* For Seir in Josephus, the coherence requires that we read Esau or Seir, which signify the same thing.

1. This supper of anonyx musel, as we call it, Gen. xxvi. 23. 4. That he was to be the festival or a sacrifice, and upon the prayers that were frequent at sacrifices, Isaac expected, was, as then usual in such cases, in his own person, and as a benevolent sacrifice, in order to the solemn blessing of his son there present, and his forswearing his future behaviour and fortunes. When Jacob had taken him away from him, he had unwaveringly adhered to the determination, out of his fondness for his elder and worse son, Esau, to the damage of his younger and better son, Jacob; as Josephus elsewhere speaks, Ant. vii. 1. sect. 3. I cannot certainly say. If so, this might tempt Rebekah to contrive, and Jacob to put this impost up, upon him. He had a disposition that it was not in his heart, not Rebekah, who inquired of God at first, and received the forementioned oracle, sect. 1., which, if it be the true reading, renders Josephus's procedure more inexplicable. Or it was probably any thing else that so much encouraged Esau formerly to marry two Canaanitish wives, without his parent's consent, as Isaac's unhappy fondness for him.
might be made partner of the like blessing from his father that his brother had, - a book of bad to suffer any more, 26 but all his prayers had been spent upon Jacob: so Esau lamented the mistake. However, his father, being grieved at his weeping, said, True, but he excelled in the strength of his body, and in all that sort of work; and should obtain glory for ever on those accounts, he and his posterity after him; but still shall he have it known to any of them; and that his daughter fed her father's flock with them; and that indeed they wondered that she was not yet come: for by her means thou mightest learn to know her husband; and how thou desir-est to know about that family. While they were saying this the damsel came, and the other shep-herds that came down along with her. Then they showed her Jacob, and told her that he was a stranger, who came to inquire about her father's affairs. But she, as pleased, after the custom of children, with Jacob's coming, asked him who he was? and whence he came to them? and what it was he lacked that he came thither? She also wished it might be in their power to supply the wants he came about.

§ 5. But Jacob was quite overcome, not so much by their kindred, nor by that affectation which might arise thence, as by his love to the damsel, and his surprise at her beauty, which was so flourishing and so few of the women of the land were in like wise. He said then, "There is a relish between these and me, elder than either thy or my birth, if thou be the daughter of Leban; for Abraham was the son of Terah, we both of us are of the same stock, and Nahor, the last of whom, Nahor, Bethuel thy grandfather was the son. Isaac my father was the son of Abraham and of Sarah, who was the daughter of Nahor. But thou art a sister of the sons of the latter part of kindred which we bear to one another, for my mother Rebekah was sister to La- ban thy father, both by the same mother and father; I therefore and thou art cousin germain. And I am now come to salute you, and to renew that affinity which is proper between us." Upon this the damsel, at the mention of Rebekah, as usually happens to young persons, wept, and that out of the kindness she had for her father, and embraced Jacob, she having learned an account of Rebekah from her father, and knew that her par-ents loved to hear her. And as God had saluted him, she said, that "He brought the most desirable and greatest pleasure to her father, with all their family, who was always men-tioning his mother, and the days of her age, and father, and her alone; and that this will make thee equal in his eyes to any advantageous circumstances whatsoever." Then she bid him go to her father and follow her while she conducted him to him, and not to deprive him of such a pleasure by stay-ing any longer away from him.

§ 6. When she had said thus, she brought him to La-ban, and being owned by his uncle, he was secure himself as being among his friends; and he brought a great deal of pleasure to them by his unexpected coming. But a little while after ward La ban told him, that he could not express in words the joy he had at his coming; but still, he inquired of him the occasion of his coming, and why he left his aged father and mother, when they wanted to be taken care of by him in that he would afford him all the assistance he wanted. Then Jacob gave him an account of the whole occasion of his journey, and told him, that Isaac had told him that they were put up for him, sought to kill him, as depriv-ed of the kingdom" which was to be given him

* By this "deprivation of the kingdom that was to be given Esau of God," as the southern, it seems thought, that a "kingdom to be derived from God,"
of God, and of the blessings for which their father prayed: and that this was the occasion of his coming hither, as his mother had commanded him. And one better known to him, but less beloved, was over to another; but our mother esteemeth an alliance with your family more than she does one with the families of the country; so I look upon yourself and your father and the importunity of my travels, and think myself safe in my present circumstances."

7. Now Laban promised to treat him with great humanity, both on account of his ancestors and the esteem of his mother, towards whom, he said, he would show his kindness, even though she were absent, by taking care of him; for he assured him he would make him the head shepherd of his flock, and gave him authority sufficient for that purpose; and when he should have a mind to return to his parents, he would send him back with presents, and this in as honourable a manner as the nearness of their relation should require. This Jacob heard gladly; and said he would willingly, and with pleasure, undergo any sort of pains while he tarried with him, but desired Rachel to wife, as the reward of those pains, who was not only on other accounts esteemed by him, but also because she was the means of his coming to him; for he said he had been deceived by the desire of the damsel to make this proposal. Laban was well pleased with this agreement, and consented to give the damsel to him, as not desirous to meet with any better woman. He brought the damsel and the damsel's servant, and Rachel saw them, that she desired that she should give her the apples, for she longed to eat them, but when she refused, and bid her be content that she should be left to living with her husband, he was thought to have had from her husband; Rachel, in order to ingratiate her sister's anger, said, she would yield her husband to her; and she should receive her under that name. And when received into favour, and Jacob slept with her by the favour of Rachel. She bare then these sons, Leah, denoting one born by hire; and Zebulun, one born as a pledge of benevolence towards her, and a daughter Dinah. After some time Rachel had a son, named Joseph, which signified there should be another to him.

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

9. But Laban, after one day's time, being acquainted with Jacob's and his daughters' depart-
SOOK I—CHAP. XX.

11. But then, as to the sacred images, he bid him search for them; and when Laban accepted of the offer, Rachel being informed of it, put forth those images that enclosed him, and ran away with them. She rode, and sat upon it; and said, that her natural purgation hindered her rising up; so Laban left off searching any farther, not supposing that his daughter, his precious daughter, had any other approach to those images. So he made a league with Jacob, and bound it by oaths, that he would not bear him any malice on account of what had happened; and also a league to account for his daughter's intention of love to Laban's daughters. And these leagues they confirmed with oaths also, which they made upon certain mountains, whereas they erected a pillar, in the form of an altar wherein that hill is called Gilgoad; and from thence they call that land the land of Gilgoad at this day. Now when they had finished after the making of the league, Laban returned home.

CHAP. XX.

Concerning the Meeting of Jacob and Esau.

§ 1. Now as Jacob was proceeding on his journey to the land of Canaan, angels appeared to him, and instructed him, and taught him by prophecy concerning the future conditions; and that place he named The Camp of God. And being desirous of knowing what his brother's intentions were to him, he sent messengers to give him an account of every thing, as being afraid, on account of the enmities between them. He charged those that were sent to say to Esau, that "Jacob had thought it wrong to live together with him while he was an anger against him, and so had gone out of the country; and that he now, thinking the length of time of his absence must have made up their differences, was returning; that he brought with him his wives and his children, with what possessions he had gotten; and delivered himself, with what was most dear to him, into his hands, and should think it his greatest happiness to partake, together with his brother, of what God had bestowed on him." So these messengers told him this message. Upon which Esau was very glad, and met his brother an hundred men. And Jacob, when he heard that he was coming to meet him with such a number of men, was greatly afraid; however, he committed his hope to God; and considering his present circumstances, he might preserve himself and those that were with him, and overcome his enemies if they attacked him injuriously. He therefore distributed his own means to some, and sent on the rest, and ordered to come close behind, so that if the first were overpowered, when his brother attacked them, they might have those that followed as a refuge to fly unto. And when he had put his company into this order, he sent some of them to carry presents to his brother. The presents were made up of cattle, and a great number of four-footed beasts, of many kinds, such as would be very acceptable to those that received them, on account of their rarity. Those who were sent went at a certain time of day, and it was ordered that by following thick one after another, they might appear to be more numerous, that Esau might remit of his anger, on account of these presents, if he were still in passion. Instructions were also given to those that were sent to speak gently to him.

2. When Jacob had made these appointments all the day, and night came on, he moved on with his company; and as they were gone over a certain river called Jaboc, Jacob was left behind; and meeting with an angel, he wrestled with him, the angel being constrained the longer to resist, because he thought such an increase was not to be expected; but when it appeared to be fact, he deceived him.
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CHAPTER XXI.

Concerning the Violation of Diana's Chastity.

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

2. Now when Jacob was astonished at the greatness of this act, and was severely blaming his sons for it, God stood by him, and bid him be of good courage; but to purify his tents, and to offer those sacrifices which he had vowed to offer when he went first into Mesopotamia, and saw his vision. As he was therefore purifying his followers, he lighted upon the gods of Laban, (for Jacob had been brought up at Laban's house by his mother Rebekah, and he hid them in the earth, under an oak in Shechem. And departing thence, he offered sacrifice at Bethel, the place where he saw his dream, where with the children of the men and of the women; and desired, when he had understood all he wanted to know about them, that he would go along with him to their father; but Jacob pretending that the cattle were weary, Esau returned to Seir, for there was his place of habitation, having lamed the place roughness, from his own hairy roughness.

3. And when he was gone thence, and was come over against Ephraim, he there buried Rachel, who died in childbirth. She was the only one of Jacob's kindred that had not the honour of burial at Hebron. And when he had mourned for her a great while, he called the son that was born of her Benjamin, because of the sorrow the mother had with him. These are all the children of Jacob, twelve males, and one female. Of them eight were legitimate, viz. six of Lea, and two of Rachel, and four were of the handmaids, two of each; all whose names have been set down already.

CHAPTER XXII.

How Isaac died, and was buried in Hebron.

§ 1. From thence Jacob came to Hebron, a city situate among the Canaanites; and there it was Isaac lived; and so they lived together for a while; which last made Isaac very glad of his other alive. Isaac also died not long after the coming of his son, and was buried by his sons, with his wife, in Hebron, where they had a monument belonging to them in their fathers' time. Now Isaac was a man who was beloved of God, and was vouchsafed great instances of providence by God, after Abraham his father, and lived to be exceeding old; for when he had lived virtuously one hundred and eighty-five years, he then died.

Gen. xlv. 90, I suspect Josephus's present copies to be here imperfect; and suppose, that in correspondence to other copies, he wrote, that Rachel called her son's name Remem, but his father called him Benjamin, Gen. xxxv. 18. As for Benjamin, as commonly explained, the son of the right hand, it makes no sense at all, and seems to be a gross mistake, and not. The Samaritans by Simeon and Levi, see Authent. Rec, part. 1. p. 306, 418, 436. But why Josephus has omitted the circumcision of those Shechemites, on occasion of the death; and of Jacob's great grief, as in the Testament of Levi, sect. 5, I cannot tell.

*Simeon Remem signifies the son of my servours and Benjamin, the son of thy son, or one born in the father's old age,
CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY YEARS—FROM THE DEATH OF ISAAC TO THE EXODUS OUT OF EGYPT.

BOOK II.—CHAP. 1. II.

CHAP. I.

Here Esau and Jacob, the Sons of Isaac, divided their inheritances respectively. Nor did they retain what they had before: for Esau departed from the city of Hebron, and left it to his brother, and dwelt in Seir, and ruled over Idumea.

He called the country by that name from himself, for he was named Adom; which appellation he got on the following occasion: One day returning from the toil of hunting very hungry, (it was then a child in age,) he lighted on his brother when he was getting ready lentile-pottage for his dinner, which was of a very red colour; on which account he the more earnestly longed for it, and desired him to give some of it to eat. But he made advantage of his brother’s hunger, and forced him to resign it up to him his birthright, and he, being pinched with famine, resigned it up to him, under an oath. Whence it came, that on account of the redness of this pottage, he was, in way of jest, by his contemporaries called Adom, for the Hebrews call that the sun which is of the name given to this country; but the Greeks gave it a more agreeable pronunciation, and named it Idumea.

3. And this became the father of five sons; of whom Jaa, and Amaloses, and Coreus, were by one wife, whose name was Aibinna; but of the rest, Aliaphaz was born to him by Ada, and Raguel to Jasemath; and these were the sons of Esau. Aliaphaz had five legitimate sons, Themian, Omer, Saphus, Gotham, and Kanaz; for Amalek was not legitimate, but by a concubine, whose name was Thamana. These dwelt in that part of Idumea which was called Gebalitis, and that denominated from Amalek, Amalolokia; for Idumea was a large country, and did then preserve the name of the whole, and in some several parts it kept the names of its peculiar inhabitants.

CHAP. II.

Here Joseph, the youngest of Jacob’s Sons, was envied by his Brethren, when certain Dreams had foreshadowed his Future Happiness.

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

2. When they were in the middle of harvest, and Joseph was sent by his father with his brethren to gather the fruits of the earth, he saw a vision in a dream, but greatly exceeding the accustomed appearances that come when we are asleep; which, when he was got up, he told his brethren, that they might judge what it portended. He said, "I saw the last night that his wheat sheaf stood still in the place where he set it, but that his sheaves ran to bow down to it, as servants he bowed down to their masters." But the son as they perceived the vision foretold that he should obtain power and great wealth, and that his power should be in opposition to them; they gave no interpretation of it to Joseph, as if the dream were not by them understood; but they prayed that no part of what they suspected to be its meaning might come to pass; and they bore a still greater hatred to him on that account.

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

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

How Joseph was sold by his Brethren into Egypt, by Reason of their Hatred to him; and how he there grew famous and illustrious, and had his Brethren under his Power.

§ 1. Now these brethren rejoiced as soon as they saw their brother coming to them, not indeed at the presence of a near relation, or as at the presence of one sent by their father, but as at the presence of an enemy, and one that Divine providence was delivered into their hands, and they already resolved to kill him, and not let slip the opportunity that lay before them. But when Reuben, the eldest of them, saw them thus disposed, and that they had agreed together to execute their purpose, he tried to restrain them, showing them the heinous enterprise they were going about, and the horrid nature of it; that this action would appear wicked in the sight of God, and impious before men, even though they should kill one not related to them, but much more flagitious and detestable to attempt to have slain their brother; by which act the father must be treated unjustly in the son’s slaughter, and the mother also in perplexity while she lamented that her son is taken away, from her, and his name in a natural way sorer. So he entreated them to have a regard to their own consciences, and wisely to consider what mischief would betide them upon the death of their child, and on their younger brother; that they would also fear God, who was already both a spectator and a witness of the designs they had against their brother; that he would by these proceedings reprove them from this act, and yielded to repentance and amendment; but in case they proceeded to do the fact, all sorts of punishments would overtake them from God for this monstrous and unnatural action, and they polluted his provisions, which was every where present, and which did not overlook what was done, either in deserts or in cities; for whereas ever a man is, there ought he to suppose that God is also. He told them farther, that their consciences would be their enemies, if they attempted to go through so wicked an enterprise, which they can never avoid, whether it be a good conscience, or whether it be such a one as they will have within them when once they have killed their brother. He also added this besides to what he had before, that it is not a right thing to kill a brother, though he had injured them; that it is a good thing to forgo the actions of such near friends, even in things wherein they might seem to have right; and that if they afterwards kill Joseph, who had been guilty of nothing that was ill towards them, in whose case the injustice of his small age should rather procure him mercy, and move them to unite together in the care of his preservation. That the cause of killing him made the act itself much worse, while they determined to take him off out of entry at his future prosperity; an equal share of which they would naturally partake while he enjoyed it, since they were to him not strangers, but the nearest relations, for they might reckon upon what God did, but if they acted upon Joseph as their own, and that it was fit for them to believe that the anger of God would for this cause be more severe upon them, if they slew him who was judged by God to be worthy of that prosperity which was to be his own, and which was even to the ordering them, they made it impossible for God to bestow it upon him.

2. Reuben said these, and many other things,

and used entreaties to them, and thereby endeavored to divert them from the murder of their brother. But when he saw that his discourse moved not one of them at all, and that they were determined not only to harm him, but to do the fact, he advised them to alleviate the wickedness they were going about in the manner of taking Joseph off, for as he had expected, the anger of God was certain to come upon them, they resolved to avenge themselves, to be dissembled from doing it; so, since the sentence for killing their brother had prevailed, he said that they would not bow ever to be so greatly guilty, if they would be persuaded to follow his present advice, which would include what they were so eager about, but was not so very bad, but in the distress they were in, of a light nature. He begged of them therefore not to kill their brother with their own hands, but to cast him into the pit that was hard by, and so to let him die; by which they would gain so much that they would not defile their own hands with his blood. To this the young men readily agreed so Reuben took the lead, and tied him with a cord, and let him down gently into the pit, for it had been water before it; and, when he had done this, went his way to seek for such pasturage as was fit for feeding their flocks.

3. But Judas, being one of Jacob’s sons also, seeing the slumbering Joseph, he took a bunch of his couch, carrying spices and Syrian wares out of the land of Gilead to the Egyptians, after Reuben was gone, advised his brethren to draw Joseph out of the pit, and told them, if they should die among strangers a great way off, they should be freed from this barbarous action. This, therefore, was resolved on; so they drew Joseph out, and laid him on his bed to the young man that had charge of him; and the young man gave him the coats which he had worn; and Jerusalem, the chief of the young men, gave him his coat twenty pounds. He was now seven teen years old. But Reuben, coming in the night time to the pit, resolved to save Joseph, without taking the privy consultation of his brethren, while he was calling to him he made no answer, he was afraid that they had destroyed him after he was gone; of which he complained to his brethren; but when they told him what they had done, Reuben left off his mourning.

4. When Joseph’s brethren had done this to him, they considered what they should do to escape the suprises of their father. Now they had taken away from Joseph the coat which he had on when he came to them, at the time they let him down into the pit; so they thought proper to make as though they had done it out of Joseph’s blood, and then to carry it and show it to their father, that he might believe he was destroyed by wild beasts. And when they had so done, they came to the old man, and said, Joseph was had happened to his son had already come to his knowledge. Then they said that they had not seen Joseph, nor knew what mishap he had fallen him, but that they had found his coat bloody and torn to pieces, whence they had a suspicion that he had fallen among wild beasts, and so perished, if that was the cost he had paid when he came from home. Now Jacob had before some better hopes that his son was only made a captive; but now he laid aside that notion, and supposed that this coat was an evident argument that he was dead, for he well remembered that he had had on when he sent him to his brethren; so he heretofore lamented the lad as now dead, and as if he had been the father of so much more than one, without taking any comfort in the rest. But he was also afflicted with his misfortune before he met with Joseph’s brethren, when he also conjectured that Joseph was destroyed by wild beasts. He sat down also clothed that for told it, as the interpretation of that dream done also in all our copies, Gen. xxvii. 18. 1

1 The Expedition had twenty pieces of gold; see the Testament of God, 30; the Hebr. and Samaritan, 50, of all verse; and the Vulgate, Latin, 50. What was the true number and piece men cannot therefore now be known.
in spangled dress, and in heavy mourning, inasmuch that he found no ease when his sons comforted him, neither did his pains remit by length of time.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the signal chastity of Joseph.

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

2. For when his master's wife was fallen in love with him, both on account of his beauty of body and his desertions in other affairs, and supposed, that if she should make it known to him, she should easily persuade him to come and lie with her, and that he would look on it as an argument that her husband feared him, and would not treat him, as regarding that state of slavery he was in, and not his moral character, which continued after his condition was changed. So she made known her naughty inclinations, and desired him to speak to her about lying with her. However, he rejected her entreaties, not thinking it agreeable to religion to yield so far to her as to do what would add to the injuries she had already done him, and purchased him, and had vouchsafed him so great honours. He, on the contrary, exhorted her to govern that passion, and laid before her the impossibility of her obtaining the result which she thought might be conquered, if she had no hope of succeeding; and he said, that as to himself, he would endure any thing whatever before he would be persuaded to it; for although it was fit for a slave, as he was, to do nothing contrary to his mistress, he might well be excused in a case where the contradiction was so much of course, that he was not even against the conduct of Joseph's, when she did not expect it, made her still more violent in her love to him; and she was sorely beset with this naughty passion, so she resolved to try to move him by an aveunt attempt.

3. When therefore there was a public festival coming on, in which it was the custom for women to come to the public solemnity, she pretended to be sick, to have the sickness, to seize an opportunity for solitude and leisure; so that she might entreat Joseph again. Which opportunity being obtained, she used more kind words to him than before; and said, that it had been good for him to have yielded to her first solicitation, and to have given her no repulse, both because of the reverence he ought to have to his dignity who solicited him, and because of the vehemency of her passion, by which she was so forced, though she was his mistress, to descend beneath his dignity; but that he might now, by taking more prudent advice, wipe off the imputation of his former folly; for in her state, that he expected the repetition of her solicitations, she had now made it, and that with greater earnestness than before, for that she had pretended weakness on this account, and had persuaded her conversation before the festival and its solemnity; or whether he opposed her former discourses, as not believing she could be in earnest, she now gave a more prudent advice, and desired his conversation, that she meant not in the least by fraud to impose upon him; and assured him, that if he complied with her affections, he might expect more benefit from her, than he did, if he had already; and if he were submissive to her, he should have still greater advantages; but that he must look for revenge and hatred from her, in case he rejected her desires, and preferred the reputation of chastity before his mistress; for that he would gain nothing by such procedure, because she would then become his accuser, and would falsely pretend to her husband that he attempted her chastity; and Potiphar would hearken to her words rather than to his, let his be ever so agreeable to the truth.

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

5. Joseph, by saying this, and more, tried to restrain the violent passion of the woman, and to reduce her affections within the rules of reason; and she grew more unanswerable and earnest in the matter, and since she despaired of persuading him, she laid her hands upon him, and had a mind to force him. He rose up and got away from her, leaving also her garment with her, for he left that to her, and leaped out of her chamber, she was greatly afraid lest he should discover her, and greatly troubled at the affront he had offered her, so she resolved to be beforehand with him, and to accuse Joseph falsely to Potiphar, and by that means to revenge herself on him for the pride and contempt of her; and she thought it a wise thing in itself, and also becoming a woman, thus to prevent his accusation. Accordingly she sat sorrowful and in confusion, framing herself hypothetically and angrily that the sorrow, which was really for her being disappointed of her lust, might appear to be for the attempt upon her chastity; so that when her husband came home, and was disturbed at the sight of her, and inquired what was the cause of the disorder she was in, she began to accuse Joseph and, "O husband," she said, "mayest thou not live a day received from thy bounty (as he must be an ungrateful man indeed, unless he in every respect carry himself in a manner agreeable to us);" this man, I am sure, the adversary of my wife, and this at the time of a festival, observe
ing when thou wouldst be absent. So that it now is clear, that his modesty, as it appeared to be formerly, was only because of the restraint he was in out of fear of thee, but that he was not for that very reason as we present at his place has been occasioned by his being advanced to honour beyond what he deserved, and what he hoped for, insomuch that he concluded, that he who was despised fit to be trusted with thy estate, and that government of thy family, and was preferred above thy eldest servants, might be allowed to touch thy wife also." Thus when she had ended her reasoning for him being absent, and being seduced by his love to his wife, did not set himself about the examination of the truth, but taking it for granted that his wife was a modest woman, and condemning Joseph as a wicked man, he threw him into the malefactor's prison; and had a still higher opinion of his wife, and bare her witness, that she was a woman of a becoming modesty and chastity.

CHAPTER V

What things befell Joseph in Prison.

§ 1. Now Joseph, commending all his affairs to God, did not betake himself to make his defence, nor to give an account of the circumstances of the fact, but silently underwent the bonds and the distress he was in, firmly believing that God, who knew the cause of his affliction, and the truth of the fact, would be more powerful than those that inflicted the punishments upon him; a proof of whose providence he quickly received; for the keeper of the prison, taking notice of his care and fidelity in the affairs he had set him about, and the dignity of his character, relaxed his bonds, and thereby made his heavy captivity lighter and more supportable to him; he also permitted him to make use of a diet better than that of the rest of the prisoners. Now his fellow-prisoners, when their hard labours were over, fell to discussing one among another, as is usual in such as are equal sufferers; the occasions of their being condemned to a prison. Among them the king's cupbearer, and one that had been respected by him, was put in bonds as a malefactor. This man was under the same bonds with Joseph, and grew more familiar with him; and upon his observing that Joseph had a better understanding than the rest, and that he had the talent of expressing what he desired he would interpret its meaning; complaining that, besides the afflictions he underwent from the king, God did also add to him trouble from his dreams.

2. He therefore said, That in his sleep he saw three clusters of grapes hanging upon three branches of a vine, large already and ripe for gathering, and that he squeezed them into a cup, which the king held in his hand; and when he had strained the wine, he gave it to the king to drink, and that he received it from him with a pleasant countenance. This, he said, was what he saw; and he desired Joseph, that if he had any portion of understanding in such matters, he would tell him what this vision foretold: who bid him not to be afraid, but that he would expect to be loosed from his bonds in three days' time, because the king desired his service, and was about to restore him to it again; for he let him know that God bestowed the fruit of the vine upon men for good, which wine is poured out to him, and is the pledge of fidelity and mutual confidence among men; and puts an end to their quarrels, takes away provocations, and gives them grace to use it, and makes them cheerful. Thou sayest

that thou didst squeeze this wine from three clusters of grapes with thine hands, and that the king received it; know, therefore, that this vision is for thy good, and foretells a release from thy present distress; for the branches of the vine as the branches had whence thou gatheredst thy grapes in thy sleep. However, remember what prosperity I have foretold thee when thou hast found it true by experience: and when thou art in authority, do not overlook us in this prison, wherein thou wilt leave us, when thou art gone to the place we have foretold; for we are not in prison for any honest or profitable business, but to make of our virtue and sobriety we are condemned to suffer the penalty of malefactors, and because we are not willing to injure him that has thus distressed us though it were for our own pleasure. The cupbearer, therefore, as was natural to do, rejoiced to hear such an interpretation of his dream, and waited the completion of what had been thus showed him beforehand.

3. But another servant there was of the king's, who had been chief baker, and was now bound in prison with the cupbearer; he also was in good hope, upon this interpretation of his vision, for he had seen a dream also; so he desired that Joseph would tell him what the visions he had seen the night before might mean. They were the following: "Methought," said he, "I carried three baskets upon my head, two were full of loaves, and the third full of sweet meats and other eatables, such as are prepared for kings; but that the forks came flying, and ate them all up, and had no regard to my attempt to drive them away." And he expected a prediction like that of the cupbearer. But Joseph, considering the bearings of the dream, said to him, That he would willingly be an interpreter of good events to him, and not of such as his dream denoted to him: but he told him that he had only three days to live, for the three baskets signify, that on the third day he should be crucified and devoured by fowls, while he was not able to help himself. Now, both these dreams had the same several events that Joseph foretold they should have, and this to both the parties; for on the third day before mentioned, when the king solemnized his birthday, he revived him, and restored him to his former ministration.

4. But God freed Joseph from his confinement, after his interpretation of the cups of the king's cupbearer, who did not remember what he had said to him formerly; and God contrived this method of delivering him from these bonds, which the cupbearer dreamed in his sleep the same evening two visions, and after them had the interpretations of them both given him. He had forgotten the letter, but retained that of the dreams themselves. Being therefore troubled at what he had seen, for it seemed to him to be all of a melancholy nature, the next day he called together the wisest men among the Egyptians, desiring to learn from them the interpretation of his dreams. But when they hesitated about them, the king was so much the more disturbed. And now it was that the memory of Joseph, and his skill in dreams, came into the mind of the king's cupbearer, when he saw the confusion that Pharaoh was in; so he came and mentioned Joseph to him, as also the vision he had seen in Egypt, and how the event proved as he had said; as also, that the chief baker was crucified on the very same day; and that this also happened to him, according to the interpretation of his dream, that was three days' time, because the bonds of Potiphar, who was his head cook, as a slave; but he said he was one of the noblest of the stock of the Hebrews; and said further, his father lived in great splendour of them that they sent for him, and not despise him on the score
of his misfortunes, thou wilt learn what thy dreams signify. So the king commanded that they should bring Joseph into his presence; and those who received the command came and brought him with them, having taken care of his habit, that it might be decent as the king had enjoined them to do.

5. But the king took him by the hand; and, "O youth," says he, "for my servant's benefit; thou art the fairest and most skilful person I can consult with; vouchsafe me the same favours which thou bestowedst on the servant of mine, and tell me what events they are which the visions of my dreams foreshow; and I desire thee to suppress nothing out of fear, nor to flatter me with lying words, or with what may please me, although the truth should be of a melancholy nature. For it seemed to me that, as I walked by the river, I saw a vine fat and very large, seven in number, going from the river to the marshes; and other vines, of the same number like them, met them out of the marashes, exceeding lean and ill favoured, which ate up the fat and the large vine, and yet which were not diminished, and my vine miserably pinched with famine. After I had seen this vision, I awoke out of my sleep; and being in disorder, and considering with myself what this approximated me, I fell asleep again and saw another dream, much more wonderful than the foregoing, which still did more affright and disturb me: I saw seven ears of corn growing out of one root, having their heads borne down by the weight of the grains, and bending down with the fruit, which was now ripe, and fit for reaping; and near these I saw seven other ears of corn, of the same size, which fell to eating and consuming those that were fit for reaping, and put me into great astonishment.

6. To which Joseph replied: 'This dream,' said he, 'O king, although seen under two forms, signifies one and the same event of things; for when thou sawest the vine, which is an animal made for the pleasure and for labour, devoured by the worse vine, and the ears of corn eaten up by the smaller ears, they foretell a famine, and want of the fruits of the earth, for the same number of years, and equal with those when Egypt was in a happy state: and this so far, that a plenty of these years will be spent in the same number of years of scarcity, and that scarcity of necessaries will be very difficult to be corrected: but when thou sawest the vine, when they had devoured the better sort, could not be satisfied, but still God foreshows what is to come, or what will happen to them, but that they knew it before hand; and my presence make the actual experience of what is foretold the more tolerable. If thou, therefore, carefully dispose of the plentiful crops which will come in the former years, thou wilt procure that the future calamity will not be felt by the Egyptians.'

7. Hereupon the king wondered at the discretion and wisdom of Joseph; and asked him by what means he might so dispense the foregoing plentiful crops, in the happy years, as to make the miserable crops more tolerable. Joseph then added: 'Let the seven years be kept. Gather the crops, and not permit the Egyptians to spend them luxuriously; but to reserve what they would have spent in luxury beyond their necessity, against the seven other years, and to take the corn of the husbandmen, and give them only so much as would be sufficient for their food.

Accordingly Pharaoh, being surprised at Joseph, not only for his interpretation of the dream, but for the counsel he had given him, intrusted him with dispensing the corn, with power to do what he thought would be the benefit of the people of Egypt, and for the benefit of the king, as believing that he who first discovered this method of acting would prove the best overseer of it. But Joseph, hearing the king, with leave to make use of his seal, and to wear purple, drew in his chariot through all the land of Egypt, and took the corn of the husbandmen, allotting as much to every one as would be sufficient for seed and for food, but without discovering to any one the reason why he did so.

CHAP. VI.

How Joseph, when he was become famous in Egypt, had his Brothers in Subjection.

§ 1. Joseph was now grown up to thirty years of age, and enjoyed great honours from the king, who called him Potiphur Pharaoh, out of regard to his prodigious wisdom, in which his name denotes the revealer of secrets. He also married a wife of very high quality; for he married the daughter of Petepheus, one of the priests of Heliopolis; and her name was Asenath. By her he had children before the scarcity came on. Manasseh, the older, which signifies fruitful, because his present happiness made him forget his former misfortunes: and Ephraim, the younger, which signifies restored, because he was restored to the freedom of his forefathers. Now, after Egypt had happily passed over seven years, according to Joseph's interpretation of the dreams, the famine came upon them in the eighth year; and because this misfortune fell upon them when they had no sense of it beforehand, they were all sorely afflicted by it, and came running to the king's gates; and he called upon Joseph, who sold them corn, to them, being come confessedly a saviour to the whole multitude of the Egyptians. Not did he open this market of corn for the people of that country only, but strangers had liberty to buy also, Joseph being willing that all men, who are naturally akin to one another, should have assistance from those that lived in happiness.

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

Nor is this a notion peculiar to that Testament; but, as Dr. Bernard confesses, note on Antiqu. b. li. chap. iv. sect. 1, common to Joseph, to the Septuagint interpreters, and to other learned Jews; and is found in the Testament of Joseph, sect. 18, for he is there said to have married the daughter of his master and mistress.

* That is, bought it for Pharaoh at a very low price.

† This Petiphan, as in Josephus, Petepheus, who was now a priest of On, or Heliopolis, is the same name in Jewish records, as Pharaon, whom we before called the head cook, or captain of the guard, and whom Joseph was sold to, see Gen. xxi. 36; xxxix. 1.; with all 50.

‡ This entire ignorance of the Egyptians of those years of famine before they came, told us before as well as here.
sod to sell them corn, and said they were come as spies of the king's affairs: and that they came from several countries, and joined themselves together, and pretended that they were of kin, that Jacob might have a private man should breed up so many sons, and those of so great beauty of countenance as they were; such an education of so many children being not easily obtained by kings themselves. Now this he did in order to discover what concerned his father, and what happened to him after his own departure from him, and as desiring to know what was become of his eldest son; for he was not afraid that they had ventured on the like wicked enterprise against him that they had done to him- self, and had taken him off also.

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

4. And thus did Reuel endeavour to persuade Joseph to have a better opinion of them. But Jacob, being heard from them that Jacob was alive, and that his brother was not destroyed by them, be for the present put them in prison, as intending to examine more into their affairs without need to be at leisure. But out of the third day he brought them out, and said to them:

"That since you constantly affirm that you are not come to do any harm to the king's affairs; that you are brethren, and the sons of the father whom you named, you will satisfy me of the truth of what you say, if you leave one of your company with me, who shall suffer no injury here; and if, when ye have carried corn to your father, you will come to me again, and bring your brother, whom you say you left there along with you: for this shall be by me esteemed an assurance of the truth of what you have told me." Hereupon they were in greater grief than before; they wept, and perpetually deplored one another the calamity of Joseph; and said:

"They were fallen into this misery as a punishment inflicted by God for what evil contrivances they had against him." And Reuel was large in his reproaches of them for their too recent attempt, whence no profit arose to Joseph; and earnestly exhorted them to bear with patience whatever they suffered, since it was done by God in way of punishment on his account. Thus they were both惊奇 at what was become of their brethren, and Joseph understood their language. A general sadness also seized on them at Reuel's words, and a repentance for what they had done; and they condemned the wrongs they had offered to Joseph, and trated, for which they judged they were justly punished by God. Now when Joseph saw that they were in this distress, he was so affected at it that he wept; for he said to his brethren: "For they that should take notice of him, he retired; and after a while came to them again, and taking Symeon, in order to his being a pledge for his brethren's return, he bid them take the corn they had bought, and go their way. He also commanded his steward privily to put the money which they had brought with them for the purchase of corn into their sacks, and to deliver them therewith, who did what he was commanded to do.

5. Now when Jacob's sons were come into the land of Egypt, Joseph sold their father's goods, which had happened to them in Egypt, and that they were taken to have come thither as spies upon the king; and how they said they were brethren, and had left their brother Joseph; but were not believed; and how they had left Symeon with the governor, until Benjamin should go thither, and be a testimonial of the truth of their words. And they begged of their father to fear nothing, but to send the bind along with them. But Jacob was not pleased with any thing his sons had done, and he took his steward's word; the description of Joseph he thought it a foolish thing to give up Benjamin also. Neither did he yield to Reuel's persuasion, though he begged of him, and gave leave that the grandfather might, in way of requital, kill his own sons, in case any harm came to Benjamin in the journey. So they were disconsolate, and knew not what to do. Nay, there was another accident that still disturbed them more, the money that was found hidden in their sacks of corn. Yet when the corn they had brought failed them, and when the famine still affected them, and secretly forced them, Jacob did indeed resolve to send Benjamin with his brother, although there was no returning into Egypt unless they came with what they had promised. Now, the misery growing every day worse, the sons begging of him to give him no other course to take in his present circumstances. And Judas, who was of a bold temper upon other occasions, spake his mind very freely to him; "What did not become him to be afraid on account of his son, nor to suspect the worst, as he did; for nothing could be done to his son but by the appointment of God, which must so for certain come to pass though he were at home with him; that he ought not to cowtamen them to such manifest destruction; nor deprive them of that plenty of food they might have from Pharaoh, by his unreasonable fear about his son Benjamin, nor ought to take care of the suspicion of Symeon, lest by attempting to hinder Benjamin's journey, Symeon should perish. He exhorted him to trust God for him, and said he would still bring his son home safe, or, together with his, lose his own life." So Jacob was at length persuaded, and delivered Benjamin to them, with the price of the corn he bought. He also sent presents to Joseph, of the fruits of the land of Canaan, balsam, and other articles where wanting which I have supplied in brackets, and I wonder more have hitherto supposed it ought to be supplied.

8 The reason why Synagoge might be selected out of the great number of Joseph's princes, as plain in the Testament of Joseph, that he was the eldest of all Joseph's brethren against him, sect. 2, which appears also in part by the Testament of Zadok, sect. 3.

9 The coherence appears to me to show, that the raising
BOOK II.—CHAP. VI.

As soon as they came into Egypt, they were brought down to Joseph. But here no small fear did arise about the price of corn, so that they were heard about among the Egyptians, and that they had now brought it along with them. He said he did not know what they meant, so they were delivered from that fear. And when he had loosed Symeon, and put him into a handsome habit, he suffered him to be with his brethren; at which time Joseph came from his attendance on his father, and saluted him present; and upon his putting the question to them about their father, they answered that they found him well. He also, upon his discourse with them, said that when this was his younger brother, for he had seen him. Whereupon they said he was; he replied, that the God over all was his protector. But when his affection to him made him shed tears, he retired, desiring he might not be seen in that plight by his brethren. Then Joseph took them to supper, and they were set down in the same order as they used to sit at his father's table. And although Joseph treated them all kindly, yet did he send a mess to Benjamin that was double to what the rest of the guests had for their shares.

7. Now when after supper they had compos'd themselves to sleep, Joseph commanded his steward both to give them their measures of corn, and to hide its price again in their sacks; and that withal they should put into Benjamin's sack the golden cup out of which he loved himself to drink. Which things did he in order to make him live, as well as what he witnessed by Benjamin when he should be accused of having stolen the cup, and should appear to be in danger; or whether they would leave him, and go away, both for their father without him. When the servant had done as he was bidden, the sons of Jacob, knowing nothing of all this, went their way, and took Symeon over them, and had a double cause of joy both because they had received him again, and because they took back Benjamin to their father, as they had promised. But presently a troop of horsemen encompassed them, and brought with them Joseph's servant, who had put the cup into Benjamin's sack. Upon which unexpected attack of the horsemen they were much disturbed, and asked what the reason was that they were come upon men who, a little before, had been by their lord thought worthy of an honourable and hospitable reception? They replied by calling them together, and made them understand that they were very hospitable and kind treatment which Joseph had given them, and did not scruple to be injurious to him, nor to carry that cup out of which he had, in so friendly a manner, drunk to them; and not regarding their friendship with Joseph, nor more than the danger they should be in if they were put in the prison. And, to gain thereby, Heresou threatened that they should be punished; for, though they had escaped the knowledge of him who was but a servant, yet they had not escaped the knowledge of God, nor had gone off with what they had stolen; and, after all, asked why we come upon them? as if they knew nothing of the matter; and he told them, that they should immediately know it by their punishment. Then, and more out of mere nature, did the servant say, in way of reproach to them: but they, being wholly ignorant of any thing here that was said, and incredulous at what he said, and wondered at the abusive language which the servant gave them, when he was so hard as to accuse those who did not before so much as retain the price of their commodities, with the hopes of better success hereafter.

8. As soon as they came into Egypt, they were brought down to Joseph. But here no small fear did arise about the price of corn, so that they were heard about among the Egyptians, and that they had now brought it along with them. He said he did not know what they meant, so they were delivered from that fear. And when he had loosed Symeon, and put him into a handsome habit, he suffered him to be with his brethren; at which time Joseph came from his attendance on his father, and saluted him present; and upon his putting the question to them about their father, they answered that they found him well. He also, upon his discourse with them, said that when this was his younger brother, for he had seen him. Whereupon they said he was; he replied, that the God over all was his protector. But when his affection to him made him shed tears, he retired, desiring he might not be seen in that plight by his brethren. Then Joseph took them to supper, and they were set down in the same order as they used to sit at his father's table. And although Joseph treated them all kindly, yet did he send a mess to Benjamin that was double to what the rest of the guests had for their shares.

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for we have had the enjoyment of life,) have regard to our father, and take pity of his old age, on whose head is laid the load from us: but he, otherwise, is a very bold and active man, determined to hazard himself for the preservation of his brother. "It is true," said he, "O governor! you have the key of the city of Wickhead with regard to thee, and on that account deserve punishment; even all of us may justly be punished, although the theft were not committed by all, but by some only. But, as you persist with the greater assurance, and yet there remains some hope for us, who otherwise must be under despair on his account, and this from thy goodness, which promises us a deliverance out of our present danger. And now I beg thou wilt not look at us, or at that great crime we have been guilty of, but at thy own excellent nature, and take advice of thine own virtue, instead of that wrath thou hast against us; which passion those that otherwise are of a low character indulge, as they do their strength, and that not only on great, but also on very trifling occasions. Overcome, sir, that passion, and be not subdued by it, nor suffer it to slay those that do not otherwise presume upon their own safety, but are desirous to accept of it from thee; for this passion we would, thou wilt bestow it on us, but before, when we came to buy corn, thou affordedst us great plenty of food, and gavest us leave to carry so much home to our families, and hast had some kindness for us, from compassion by famine. Nor is there any difference between not overlooking men that were perishing for want of necessaries, and not punishing those that seem to be offenders, and have been so unfortunate as to lose the advantage of that glorious benefaction which they received from thee. This will be an instance of equal favour, though bestowed after a different manner; for thou wilt save those on whom thou didst feed the other; and thou wilt hereby preserve alive, by thy own bounty, those souls which thou didst not suffer to be distressed by famine; it being, indeed, at once a wonderful and a great thing to sustain our lives by corn, and to bestow on us that pardon, whereby, now we are distressed, we may continue those lives. And I am ready to suppose that God is willing to afford thee this opportunity of showing thy virtuous disposition by bringing us into this distress, that we may not be able to forgive the injuries that are done to thyself; and mayest be esteemed kind to others, besides those who, on other accounts, stand in need of thy assistance; and should we do well to those who are in distress for want of food, but still a more glorious thing to save those who deserve to be punished, when it is on account of heinous offences, and the preservation of thy name, be a thing deserving commendation to forgive such as have been guilty of small offences, that tend to a person's loss, and this be praiseworthy in him that overlooks such offences; to restrain a man's passion: as to crimes which are capital to the guilty is to be like the most excellent nature of God himself. And truly, as for myself, had it not been that we had a father, whom we had discovered, on occasion of the death of Joseph, how miserably he is always affrighted at the loss of his sons, I had not made many words on account of the saving of his own lives: I thought, indeed, that we who would be an excellent character for thyself, to preserve even those that would have nobody to lament them when they were dead, but we would have yielded our lives up to suffer whatsover thou pleasedst: but now, (for we do not plead for mercy to ourselves, though, indeed, if we die, it will be while we are young, and be

* This portion seems to me too large, and too unusual a discourse to have been composed by Judas on this occasion. It seems to me a speech or declamation composed formerly in the survey of Judas, and in the way of ora-
advantage in that capacity, and, as then secret, am better prepared for either of those sufferings." So Judas being very willing to undergo any thing whatever for the deliverance of his brother, cast himself at Joseph's feet, and earnestly besought him to incline his anger. All his brethren also fell down before him weeping, and delivering themselves up to destruction for the preservation of the life of Benjamin.

2. But Joseph, as overcome now with his affections, and no longer able to personate an angry man, commanded all that were present to depart, that he might make himself known to his brethren where he was alone. And when they were gone out, he made himself known to his brethren, and said, "I commend you for your virtue and your kindness to our brother; I find you better men than I could have expected from what you confided about me. Indeed, I did all this to try your love to your brother; so I believe you were not wicked by nature, in what you did in my case, but that all has happened according to God's will, who has hereby procured our enjoyment of what good things we have; and if we continue in a favourable disposition, of what we have received, we shall see there that our father is safe and well, beyond expectation, and I see you so well disposed to your brother, I will no longer remember what guilt you seem to have had about, but there is no reason for you to hate you for that your wickedness, and do rather return you my thanks, that you have concurred with the intentions of God to bring things to their present state. I provoke; and it was I who conducted Joseph thy son, whom thou gavest up for lost, to the enjoyment of great prosperity. I also made him lord of Egypt, so that he differs but little from a king. Accordingly I come now as a guide for thee in this journey, and foretell to thee that thou shalt die in the arms of Joseph; and I inform thee, that thy posterity shall be many ages in authority and glory, and that I will settle them in the land which I have promised them."

3. But God stood by him, and called to him twice by his name; and when he asked, who was he? God said, "No, sure, it is not just that thou Jacob shouldst be unacquainted with that God who has been with thee all these days and thy forefathers, and after them to thyself: for when thy father would have deprived thee of the dominion, I gave it thee: and by my kindness it was, that when thou wast a stranger in Egypt alone, thou obtainedst good wives, and returnedst with many children, and much wealth. The whole family also has been preserved by my providence; and it was I who conducted Joseph thy son, whom thou gavest up for lost, to the enjoyment of great prosperity. I also made him lord of Egypt, so that he differs but little from a king. Accordingly I come now as a guide for thee in this journey, and foretell to thee that thou shalt die in the arms of Joseph; and I inform thee, that thy posterity shall be many ages in authority and glory, and that I will settle them in the land which I have promised them."

4. Jacob, encouraged by this dream, went on more cheerfully for Egypt, with his sons, and all belonging to them. Now they were in all seventy. I once indeed thought it best not to set down the names of this family, especially because of their difficult pronunciation, [by the Greeks,] but now I thought it necessary to set down their names, that I may disapprove such as believe that we came originally not out of Mesopotamia, but are Egyptians. Now Jacob had twelve sons; of these Joseph was the eldest; but whether this will therefore set down the names of Jacob's children and grandchildren. Reuben had four sons, Anoch, Phallu, Assearom, Charmi. Simeon had six, Jaum, Joesawd, Adau, Jachau, and Jachar. Levi had three sons, Gersom, Caath, Merari. Judas had three sons, Sals, Phares, Zerab; and by Phares two grandchildren, Ekom and Amor. Issachar had four sons, Thola, Phus, Jasm, Samsur. Zabulon had with him three sons, Sarad, Helom, Jaleel. So far is the posterity of Levi; with whom went her daughter Dina. These are thirty-three. Rachel had two sons, the one of whom, Joseph, had two sons also, Mannaseh and Ephrain. The other, Benjamin, had ten sons, Bola, Baccar, Assebel, Gorre, Naaman, Jas, Ros, Mophia, Opphia, Ara. These fourteen added to the thirty-three, before enumerated, amount to the number forty-seven. And this was the legitimate posterity of Jacob. He had besides by Bilha, the handmaid of Laban, Rachel and Neph thrall, which Laban had four sons, that followed him, Jesel, Guni, Isiari, and Sellim. Dan had an only begotten son, Ust. If these be added to those before mentioned, they complete the number fifty-four. God and Aser were the sons of Zilphah, who died in Egypt, in the days of Joseph, though it carer was we among the Jews by the law of Moses.
ANTIOCHITIES OF THE JEWS.

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was the handmaid of Lea. These had with them, Gad seven, Saphonias, Augis, Sunis, Azabon, Aetis, Eroed, Ariel. Aser had a daughter Sarah, and two sons: one was Joseph, and another was Simeon, Issi, Bari, Abar, and Melchiel. If we add these, which are sixteen, to the fifty-four, the forementioned number (seventy) is completed, Jacob not being himself included in that number.

5. When Joseph understood that his father was coming, for Judas his brother was come before him, and informed him of his approach, he went out to meet him; and they met together at Hebropolis. But Jacob almost fainted away at this unexpected and great joy; however, Joseph revived him, being yet not himself able to contain from being affected in the same manner, at the pleasure he now had, yet was he not wholly overcome with his passion, as his father was. After this, he desired Jacob to travel on slowly; but he himself took five of his brethren with him, and made haste to the king, to tell him that Jacob and his family were come, which was a joyful hearing to him. He also bid Joseph tell him what sort of life his brethren loved to lead, that he might give them leave to follow the same. Who told him they were good shepherds, and had engaged to go to no other employment but this alone. Whereby he provided for them, that they should not be separated, but live in the same place, and take care of their father; as also hereby did they think themselves able to comply with the Egyptians, by doing nothing that would be common to them with the Egyptians; for the Egyptians are prohibited to meddle with the flocks and herds of the Jews.

6. When Jacob was come to the king, and saluted him, and wished all prosperity to his government, Pharaoh asked him how old he now was. And when he was a hundred and thirty years old, he admired Jacob on account of the length of his life. And when he had added, that still he had not lived so long as his forefathers, he gave him leave to live with his children in Heliopolis; for in that city the king's shepherds had their pasturage.

7. However, the famine increased among the Egyptians; and this heavy judgment grew more oppressive to them, because neither did the river overflow the ground, for it did not rise to its former height, nor did God send rain upon it; nor were the Egyptians made secure for themselves, so ignorant were they what was to be done; but Joseph sold them corn for their money. But when their money failed them, they sought corn; and when they saw their slave, and if any of them had a small piece of land, they gave up that to purchase them food, by which means the king became the owner of all their substance; and they were removed some to one place, and some to another, that so the possession of their country might be firmly afforded to the king; excepting the lands of the priests, for their country continued still in their own possession. And in

* All the Greek copies of Josephus have the negative particle. The Hebrew text for the word in the original. The term for the number 70 souls that came into Egypt; but the old Latin copies wanted it, and directly assure us it was one of them. It is the first figure, which of course, as Joseph's true reading, since the number 70 is made up without him, If we reckon Leah for one, but if she be not reckoned, Jacob must himself be one, to complete the number.

Josephus thought that the Egyptians hated or despised the employment of a shepherd in the days of Joseph; whereas in modern times it is accounted an honor to be such. The Coptic and the Arabic manuscripts say that they had emulated the Egyptians of old times. See his Sanchis, p. 232. 283.

† Beland here puts the question. How Josephus could complain of its not raining in Egypt during this famine, who himself here mentions the only cause that could naturally raise there! His answer is, that when the ancient deities that rains in Egypt, they only mean the Upper Egypt above

deex a sec fumus made their minds, as well as their bodies, slaves: and at length compelled them to procure a sufficiency of food by such dishonorable means.

But when this famine ceased, and the river overflowed the ground, and the ground brought forth its fruits plentifully, Joseph came to every city, and gathered the people thereto belonging together, and gave them back entirely the land which, by their own consent, the king might have possessed alone, and alone enjoyed the fruits of it. He also exhorted them to look to it as every one's own possession; and to fall to their husbandry with cheerfulness; and to pay as a tribute to the king, the fifth part of the fruits for the land which the king would be it was his own restored to them. These men rejoiced upon their becoming unexpectedly owners of their lands, and diligently observed what was enjoined them. And by this means Joseph procured to himself a greater authority among the Egyptians, and greater love to the king from them. Now this law, that they should pay the fifth part of their fruits as tribute, continued until their latter kings.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Death of Jacob and Joseph.

§ 1. Now when Jacob had lived seventeen years in Egypt, he fell into a disease, and died in the presence of his sons; but not till he had made provision for the preservation of his family, so that still he had foretold them prophetically how every one of them was to dwell in the land of Canaan. But this happened many years afterward. He also enlarged upon the praises of Joseph, how he had not remembered the evil doings of his brethren to their disadvantage; nay, on the contrary, was kind to them, bestowing upon them so many privileges and benefits upon men's own benefactors. He then commanded his own sons, that they should admit Joseph's sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, into their number, and divide the land of Canaan in common with them: concerning whom we shall treat hereafter. However, he made it his request, that he might be buried at Hebron. So he died, when he had lived full a hundred and fifty years, these only abated, having not been behind any of his ancestors in piety towards God; and having such a recompense for it, as it was fit those should have who were so good and the most pious to the king, by the king's permission, carried his father's dead body to Hebron, and there buried it at a great expenses. Now his brethren were at first unwilling to return thither, because they were afraid, lest now their father was dead, he should punish them for their secret practices against him, since he was now gone, for whose sake he had been so gracious to them. They persuaded them to fear no harm, and to entertain no suspicions of him; so he brought them along with him, and gave them great possessions, and never left off his particular concern for them.

the Delta, which is called Egypt in the strictest sense; but that is in the Ægyptus gallo-roman, the lower course of the Nile (adjoining to it) it did of old, and still does rain sometimes. See the note on Antis. B. ii. ch. i. sect. 6.

§ Josephus says that we now restored the Egyptians their lands again, upon the payment of a fifth part as tribute. It seems to me rather that the land was now considered as Pharaoh's land, and this fifth part as its rent, to be paid to him, as he was their landlord, and they his tenants; and that the lands were not properly restored, but were made to render the same tribute as before, 90 days of use. See also on the Old Testament, Ap. pand. 146, 149.

§ As to his encomium upon Joseph, so preparatory to Jacob's adopting Ephraim and Manasseh into his own family, and to be admitted for two tribes, which Josephus here mentions: but we know not whether he took it, or whether it be not his own embellishment only
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5. Joseph also died when he had lived an hundred and ten years: having been a man of admirable virtue, and conducting all his affairs by the rules of reason; and used his authority with moderation, which was an honour to himself and to his posterity. So much, as we have already described. At length his brethren assembled, and provided to remove him out of Egypt, and the Egyptians, when the body was removed, or carried into the land of Canaan after the drought, when the Hebrews went out of Egypt, for so had Joseph made them promise him upon oath. But what became of every one of these men, and by what toils they got the possession of the land of Canaan, shall be shown hereafter, when I have first explained upon what account it was that they left Egypt.

CHAPTER IX.

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

§ 1. Now it happened that the Egyptians grew sanguine and lazy, as to pains-taking, and gave themselves up to idleness, and, for this very reason, the sudden, frequent, and inveterate love of gain. They also became very ill-affected towards the Hebrews, as touched with envy at their prosperity: for when they saw how the Hebrews were living in riches and luxury, they became eminently rich and plentiful, which they had acquired by their virtue and natural love of labour, they thought their increase was to their own detriment. And having in length of time forgotten the benefits they had received from Joseph, particularly the care being now come into another family, they became very hostile to the Israelites, and conceived many ways of afflicting them; for they enjoined them to cut a great number of channels for the river, and to build walls for their cities and ramparts, that they might restrain the river, and hinder its waters from stagnating, upon its running over its own banks: they set them also to build pyramids, and by all this wore them out; and forced them to learn all sorts of mechanical arts, and to accustom themselves to hard labour. And four hundred years did they spend under these afflictions, which they were very well fitted to get the mastery, the Egyptians desiring to destroy the Israelites by these labours, and the Israelites desiring to hold out to the end under these trials.

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

3. A man whose name was Amram, one of the nobler sort of the Hebrews, was afraid for his whole nation, lest it should fall, by the scourge of young men to be brought up hereafter; and was very uneasy at it, his wife being then with child, and he knew not what to do. Hereupon he betook himself to prayer to God; and entreated him that he have compassion on those men who had now transgressed the laws of his worship, and to afford them deliverance from the miseries they at that time endured, and to render abortive their enemies' hopes of the destruction of their nation. Accordingly God had mercy on him, and was moved by his supplication. He stood by him in his sleep, and exhorted him not to despair of his future favours. He said further, that he did not forget their piety towards him, and would always reward them as he had his favour to their forefathers and made them increase from a few, to so great a multitude. He put him in mind, that when Abraham was come alone out of the kingdom of Chaldea into Cannan, that he had been made happy, not only in other respects, but that when his wife was at first barren, she was afterward by him enabled to conceive seed, and bare him sons. That he left to Isaac and to his posterity the country of Arabia; as also to his sons by Keturah, Trogodytis; and to Isaac, Cannan. That by his assistance, said he, he did great exploits in war, which, unless you be yourselves impious, you must still remember. As for Jacob, he became well known to strangers also; much misery to the Egyptians, and so much happiness to the Israelites from the rearing of Moses.*

* As to the affliction of Abrahams posterity for 400 years, see Antiqu. B. i. ch. x. sect. 3. And to what cities they built in Egypt under Pharaoh, see Sactoria, and of Pharaohs body being cast into the Nile, see on the Old Testament. append. p. 120—122.

† Of this building of the pyramids of Egypt by the Israelites, see Ptolemy. Or. Ephes. ch. xxii. It is not impossible they might build one or more of the small ones, but so much it is much more probable, if they be all built of stone, this does not so well agree with the Israelites labours, which are said to have been in brick, and not in stone, as Mr. Sandys observes in his Travels, p. 127, 128.

‡ Dr. Bernard informs us here, that, instead of this distribution of the labour of the Israelites, that was under Joseph, the Targum of Jonathan names the two famous magistrates of Moses, James and Jamshes. Nor is it at all unlikely that it might be one of those who forebode so
by the greatness of that prosperity in which he lived, and left to his sons, who came into Egypt with seventy souls, while we are now become above six hundred thousand. Know therefore that I shall provide for you all in common what is for your good, and particularly for the future prosperity of the people, that child, out of dread of whose nativity the Egyptians have doomed the Israelite children to destruction, shall be this child of thine, and shall be called by thee, after my name, Samson; and when he is brought up in a surprising way, he shall deliver the Hebrew nation from the distress they are under from the Egyptians. His memory shall be famous while the world lasts; and this not only among the Hebrews, but foreigners also. All which shall be the effect of my favour to thee, and thy posterity. He shall also have such a brother, that he shall himself obtain my priesthood, and his posterity shall have it after him to the end of the world.

4. When the vision had informed him of these things, Amram awaked and told it to Jochabed, who was his wife. And now the fear increased upon them on account of the prediction in Amos, 27:10; they were under great concern, not only for the child, but on account of the great happiness that was to come to him also. However, the mother's labour was such as afforded a comfort to her, for she felt by God, for it was not known to those that watched her, by the easiness of her pains, and because the throes of her delivery did not fall upon her with violence. And now they nourished the child at home privately for three months; but after that time, Amram, fearing he should be discovered, and, by falling into the king's displeasure, both he and his son would perish, and so he should make the promise of God of none effect, determined rather to trust the safety and care of the child to God, than to depend on his own concealment of him, which he looked upon as a thing uncertain, and whereby both the child so privately to be nourished, and himself, would be in imminent danger; but he believed that God would some way for certain procure the safety of the child, in order to secure the truth of his own predictions. When they had thus determined, they made an ark of bulrushes, after the manner that eunuchs, and others of a highborn manner, for an infant to be laid in, without being too straitened: they then daubed it over with slime, which would naturally keep out the water from entering it: after that, they put the child into the ark, and setting it afloat upon the river, they left its preservation to God; so the river received the child, and carried him along. But Miriam, they left with her child, that she might stay over against him, as her mother bad bid her, to see whether the ark would be carried, where God demonstrated, that human wisdom was nothing, but that the Supreme Being is able to do whatsoever he pleases: that those who, in order to their own security, condemn others to destruction, and use great endeavours about it, fall of their purpose; but that others are, in a surprising manner preserved, and obtain a prosperous condition almost from the very midst of their calamities, those men whose dangers arise by the appointment of God. And indeed such a providence was exercised in the case of this child, as showed the power of God.

5. A child from king's daughter. She was now diverting herself by the banks of the river; and seeing a cradle borne along by the current, she sent some who could swim, and bid them to take it from the water, and bring those that were sent on this errand came to her with the cradle, and she saw the little child, she was greatly

* What Josephus here says of the beauty of Moses, that he was of a divine form, is very like what St. Stephen says of the beauty of Moses, on account of its largeness and beauty; for God had taken such great care in the formation of Moses, that he made him to be thought worthy of bringing up, and providing for, by all those that had taken the most fatal resolutions on account of the dread of his nativity, so as to destroy the whole of the nation. Thermuthis bid them bring her a woman that might afford her breast to the child; yet would not the child admit of her breast, but turned away her face from her, and to other women. Now Miriam was by when this happened, not to appear to be there on purpose, but only having an eye to the child, and she said, "It is in vain that thou, O queen, callest for these women for the nourishing of the child, who are noway of him to it; but still if thou wilt order one of the Hebrew women to be brought, perhaps it may admit the breast of one of its own nation." Now since she seemed to speak well, Thermuthis bid her procure such a one, and to bring one of those Hebrew women that gave suck. So when she had such authority given her, she came back and brought the mother, who was known to nobody there. And now the child grudgily accepted the breast of him; and so it was, that at the queen's desire, the nursing of the child was entirely intrusted to the mother.

6. Hereupon it is said, that Thermuthis imposed this name 'Moses' upon him, from what had happened when he was put into the river, for the Egyptians call the water by the name of 'Mo,' and such as are 'saved out of it;' by the name of 'Moses,' and 'Uses;' so by putting these two words together, they imposed the name upon him. And he was by the confession of all, according to God's prediction, as having been in Egypt, where he was a great help to him; for his contempt of difficulties, the best of all the Hebrews, for Abraham was his ancestor of the seventh generation. For Moses was the son of Amram, who was the son of Coath, whose father Levi was the son of Jacob, who was the son of Isaac, who was the son of Abraham. Now Moses's understanding became superior to his age, nay, far beyond that standard; and when he was taught, he discovered greater quickness of apprehension than was usual at his age, and his actions at that time promised greater, when he should come to the age of manhood. Also the readiness for his contempt of difficulties, the best of all the Hebrews, for the child, as by the river was carried away, was made strong in hands and feet, and was certain to stand still a great while to look on him, for the beauty of the child was so remarkable and natural to him on many accounts, that it detained the spectators, and made them stay longer to look upon him.

7. Thermuthis therefore, perceiving him to be so remarkable a child, adopted him for his son, having no child of his own. And when one time that she had carried Moses to her father, she showed him to him, and said she thought to make him her father's successor, if it should please God she should have no legitimate child of her own; and said to him, "I have brought up a child who is of a divine form, and of a generous mind; and as I have received him from the bosom of the river, in a wonderful manner, I thought proper to adopt him for my son, and the heir of thy kingdom." And when she had said this, she put the child into his hands; but the infant, looking at those that were sent on this errand came to her with the cradle, and she saw the little child, she was greatly
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diadem upon his head; but Moses threw it down to
the ground, and in a puerile mood, he wrought it
round, and trod upon it with his feet, which seemed
to bring along with it an evil presage concerning
the Kingdom Egyptians. But the sacred scribe saw
this, (he was the same person who afore
told that his nativity would bring the dominion of
this kingdom low,) he made a violent attempt to
kill him, but he came out in a fit manner, and
he said, "This, O king! this child is of whom
God foretold, that if we kill him we shall be in
doanage; he himself affords an attestation to
the truth of such kind of things; let us ad
upon thy government, and treading upon thy
diadem. Take him therefore out of the
way, and deliver the Egyptians from the fear they are
in about him; and deprive the Hebrews of the
hope they have of being encouraged by him." But
Thermuthis prevented him, and snatched the
child away. And the king was not hasty to
slay him, God himself, whose providence pro
tected Moses, inclining the king to spare him.
He was therefore educated with great care. So
the Hebrews depended on him, and were of good
hopes that great things would be done by him;
but the Egyptians were suspicious of what would
follow such his education. Yet because if Moses
had been such as no one, and no Akhia or
adopted, that had any oracle on his side for pre
tending to the crown of Egypt, and likely to be
of greater advantage to them, they abstained from
killing him.

chap. x.

How Moses made War with the Ethiopians.

§ 1. Moses therefore, when he was born, and
brought up in the foregoing manner, and came
to the age of maturity, made his virtue manifest
to the Egyptians; for he was born for the
bringing them down, and raising the
Israelites. And the occasion he laid hold of was
this: the Ethiopians, who are next neighbours to the
Egyptians, made an inroad into their country,
which they seized upon, and carried off the effects
of the Egyptians, who, in their rage, fought
against them, and revenged the affronts they had
received from them; but being overcome in bat
tle, some of them were slain, and the rest ran
away in a shameful manner, and by that means
saved themselves, whereupon the Egyptians fol
lowed after them, and they thought that it would be a mark of cowardice if they did
not subdue all Egypt, they went on to subdue
the weaker with greater vehemence; and when they
had tasted the sweets of the country, they
left off the prosecution of the war: and as the
nearest part had not courage enough at first to
fight with them, they proceeded as far as Memphis,
and the sea itself, while not one of the cities
were able to oppose them. The Egyptians,
under this sad oppression, betook themselves
to their oracles and prophets, and when God
sent them this counsel, to make use of Moses
a Hebrew, and take his assistance, the king
mandated his daughter to produce him, that
he might be made general over their army. Upon
which, when she had made him swear he
would do him no harm, she delivered him to the
king, and supposed his assistance would be of great
advantage to the army. But when the priests, who,
when they had before admonished
the Egyptians to kill him, were not astonished
now to own their want of his help.

2. So Moses, at the persuasion both of Ther-
muthis and the king himself, cheerfully under
took the business, and when he was ready, he
began to explain his design to the monarch, and
both nations were glad; those of the Egyptians,
that they should at once overcome their enemies
by his valor, and that by the same piece of
management, he could make the nation of the
Hebrews, that they should escape from the
Egyptians, because Moses was to be their
general. But Moses prevented the enemies, and
their own, from using any treachery, and he
applied the forces of his attacking them: for he did not
march by the river, but by land, where he gave
a wonderful demonstration of his sagacity; for
when the ground was difficult to be passed over,
because of the multitude of serpents, which it pro
duced in vast numbers, and indeed is singular in
some of those productions, which other countries
do not breed, and yet such as are worse than
others in power and mischief, and an unusual
fearfulness of sight, some of which ascend out of
the ground unseen, and fly in the air, and
come upon men at unawares, and others are a
mischief, Moses invented a wonderful stratagem
to preserve the army safe, and without hurt; for
the made boards like ibes, and placed them with
ibes, and carried them along with them; which animal is the greatest enemy to serpents imaginable, for they fly from them when they come near them, and as they fly they
are caught and devoured by them, as if it were
done by the harts; but the ibes are tame crea
tures, and only enemies to the serpents kind.

But about those ibes I say no more at present,
since the Greeks are not themselves unacquaint
ed with this sort of bird. As soon therefore as
Moses was come to the land which was the
breeder of these serpents, he let loose the ibes,
and by their means repelled the serpents kind,
and used them for his assistants before the army
came upon that ground. When he had therefore
proceeded thus on his journey, he came upon the
Ethiopians before they expected him; and
joining battle with them, he beat them, and
deprieved them of the hopes they had of success
against the Egyptians, and went on in over
throwing their cities, and indeed made a great
slaughter of these Ethiopians. Now when the
Egyptian army had once tasted of the prosper
ous success, it did not slacken their diligence, insomuch that the
Ethiopians were in danger of being reduced to
slavery, and all sorts of destruction. And at
length they retired into the city of Tebyas, which
is the ancient name of the city of Ethiopia, which
Cambyes afterward named Merosis, after the name of his own sister.

The place was to be besieged with very great
difficulty, since it was both encompassed by the
Nile quite round, and the other rivers, Astapus
and Astaborus, made it a very difficult thing for
such as attempted to pass over them; for the
city was situated in a retired place, and was inhabited
after the manner of an island, being encompass
ed with a strong wall, and having the rivers to
guard them from their enemies, and having great
ramparts between the wall and the rivers, insomuch,
that when the waters come with the greatest violence they can never be drowned; which
ramparts make it next to impossible for even
such as are gotten over the rivers to take the
of Moses, before he was sent by God to the Israelites, that
he was not only learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians,
but was also mighty in words and in deeds. Acts
vii. 22.

1 Fliny speaks of those birds called Ibes, and says,

city. However, while Moses was uneasy at the army's lying idle, (for the enemies durst not come to battle) this accident happened: That thys the army was only in the way of the road to go to them; then, he happened to see Moses as he led the army near to the walls, and fought with great courage, and admiring the success of his undertaking, and believing him to be the author of the Egyptian success, when they had before despaired of recovering their liberty, and to be the occasion of ten thousand of their subjects being in, when they had before boasted of their great achievements, she fell deeply in love with him; and upon the prevalency of that passion, sent to him the most faithful of her servants to discourse with him upon their marriage. He thereupon accepted the offer, on condition she would procure the delivering up of the city, and gave her the assurance of an oath to take her to his wife, and that when he had once taken possession of the city, he would not break his oath to her. No sooner was the agreement made, but it took effect immediately; and when Moses had cut off the Ethiopians, he gave thanks to God, and consummated his marriage, and led the Egyptians back to their own land.

CHAP. XI.

How Moses fled out of Egypt into Midian.

§ 1. Now the Egyptians, after they had been preserved by Moses, entertained a hatred to him, and were very eager in compassing his destruction against him, as suspecting that he would take occasion from his own success, to raise a sedition, and bring innovations into Egypt; and told the king he ought to be slain. The king had also some intentions of himself to the same purpose, and this was well out of envy at his glorious expedition at the head of his army, as out of fear of being brought low by him; and being avenged by the sacred scribes, he was ready to undertake to kill Moses. But when he had heard beforehand what plots there were against him, he went away privately; and because the public roads were watch'd, he took his flight through the deserts, and where his enemies could not suspect he would travel; and though he was destitute of food, he went on, and was so beggar'd that his clothes were eaten up. And when he came to the city of Midian, which lay upon the Red Sea, and was so denominated from one of Abraham's sons by Keturah, he set upon a certain pasture, and helped himself to what he could of the laborious journey and the affliction he had been in. It was not far from the city; and the time of the day was noon, where he had an occasion of eating and drinking of the sheaf, of date grove, which what he had seen, and though he was himself a good man, and the offspring of great men, yet that he should not pray any further; and he foregoes to tell us, that he did not consult with any person among men, by the blessing of God upon him. He also commanded him to go away thence with confidence to Egypt. In order to this, being the commander and conductor of the body of the Hebrews, and by the delivering his own people from the injuries they suffered there: "For," said God, "they shall inhabit this happy land which your forefather Abraham inhabited, and shall have the enjoyment of all sorts of good things; and thou, by thy prudence, shalt guide them to those good things." But still he enjoined him, when he had brought the Hebrews out of the land of Egypt, to come to that place, and to offer sacrifices of thanksgiving there. Such were the divine oracles which were delivered out of the fire.

2. But Moses was astonished at what he saw, and much more at what he heard; and he said, "I think it would be a mad foolishness, O Lord, for one of that regard I bear to thee, to distrust thy power, since I myself endure it, and know that it has been made manifest; and first in the wilderness; and I am still the same as how I, who am a private man, and one of no
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ides, should either persuade my own countrymen to leave the country they now inhabit, and to follow me; or, if they should be persuaded, how can I force Pharaoh to permit them to depart, since they augment their own wealth and prosperity by the labours and works which were put upon them.

3. But God persuaded him to be courageous on all occasions, and promised to be with him, and to assist him in his words, when he was to persuade men, and in his works, when he was to perform wonders. He bid him also to take a signal of the truth of what he said, by throwing his rod upon the ground, which, when he had done, it grew into a serpent. And when this happened, Moses said, Behold, thou hast seen what I said to thee: even as it is before. After this, God bid Moses put his right hand into his bosom: he obeyed, and when he took it out it was white and in colour like to chalk, but afterward turned to its wanted colour again. If he also, upon God's command, took some of the water that was near him, and poured it upon the ground, and saw the colour, he said, Behold, that which thou saidst, and he obtained a belief among all men, that he spake not by man, but by God, who had given him. He also exhorted him not to disbelieve what he told him, nor to oppose the will of God.

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

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

4. However, the king was no more moved when this was done, than before; and being very angry, he said, "That he should gain nothing by this cunning and shrewdness of mine." And he commanded him that was the chief task-master over the Hebrews, to give them no relaxation from their labours, but to compel them to submit to greater oppressions than also durst not set down the very words of the testimonies, as we tell it hereafter. And yet, as the Rabbins, sect. 4, which superstitious silence, has yet not been discontinued, even by the Rabbins. There is, however, no doubt that both these communications were taught Joseph by the Pharisees, a body of men at once very wicked and very superstitious.
used, and were found among what they ate, and what they drank, and came in great numbers upon their beds. There was also an ungrateful mania among them, and distress from the same, and to give their chattels in the night. Now when their labour was thus disabled them; they laid the blame upon Moses, because their labour and their miseries were on him, and because he was more severe to them. But Moses did not let his courage sink for the king's threatenings; nor did he abate of his zeal on account of the Hebrews' complaints, but he supported it, and set his soul resolutely against them both, and used his own utmost diligence to procure liberty to his countrymen. So he went to the king, and persuaded him to let the Hebrews go to mount Sinai, and there to sacrifice to God, because God had enjoined them so to do. He persuaded him also, not to counterwork the designs of God, but to esteem his favour above all things, and to permit them to depart, lest, before he be aware, he lay an obstruction in the way of the divine commands, and so occasion his own suffering such punishments as it was probable any one that counterworked the divine commands should undergo, since the severest afflictions arise from every object, to those that provoke the divine wrath against them: for such as thou hast destroyed the plants of my field, and the fruit of the earth nor the air for their friends; nor are the fruits of the womb according to nature, but every thing is unfriend and adverse towards them. He said further, that the Egyptians should know this by sad experience; and that besides, the Hebrew people should go out of their country without their consent.

CHAP. XIV.

Concerning the Ten Plagues which came upon the Egyptians.

§ 1. But when the king despised the words of Moses, and had no regard at all to them, grievous plagues seized the Egyptians; every one of which I will describe, both because so much plagues did ever happen to any other nation as the Egyptians now felt; and because I would demonstrate that Moses did not fail in any one thing that he foretold them, and because it is for the most part true that they may learn this caution, not to do any thing that may displease God, lest he be provoked to wrath, and avenge their iniquities upon men. The Egyptian river ran with blood, black and thick, and as it flowed, it knew not that it could not be drunk, and they had no other spring of water neither; for the water was not only of the colour of blood, but it brought upon those that ventured to drink of it, great pains and bitter torment. Such was the river to the Egyptians: but it was sweet and fit for drinking to the Hebrews, and noway different from what it naturally used to be. As the king therefore knew not what to do in these surprising circumstances, and was in fear for the Egyptians, he gave the Hebrews leave to go away; but when the plagues ceased, he changed his mind again, and would not suffer them to go.

§ 2. But when God saw that he was ungrateful, and upon the cessation of the calamity would not grow wiser, he sent another plague upon the Egyptians; as innumerable multitude of frogs consumed the fruit of the ground; the river was also full of them, insomuch, that those who drew water had it spoiled by the blood of these animals, as they died in and were destroyed by the water; and the country was full of filthiness, as they were born, and as they died; they also spoiled their vessels in their houses which they

* Of this judicious hardening the hearts, and blinding the eyes of the Egyptians, as if they were in a sort purposefully, to prevent their other wishes, see, to their own destruction, see the note at Act B. vi. ch. 19. sect. 8.

† As to this winter or spring hail near Egypt and Judea, which was very destructive, we have a sort of account, almost the same, as if the Egyptians and Judeans were in the same situation, the notes at Act B. vi. ch. 19. sect. 9.
advantage. But Pharaoh, led not so much by his folly as by his wickedness, even when he saw the cause of his misery, he still contested with the people, with a most wilful heart and a spirit of revenge; so he bid Moses take the Hebrews away, with their wives and children, and to leave their cattle behind, since their own cattle were destroyed. But when Moses said, that what he desired was unjust, since they were obliged to offer sacrifices to God of those cattle; and the time being prolonged on this account, a thick darkness placed itself over the land of Egypt, and made the air over the Egyptians, whereby their sight being obstructed, and their breathing hindered by the thickness of the air, they died miserably, and under a terror lest they should be swallowed up by the dark cloud. Besides this, the darkness, after three days and as many nights, was dissipated, and when Pharaoh did not still repeat, and let the Hebrews go, Moses came to him and said: "How long wilt thou be disobedient to the command of God for he enjoins thee to let the Hebrews go; nor is there any other way of being freed from the calamities that are upon thee, unless you do so." But the king was angry at what he said, and threatened to cut off his head, if he came any more to trouble him. However, in the thirtieth month, he would not speak to him any more about them, for that he himself, together with the principal men among the Egyptians, should desire the Hebrews to stay. So when Moses said this, he went his way.

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

CHAP. XV

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

2. They left Lympella on the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus, on the fifteenth day of the lunar month; four hundred and thirty years after their forefather Abrahah came into Canaan, but two hundred and fifty after the bread of the wilderness was given them. It was the eighteenth year of the age of Moses, and that of Aaron three more. They also carried out the bones of Joseph with them, as he had charged his son to do.

3. But the Egyptians soon repented that the Hebrews were gone; and the king also was mightily concerned that this had been procured by the magic arts of Moses; so they resolved to go after them. Accordingly they took their weapons, and other warlike furniture, and pursued after them, in order to bring them back, if once they overtook them, because they would now have no pretence to pray to God against them, since they had already been permitted to go out; and they thought they should easily overcome them, as they had no armour, and would be weary with their journey; so they made haste in their pursuit, and asked of every one they met which way they went, who indeed, that last was difficult to be travelled over, not only by armies, but by single persons. Now Moses led the Hebrews this way, that in case the Egyptians should repent and be desirous to pursue after them, they might not know of their departure, for their country is near to that of Egypt; and thence it was that Moses led them, as they had the road that tended to the land of the Philistines, but he was desirous that they should go through the desert, so after a long journey, and after many afflictions, they might enter upon the land of Canaan.
ANTIOQUIES OF THE JEWS

mam. Another reason of this was, that God had commanded him to bring the people to Mount Sinai, that there they might offer him sacrifices. They therefore, as soon as they had overspread the sea, prepared to fight them, and by their multitude they drove them into a narrow place, for the number that pursued after them was six hundred chariots, with fifty thousand horsesmen, and two hundred thousand footmen; all armed. They also seized on the passages by which they imagined the Hebrews might fly, shutting them up between the precipices and the sea: for there was [on each side] a [ridge of] mountains that terminated at the sea, which were impassable by reason of their roughness, and obstructed their flight; wherefore they there pressed upon the Hebrews with their army, where the [ridges of] the mountains were closed with the sea, which army they placed at the cops of the mountains, that so they might deprive them of any passage into the plain.

4. When the Hebrews, therefore, were neither able to bear up, being thus, as it were, besieged, because they had wanted provision, nor saw any possible way of escaping; and if they should have thought of fighting, they had no weapons, they expected a universal destruction, unless they fled to God; up voluntarily to the Egyptians. So they laid the blame on Moses, and forgot all the signs that had been wrought by God for the recovery of their freedom; and the Hebrews, their incredulity prompted them to throw stones at the prophet, while he encouraged them, and promised them deliverance; and they resolved that they would deliver themselves up to him. So there was sorrow and lamentation among the women and children, who had nothing but destruction before their eyes, while they were encompassed with mountains, and other enemies, and discerned no way of flying from them.

5. But Moses, though the multitude looked fiercely at him, did not, however, give over the care of them, but despaired all dangers, out of his trust in God, who, as he had afforded them the several steps already taken for the recovery of their liberty, which he had foretold them, would not now suffer them to be subdued by their enemies, to be either made slaves, or be slain by them. And standing in the midst of them, he said, "It is not just for us to distrust even men; we have sinned hitherto, and I have mismanaged our affairs, as if they would not be the same men hereafter: but it is no better than madness at this time to despair of the providence of God, by whom we are left here on this place of his choosing, and have performed which he promised, when you expected no such things: I mean, all that I have been concerned in for your deliverance, and escape from slavery. Nay, when we are in the utmost distress, as you see we are, we ought the rather to hope that God will succour us, by whose operations it is that we are now encompassed within this narrow place, that he may deliver us out of such difficulties as are otherwise insurmountable, and out of which neither you nor your enemies expect you can be delivered, and may at once demonstrate his own power, and his providence over us. Nor does God use to give his help in small difficulties to those whom he favours, but in such cases where no one can see how any hope in his providence and power can be formed, he therefore upon such a protector as is able to make small things great, and to show that this mighty force against you is nothing but weakness, and he not affliction to the Egyptians, nor do you despair of being preserved because the sea before, and the mountains behind, afford you no opportunity for flying, for even these mountains, if God so please, may become plain ground for you, and the sea become dry land."

CHAP. XVI.

How the Sea was divided amunder for the Hebrews, when they were pursued by the Egyptians, and how Providence gave them an opportunity of escaping from them.

§ 1. When Moses had said this, he led them to the sea, while the Egyptians looked on, for they were within sight. Now these were so diseased with fear, and the toil of the pursuit, that they thought proper to put off fighting till the next day. But when Moses was come to the seashore, he took his rod, and made supplication to God, and produced the Egyptians, and his assistant; and said, "Thou art not ignorant, O Lord, that it is beyond human strength and human contrivance to avoid the difficulties we are now under, but it must be thy work altogether to procure deliverance to this army, which has left Egypt at thy appointment. We despair of any other assistance or contrivance, and have recourse only to that hope we have in thee; and if there be no method that can promise us an escape by thy providence, we look up to thee for it. And let it come quickly, and manifest thy power to us: and so thou raise up this people unto good courage and hope of deliverance, who are deeply sunk into a disconsolate state of mind. We are in a helpless place, but still it is a place that thou hast chosen; but still the sea is thick, the mountains that enclose us are thine: so that these mountains will open themselves if thou commandest them, and the sea also, if thou commandest it, will become dry land. Nay, we might escape by a flight through the air, if thou shouldest determine we should have that way of salvation."

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

§ 3. Now while these Hebrews made no stay but went on earnestly, as led by God's presence with them, the Egyptians supposed, at first, that they were distracted, and were going rashly upon said that the Israelites were in Etham before they went over the sea, and yet might be said to have come into Etham after they had passed over the sea also. Besides, he gave an account how he passed over a river in a boat, as is near the city of Cyrene in Africa, and was the sport of the ancients, for a city which could not be situate any where else in that neighbourhood.

Isaiah the prophet speaks this here by Dr. Barrow, out of Herodotus, as the most ancient Heathen testimony of the Israelites' coming from the Red Sea into Palestine, as they were driven from the land between Migdal and Horeb, being pursued by the Canaanites or Phœnician shepherds, and their resting out of Egypt into Canaan or Phœnicia, long before the days of Moses. Sanchoniatho, p. 374. &c.
BOOK II.—CHAP. XVI.

And destruction of their enemies; now indeed supposing themselves firmly delivered, when those that would have forced them into slavery were destroyed, and when they found they had slain God so evidently for their protector, (as it now seems to us) these Hebrews having escaped the danger they were in, after this manner; and besides that, seeing their enemies punished in such a way as they could never be before, the men with whom they had been, all the night employed in singing of hymns, and in mirth. Moses also composed a song unto God, containing his praises, and a thanksgiving for his kind assistance in their case;

5. As for himself, I have delivered every part of this history so I found it in the sacred books; nor let any one question at the passage or the narration, if a way were discovered to those men of old time, who were free from the wick edness of the modern ages, whether it happened by the will of God, or by means of his creatures, which did not happen at this time, for a dark and dismal night overspread them. Thus did all these men perish, so that there was not one man left to be a messenger of this calamity to the rest of the Egyptians.

4. But the Hebrews were not able to contain themselves for joy at their wonderful deliverance.

* Of these storms of wind, thunder, and lightning, at this drowning of Pharaoh's army, almost wanting in our copy, see Amsden, in his notes upon the like in Prophets, ch. xxiv. 16, 17, 18. and in that of Josephus here, see Euseby on the Old Testament, appendix, p. 154, 155.

1. What is related against this passage of the Israelites over the Red Sea, in this one night, from the common maps, viz. that this sea being here about thirty miles broad, so great an army could not pass over it in so short a time, is a great mistake. None. There is, an authentical copy, wherein is, that the sea, as within four days' journey, is nowhere more than about eight or nine miles over, and in one place but four or five miles; according to B. Lide's map, which is made from the best travellers themselves, and not copied from others.—What has been farther objected against this passage of the Israelites over the Red Sea, viz. that it was an Egyptian passage, is a most unreasonable idea; viz. That Moses might carry the Israelites over at a low tide, without any miracle, while yet the Egyptians, as the river overflowed them, might be drowned upon the return of the tide, is a strange story indeed; as if Moses, who never had lived here, could know the quantity and time of the flood and reflux of the Red Sea, better than the Egyptians themselves in its neighbourhood! Yet does Arrianus, an ancient heathen historian, inform us, that this was the more ignorant Mosaphites, who lived at a great distance; pretended, though he confesses, that the more learned Hecropolitians, who lived much nearer, owned the destruction of the Egyptians, and the deliverance of the Israelites, to have been miraculous. And De Castro, a mathematician, who surveyed this sea with great exactness, informed us, that there is no great flux or reflux in this part of the Red Sea, to give a colour to this hypothesis; nay, that at the elevation of the tide there is little above half a foot; and that as for the Red Sea itself, that place "in which it is", in the copy, p. 289, 290. So vast and groundless are these and the like evasions and subterfuges of our modern sceptics, that it is absolutely necessary we do them no credit; and the arguments for the belief are so strong, and the inferences and authentic evidence, dispose and cleave against all the creeds and subterfuges upon all occasions.

What that heaxteranet verse, in which he triumphs of song is here said to be written, distinctly means, our present knowledge of the more northerly parts of our present state, will not let us determine. Nor does it appear to me certain, that even Josephus himself had a distinct notion of it, though he seems to have imagined, or may that we may, of those ancients, both here and elsewhere, Aristotle, B. r. chap. viii. sect. xvi. and B. v. chap. xii. sect. iii. mention the passage of the four old帅, that still remain, as to this transit of Alexander the Great over the Pamphylean Sea; I mean of Callisthenes,
everybody's calamity to be his own: for they ran all of them to him, and begged of him; the women begged for their infants, and the men for the women, that he would not overlook them, but would procure some way or other for their deliverance. He therefore betook himself to prayer to God, as he would change the water from its present badness, and make it fit for drinking. And when God had granted him that favour, he took the top of a stick that lay down at his feet, and made use of it for a pledge, to the sense lengthwise. He then let it down into the well, and persuaded the Hebrews that God had heard and answered his prayers, and had promised to render the water such as they desired it to be, in case they would be subservient to him in what he should enjoin them to do; and this not after a remiss or negligent manner. And when they used, what they were to do in order to have the water changed for the better, he bid the strongest men among them that stood there, to draw up water; and told them that when the greatest part was drawn up, the remainder would be fit to drink: so they laboured at it till the water was so agitated and purged as to be fit to drink.

3. And now removing from thence, they came to Elim; which place looked well at a distance, for there was a grove of palm-trees; but when they came near it, it appeared to be a bad place, for the palm-trees were no more than seventy; and they were ill grown and creeping trees, by the want of water, for the country about was all parched, and no moisture sufficient to water them; and make them hopeful and useful, was derived to them from the sea. Wares in number twelve; they were rather a few moist places, than springs, which not breaking out of the ground, but being running over, could not sufficiently water the trees. And when they drew the said, they met with no water; and if they took a few drops of it into their hands, they found it to be useless, on account of its mud. The trees also were too weak to bear fruit, for want of being sufficiently cherished and enlivened by the water. So they laid the blame on their conductor, and made heavy complaints against him; and said, that this their miserable state, and the experience they had of adversity, were owing to him for that they had journeyed an entire thirty

plain of his omission of any accounts of such miracles as derived from Gentiles, he did not think proper to censured him, what he who was possessed of such an inadmissible, in that he certainly, as Josephus

and the women too, as he used them also as looks less, in the sentence he has. His Antiquities for the use of Jews, he would hardly have given them these very improbable circumstances; but writing to Gentiles, this, they might not come

not the least colour for finding fault with Josephus; he would rather have been much to blame had he omitted these quotations.

BOOK III.
CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWO YEARS.—FROM THE EXODUS OUT OF EGYPT, TO THE REJECTION OF THAT GENERATION.

CHAP. I.
How Moses, when he had brought the People out of Egypt, led them to mount Sinai, but not till they had suffered much in their Journey.

§ 1. When the Hebrews had obtained such a wonderful deliverance, the country was a great trouble to them, for it was entirely a desert, and without all sustenance for them; and also had exceeding little water, so that it not only was not sufficient to drink for the men, but enough to feed any of the cattle, for it was parched up, and had no moisture that might afford nutriment to the vegetables; so they were forced to travel over this country, as having no other country but this to travel in. They had indeed carried water along with them from the land over which they had travelled before, as their conductor had bidden them: but when that was spent, they were obliged to draw water out of wells, with pain, by reason of the hardness of the soil. Moreover, what water they found was bitter, and not fit for drinking, and this in small quantities also. And as they thus travelled, they came late in the evening to a place called 'Marah,' which had this name from the badness of its water, for Mar denotes bitterness. Thither they came afflicted, both by the tediousness of their journey, and by their want of food, for it entirely failed them at that time. Now here was a well, which made them choose to stay in the place, which, although it were not sufficient to satisfy so great an army, did yet afford them some comfort, as found in such desert places; for they bade that there was nothing to be seen, that there was nothing to be found, if they travelled farther. Yet was this water bitter, and not fit for the men, nor for the beasts; not only, but it was intolerable even to the cattle themselves.

2. When Moses saw how much the people were cast down, and that the occasion of it could not be contradicted, for the people were not in the nature of a complete army of men, who might oppose a manly fortitude to the necessity that distressed them; the multitude of the children, and of the women also, being of too weak capacities to be persuaded by reason, blunted the courage of the men themselves. Moses therefore was in great difficulties, and made

* Dr. Bernard takes notice here, that this place Mar, where the waters were bitter, is called by the Syriac and Arabic authors, Marah, and in the Hebrew, Maret. All this, as Dr. Bernard observes, is derived from the Hebrew Mar; he also takes notice, that it is called the bitter fountain by Pliny himself. Which waters remain there to this day, and are still bitter, as Tyreport assures us; and that there are also abundance of palm-trees, see his Travels, part i. chap. xxvi. p. 186. It

is the same Mar, that is called in the Hebrew, Maret, as one of the sweetening of the water at Marah, seem derived from some ancient prodigious letter, and he used such an author also as looks less, in the sentence he has. His Antiquities for the use of Jews, he would hardly have given them these very improbable circumstances; but writing to Gentiles, this, they might not come

the bitter and barren spring near Jericho. Of the War, in i.

chap. viii. sect. iii.
in order to make them more useful in their service. That as for himself, he shall not be so much concerned for his own preservation; for if he die unjustly, he shall not reckon it any affliction, but that God be concerned for them, lest, by casting stones at him, they should be thought to condemn God himself.

5. By this means Moses pacified the people, and restrained them, seeing them in their attempt to stone him, as the direct occasion of their present miseries.

4. But as for Moses himself; while the multitude was highly indignant at him, he cheerfully relied upon God, and upon the consciousness of the care he had taken of these his own people: and he came into the midst of them even while they clamoured against him, and had stones in their hands in order to dispatch him. Now he was of an agreeable presence, and very able to persuade the people by his speeches; accordingly, he began to mitigate their anger, and exhorted them not to be overmindful of their present adversities, lest they should thereby suffer the benefits that had formerly been bestowed on them by the man of God, and despise them by no means, on account of their present unseasonableness, to cast those great and wonderful favours and gifts, which they had obtained of God through his mediation, out of those present troubles, which they could not free themselves from, and this by the means of that divine Providence which watched over them; seeing it is probable, that God tries their virtues, and exercises their patience by these adversities, that it may appear what virtue they have, and what memory they retain of the goodness of God. Moses exhorted them by their favour, and whether they will not think of them upon occasion of the miseries they now feel. He told them, it appeared they were not really good men, either in patience, or in remembering what had been successfully done for them, sometimes by contending God and his commands, when by those commands they left the land of Egypt, and sometimes by beholding themselves ill towards him who was the servant of God, and this when he had never deceived them, either in what he said, or in what God commanded. He also put them in mind of all that had passed: how the Egyptians were destroyed when they attempted to detain them, contrary to the command of God. And what was the manner that the very same river was to the others bloody, and not fit for drinking, but was to them sweet, and fit for drinking; and how they went a new road through the wilderness, and found a little water from thence, by which very means they were themselves preserved, but saw their enemies destroyed; and that when they were in want of weapons, God gave them plenty of them; and so he recounted all the particular instances, how when they were, in appearance, just going to be destroyed, God had saved them in a surprising manner: that he had still the same power; and that they ought not even now to despair of his providence over them: and accordingly he exhorted them to continue quiet, and to consider that help would not come from men only, but from God himself, if it be present with them before they suffer any great misfortune; that they ought to reason thus: that God delays to assist them, not because he had no power, but because he will first try their fortitude, and the pleasure they take in their freedom, that he may learn whether you have souls great enough to bear want of food, and to support hunger, whether you love to be slaves, as cattle are slaves to such as own them, and feed them liberally, but only

*It seems to me, from what Moses, Exod. xvi. 14. St. Paul, 1 Cor. vili. 15. and Josephus here says, compared together, that the quantity of means that fell daily, and did not putrid, was just as much as came to a bushel and some that fell through the whole host of Israel, and so more.
other sorts of food to those that fed on it. And even now in all that place this manna comes down in rain," according to what Moses then obtained of God, as he journeyed with the people for that space of time. Now the Hebrews call this food "manna," from the particle "man," in our language, is the asking of a question, What is this? So the Hebrews were wont to say, Here is that which was sent from heaven. Now they made use of this food for forty years, or as long as they were in the wilderness.

Then as such as they were removed thence, they came to Rephidim, being distressed to the last degree by thirst; and while in the foregoing days they had lit on a few small fountains, but now found the earth entirely destitute of water, they were in an evil case. They again turned their anger against Moses; but he at first avoided the fury of the multitude, and then betook himself to prayer to God, beseeching him, that as he had given them food when they were in the greatest want of it, so he would give them drink, since the favour of giving them food was of no value to them while they had nothing to drink. And God did not delay to give it them, but promised Moses that he would procure them a fountain and plenty of water from a place they did not expect. So he commanded him to smite the rock which they saw lying there, with his rod, and out of it to receive plenty of what they wanted; for he had taken care that drink should come about where it was most needed. When Moses had received this command from God, he came to the people who waited for him, and looked upon him, for they saw already that he was coming apace from his eminence. As soon as he was come, he told them that God would deliver them from their present distress, and had prepared them an unexpected favour; and informed them, that a river should run for their sakes out of the rock. But they were amazed at that hearing, supposing they were of necessity to cut the rock in pieces, now they were distracted by their thirst and by their journey; while Moses, only smiting the rock with his rod, opened a passage, and out of it burst out water, and that in great abundance, and very clear. But they were astonished at this wonderful effect, and, as it were, quenched their thirst by the very sight of it. So they drank this pure water, and praised God; and such it seemed such a manifestation of God's mercies as when men are in possession of, they fight undauntedly and that they are to judge themselves to have all these advantages in the divine assistance. They were also in haste to go and extol the enemy's army to be small, unarmed, weak, and such as want those conveniences which they know must be wanted, when it is God's will that they shall be beaten. And how valuable God's assistance is, they had experienced, in abundance of trials; and such as were more terrible than war, for that is only against men, but these were against famine and thirst; things indeed that were in their own nature insuperable; as also against mountains, and that sea which afforded them no way of escaping; yet had all these difficulties been conquered by God's grace.

CHAP. II.

How the Amalekites, and the neighbouring Nations, made War with the Hebrews, and were beaten, and lost a great Part of their Army.

§ 1. The name of the Hebrews began already to be very much drowned, and rumour about them ran abroad. This made the inhabitants of those countries to be in no small fear. Accordingly, they sent ambassadors to one another, and exhorted the people for the sake of God, and to endeavour to destroy these men. Those that induced the rest to do so, were such as inhabited Gobolitis and Petra. They were called "ama leites, by which was signified the nations that lived therewith; and whose kings exhorted one another, and their neighbours, to go to war against the Hebrews; telling them that an army of men, and such a one as this, was run away from slavery under the Egyptians, lay in wait to ruin them, which army they were not, in common prudence and regard to their own safety, to overlook, but to crush them before they gather strength, and come to be in prosperity, and perhaps attack them first in a hostile manner, as presuming upon our indifference in not attacking them before; and that we ought to avenge ourselves of them for what they have done in the wilderness, but that this cannot be so well done when they have once laid their hands on our cities, and our goods: that those who endeavour to crush a power in its first rise, are wiser than those that endeavour to put to a stop to its progress, which is become formidable. And these last seem to be angry only at the flourishing of others, but the former do not leave any room for their enemies to become troublesome to them.

After they had sent away the embassadour with a message to the neighbouring nations, and among one another, they resolved to attack the Hebrews in battle.

2. These proceedings of the people of these countries occasioned perplexity and trouble to Moses, who expected no such warlike preparations. And when these nations were ready to fight, and the multitude of the Hebrews were obliged to try their strength, they were in a mighty disorder, and in want of all necessaries, and yet were to make war with men who were thoroughly well prepared for it. Then therefore it was that Moses began to encourage them, and to exhort them to have a good heart, and rely on God's assistance, by which they had been ad vanced into a state of freedom, and to hope for victory over those who were ready to fight with them, in order to deprive them of that blessing. That they were to suppose their own army to be numerous, wanting nothing, neither weapons, nor money to pay their soldiers; that they were secure in their present situation as if they were not possessed of, they fight undauntedly and that they are to judge themselves to have all these advantages in the divine assistance. They were also in haste to go and extol the enemy's army to be small, unarmed, weak, and such as want those conveniences which they know must be wanted, when it is God's will that they shall be beaten. And how valuable God's assistance is, they had experienced, in abundance of trials; and such as were more terrible than war, for that is only against men, but these were against famine and thirst; things indeed that were in their own nature insuperable; as also against mountains, and that sea which afforded them no way of escaping; yet had all these difficulties been conquered by God's grace.

1 "manna," to divide, i.e. a dividend or portion allotted to every one, it is uncertain; I give it the latter signification. This manna is called "angels' food," Ps. 105. 45; and by our Saviour, John vi. 31, &c. as well as by Jesus Christ himself, when he spoke of his body as "bread of life." It is said to be sent the Jews from heaven.

2 This rock is there to this day, as the travellers agree, and must be seen in the month of May, and allow that it had not been seen before. However, this flood from heaven continued to come down, like the waters of Ararat and in Aspa sias, a headstrong writer, it is compared to "meat, like to oatmeal, in colour like to snow, rained down by God." Kestus, says, it was the "largest rock." But as to the derivation of the word "manna," whether from Man, which Josephus says was signified, what is it? or from Maniah, 1 Macc. i. sect. 17.
BOOK III.—CHAP. III.

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does kindness to them. So he exhorteth them to be courageous and to look upon their entire garrison to depend upon the present contest of their enemies.

3. And with these words did Moses encourage them; that he might call upon the princes of their tribes, and their chief men, both separately and conjointly. The young men he charged to obey their elders, and the elders to valiantly behave. So the men were elevated in their minds, and ready to try their fortune in battle, and hoped to be thereby at length delivered from all their miseries: nay, the young men considered that they would inferiously lead them against their enemies without the least delay, that no backwardness might be a hindrance to their present resolution. So Moses sorted all those that were fit for war into different troops; and set Joshua, the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, over them; one that was of great courage, and patient to undergo labours; of great abilities to understand, and to speak what was proper; and very serious in the worship of God; and indeed made, like another Moses, a teacher of piety towards God. He also appointed a small party of the armed men to be near the water; and to take care of the children, and the women, and of the entire camp. So that whole night they prepared themselves for the battle: they took the spoils, and laid hands to such ends as were well made, and attended to their commanders, as ready to rush forth to the battle, as soon as Moses should give the word of command. Moses then kept the men of the army in suspense, to see what manner he should order his camp. But when the day began, Moses called for Joshua again, and exhorted him to approve himself in deeds, such a one as his reputation made men expect from him; and to gain glory by the present expedition, in the opinion of those under him, for his exploits in this battle. He also gave a particular exhortation to the principal men of the Hebrews, and encouraged the whole army as it stood armed before him. And when he had thus animated the army, both by his words and works, and prepared every thing, he retired to a mountain, and committed the army to God and to Joshua.

Moses joined battle; and it came to a close fight hand to hand, both sides showing great alacrity, and encouraging one another. And indeed while Moses stretched out his hands toward the heavens, and stretched his hands for the Amalekites: but Moses not being able to sustain his hands thus stretched out, (for as often as he let down his hands, so often were his own people wretched,) he had his brother Aaron and Hur, their sister Miriam's husband, to stand on each side of him, and take hold of his hands, and not permit his weariness to prevent it, but to assist him in the extension of his hands. When this was done, the Hebrews conquered the Amalekites by main force; and indeed they had all perished, unless the approach of the night had obliged the Hebrews to desist from killing any more. So our forefathers obtained a most signal and most seasonable victory; for they not only overcame those that fought against them, but took all the spoils and gain, which was the stretching out of the hands (and eyes) toward enemies, no other passages of the Old and New Testament besides. This was the first time that prayers had been so greatly and splendidly employed, which they obtained of their enemies by their hard pains in this battle; for when they had taken the enemy's camp, they got ready booty for the public, and for their own private families, whereas till these they had not had sort of plenty, of even necessary food. The forementioned battle they had once got it, was also the occasion of their prosperity, not only for the present but for the future ages also, for the word was written, that the bodies of their enemies, but subdued their minds also; and, after this battle, became terrible to all that dwelt round about them. Moreover, through the spoils they obtained much riches; for a great deal of silver and gold was left in the enemy's camp; as also brazen vessels, which they made common use of in their families; many other utensils also that were embroidered, there were of both sorts, that is, of what were weaved, and what were the ornaments of their armour, and other things that served for use in the family, and for the furniture of their rooms; they got also the prey of their cattle, and of whatsoever uses to follow camps when they remove from one place to another. So the Hebrews now valued themselves upon their courage, and claimed great merit for their valour; and they perpetually indulged themselves to take pains, by which they deemed every difficulty might be surmounted.

But this was the consequence of this battle.

5. On the next day Moses stripped the dead bodies of their enemies, and gathered together the armour of those that were dead, and gave recompense in kind to the good: such as were armed to the teeth, to the battle action; and highly commended Joshua, their general, who was attested to by all the army, on account of the great actions he had done. Nor was any one of the Hebrews slain: but the soldiers of the enemy's army were too many to be enumerated: so Moses offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to God, and built an altar, which he named, 'the Lord the Conqueror.' He also told that the Amalekites should utterly be destroyed; and that hereafter none of them should remain, because they fought against the Hebrews, and this when they were in the wilderness, and in their distress also. Moreover, he refreshed the army with feasting. And thus did they fight this first battle with those that ventured to oppose them, after they were gone out of Egypt. But, when Moses had celebrated this festival for the victory, he permitted the Hebrews to rest for seven days, and then he sent them out after the fight, in order of battle; for they had now many soldiers in light armour. And going gradually on, he came to Mount Sinai in three months' time, in three months' time, in which they moved out of Egypt; at which mountain, as we have before related, the vision of the bush, and the other wonderful appearances, had happened.

CHAP. III.

That Moses kindly received his Father-in-law, Jethro, when he came to him to Mount Sinai.

§ 1. Now when Raganel, Moses father-in-law, understood in what a prosperous condition his affairs were, he willingly came to meet him; and Moses took Zipporah his wife, and his children, and pleased himself with his coming. And when he had offered sacrifice, he made a feast for the multitude near the bush he had formerly seen. And when he had received them, he entertained them, and had his family with him. And he had a great and splendid assembly, of which many heads there were. But Aaron and his family took Raganel, and sung hymns to God, as to him who had been the author and procurer of their deliverance, and their freedom. They

This eminent circumstance, that while Moses's hands were stretched out, he was wearied; and all the while, while they were let down towards the earth, the Amalekites prevailed, seems to me the earliest intimation we have of the efficacy of prayer; and a good reason why the prayers of the church, these prayers of the people, should have a place in the church, and be entertained by the people. But this practice of praying, praise, and thanksgiving, appears to me to have been the practice of God's people, Patriarchal, Jewish, and Christian, in all the ages.

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also praised their conductor, as him by whose virtue it was, that all things had succeeded so well with them. Raguel also, in his eucharistic oration to Moses, made great encomiums upon him, and praised him, and the multitude of the Israelites, not but he did admire Moses for his fortitude, and that humanity he had showed in the delivery of his friends.

CHAP. IV.
How Raguel suggested to Moses to set his People in Order, under their Rulers of Thousands, and Rulers of Hundreds, who lived without Order in Moses' camp, how Moses composed all things with his Father-in-law's Admonition.

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

2. This was the admonition of Raguel; and Moses received his advice very kindly, and acted according to his suggestion. Nor did he conceal the manner of the method he proposed to himself, but informed the multitude who it was that invented it: nay, he has named Raguel in the books he wrote, as the person who invented this ordering of the people, as thinking it right to give a true testimony to worthy persons, although he might have gotten reputation by ascribing it to himself, and, could not but admire Moses for his fortitude, and that humanity he had showed in the delivery of his friends.

CHAP. V.
How Moses ascended up to Mount Sinai, and received Laws from God, and delivered them to the Hebrews.

§ 1. Now Moses called the multitude together, and told them he was going from them unto mount Sinai, to converse with God; to receive from him, and to bring back with him a certain oracle; but he enjoined them to pitch their tents near the mountain, and prefer the habitations that was nearest to God, before one more remote. When he had said this, he ascended up to mount Sinai, which is the highest of all the mountains that are in that country, and is not only very difficult to be ascended by men; on account of its vast altitude, but because of the sharpness of its precipices, and the fear that might be felt by those that did it, without pain of the eyes: and besides this, it was terrible and inaccessible, on account of the rumour that passed about, that God dwelt there. People had hitherto cut the wood, and other parts of the mountain, millions of times; but Moses had hitherto, and took possession of the lowest parts of the mountain; and were elevated in their minds, in expectation that Moses would return from the mountain with laws, and other commands, that he had proposed to them: so they feasted, and waited for their conductor, and kept themselves pure, as in other respects, and not communicating with the rest of the multitude, until he did order them to do. And they prayed to God, that he would favourably receive Moses in his conversing with him; and bestow some such gift upon them by which they might live well. They also lived more plentifully as to their diet, and put on their wives and children more ornamental and decent clothing than they usually wore.

2. So they passed two days in this way of feasting; but on the third day, before the sun was up, a cloud spread itself over the whole camp of the Hebrews, such a one as none had ever seen, and encircled the place where they had pitched their tents, and while all the rest of the air was clear, there came strong winds, that raised up a large body of clouds, and filled the air with a mighty tempest. There was also such lightning, as was terrible to those that saw it; and thunder with its thunderbolts were sent down, and declared God to be there present in a gracious way to such as Moses desired he should be gracious. Now, as to these matters, every one of my readers may think as he pleases: but I am under a necessity of relating this history, as it is described in the sacred books. This sight, and the amazing sounds that came to their ears, disturbed the Hebrews to a prodigious degree, for they were not used to be accustomed to: and then the rumour that was spread abroad, how God frequented that mountain, greatly astonished their minds; so they sorrowfully continued their stay with themselves, and pitch to it until Moses to be destroyed by the divine wrath, and expecting the like destruction for themselves.
When they were under these apprehensions, Moses appeared as joyful and greatly exalted. We shall next see that they were in a high degree fear, and admitted of more comfortable hopes as to what was to come. The air also was become clear and pure of its former disorders, upon the appearance of the cloud, and by many other signs. When Moses had gathered together the people to a congregation, in order to their hearing what God would say to them: and when they were gathered together, he stood on a mount. And there he talked with God, as it was said, "God has received me graciously, O Hebrews, as he had formerly done; and hath suggested a happy method of living for you, and an order of political government, and is now present in the camp: I therefore charge you for his sake, and the sake of his works, and what we have done by his means, that you do not put a low value on what I am going to say, because the commands have been given by me that now deliver them to you, nor because it is the tongue of a man that delivers them to you; but if you have a due regard to the great importance of the things themselves, you will understand the greatness of him whose institutions they are, and who is a man to communicate them to you. There is, for our common advantage for it is not to be supposed, that the author of these institutions is barely Moses, the son of Amram and Jochebed, but God, who contrived a method of sending us food from heaven, when we were distressed for want of it; he who made the water to issue out of a rock, when we had very little of it before: he by whose means Aaron was made to take of the fruits both of the land and of the sea: he by whose means Noah escaped the deluge: he by whose means Jacob was adorned with twelve virtuous sons: he by whose means Canaan was born of parents who were very old: he by whose means Joseph was born of a servant, and was admired with twelve virtuous sons: he by whose means Jesus became the heir of the kingdom of heaven. He who conversed these instructions to you by me as his interpreter, and let them be to you venerable, and show the wisdom of the choice of the laws on which you are to depend; and whose laws are of a nature to dispose you to be obedient: after you will follow them, you will lead a happy life; you will enjoy the land fruitful, the sea calm, and the sky clear. He who has been chosen by the great and mighty powers of heaven, and he has been chosen by the great and mighty powers of heaven, and I am sure that you will bear false witness. The tenth, that we must not admit of the desire of any thing that is another's.

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

When matters were brought to this state, Moses went up again to Mount Sinai, of which he had told them beforehand. He made his ascent in their sight; and while he stood there a whole month, (for he was absent from them forty days,) fear and trembling of heart was on the breast of Moses should have come to any harm; nor was there any thing else so sad, and that so much in his apprehension, as the sight of the man would perish. Now there was a variety in their sentiments about it; some saying that he was fallen among wild beasts, and some that he was by the hands of Egyptians by various sorts of judgments: he who provided a way through the sea for us: he who contrived the method of sending us food from heaven, when we were distressed for want of it: he who made the water to issue out of a rock, when we had very little of it before: he by whose means Aaron was made to take of the fruits both of the land and of the sea: he by whose means Noah escaped the deluge: he by whose means Jacob was adorned with twelve virtuous sons: he by whose means Joseph was born of parents who were very old: he by whose means Jesus became the heir of the kingdom of heaven. He who conversed these instructions to you by me as his interpreter, and let them be to you venerable, and show the wisdom of the choice of the laws on which you are to depend; and whose laws are of a nature to dispose you to be obedient: after you will follow them, you will lead a happy life; you will enjoy the land fruitful, the sea calm, and the sky clear. He who has been chosen by the great and mighty powers of heaven, and he has been chosen by the great and mighty powers of heaven, and I am sure that you will bear false witness. The tenth, that we must not admit of the desire of any thing that is another's.

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ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the Tabernacle which Moses built in the wilderness, for the honour of God, and which seemed to be a Temple.

1. Hereupon the Israelites rejoiced at what they had seen and heard of their conductor, and were not wanting in diligence according to their ability; but they brought silver, and gold, and brass, and stones of variegated colours, and such as would not at all decay by putrefaction: camels' hair also, and sheep skins, some of them died of a blue colour, and some of a scarlet; some brought the best of the linen cloth and other stuff; white wool and flowers also mentioned; and fine linen and precious stones, those which used costly ornaments set in cowries of gold; they brought also a great quantity of spices: for of these materials did Moses build the tabernacle, which did not at all differ from a moveable and ambulatory temple. Now when these things were brought together with great diligence, for every one was ambitious to further the work even beyond their ability, he set architect over the works, and this by the command of God; and indeed it was by the will of which the people themselves would have chosen, had the election been allowed to them. Now these names are set down in writing in the sacred books, and in the book of Numbers, which mention the son of Uri, of the tribe of Judah, the grandson of Miriam, the sister of their conductor; and Ahozab, the son of Ahiasmiah, of the tribe of Dan. Now the handle went on as was usual, and what they undertook with so great anality, that Moses was obliged to restrain them, by making proclamation, that what had been brought was sufficient, as the artificers had estimated him. So they fell to work upon the building of the tabernacle. Moses informed them, according to the direction of God, both what the measures were to be, and its largeness; and how many vessels it ought to contain, for the use of the sacrifices. The women also were ambitious to do their parts, and to adorn the garments of the priests, and about other things that would be wanted in this work, both for ornament, and for the divine service itself.

2. And when all things were prepared, the gold, and the silver, and the brass, and what was woven, Moses, when he had appointed beforehand that there should be a festival, and that sacrifices should be made, told them to add to their ability, reared up the tabernacle. And when he had measured the open court, fifty cubits broad, and a hundred and twenty, he set up twenty pillars, and the heads of the longer sides, and ten pillars for the breadth behind; every one of the pillars also had a ring. Their chapiters were of silver, but their bases were of brass; they resembled the sharp ends of spears, and were of brass, fasted into the ground. Cords were also put through the rings, and were tied at their farther ends to brass nails of a cubit long, which at every pillar were driven into the floor, and so would keep the tabernacle from being shaken by the violence of the winds. But a curtain of fine soft linen went round all the pillars, and hung down in a lappet, and fitted perfectly and impossibly to their chapiters, and enclosed the whole space, and seemed not at all unlike to a wall about it. And this was the structure of three of the sides of this enclosure, from twenty cubits in extent, and was the front of the whole, twenty cubits of it were for the opening at the gates, whereon stood two pillars on each side, after the pattern of those of the open gates, Most of open gates, and the gates the nado wholly of silver, and polished, and that all over excepting the bases, which were of brass. Now, on the side of the gates there stood three pillars, which were inserted into the concave bases of the gates, and were suit ed to them; and round them was drawn a curtain of fine linen. But to the pillars themselves, which were thirty cubits in extent, and five in height, the curtain was composed of purple, and scarlet, and blue, and fine linen, and embroidered with many and divers figures of all living animals. Within these gates was the brazen laver for purification, having a basin beneath, of the like matter, whence the priests might wash their hands and feet. It was made of brass. This was the ornamental construction of the enclosure about the court of the tabernacle, which was exposed to the open air.

3. As to the tabernacle itself, Moses placed it in the middle of that court, with its front to the east, that when the sun arose it might send its first rays upon it. Its length when it was set up was thirty cubits, and its breadth was twelve [ten] cubits. The one of its bases was on the south, and the other was exposed to the north, and on the back part of it remained the west. It was neither too high, nor too low, according to its breadth [ten cubits]. There were also pillars made of wood, twenty on each side; they were wrought into a quadrangular figure, in breadth a cubit and a half; the thickness was skilfully and accurately fitted one to another so much that the joints were invisible, and both seemed to be one entire and united wall. It was also covered with gold, both within and without. The number of pillars was equal on the opposite sides, and there were on each part twenty, and every one of them had the third part of a span in thickness: so that the number of thirty cubits were fully made up between them. But as to the wall behind, where the six pillars made up together only nine cubits, they made three pillars, and cut the third pillar into a cubit, which they placed in the corners, and made them equally fine with the other. Now every one of the pillars had rings of gold affixed to their chapiters, and silver bases of brass; and these were inserted bars girt over with gold, each of them five cubits in length, and bound together by the pillars, the head of one bar running into another, after the nature of one tenon inserted into another. But for the wall behind, there was but one row of bars that went through all the pillars, into which row ran the ends of the bars on each side of the longer walls, the male with its female being so fastened in their joints, that they held the whole firm together; and for this reason was all this jointed so fast together, that the tabernacle might not be shaken, either by the winds, or by any other means, but that it might preserve its integrity continually. 4. As for the inside, Moses parted its length into three partitions. At the distance of ten cubits from the most secret and Moses placed four pillars, which were of metal, and were set in the same with that of the rest, and they stood upon the like bases with them, each a small matter distant from his fellow. Now, the room within, those partitions, which divided the Holy of Holies, the rest of the room was the Tabernacle, which was open for the priests. However, this proportion of the measures of the tabernacle proved to be an imitation of the system of the world, for the third part thereof which was within the four
ed. Before this tabernacle there was reared a
brazen altar, but it was within made of wood,
five cubits in length, and four in breadth, and its
height was but three, in like manner adorned
with braze plates as bright as gold. It had also a
brazen hearth of network, for the ground un-
doubtedly being put on the earth near the hearth,
by which it had no basis to receive it. Hard by this
altar lay the basins, and the vials, and the cen-
sers, and the caldrons, made of gold: but the
other, or other vessels, for the use of the sacrifices,
were all of brass. And such was the construc-
tion of the tabernacle; and these were the ves-
sels thereto belonging.

CHAP. VII.

Which were the Garments of the Priests, and of
the High Priest; concerning the Priesthood of
Aaron, with the Manner of the Purifications
and dressing of the garments, and how each day
was then disposed of; with other Laws.

§ 1. There were peculiar garments appointed
for the priests, and for all the rest, which they
called Cahanese [priestly] garments, as also for
the high priest, called Chachane: I [shall call
them, and denote the high priest’s garments.’
Such was, therefore, the habit of the rest; but
what the priests put upon besides the sacrificial
purposes, must be noted. He purifies himself with
the purification which the law prescribes; and,
in the first place, he puts on that which is called
‘Machanehe,’ which means ‘somewhat that is fast tied.’ It is a girdle,
composed of fine twined linen, and is put
about the privy parts, the feet being to be
inserted into them, in the nature of breeches; but
about half of it is cut off, and it ends at the
thighs, and is tied fast.

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

3. Upon his head he wears a cap, not brought
to a cone form, or encircling the whole head, but
still covering more than the half of it, which is
called Massanehphites: and its make is such that
it seems to be a crown, being made of thick
swathes. The crown is set on each side, but of
which doubled round many times, and sewed together;
besides which, a piece of fine linen covers the
whole cap from the upper part, and reaches down
by the forepart of it to the forehead, which would
otherwise appear indelicately: this adheres closely upon the solid part of the head,
and is thereto so firmly fixed, that it may not fall
off during the course of sacrifices. So we have
done this to show you what is the habit of the
generality of the priests.

4. The high priest, indeed, is adorned with
the same garments that we have described, without
abating one; only over these he puts on a vest-
ment of a blue colour. This also is a long robe,
reaching to his feet; in our language it is called
Mesir, and is tied round with a girdle, embroider-
ed with the same colour and flowers as the for-
mer, with a mixture of gold interwoven— to the
bottom of which garment are hung fringes, in
colour like pomegranates, with golden bells,* by
a beautiful contrivance; so that between two
bells hangs a pomegranate, and between two
pomegranates a bell. Now this vesture was not
composed of two pieces, being put on above
ther upon the shoulders and the sides, but it was
one long vestment so woven as to have an ap-
erture for the head, and an oblong opening part
all along the breast and the back. A border also
was sewed to it, lest the aperture should look too
indelicately: it was also parted where the hands
were to come out.

5. Besides these, the high priest put on a third
garment, which was called the Ephod, which re-
sembled the Epponie of the Greeks. Its make
was after this manner: it was woven to the depth
of a cubit, of several colours, with gold inter-
mixed, and embroidered, but it left the middle
of the breast uncovered: it was made with sleeves
also; nor did it appear but at differently
made from a short coat. But in the void place
of this garment there was inserted a piece of the
bigness of a span, embroidered with gold, and
the other colours of the ephod, and called Esean
(the breastplate,) which in the Greek language
signifies the Oracle. This-piece exactly filled
up the void space in the ephod. It is united to
the rest by points of gold at its ends, and have
being annexed to the ephod, and a blue riband
was made use of to tie them together with those
rings; and that the space between the rings might
not appear, it was tied down to the sides with
stitches of blue ribands. There were also two
sardonyxes upon the ephod at the shoulders, to
fasten it in the nature of buttons, having each
end running to the sardonyzes of gold, that they
might be buttoned by them. On these were
engraven the names of the sons of Jacob in our
own country letters, and our own tongue, six on
each side of the stones, on either side; and the
elders sons’ names were on the right shoulder.
Twelve stones also there were upon the breast-
plate, extraordinary in largeness and beauty;
and they were a crown ornament not to be purchased
by men, because of their immense value. These
stones, however, stood in three rows, by four in
a row, and were inserted into the breastplate it-
self, and they were set in corners of gold that
were themselves inserted in the breastplate, and
were so made that they might not fall out. Now
the first three were a sardonyx, a topaz, and an
high priest himself to the Almighty. See Luke
1. 10. Rev. vii. 9. Now it is also here understood.
? See vii. 9. 4. Note. It is yeas in Romans vii.
wise understood, when he says of Aaron, the first high
priest. Exclus. alv. 9. — And God comforted Aaron with
pomegranates, and grapes, and buses, and all things, that,
as he went there might be a sound and a noise made,
that might be heard in the temple, for a memorial to the
children of his people.”
emerald. The second row contained a carbuncle, a jasper, and a sapphire. The first of the third row was a ligure, then an amethyst, and then a beryl: these were the whole number. The first of the fourth row was a chrysoprase, the next was an onyx, and then a beryl, which was the last of all. Now the names of all those stones of theirs, which were in these stones, whom we esteem the heads of our tribes, each stone having the honour of a name, in the order according to which they were born. And when they were wearing these, or bearing them, to bear the weight of the stones, they made two other rings of a larger size, at the edge of that part of the breastplate, which reached to the neck, and inserted into the very texture of the breastplate, to receive chains finely wrought, which connected them with golden bands to the top of the shoulders, whose extremity turned backwards, and went into the ring, on the prominent back part of the ephod; and this was for the security of the breastplate, that it might not fall out of its place. There was also a girdle sewed to the breastplate, which was of the forementioned colours, with gold intermixed, which when it had gone once round, was tied again upon the seam, and hung down. There were also two rings of gold, one for each extremity of the girdle, and included them entirely.

6 The high priest's mitre was the same that we described before, and was wrought like that of all the other priests; above which there was another, with swaths of blue embroidered, and round it was a golden crown polished, of three rows, one above another; out of which arose a cup of gold, which resembled the herb which we call 'sacharbus,' but those Greeks that are skilful in botany call it 'hydranthes.' Now lest any one that had seen before not have known its name, and is unacquainted with its nature, or having known its name, knows not the herb when he sees it, I shall give such a description of it. This herb is oftentimes in tallow above three spans, but its root is like that of a turnip, (for he that should compare it thereto would not be mistaken,) but its leaves are like to the leaves of mint. Out of its branches it sends out a calyx, cleaving to the branch, and a coat embraces it, which it naturally puts off when it is filled. The calyx is of the middle finger, but in the compass of its aperture, is like a cup. This I will further describe for the use of a man that is expert: it grows into a sphere divided into two parts, round at the bottom, but having another segment that grows up to a circumference from that bottom; suppose it become narrower by degrees, and that the cavity of that part grow decently smaller, and then gradually grow wider again at the brim, such as we see in the navel of a pomegranate, with its notches. And indeed such a coat grows over this plant as renders it a hemisphere, and that, as one may say, turned accurately in a lathe, and having its notches exact above it, which, as it were, join each other at the apex, so that they are sharp, and end in nothing but prickles. Now the fruit is preserved by this coat of the calyx, which fruit is like the seed of the herb 'siderite:' it sends out a flower that may seem to resemble this the rather, because in the temple after hard there was a real distinct third part, which was called the 'porch,' otherwise Josephus would contradict his own description of the tabernacle, which gives us a particular account of the porch. And there is no such thing as more than two porches.

7 Now here one may wonder at the ill-will which men bear to us, and which they profuse to be on account of our despising that Deity which they pretend to be four-handed. If we consider the fabric of the tabernacle, and take a view of the garments of the high priest, and of those vessels which we make use of in our sacred ministration, he will find that our legislator was a divine man, and that we are unjustly reproached by others; for if any one do without prejudice, and with judgment, look upon these things, he will find they were every one made in way of imitation and representation of the universe. When Moses distinguished the tabernacle into three parts, and allowed two of them to the priests, as a place accessible and communable, he denoted the land and the sea, these being of general access to all; but he set apart the third division for God, because heaven is inaccessible to all but himself alone. And when he set things apart on the table, he denoted the year, as distinguished into so many months. By branching out the candlestick into seventy parts, he secretly intimated the seventy, or seventy divisions of the fixed stars, or the planets; and as to the seven lamps upon the candlesticks, they referred to the courses of the planets, of which that is the number. The vails, too, which were composed of four things, they declared the four elements; for the plain linen was proper to signify the earth, because the flux grows out of the earth. The purple signified the sea, because that colour is this day by the people used in a sea shell-fish. The blue is fit to signify the air, and the scarlet will naturally be an indication of fire. Now the vestment of the high priest being made of linen, signified the earth: the blue denoted the sky, being like lightning in its pomegranates, and in the noise of the bells resembling thunder. And for the ephod, it showed that God had made the universe of four [elements.] And as for the gold interwoven, I suppose it related to the splendour by which all things are enlightened, or that of a diadem.

Chapter VII

The reader ought to take notice here, that the very Hebrew 'petaleon,' or 'golden plate,' for the forehead of the Jewish high priest was itself preserved, not only till the days of Josephus, but of Origen; and that its inscriptions were in the characters of the Jewish characters. See Antiq. B. viii. ch. III. sect. 8. Essay on the Old Test. p. 124, and Reland, de Spol. Tempuli, p. 122.

...and its roof, with the garments of the high priest, is taken by Josephus to relate the Royal and Mystical notions. This may possibly be forgiven in Jews, recently versed in heathen learning and philosophy, as Philo had ever been, and so Josephus had long been when...
sions, afford me the opportunity of enlarging on the virtue of our legislator.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Priesthood of Aaron.

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

2. Now Moses commanded them to make use of those altars which were more than were necessary to the structure of the tabernacle, for covering the tabernacle itself, the candlestick, and altar of incense, and the other vessels, that they might be set but at hortance, whether they journeyed, either by the rain, or by the rising of the dust. And when he had gathered the multitude together again, he ordained that they should offer half a shkel for every man as an oblation to God; which shkel is a piece among the Hebrews, and is equal to four Athenian drachmists. Whereupon they readily obeyed what Moses had commanded, and the number of the offerings was six hundred and five thousand five hundred and fifty. Now this money that was brought by the men of that age was given by such as were above twenty years old, but under fifty; and what was collected was spent in the uses of the tabernacle.

3. Moses now purified the tabernacle and the priests: which purification was performed after the following manner: he commanded them to take five hundred shekels of choice myrrh, at equal quantity of cassia, and half the amount of kaneb, and half of the cedars of Lebanon, (this last was a sort of sweet spice,) to beat them small, and wet them with a hin of oil of olives, (a hin is our own country measure, and not two Athenian choes, or conques,) then mix them together, and boil them, and prepare them after the art of the apothecary, and make them into a very sweet ointment; and afterward to take it to unoint and purify the priests themselves, and all the tabernacle, as also the sacrifices. There were also many, and those of various kinds, of sweet spices, that belonged to the tabernacle, and such as were of very great price, and were brought to the golden altar of incense; whose nature I do not now describe, lest it should be my trouble. But I must observe, that all the vessels were to be offered twice a day, both before sunrise and at sunset. They were also to keep oil already purified for the lamps, three of which stood on the golden candlestick, before God, and the rest were to be lighted at the evening.

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

5. Now God showed himself pleased with the work of the priests, and gave to Aaron and his sons the power of making the tabernacle to be in vain; nor did he disdain to make use of what they had made, but he came and sojournted with them, and pitched his tabernacle in their midst amidst the clouds and fire. And there did he come to it: the sky was clear, but there was a mist over the tabernacle only, encompassing it, but not with such a very deep and thick cloud as is seen in the winter season, nor yet in so thin a one as men might be able to discern any thing through it, but from it there dropped betel-row to God himself, which are the same usifications which the Christian religion requires in the choice of Christian bishops, priests, and deacons, as the Apostolic Constitution makes us, R. v. ch. ill. 

* This weight and value of the Jewish shekel, in the days of Jesus Christ, equal to about 3 ducats, by the learned Jews, or less to one-fifth larger than their old shekel; which determination agrees perfectly with the remains of shekels that have been inscribed inscriptions, coined generally by Simos the Macedon, about 250 years before Josephus published his Antiquities, which remain were never in the state plained given at 1. 3. 1. 4-1. 4. See Reld, De Nummis Samaritanorum, p. 182. 

* The incense was here offered, according to Josephus's opinion, on the Saturday, and at sabbath time, the days of Pompey, according to the same Josephus, the sacrifices were offered in the morning and at the ninth hour. 

* Hence we may correct the opinions of the modern rabbins, who say, that only one of the seven lamps burned in the day, whereas Josephus, an eyewitness, says they were three.
a sweet dew, and such as showed the presence of God to those that desired and believed it.

6. Now when Moses had bestowed such honor upon the workmen, as it was fit they should receive, who had wrought so well, he offered sacrifices in the open court of the tabernacle, as God commanded him, a bull, a ram, and a kid of the goats, for a sin-offering. Now I shall speak of what we do in our several offices in my discourse about sacrifices; and therein shall inform men in what cases Moses bid us offer a whole burnt-offering, and in what cases the law permitted them to offer sacrifices on the sabbath, and on certain great days, and on his birthday. And, as when Moses had sprinkled Aaron's vestments, himself, and his sons, with the blood of the beasts that were slain, and had purified them with spring waters and ointment, it became God's priests. After this manner did he consecrate them and their garments for seven days together. The same, and all they that had thereto belonging, both with oil first anointed, as I said, and with the blood of bulls, and of rams, slain day by day one, according to its kind. But on the eighth day he appointed for them an offering for the people, and commanded them to offer sacrifice according to their ability. Accordingly, they contended one with another, and were ambitious to give presents; and Moses was so pleased with what they brought, and so fulfilled Moses' injunctions. But as the sacrifices lay upon the altar, a sudden fire was kindled from among them of its own accord, and an unusual light filled the whole tabernacle, and the house of God, thoroughly filling it with light and consumed, and consumed whatsoever was upon the altar.

7. Hereupon an affliction befell Aaron, considering himself and a father, but was undergone by him with true fortitude; for he had indeed a firmness of soul in such accidents, and he thought this calamity came upon him according to God's will, and it was proper for one who was despised above all men. But before, the two elder of them, Nadab and Abihu, did not bring those sacrifices which Moses bade them bring, but such as they used to offer formerly, and were burnt to death. Now when the fire rushed upon them, and began to burn them, nobody could quench it. Accordingly, they died in this manner. And Moses bid their father, and their brothers, brethren, to take up their bodies, from the midst of the camp, and to bury them magnificently. Now the multitude lamented them, and were deeply affected at this their death, which so unexpectedly befell them. But Moses entreated their brethren, and their father, not to be troubled for them, and to prefer the honour of God before their grief about them, for Aaron had always done so before. And he went no more up to mount Sinai; but he went into the tabernacle, and brought back answers from God to what he prayed for. His habit was also that of a prophet, and all other circumstances be behoved himself like one of the common people, and was desirous to appear without distinguishing himself from the multitude, but would have it known that he did nothing but take care of them. He also set down in writing the form of their government, and those laws, by obedience whereunto they would lead their obedience as sons and servants to God, except that quarrels among one another. However, the laws he ordained were such as God suggested to him; so I shall now discourse concerning that form of government, and those laws, which shall follow.

8. But Moses refused all that honour which he saw the multitude ready to bestow upon him, and attended to nothing else but the service of God. He went no more up to mount Sinai; but he went into the tabernacle, and brought back answers from God to what he prayed for. His habit was also that of a prophet, and all other circumstances be behoved himself like one of the people, and was desirous to appear without distinguishing himself from the multitude, but would have it known that he did nothing but take care of them. He also set down in writing the form of their government, and those laws, by obedience whereunto they would lead their obedience as sons and servants to God, except that quarrels among one another. However, the laws he ordained were such as God suggested to him; so I shall now discourse concerning that form of government, and those laws, which shall follow.

9. I will now treat of what I before omitted, the garment of the high priest: for he [Moses] left no room for the evil practices of [false] prophets; but if some shortened the priestly authority, and abused the divine authority, he left it to God to be present at his sacrifices when he pleased, and when he pleased to be absent. And he was willing that it should extend only, but to those foreigner also who were there. But as to those stones, which we told you before, the high priest bare on his shoulders, which

7, 8, 18; 2 Sam. u. ii. 1; v. 18, 23; xx. 1; xxvii. 9; 1 Chron. xiv. 15, 16; Ant. ii. ch. xii. sect. 26; Saul, indeed, long after his rejection by God, and when God had given him up to destruction for his disobedience, did once afterward endeavour to consult God, when it was too late; but God would not then answer him, neither by dreams, nor by prophets, 1 Sam. xxvii. 6. Nor did any of the kings of Israel consult God by this oracle, the very Babylonian captivity itself, when those kings were at an end, they taking counsel upon their own heads, too proud to submit to any other royalty, and too little owning the God of Israel for the supreme king of Israel, though a few of them consulted the priests sometimes in their return from the captivity, and in the return of the tribes, without the return of the king, the restoration of this oracle was expected, Neh. viii. 6; 1 Esd. v. 40; 1 Macr. iv. 40; xvi. 41. And indeed it may seem to have been restored for some time after the Babylonian captivity, at least in the days of that excellent high priest, John Hyrcanus, whose Josephus esteemed as a king, a priest, and a prophet; and who, he says, foresaw several things that came to pass according to his prophecy, but about the time of his death he here implies that this oracle quite ceased, and not before. The following high priests now putting dainties on their heads, and clothing according to their own will, and by their own authority, like the other kings of the Pagans countries about them; so that while the God of Israel was worshiped, it was as if there was no other divinity in the world, under a thoracery, by this oracle of Urim, but so long (see Dr. Bernard's notes here,) though I confess I cannot but esteem the high priest who was to use the Urim and Thummim, ch. vii. sect. 8, and the high priest Caiphas' most rev. remarkable prophecy, John xi. 47—51, as two small restorations of this office, with the use of the Urim and Thummim, which once belonged to the Jewish high priests. Nor perhaps ought we entirely to forget that eminent prophetic dream of our Saviour, Josephus himself (ch. xvi. 1, 2) relates, and who first explained it to the family of the Anonymous of Macce[n]a [i.e. Macca]eans, as the succession of Vespasian and Titus to the Roman empire, and that in the days of Nero, and before another linden, Ogden,
were sardonyxes, (and I think it needless to describe their nature, they being known to every body that has shined out in the temple when God or any thing else was present at their sacrifices; I mean, that which was in the nature of a button on his right shoulder, bright rays darting out thence; and being so many by those that were most remote, which splendour yet was not before natural to the stone. This has appeared a wonderful thing to such as have not so far indulged themselves in philosophizing, divine revelations."

I will mention what is still more wonderful than this; for God declared beforehand, by those twelve stones which the high priest bore on his breast, and which were inserted into his breastplate, when they should be victorious in battle; for so great a splendour shone forth from them before the army began to march, that all the people were sensible of God's being present for their assistance. Whence it came to pass that those Greeks who had a veneration for our laws, because they could not possibly contradict this, called that breastplate The Oraculum. Now this breastplate, and this sardonyx, left off shining two hundred years before I composed this book, or was alleviated at the oppression of his laws. Of which things we shall farther discourse on a fitter opportunity; but I will now go on with my proposed narration.

I spoke of the altar being now consecrated, and a regular order being settled for the priests, the multitude judged that God now dwelt among them, and hedged themselves to sacrifices and praises to God, as being now delivered from all expectation of evils, and as entertaining a hopeful prospect of better times hereafter. They offered also gifts to God, some as common to the whole nation, and others as peculiar to them-selves, and these tribe by tribe; for the heads of the tribes combined together, two by two, and brought a wagen and a yoke of oxen. These amounted to six, and they carried the tabernacle when they journeyed. Besides which, every head of a tribe brought a bow, and a charger, and a spoon, of ten darics, filosip incense. Now the charger and the bowl were of silver; and together they weighed two hundred shillers, but the bowl cost no more than seventy shillers; and these were full of fine flour mingled with oil, such as they used on the sabbath about the sacrifice.

They brought also a young bullock, and a ram, with a lamb of a year old, for a whole burnt-offering; and also a goat for the forgiveness of sins. Every one of the heads of the tribes brought also other sacrifices, called peace-offerings, for every day two bulls, and five rams, with a lamb of a year old, and a kid of the goats. These heads of tribes were twelve days in sacrificing, one sacrificing every day. Now Moses went no longer up to Mount Sinai, but went into the tabernacle, and learned of God what they were to do, and what laws should be made; which laws were preferable to what have been devised by human understanding, and proved to be firmly observed for all time to come, as being

Believed to be the gift of God, inasmuch that the Hebrews did not transgress any of those laws, either as to time in which they were to be kept up, or in times of war by distress of affairs. But I say no more here concerning them, because I have resolved to compose another work concerning our laws.

CHAP. IX.

The Nature of our offering Sacrifices.

§ 1. I will now, however, make mention of a few of our laws which belong to purifications, and the like sacred offices, since I am accidentally come to this matter of sacrifices. These sacrifices were of two sorts; of these sorts one was offered for private persons, and the other for the people in general; and they are done in two different ways. In the one case, what is slain is burnt, as a whole burnt-offering, whence that name is given to it; but the other is a thank-offering, and is designed for feasting those that sacrifice. I will speak of the former. Suppose a private man offer a burnt-offering, he must slay either a bull, a lamb, or a kid of the goats, and the two latter of the first year, though of bulls he is permitted to offer mithrichal, and of sheep, and of goats, a large fatling. When they are slain, the priests sprinkle the blood round about the altar; then they cleanse the altar with the blood; then they take the flesh of the burnt-offering, and with salt, and lay them upon the altar, while the pieces of wood are piled one upon another, and the fire is burning: they next cleanse the feet of the sacrifices, and the breast and the right shoulder to the priests, the offerers feast upon the remainder of the flesh for two days; and what remains they burn.

§ 2. The sacrifices for sins are offered in the same manner as is the thank-offering. But those who are unable to purchase complete sacrifices, offer two pigeons, or turtle-doves; the one of which is made a burnt-offering to God, the other they use for feasting for the tribes. Hereunto the priests treat more accurately about the oblation of those creatures in our discourse concerning sacrifices. But if a person fall into sin by ignorance, he offers a ewe lamb, or female kid of the goats, of the same age; and the priests sprinkle the blood at the altar, not after the former manner, but at the corners of it. They also bring the kidneys and the rest of the fat; together with the loins of the liver, to the altar, while the priests bear away the hides, and the flesh, and spend it in the holy place on the same day; for the law does not

Vitellius, were thought of to succeed him. Of the War, in the 2d book. This, I think, may well be looked on as the very last instance of any thing like the prophetic Urni among the Jewish nation, and just preceded their fall. It is a true and consolatory test, whereby it commonly comes to pass that such great men as Sir John Marsham and Dr. Spencer should imagine that this oracle of Urni and Thummim, which is represented as one of the laws of Moses, should have been ordained in imitation of somewhat like these unspeakable Egyptians, which we never hear of till the times of the Psalms, and Maimonides, or little earlier than the Christian era at the highest; is altogether without the least possible probability; while the main business of the law of Moses was evidently a course of instruction and moral directions from the despotic and superstitious practices of the neighbouring Babylonians, and while it is so undeniable, that the evidence for the great antiquity of Moses' law is incomparable. My reason then for the like or greater antiquity of such

* What Roland well observes here, out of Josephus, an ancient Jewish historian, who compiles upon the subject of the procession of the Hebrews out of Egypt, viz. (cfr. above) the casting of the sacrifice the same day it was offered, seems to me to mean only the evening of the next, although the passage is rather obscure, as the Hebrew word for day, according to the Hebrew reckoning) is greatly to be observed upon other occasions also. The Jewish writers say in such cases, that the ceremony begins at the evening: and this is to be observed of the Old and New Testament. See also the note on Antiqu., chap. iv. sect. 4, and Roland's note on B. iv. ch. viii. sect. 26.
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The high priest likewise presents a ram to God as a burnt-offering.

4. Upon the fifteenth day of the same month, when the season of the year is changing for winter, the law enjoins us to pitch tabernacles in every one of our quarters, a rude hut or hut that is fastened with a main to the roof, and covered with a roof, and also with a soil that is enclosed with a fence and a door. And on the fourteenth day of the same month as well as on the fifteenth day, offer sacrifices for their sins, they bring the same oblations that private men do; only they so far differ, that they are to bring for sacrifices a bull or a sheep, or a goat, or a heifer; and a bullock, or a heifer, or a lamb, for a burnt-offering, and a ram, and a bullock, and a heifer, and a lamb, as a peace-offering, and all other sacrifices.

4. Now the law requires, both in private and public sacrifices, that the finest flour be also brought to the measure of burnt-offering; and is to be burnt upon an altar that is made of a tallow deal, for a ram two, and for a bull three. This they consecrate upon the altar, when it is mingled with oil; for oil is also brought by those that sacrifice, for a bull half a hin, and for a ram the third part of the same measure, and one quarter of it for a lamb. This is an ancient Hebrew measure, and is equivalent to two Athenian cophes (or cophyds.) They bring the same quantity of oil which they do of wine, and they pour the wine about the altar; but if any one does not offer a complete sacrifice of animals, but offers only a portion of it, or mingled with oil, but made into cakes of bread. But when a man that is a priest offers, it must of necessity be burnt. Now the law forbids us to sacrifice any animal at the same time with its foal; and in other cases, not till the eighth day after its birth. Other sacrifices there are also appointed for escaping distempers, or for other occasions, in which meat-offerings are consumed together with the animals that are sacrificed, which is not lawful to leave any part till the next day, only the priests are to take their own share.

CHAP. X.
Concerning the Festivals; and how each Day of such Festival is to be observed.

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

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

3. On the tenth day of the same lunar month, they fast till the evening; and this day they sacrifice a bull, and two rams, and seven lambs, and a kid of the goats, for sins. And besides these, they bring two kids of the goats; the one of which is sent alive out of the limits of the camp into the wilderness for the scape-goat, and to be an expiation for the sins of the whole multitude; but the other is brought into the holy temple, at his own charges; which, when it was slain, he brought of the blood into the holy place, together with the blood of the kid of the goats, and appointed for the priests, for the priests; nor is it permitted to leave any thing of them till the day following. They also slay three bullocks for a burnt-offering, and two rams, and fourteen lambs, and a kid of the goats, for sins; nor is there any one of the festivals but in it they offer burnt-offerings; they also allow themselves to rest on every one of them. As-
Accordingly, the law prescribes in them all, what kind they are to sacrifice; and how they are to rest entirely; and must slay sacrifices in order to feast upon them.

7. However, out of the common charges, baked bread, or unleavened, of twenty-four tenths of flour, for so much is spent upon this bread: two heaps of these were baked; they were taken the day before Sabbath, and brought into the holy place on the morning of the Sabbath, and set upon the holy table, six on a heap, one loaf still standing over against another, where the two heaps of Frankincense were also set upon them, and there they remained till another Sabbath, and then other loaves were brought in their stead, while the loaves were given to the priests for their food, and the frankincense was burnt in that sacred fire wherein all their offerings were burnt also; and so other frankincense was set upon the loaves instead of what was there before. The [high] priest also, of his own charges, offered a sacrifice, and that twice every day. It was made of flour mingled with oil, and gently baked by the fire, the quantity was on the tenth of a heap of flour; he brought the half of it to the fire in the morning, and the other half at night. The account of these sacrifices I shall give more accurately any whereafter; but I think I have expressed what for the present may be sufficient concerning them.

CHAP. XI.
Of the Purifications.

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

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

3. He also ordered that those whose bodies were afflicted with leprosy, and that had a growth, should not come into the city;* nay, he reproved the women, when they had their menstrual bleedings, till the seventh day; after which he looked on them as pure, and permitted them to come in again. The law permits those also who have taken care of funerals to come in after the same manner, when this number of days is over; but if any continued longer than that number of days in a state of pollution, the law appointed the offering two lambs as a sacrifice; the one of which they are to purify by fire, and for the other the priests take it for themselves. In the same manner do those sacrifice who have had the gonorrhoea. But he shedks, if a leper washeth, shall be put into cold water, he has the same privilege with those that have lawfully accompanied with their wives.

* We may here note, that Josephus frequently calls the camp the city, and the court of the Mosaic tabernacle a temple, and the tabernacle itself a holy house, with allusion to the latter city, temple, and holy house, which he knew so well long afterward.
provided for his countrymen. He also prescribed the following laws to them.

CHAP. XII.

Several Laws.

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

2. As for the priests, he prescribed to them a double degree of purity: for he restrained them in the instances above, and moreover forbade them to marry a slave, or a captive, and such as got their living by cheating trades, and by keeping inns: as also a woman parted from her husband on any occasion whatsoever, he did not think it proper for the high priest to marry even the widow of one that was dead, though he allowed that to the priests, but he permitted him only to marry a virgin; and he declared it to be a punishment that it is that the high priest is not to come near to one that is dead, although the rest are not prohibited from coming near to their brethren, or parents, or any woman; Moses, instead of Levi, to take an exact account of the number of those that were able to go to war; for as to the Levites they were holy, and free from all such burdens. But now, when the people had increased, there were found six hundred thousand that were able to go to war, from twenty to fifty years of age, besides three thousand six hundred and fifty. Instead of Levi, Moses, in the name of Joseph, among the heads of tribes; and Ephraim instead of Joseph. It was indeed a desire of Jacob himself to Joseph; that he would give him his sons to be his own by adoption, as I have before related.

3. When they set up the tabernacle, they received it into the midst of their camp, three of the tribes pitching their tents on each side of it, and roads were cut through the midst of these tents. It was like a well-appointed market; and every thing was the very same as in a city. And in the daytime they went about their several occupations; and all sorts of artificers were in the shops; and it resembled nothing so much as a city that sometimes was movable, and sometimes fixed. And the The priests had the first advantages about the tabernacle; then the Levites who, because their whole multitude was reckoned from thirty days old, were twenty-three thousand eight hundred and eighty males. And we have said that one time that stood over the tabernacle, they thought proper to stay in the same place, as supposing that God there inhabited among them; but when that removed, they journeyed also.

6. Moreover, Moses was the inventor of the form of their trumpet, which was made of silver. Its description is this: in length it was little less than a cubit. It was composed of a narrow tube, somewhat thicker than a flute, but with so much breadth as was sufficient for admission of the breath of a man's mouth; it ended in the form of a bell, like copper tinned, and its name is called, in the Hebrew tongue, Assor. Two of these being made, one of them was sounded when they required the multitude to come together to congregation. When the first of these gave a signal, the heads of the tribes were to assemble, and to consult about the affairs to them.

* These words of Josephus are remarkable, that the language of the Jews required of the priests a double degree of purity, in several respects of that required of the laity. That he assigned to them all the while they ministered in the temple, because they then always, and then only, wore those sacred garments, which were laid up there from one time of ministra
tion to another.

1 We must here note, with Reband, that the precepts given to the priests not to drink wine while they wore the sacred garments, that they should not enter into defilement, were observed so strictly, that they compelled them to have it all the while they ministered in the temple, because they then always, and then only, wore those sacred garments, which were laid up there from one time of ministra
tion to another.
properly belonging; but when they gave the signal by both of them, they called the multitude together. Whenever the tabernacle was removed, according to the sound of the shofar, all the congregation of Israel would gather together: at the sound of the alarm of the trumpet, those whose tents were on the east quarter prepared to remove; when the second signal was given, those that were on the southward would do likewise; in the third place, the one next place, the one that had tents that part which had their tents towards the west put themselves into motion; and at the fourth signal, those on the north did likewise. They also made use of these trumpets in their sacred ministrations, when they were bringing their sacrifices to the altar, as well on the Sabbaths as on the rest of the (festival) days. And now it was that Moses offered that sacrifice which was called the Passover, in the wilderness, as the first he had offered after the departure out of Egypt.

CHAP. XIII.

How Moses removed from Mount Sinai, and conducted the People to the Borders of Canaan.

§ 1. A little while afterward he rose up, and went from mount Sinai; and having passed through several mansions of which we shall speak anon, he came to a place called Hazeroth, where the multitude began to be mutinous, and to blame Moses for the misfortunes they had suffered in their travels; and that when he had persuaded them to leave a good land, they at once had lost their good fortune, and that because at that happy state he had promised them, they were still wandering in their present miserable condition, being already in want of water; and if the means should happen to fail, they must then utterly perish. Yet while they generally spoke many and sore things against the man, there was one of them who exhorted them not to be unmindful of Moses, and of what great pains he had been at about their common safety; and not to despise of assistance from God. The multitude thereupon became still more unruly, and more mutinous against Moses than before. Thereupon Moses, although he were so basely abused by them, encouraged them in their despairing condition, and assured them not to be cast down, nor to expect a great quantity of flesh meat, and that not for a few days only, but for many days. This they were not willing to believe: and when one of them asked, when could they obtain such a quantity, he answered them in plenty of what he promised! he replied, neither God, nor I, although we hear such approbrious words from you, will leave off our labours for you, and this shall soon appear also. As soon as ever he had said this, the whole camp was filled with quails; and they stood round about them, and gathered them in great numbers. However, it was not long ere God punished the Hebrews for their insolence, and those reproaches they had used towards him, for no small number of them died. And still to this day the place retains the memory of this destruction, and is named Kibroth-hattaavah, which is, the graves of lust.

CHAP. XIV.

How Moses sent some Persons to search out the Land of the Canaanites, and the largeness of their Cities; and further, that when those who were sent were returned, after forty Days, and reported that they should not be a match for them, and that the strength of the Canaanites, the multitude were disturbed, and fell into despair, and were resolved to stone Moses, and to return back again into Egypt, and serve the Egyptians.

§ 1. When Moses had led the Hebrews away from thence to a place called Paran, which was near to the borders of the Canaanites, and a place difficult to be continued in, he gathered the multitude together to a congregation; and as the first speaker began to speak, he ordered: at the sound of the alarm of the trumpet, those whose tents were on the west quarter prepared to return; when the second signal was given, those that were on the northward would do likewise; in the third place, the one next place, the one that had tents that part which had their tents towards the west put themselves into motion; and at the fourth signal, those on the north did likewise. They also made use of these trumpets in their sacred ministrations, when they were bringing their sacrifices to the altar, as well on the Sabbaths as on the rest of the (festival) days. And now it was that Moses offered that sacrifice which was called the Passover, in the wilderness, as the first he had offered after the departure out of Egypt.

2. When Moses had said this, the multitude required him with marks of respect; and chose twelve spies, of the most eminent men, one out of each tribe, who, passing over all the land of Canaan, the borders of Egypt, came to the city Hamath, and to mount Lebanon: and having learned the nature of the land, and of its inhabitants, they came home, having spent forty days in the journey, and seventy days to search out the fruits which the land bare: they also showed them the excellence of those fruits, and gave an account of the good quantity of the good things that land affords, which were advantages to the multitude to go to war. But then they terrified them again with the great difficulty there was in obtaining it; that the rivers were so large and deep that they could not be passed over; and that the hills were so high, that they could not travel along for them; that the cities were strong with walls, and their fortifications round about them. They told them also, that they found at Hebron the posterity of the giants. Accordingly, these spies, who had seen the land of Canaan, when they perceived that all these difficulties were greater there than they had met with since they came out of Egypt, they were affrighted at themselves, and endeavoured to dissuade Moses.

3. So they supposed, from what they had heard, that it was impossible to get the possession of the country. And when the congregation was dismayed, they acknowledged God could not indeed assist them, but only promised them fair. They also again blamed Moses, and made a clamour against him and his brother Aaron, the high priest. Accordingly they passed that night very ill, and with contumelious language against them; but in the morning they ran to a congregation, intending to stone Moses and Aaron, and so to return into Egypt.

4. But of the spies, there were Joshua, the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim; and Caleb, of the tribe of Judah, that were afraid of the consequence, and came into the midst of them, and still the multitude, and desired them to be of good courage; and neither to complain God, as having brought them into a very miserable state; nor to have affrighted Moses, by telling them who was not true concerning the Canaanites, but to those that encouraged them to hope for good success, that they should gain promises of the happiness promised them, because neither the height of mountains, nor the depth of rivers, could hinder men of true courage from attempting them, especially while God would be with them beforehand, and be assistant to them. Let us then go, said they, against our enemies, and have no suspicion of ill success, trusting to
BOOK III.—CHAP. XV.

God to conduct us, and following those that are to be our leaders. Thus did these two exhort them, and endeavour to pacify the rage they were in. But Moses and Aaron fell on the ground, and besought God, not for their own deliverance, but that he would put a stop to whine the people were erring doing so, and bring their minds to a quiet temper, which were now disordered by their present passion: The cloud also did now appear, and stood over the tabernacle, as declared to them the presence of God to be there.

CHAP. XV.

How Moses was displeased at this; and foretold that God was angry, and that they should continue not [during that time] to return into Egypt, or take Possession of Canaan.

§ 1. Moses came now boldly to the multitude, and informed them that God was moved at their abuse of him, and would inflict punishment upon them, not indeed such as they deserved for their sins, but such as parents inflict on their children, in order to their correction: for, he said, that when he was in the tabernacle, he was bewailing with tears that destruction which was coming upon them, God put him in mind what things he had done for them, and what benefits they had received from him; and that on this account, though he would not indeed destroy them all, nor utterly exterminate their nation, which he had honoured more than any other part of mankind, yet he would not permit them to take possession of the land of Canaan, nor enjoy its happiness, but would make them wander in the wilderness, and live without any fixed habitations and without a place to rest. Forty years together, as a punishment for their transgressions: that he had promised to give that land to their children, and that he would make them possessors of those good things, which, by your ungoverned passions, you have deprived yourselves of.

2. When Moses had discourse thus to them, according to the direction of God, the multitude graved, and were in affliction, and entreated Moses to procure their reconciliation to God, and to permit them no longer to wander in the wilderness. But when he was about to reply, that God would not admit of any such trial, for that God was not moved to this determination from any human levity, or anger, but that he had judicially condemned them to that punishment. Now we are not to disbelieve that Moses, who was but a single person, pacified so many ten thousands when they were in anger, and converted them to a mildness of temper; for

God was with him, and prepared the way to his persuasions of the multitude; and as they had often been disobedient, the same perseverance and such disobedience was disadvantageous to them and that they had still thereby fallen into calamities.

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

* This great famine, in the days of Claudius, is again mentioned in Antiq. B. xxx. chap. ii. sect. 6; and Acts xi. 30.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-EIGHT YEARS—FROM THE REJECTION OF THAT GENERATION TO THE DEATH OF MOSES.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

The Fight of the Hebrews with the Canaanites, without the Consent of Moses, and their Defeat.

§ 1. Now this life of the Hebrews in the wilderness was so to show how God was disposed to them, and they were so uneasy at it, that although God had forbidden them to meddle with the Canaanites, yet could they not be persuaded to be obedient to the will of Moses, and to be quiet: but supposing they should be able to beat their enemies, even without his approbation, they accused him, and suspected that he made it his business to keep them in a distressed condition, that they might always stand in need of his assistance. Accordingly, they resolved to fight with the Canaanites, and did not suffer them to have them his assistance, not out of regard to Moses's intercessions, but because he took care of their entire nation, on account of their forefathers, whose affairs he had undertaken, as also, that it was on account of their own virtue.
that he had formerly procured them their liberty, and would be assisting to them, now they were willing to take pains for it. They also said, that they were of themselves of abilities sufficient for the overthrow of their enemies, although Moses should have a hand to alienate God from them; that however it was for their advantage to be their own masters, and not so far to rejoice in their deliverance of the sufferings they endured under the Egyptians, as to bear the tyranny of Moses over them, and to suffer themselves to be deluded, and to live according to his pleasure, and only foretell what concerns no out of his kindness to him, as if they were not all the posterity of Abraham, that God made him alone the author of all the knowledge we have, and we must still learn it from him: that it would be a piece of prudence to oppose his arrogant pretences, and to put their confidence in God, and to resolve to take possession of that land which he had promised them, and not to give ear to him, who, on this account, and under the pretence of divine authority, forbade them so to do. Considering therefore the distressed state they were in at present, and that in these desert places they were still to expect things would be worse with them, they resolved to fight with their own strength and with the aid of God, taking their supreme commander, and not waiting for any assistance from their legislator.

2. When therefore they had come to this resolution, for many of them, they went among in a few days, and left their enemies; but those enemies were not dismayed either at the attack itself, or at the great multitude that made it, and received them with great courage. Many of the Hebrews were taken; and the remainder of the army, upon the disorder of their troops, were pursued, and fled, after a shameful manner, to their camp. Whereupon the Israelites, when they found themselves quite safe, and despoiled of those that was good, as gathering from it, that this affliction came from the wrath of God, because they rashly went out to war without his approbation. 3. But when Moses saw how deeply they were affected with this defeat, and being afraid lest the enemies should grow insolent upon this victory, and should destroy of gaining still greater glory, and should attack them, resolved that it was proper to withdraw the army into the wilderness, to a further distance from the Canaanites; and he told God of his thoughts, and again to his conduct; for they were sensible, that without his care for them, their affairs could not be in a better condition; and he caused the land to remove, and he went farther into the wilderness, as intending there to let them rest, and not to permit them to fight the Canaanites before God should afford them a more favourable opportunity.

CHAPTER II.
The Slumber of Corah, and of the Multitude, against Moses, and against his Brother, concerning the Priesthood.

§ 1. That which is usually the case of great armies, and especially upon all success, to be hard to be pleased, and governed with difficulty, did now befall the Jews; for they being in number six hundred thousand, and by reason of their great multitude not readily subject to their governors, even in prosperity, they at this time were more than usually angry, both against one another, and against their leader, because of the distress they were in, and the troubles they then endured. Such a sedition overtook them, as we have not the like example either among the Persians or the barbarians, by which they were in danger of being all destroyed; but were notwithstanding saved by Moses, who would not remember that he had been almost slain to death by them. Nor did God neglect to prevent their ruin, but notwithstanding the indignities they had offered their legislator, and the laws, and their disobedience to the commandments which he had sent them by Moses, he delivered them from those terrible calamities, which, with out his providential care, had been brought upon them by this sedition. So I will first explain the cause whence this sedition arose, and then give an account of the substance of the proceedings which Moses made for their government, after it was over.

2. Corah, a Hebrew of principal account, both by his wealth, which was so great, and by his wisdom, which was such, as that no one could fathom, or be able to speak well, and one that could easily persuade the people by his speeches, saw that Moses was in an exceeding great dignity, and was uneasy at it, and envied him on that account, and was in an exceeding great dignity, and was uneasy at it, and envied him on that account, and being of the same tribe with Moses, and of the same name, he was especially among his kindred, saying, "That it was a very sad thing that they should overlook Moses, while he hunted after and paved the way to glory for himself, and by the common suffrage of the multitude, but by his own will, and especially among his kindred, saying, "That it was a very sad thing that they should overlook Moses, while he hunted after and paved the way to glory for himself, and by the common suffrage of the multitude, but by his own will, when he could do nothing in that way on whom he pleased. He added, that this concealed way of imposing on them was harder to be borne, than if it had been done by an open force upon them, because he did not only take away their power without their consent, but even while they were unapprized of his contrivances against them; for whosoever is conscious to himself that he has been deceived, might get it by persuasion, and not by an arrogant method of violence; but those that believe it impossible to obtain those honours justly, they make a show of goodness, and do not introduce force, but by cunning tricks grow wickedly powerful; that it was proper for the multitude to punish such men, even while they think themselves concealed in their designs, and not suffer them to gain strength, till they have them for their open enemies. For what account, added he, is Moses able to give why he has bestowed the priesthood on Aaron, and not upon us? He said, it was to bestow that honour on one of the tribe of Levi, I am more worthy of it than he is, I myself being equal to Moses by my family, and superior to him in many other points of worth, but I, if God had determined to bestow it on the eldest tribe, that of Reuben might have it most justly; and then Dathan and Abiram, and (On, the son of) Eleazar, would have it for these are the eldest men of that tribe, and potent on account of their great wealth also.

Now Corah, when he had said this, had a mind to appear to take care of the public welfare, but in reality he was endeavouring to procure to have that dignity transferred by the multitude to himself. Thus did he, one of a malignant design, but with plausible words, discourse to those of his own tribe; and when these words did gradually spread to more of the people, and when the hearers had taken to the scandals that were cast upon Aaron, the whole army was full of them. Now of those that conspired with Corah, there were two hundred and fifty, and these men were eager to have the priesthood taken away from Moses's brother, and to bring him into disgrace; and the multitude themselves were provoked to thought of this imprudent design of the Jews; and gathered themselves together after an inconstant manner, with confusion and disorder. And now they all were, in a tumultuous manner
BOOK IV.—CHAP. III.

4. Now, although Moses had a great while ago forgiven this calamity of Corah, and had seen that the people were irritated, yet was he not af
frighted at it; but being of good courage, because he had given them right advice about their affairs, and knowing that his brother had been made partaker of the priesthood at the command of God, and not by his own favour to him, he came to the assembly; and, as for the multitude, he said not a word to them, but spake not itself to Cor
rah as he could; and being very skilful in making speeches, and having this natural talent among others, that he could greatly move the multitude when he pleased, he said, "O Cor
rah, both thou, and all these with thee, (pointing to the two hun
dred and fifty men,) seem to be worthy of this honour; nor do I pretend but that this whole congregation may be worthy of the like dignity; al
though they may not be so rich or so great as you are: nor have I taken and given this office to my brother, because he excelled others in riches, for that precedes you in the greatness of your wealth," nor indeed because he was of an emi
nent family, for God, by giving us the same com
mon ancestor, has made our families equal; nay, too, that the affection which another might yet have justly done; for certainly, unless I had bestowed this honour out of regard to God and to his laws, I had not passed by my
self, and given it to another, as being nearer of kin to myself than to my brother, and having a closer intimacy with myself than I have with him: for surely, it would not be a wise thing for me to set before me such dangerous examples, and to bestow the happy employment on this ac
count upon another. But I am above such base prac
tices: nor would God have overlooked this matter, nor would he have allowed me to have suffered you to be ignorant of what you were to do, in order to please him; but he hath himself chosen one that is to perform that work, who can perform it, and that is himself from that care. So that it was not a thing that I pretend to give, but only according to the de
termination of God; and therefore propose it still to be contended for by such as please to put in it, only desiring, that he who has been already pre
ferred, and has already obtained it, may be allowed now also to offer himself for a candidate. He prefers your peace, and your living without sedi
tion, to this honourable employment, although in truth it was with your approbation that he ob
ained it; for though God were the donor, yet do we not offend when we think fit to accept it with your good will; yet would it have been an in
stance of impiety not to have taken that honoura
ble employment when he offered it; nay, it had been exceeding unreasonable, when God had thought fit any one should have it for all time to come, and had made it secure and firm to him, to have refused it. However, he himself will judge whether you have not an author to offer sacrifices to him, and to have the direc
tion of matters of religion; for it is absurd that Cor
rah, who is ambitious of this honour, should
deprive God of the power of giving it to whom he pleases. Put an end therefore to your sedi
tion and disturbance on this account; and to-mor
row morning at every place of your assembly, or on
junctions upon them; for that, had it been God who chose one that was to perform the office of a priest, he would have raised a worthy person to that dignity, and would not have produced out of a one as was inferior to many others, nor have given him that office; and in that case, had he judged it fit to bestow it on Aaron, he would have permitted it to be multitudinous, and not have left it to be bestowed by his own brother.

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

2. But he came near, and lifted up his hands to heaven, and cried out with a loud voice, in order to be heard by the whole multitude; and said, just as he was about to speak, "O Lord of the heaven above, and earth below, and in the sea; and for thou art the most authentical witness to what I have done, that it has all been done by thy appointment, and that both the Jews and Mahonimans, as well as Joseph, are full of it.
ANTIOQUIES OF THE JEWS.

It was thou that afforded us assistance when we were all beset, and showed many on the Hebrews in all their distresses, do thou come now, and hear all that I say, for no action nor thought escapes thy knowledge; so that thou wilt be able to know what is true, for any vindication, without any regard to the ungrateful imputations of these men. For as what was done before I was born, thou knowest best, as not lessening thou changest my report, but seeing them, and being present with them when they were done; but for what has been done of late, and which these men, although they know them well enough, pretend to suspect, be thou my witness. When I lived a private quiet life, I left those good things, which by my own diligence, and by thy counsel, I enjoyed with Raqgel my father-in-law, and gave myself up to this people, and underwent many miseries on their account. I also bore great labours at first, in order to obtain liberty for them, and now, in order to their preservation; and have always showed myself ready to assist them in every distress of theirs. Now, therefore, since I am suspected by those very men, whose being is owing to my labours, consider this: it is reasonable thou wilt do as thou wilt; I say, who showedst me that fire at mount Sinai, and madest me hear its voice, and to see the several wonders which that place afforded me, and how I was kept from going to it hast, and declare thy will to this people: thou, who disturbed the happy estate of the Egyptians, and gave us the opportunity of flying away from our slavery, didst not procure the dominion of Pharaoh inferior to my dominion: thou, who didst make the sea dry land for us, when we knew not whither to go, and didst overwhelm the Egyptians with those destructive waves which had been divided for us: thou, who didst bestow upon us the security of weapons when we were naked: thou who didst make the fountains that were corrupted to flow so as to be fit for drinking, and didst furnish us with water that came out of the rocks, when we were in the greatest want of it: thou, who didst preserve our lives with [quails], which was food from the sea, when the fruits of the ground failed us: thou, who didst send us such food from heaven, and with so good a season as before: thou, who didst suggest to us the knowledge of thy laws, and appoint us a form of government: come thou, I say, O Lord of the whole world, and that as a testimony to the world may never be as cannot be hibred, and show how I have never admitted of any gift against justice from any of the Hebrews: and have never condemned a poor man that ought to have been acquitted, on account of one that was rich; and have never attempted to hurt this commonwealth. I am now here present, and am suspected of a thing, the remotest from my intentions, as if I had given the priesthood to Aaron, not at thy command, but out of my own favour to him, do thou at this time demonstrate, that all things are administered by thy providence, and that nothing happens by chance, but is governed by thy will, and thereby attains its end; as also demonstrate, that thou takest care of those that have done good to the Hebrews; demonstrate this, I say, of Ahab and Naboth, and Thamar, who condemn thee as an insensible being, and one overcome by my contrivance. This wilt thou do by inflicting such an open punishment on these men, as thy fire shall burn their garments, and as will take them out of the world, not in an ordinary manner, but so that it may appear they do not live, as is the manner of other men; let that ground on which they stand, upon open

* It appears here, and from the Samarian Pentateuch, and, in effect, from the Psalms, as also from the Apostolical Constitutions, from Clement's first epistle to the Corinthians, from Ignatius's epistle to the Magnesians, and from Eusebius, that Corah was not swallowed up with the fire, but remained as the rest of his own tribe. See Essay on the Old Testament, p. 64, 65.
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mended Eleazar, the son of Aaron, to put their censers near the brazen altar, that they might be a memorial to posterity of what these men suffered, for supposing that the power of God might be eluded. And thus Aaron was now no longer esteemed or respected by the people, or in the favour of Moses, but by the public judgment of God: and thus he and his children peaceably enjoyed the honour afterward.

CHAP. IV.

What happened to the Hebrews during Thirty-eight Years in the Wilderness.

1. However, this sedition was so far from ceasing upon this destruction, that it grew much stronger, and became more intolerable. And the occasion of its growing worse was of that nature, as made it likely the calamity would never cease, but last for a long time; for the men believing already that nothing is done without the providence of God, would have it that these things came thus to pass not without God's favour to Moses; they therefore laid the blame upon him, that God was so angry, and that this long-standing sedition was the cause; for wicked, unjust, and cruel as those were whom were punished, yet as those were punished, so were the priests punished; and that these men had been destroyed without any sin of theirs, nor was any one of those accused to dishonour the worship; as also that he who had been the cause of this diminution of the people, by destroying so many men, and those the most excellent of them all, besides his escaping any punishment himself, had now given the priesthood to his brother so firmly, that nobody could any longer dispute it with him; for no one else, to be sure, could now put up a rival to a priest, as he had done; and the first thing he did so to have miserably perished. Nay, besides this, the kindred of those that were destroyed made great entreaties to the multitude to abate the arrogance of Moses, because it would be safest for them so to do.

2. Now Moses, upon his hearing for a good while that the people were tumultuous, was afraid that they would attempt some other innovation, and that some grand and calamity would be the consequence; he called the multitude to a congregation, and patiently heard what apology they had to give for their rebellion; and this lest he should emblett the multitude, by only desiring the heads of the tribes to bring their rods, with the names of their tribes inscribed thereon, that he might determine, as a test whether they made a division of the priesthood, in which God should give a sign. This was agreed to. So the rest brought their rods, as did Aaron also, who had written the names of the tribes upon his rod. These rods Moses laid up in the tabernacle of God. On the next day he brought out the rods, which were known from one another by those who brought them, they having distinctly noted them, as had the multitude also; and as to the rest, in the same form Moses received them, in that they saw them still, but they also saw buds and branches grown out of Aaron's rod, with ripe fruits upon them; they were almonds, the rod having been cut out of that tree. The people were so amazed at this strange sight, that though Moses and Aaron were before under some degree of suspicion, they saw laid that hatred aside, and began to admire the judgment of God concerning them; so that hereafter they applauded what God had decreed, and permitted Aaron to enjoy the priesthood peaceably. And thus God ordained him priest three several times, and he retained that honour without further disturbance. And hereby this sedition of the Hebrews, which had been a great one, and had lasted a great while, was at last suppressed.

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

4. Accordingly, he commanded the Levites to yield up to the priests thirteen of their forty-eight cities, and to set apart for them the tenth part of the tithes which they yearly receive of the people; as also, that it was but just to offer to God the first-fruits of the entire product of the ground, and that they should offer the first-born of those four-footed beasts that are appointed for sacrifice, in the same manner, as a man was slain, that they and their entire families may eat them in the holy city; but that the owners of those first-born, which are not appointed for sacrifices in the laws of our country, should bring a shekel and a half in their stead; but for the first-born of a man, five shekels; that they should also have the first-fruits out of the shearing of the sheep; and that when any baked bread corn, and made loaves of it, they should give somewhat of what they had baked to them. Moreover, when they have made a sacred vow, I mean those that are called 'Nazareites,' that suffer their hair to grow long, and use no wine, when they consecrate their hair, and offer it for a sacrifice, they are to allot that hair to the priests, [to be thrown into the fire.] Such also as dedicate themselves to God, as a corban, which denotes what the Greeks call a gift, when they are desirous of being freed from that ministration, are to lay it down in their stead; these, as many as they can, if any may be in the city, may carry them home for a private festival, but not for religious causes, one, they are obliged to bring the maw and the cheek, [or breast,] and the right shoulder of the sacrifice, to the priests; these they should offer, and it was agreed that the priests should be plentifully maintained, besides what they had out of those offerings for sins, which the people gave them, as I have set it down in the foregoing book. He also ordered, that out of every thing allotted for the priests, their servants, [their sons,] their daughters, and their wives, should partake, as well as themselves, excepting what came to them out of the sacrifices that were offered for sins: for of those none but the males of the families of the priest might eat, and this in the temple also, and that the same day they were offered.

5. When Moses had made these constitutions, after the sedition was over, he removed, together with the whole army, and came to the borders of the Idumeans. He then sent ambassadors to the king of the Idumeans, and desired him to give him a passage through his country, and agreed to send him what hostages he should desire, to secure him from any injury. He desired him also, that

1 Grodins, on Num. vii. 18, takes notice, that the Greeks also, as well as the Jews, sometimes consecrated the hair of their heads to the gods.
he would allow his army liberty to buy provisions; and, if he insisted upon it, he would pay down a price for the very water they should drink. But the king was not pleased with this embassy from Moses: nor did her allow a passage to the people that he wished to meet Moses, and to hinder them, in case they should endeavour to force their passage. Upon which Moses consulted God by the oracle, whether he would let him begin the war first; and so he withdrew his forces, and travelled round about through the wilderness.

3. Then it was that Miriam, the sister of Moses, came to her end, having completed her fortieth year since she left Egypt,* on the first day of the lunar month Xanthicus.† They then made a public funeral for her, at a great expense. She was buried upon a certain mountain, which they called 'Sin;' and when they had mourned for her thirty days, Moses purified the people after this manner: he brought a heifer, that had never been used to the plough, or to husbandry: that was complete in all its parts; and entirely of a red colour, at a little distance from the camp, into a place perfectly clean. This heifer was slain by the high priest, and her blood sprinkled with his finger, seven times before the tabernacle of God; after this, the entire heifer was burnt in the midst of these, with its arrows and entrails, and they threw cedar wood, and hyssop, and scarlet wool, into the midst of the fire; then a clean man gathered all her ashes together, and laid them in a place perfectly clean. When therefore any persons were defiled by a dead body, they put a little of these ashes into spring water, with hyssop, and dipping part of these ashes in the water, they sprinkled with it, both on the third day, and on the seventh, and after that they were clean. This he enjoined them to do also when the tribes, should come into their own land.

7. Now when this purification, which their leader made upon the mourning for his sister, as it has been now described, was over, he caused the army to remove, and to march through the wilderness, and through Arabia. And when he came to a place which the Arabianis esteem their metropolis, which was formerly called 'Aree,' but has now the name of 'Petra,' at this place, which was encompassed with high mountains, Aaron went up one of them, in the sight of the whole people, having before told him that he was to die, for this place was over against them. He put off his pontifical garments, and delivered them to Eleazar his son, to whom the high priest's rib was attached, because he was the elder brother, and died while the multitude looked upon him. He died in the same year wherein he lost his sister, having lived in all a hundred and twenty and three years. He died on the first day of that lunar month which is called by the Athenians 'Hecatombeon,' by the Macedonians 'Lous,' but by the Hebrews 'Abba.'

CHAP. V.

How Moses conquered Sihon and Og, kings of the Amorites, and destroyed their whole Army, and then divided their Land by Lot to two Tribes and half of the Hebrews.

§ 1. Two people mourned for Aaron thirty days; and when this mourning was over, Moses removed the army from that place, and came to the river Arnon, which, issuing out of the mountains of Arabia, and running through all that wilderness, fell into the lake Asphaltites, and bespese the limit between the land of the Moabites and the land of the Amorites. This land is fruitful, and sufficient to maintain a great number of men with the good things it produces. Moses, therefore, sent messengers to Sihon, the king of this country, to know whether he would give him an army a passage, upon what security he should please to require; he promised that he should be no way injured, provided none should cross the country, which Sihon governors, nor as to its inhabitants; and that he would buy his provisions at such a price as should be to his advantage, even though he should offer to sell them their very persons. Sihon refused his offer, and put his army into battle array, and was preparing every thing in order to pass them over Arnon.

2. When Moses saw that the Amorite king was disposed to enter upon hostilities with them, he thought he ought not to bear that insult; and determining to win the Hebrews from their in-dolent temper, and prevent the disorders which arose thence, which had been the occasion of their former sedition; (nor indeed were they now thoroughly easy in their minds;) he inquired of God whether he would give him leave to fight; which, when he had done, and God also promised him the victory, he was himself very courageous, and ready to proceed to fighting. Accordingly, he appointed for them, to which the mourning of them that they would take the pleasure of fighting, now God gave them leave so to do. They then, upon the receipt of this commission, to which the攸鸣的 początkon, the Hebrews, and his army, which before had showed themselves to be of good courage, were then found to be timorous; so that they could not sustain the first onset, nor bear up against the Hebrews, but fled away, as thinking this would afford them a more likely way for their escape than fighting; for they depended upon their cities, which were strong, from which yet they reaped no advantage when they were forced to fly to them; for as soon as the Hebrews saw them giving ground, they immediately pursued them close; and when they had broken their ranks they greatly terrified them, and some of them broke off from the rest, and ran away to the cities of Aramethaia, which were thickly inhabited, and obstinately persevered in the labours they had already undergone; and being very skilful in slinging, and very dexterous in throwing darts, or any thing else of that kind, and also having on nothing but light armour which made them quick in the pursuit, they overtook their enemies; and for those that were most remote, and could not be overtaken, they reached them by their spears and their bows, so that many were slain; and those that escaped the slaughter were sorely wounded, and those were more distress'd with thirst than with any of those that fought against them; for it was the summer season, and when the greatest numbers of them were brought down to the river, out of a desire to drink; and as also, when others fell away by troops, the Hebrews came round them, and shot at them; so that, what with darts and what with arrows, they made a slaughter of them all. Sihon also, their king, was slain. So that the spoils, they spoiled the dead bodies, and took their prey.

The land also which they took was full of abundance of fruits, and the army went all over it without fear, and fed their cattle upon it, and the Latin copies say it was on the tenth, and so any other version, or any other version of our copies, in the Vulgate, which adds, 'the prophet Phivtaius, who was called Parthas, and to send his sepulchre is still extant near Petra, the old capital city of Arabia Petrea, at this day; as also that of Aaron, not far off.'
had from his ancestors a friendship and league with the Midianites, saw how great the Israelites were grown, he was much affrighted, on account of his own and his kingdom's danger; for he was not accustomed to this sort of contests and charges. Hereupon the Hebrews took possession of their land, which is a country situate between three rivers, and naturally resembling an island, the rivers being so far from each other. Jabbock determining its northern side, which, running into Jordan, loses its own name, and takes the other; while Jordan itself runs along by it. And when they became possessed of this land, it was more happy than before, but he thought to hinder them, if he could, from growing greater, and so he resolved to send ambassadors to the Midianites about them. Now these Midianites knowing there was one Balaam, who lived by Euphrates, and was the greatest of the prophets at that time, and one that was in friendship with them, sent some of their honourable princes along with the ambassadors of Balak, to entreat the prophet to come to them, that he might imprecate curses upon the Israelites. So Balaam received the ambassadors and treated them very kindly, and when he had heard what was God's will, and what this matter was for which the Midianites entreated him to come to them, he answered: But when I had spent his going, he came to the ambassadors and told them, that he was himself very willing and desirous to comply with their request, but inquired of God; on which account he advised them to go home again, and not to persist in their enmity against the Israelites: and when he had given them that answer, he dismissed the ambassadors.

3. Now the Midianites, at the earnest request and fervent entreaties of Balak, sent other ambas-
sadors to Balaam, who desired to gratify the men, inquired again of God; but he was dis-
pleased at this [second] trial, and bid him by no means to contract the acquaintance of Bala-
am. Balaam did not imagine that God gave him this in-
junction in order to deceive him, so he went along with the ambassadors; but when the divine
angel met him in the way, when he was passing through a narrow passage, and hedged in with a wall on
both sides, the ass on which Balaam rode, under-
stood that it was a divine spirit that met him, and
thrust Balaam to one of the walls, without
regard to the stripes which Balaam, when he was
hurt by the wall, gave her; but when the
ass, upon the angel's continuance to distress
her, and upon the stripes which were given her,
fell down, by the will of God, she made use of
the voice of a man, and complained of Balaam,
as acting unjustly to her; that whereas he had
no fault to find with her in her former service to
him, he now inflicted stripes upon her, as un-
ever scruples to admit, as ever esteeming such wicked
men justly and providentially deceived. But perhaps, we
had better keep here close to the text, which says, Num-
xxiii. 30, 31, that God said to Balaam, and the
ambassadors, in case they came and called him,
or positively insisted on his going along with them, on
any pretence that he might either beeward and re-

cise up in the morning, and saddled his ass, and rather to
have called him, than stay for their calling; so zon-
ous does he seem to have for his reward of diversion;
his wages of unrighteousness; Num. xxiii. 7, 17, 18,
37; 2 Pet. ii. 15; Jude 5, 11; which reward or wages the
" What Josephus here remarks is well worth our re-
mark in this place also, viz. that the Israelites were never
to meddle with the Midianites, or Ammonites, or any other
people but their brethren; so that the nations of Sichon and Og
beyond Jordan, as far as the desert and Euphrates: and that, therefore, no other peo-
ple had occasion to meddle with the Midianites, because of the
nations, that those countries, given by God, were their prop-
er and peculiar portion among the nations; and that all who
attempted to dispute them might ever be justly,
destroyed by them.

Note, That Josephus never supposes Balaam to be an
idolater, nor that he should be understood of the
prophesy falsely, but to be no other than an ill-disposed pro-
phets of the true God; and intimates that God's answer to the
second one to go to them, was to be in the same manner,
and on the same design that he should be deceived (which sort of decep-
tion, by way of punishment for former crimes, Josephus

3. When matters were come to this state, Og, the
king of Gilead and Gaulanitis, fell upon the
Israelites. He brought an army with him, and
came in haste to the assistance of his friend Si-
phon. But though he found him already slain,
yet did he resolve still to come and fight the He-
brews, supposing he should be too hard for them,
and being desirous to try their valour; but fail-
ing of his hope, he was both himself slain in the
battle, and all his army was destroyed. So
Moses passed over the river Jabbok, and over-
ran the kingdom of Og. He overran their
cities, and slew all their inhabitants, who yet ex-
ceeded in riches all the men in that part of the
country, on account of the goodness of the soil,
and the exceeding of the meadows and the herds.
But as for Og, he had very few equals, either in the largeness of
his body, or handsomeness of his appearance.
He was also a man of great activity in all the
use of his hands, and his arms were not unequal to the vast largeness and handsome appear-
ance of his body. And men could easily guess at his strength and magnitude, when they took
his hand at first, and saw the swiftness of the Asse-
rites; its structure was of iron, its breadth four
cubits, and its length a cubit more than double thereto. However, his fall did greatly improve the
circumstances of the Hebrews for the pre-
sent, but by his death he was the occasion of
further good success to them; for they presently
took those sixty cities, which were encompassed
with excellent walls, and had been subject to him,
and all got, both in general and in particular,
a great prey.

CHAPTER VI.
Concerning Balaam the Prophet, and what kind
reed he was.

1. Now Moses, when he had brought his
army to Jordan, pitched his camp in the great
plain over against Jericho. This city has a very
happy situation, and very fit for producing palm-
trees and balanths. And now the Israelites began
to be very proud of themselves, and were very
vagar for fighting. Moses then, after he had of-
fered for a few days sacrifices of thanksgiving to
God, and feared the people, sent a party of
armed men to lay waste the country of the Mi-
dianites, and to take their cities. Now the oc-
casion which he took for making war upon them
was as follows:

2. When Balak, the king of the Moabites, who
through the enemies prisoners, for they could
cowardly put a stop to them, since all the fighting
men were destroyed. Such was the destruction
which overtook the Amorites, who were neither
armed nor disciplined in action. Hereupon the Hebrews took possession of their
land, which is a country situate between three
rivers, and naturally resembling an island, the
rivers being so far from each other. Jabbock
determining its northern side, which, running
into Jordan, loses its own name, and takes
the other; while Jordan itself runs along by it.
understanding that she was hindered from serving him in what he was now going about, by the providence of God. And when he was disturbed by reason of the voice of the ass, which was, for all that was then seen, that of a man, the angel plainly appeared to him, and blamed him for the stripes he had given her ass; and informed him that the brute creature was no bad one, and that he was himself the only one to obstruct his journey, as being contrary to the will of God. Upon which Balaam was afraid, and was preparing to return back again, but for his not being made to go on his intended way; but added this injunction, that he should declare nothing but what he himself should suggest to his mind.

4. When God had given him this charge, he came to Balak; and when the king had entertained him in a magnificent manner, he desired him to go to one of the mountains to take a view of the state of the camp of the Hebrews. Balak himself also came to the mountain, and brought the prophet along with him, with a royal attendance. This mountain lay over their hills, and was distant sixty furlongs from the camp. Now when he saw them, he desired the king to build him seven altars, and to bring him as many bulls and rams; to which desire the king readily conformed. He then slew the sacrifices, and offered them as burnt-offerings, that he might observe some signal of the flight of the Hebrews. Then said he, "Happy is this people on whom God bestows the possession of innumerable good things, and grants them his own providence to be their assistant and their guide; so that there is not any nation among mankind, but you will be esteemed superior sacrifices. They are in virtue, and in the earnest possession of the best rules of life, and of such as are pure from wickedness, and will leave those excellent rules to your children, and this out of the regard that God bears to you, and the provision of such things for you as may render you happier than any other people under the sun. You shall retain that land to which he hath sent you; and it shall ever be under the command of your children; and both all the earth, as well as the seas, shall be filled with your glory: and you shall be subject to none else but to the world in general, and every region of it in particular, with inhabitants out of your stock. However, O blessed army! wonder that you are become so much my father! And truly, the land of Canaan can now hold you, as being yet comparatively few: but know ye that the whole world is proposed to be your place of habitation for ever. That is the lot of your posterity as well as well as in the islands as on the continent, and that more in number than are the stars of heaven. And when you are become so many, God will not relinquish the care of you; but will afford you an abundance of all good things in time of peace, with victory and dominion in time of war. May the children of your enemies have an inclination to fight against you; and may they be so hardy as to come to arms, and to assault you in battle, for they will not return with victory, nor will their return be agreeable to their children and wives. To so great a degree of valour will you be raised by the providence of God, who is able to diminish the influence of all, and to supply the wants of others."  

5. Thus God Balaam speak by inspiration, as not being in his own power, but moved to say what he did by the divine Spirit. But when Balak was displeased, and said he had broken the contract he had made, whereby he was to come as he and his confederates had invited him, by the presence of God to the opposite of what he had come to curse their enemies, he had made an encomium upon them, and had declared that they were the happiest of men. To which Balaam replied, if you ought to consider this whole matter, canst thou suppose that it is in our power to be silent, or to say any thing when the Spirit of God seizes upon us? I will not, for my part, go on his intended way; but add this injunction, that he should declare nothing but what he himself should suggest to his mind.

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

7. So when the Midianites had sent their daughters, as Balaam had expected them, the Hebrew young men were allured by their beauty, and came to discourse with them, and besought them not to grudge them the enjoyment of their beauty, nor to hold them in concealment. These daughters of the Midianites received their words gladly, and consented to it, and staid with them, lest when they had brought them to be enamoured of the women who are to bring them to the utmost

grow to ripeness, they began to think of departing from them; then it was that these men became greatly disconsolate at the women's departure, and did not wish to have them to go, but begged them to remain there, and become their wives; and they promised them they should be owned as mistresses of all that the Israelites possessed; and called God for the arbitrator of what they promised; and this with tears in their eyes, and all other marks of concern as might show how miserable they thought themselves without them, and so might move their compassion for them. So the women, as soon as they perceived they had made them their slaves, and had caught them with their conversation, began to speak thus to them:

8. "O you illustrious young men! we have noses of our own at home, and a great plenty of good for those who will use the fleshly affectionate love of our parents and friends; nor is it out of want of any such things that we come to discourse with you, nor did we admit of your offering us this price; we shewed you the beauty of our body for gain, but taking you for brave and worthy men, we agreed to your request, that we may treat you with such honours as hospitality required; and now, seeing you say

that you have a great affection for us, and are troubled when you think we are departing, we are not averse to your entreaties; and if we may receive such assurance of your good-will as we think—be alone sufficient, we will be glad to lead you and all your lives with you as your wives, but we are afraid that you will in time be weary of our company, and will then abuse us; and send us back to our parents, after an ignominious manner; and they desired that they would excuse them in their guarding against that danger. But the young men pressed they would give them

any assurance they should desire nor did they at all contradict what they requested, so great was the passion they had for them. If then, (said they) this be your resolution, since we make use of such customs and conduct of life as are entirely different from all other men; insomuch that your kinds of food are peculiar to yourselves, and your kinds of drink to others, it will be absolutely necessary, if you would have us for your wives, that you do worship our gods; but then be any other demonstration of the kindness which you already have, and promise to have hereafter, than, that you worship the same gods that we do; for has any one reason to complain, that now you are come into this country, you should worship the proper gods of the same country? especially while our gods are common to all men, and yours such as belong to nobody else, but yourselves." So they said they must either come into such methods of divine worship as all others came into, or else they must look out for another world, wherein they may live by themselves, according to their own laws.

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

10. Even Zimri, the head of the tribe of Simeon, accompanied with Cozbi, a Midianitish woman, who was the daughter of Sur, a man of authority in that country; and being desired by his wife to disregard the law of Moses, and to follow those who used to do contrary to it, and both by sacrificing after a manner different from his own, and by taking a stranger to wife. When things were thus, Moses was afraid that the young men would be seduced to people to a congregation, but then accused nobody by name, as unwilling to drive those into despair, who, by lying concealed might come to repentance; but he said, "That they did not do what was either worthy of themselves, or of their fathers, by preferring pleasure to God, and to the living according to his will: that it was fit they should change their courses, while their affairs were still in a good state; and think that to be true fortitude which offers not violence to their laws, but that which resists their laws. And besides that, he said, it was not a reasonable thing when they had lived soberly in the wilderness, to act madly now they were in prosperity; and that they ought not to lose, now they have abundance, what they had gained when they had lived according to the holy laws which the true God had given them by Moses, in the midst of his divine blessing to those observed under their false gods, well deserves our consideration, and gives us a substantial reason for the great care the Jews were so much concerned under"...
ANTIOCHIUMS OF THE JEWS.

the. And so did he render himself by saying this to correct the young men, and to bring them to repentance for what they had done.

11. But Zimrirose up after him, and said, "Yes, indeed, Moses, thou art at liberty to make war and to destroy the children of Ammon, as thou hast done at Amalek, by acoustomizing thyself to them, made them firm; otherwise, if things had not been thus, thou hadst often been punished before now, and hadst known that the matter was not upon us, but thou shalt not have me one of thy followers in thy tyrannical commands, for thou dost nothing else hitherto, but, under pretence of laws and justice, to take vengeance upon us for our expedition, and gain dominion to thyself, while thou depriest us of the sweetness of life, which consists in acting according to our own wills, and is the right of freemen, and of those that have no lord over them. Nay, indeed, this man is harder upon the Hebrews than were the Egyptians themselves, as pretending to punish according to his laws, every one's acting what is most agreeable to himself; but thou thyself deservert to suffer punishment, who presumest to abolish what every man doth to be what is good for him, and aimest to make thy single opinion to have more force than that of all the rest; and what I now do, and think to be right, I shall not have it done according to my own sentiments. I have married, as thou sayest rightly, a strange woman, and thou hearest what I do from myself, as from one that is free; for truly I did not intend to conceal myself. I also own, that I sacrifice to those gods to whom you do not think it to sacrifice; and I think it right to come at truth by inquiring of many people, and not like one that lives under tyranny, to suffer the whole hope of my life to depend upon one man, nor shall any one find cause to rejoice, who declares himself to have more authority over my actions than myself.

12. Now when Zimri had said these things, about what he and some others had wickedly done, the people held their peace, both out of fear of what might come upon them, and because they saw that their legislator was not willing to bring his insolence before the public any further, or openly to contend with him, for he avoided the issue that might imitate him. The imprudence of his language, and thereby disturb the multitude: upon this the assembly was dissolved. However, the mischievous attempt had proceeded so far, that if Zimri had not been first slain by his neighbors, which came to pass on the following occasion: Phineas, a man in other respects better than the rest of the young men, and also one that surpassed all in the dignity of his father, (for he was the son of Eleazar the high priest, and the grandson of [Aaron] Moses's brother,) who was greatly troubled at what was done by Zimri, resolved in earnest to inflict punishment on him, before his unworthy behaviour should grow stronger by impunity: and in order to prevent this transgression from proceeding farther, which would happen if the ringleaders were not punished. He was of so great magnanimity, both in strength of mind and body, that when he undertook any very dangerous attempt, be did not think of presenting, but did proceed to an entire victory: so he came into Zimri's tent, and slew him with his javelin, and with it he slew Cozbi also. Upon which all those young men that were with Zimri were entirely put to flight. By a glorious action, imitated Phineas's boldness, and slew those that were found to be guilty of the same crime with Zimri. Accordingly, many of those that had transgressed perished by the magistrate's order of these young men: the rest all perished by a plague, which distempered God himself afflicted upon them; so that all those their kindred, who, instead of hindering them, as was the case with those that had ought to have done, had persuaded them to go on, were esteemed by God as partners in their wickedness, and died. Accordingly, there perished out of the army more than fourteen [twenty-four] thousand at that time."

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

CHAP. VII.

How the Hebrews fought with the Midianites, and overcame them.

41. Now Moses sent an army against the land of Midian, for the causes for-mentioned, in all twenty thousand, taking an equal number out of every tribe, and appointed Phineas for their command er, of which Phineas we made mention a little before, as he that had guarded the laws of the Hebrews, and had inflicted punishment upon Zimri when he had transgressed them. Now the Midianites perceiving beforehand how the Hebrews would act against them, they assembled their army together, and fortified the entrances into their country, and there awaited the enemy's coming. When they were close to them, the Midianites, who were of such an immens number of the Midianites fell, nor could they be numbered they were so very many and among them fell all their kings, five in num ber, viz. Evi, Zier, Zalmor, Reboz, Shubal, and Reekem, who was of the same name with a city, the chief and capital of all Arabia, which is till now so called by the whole Arabian nation, 'Areecem,' from the name of the king that built it, but is by the Greeks called 'Petra.' Now when the enemies were discomfited, the Hebrews spoiled their country, and took a great prey, and destroyed the men that were its inhabitants, together with the women; only they let the virgins alone, as Moses had commanded Phineas to do, who indeed came back bringing with him an army that had received no hurt. They then received a great deal of prey: fifty-two thousand beavers, seventy-five thousand six hundred sheep, sixty thousand asses, with an immense quantity of gold and silver furniture, which the Midianites made use of in their houses for they were so wealthy, that they were very luxurious. There were also led captive about thirty-two thousand virgins. So Moses divided

* The mistake in Josephus's copies, Greek and Latin, which was born 1449, instead of 24,900, in an Ephraim, the very learned editor, Bunsen, and the late E. Hinz, have both put the latter number directly into the text. I choose rather to put it in brackets.

† The slaughter of all the Midianite women that had prostituted themselves to the Lord Israelites, and the preservation of the daughter of Phineas, a victim of jealousy, the last of which were no fewer than 32,000, both here and Num. xxxi. 15, 16, 17, 35, 46, 48 and both by the particu
the prey into parts, and gave one-fiftieth part to Eleazar and the two priests, and another fiftieth part to the Levites; and the remnant of the prey among the people. After which they lived happily, as having obtained an abundance of good things by their valour, and there being now no public enemy to make them题目, nor hindered their enjoyment of that happiness.

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

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

4. Moses also now built those towns which were to be of the number of the forty-eight (for the number of the Levites,] three of which he allotted to those that slew any person involuntary, and fled to them; and he assigned the rest of the towns of the prey among the people. After which they lived happily, as having obtained an abundance of good things by their valour, and there being now no public enemy to make them题目, nor hindered their enjoyment of that happiness.

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

CHAP. VIII.
The Polity settled by Moses: and how he disappeared from among Mankind.

§ 1. When forty years were completed, within thirty days, Moses gathered the congregation together near Jordan, where the city Ahab now stands, a place full of pleasant trees; and all the people being come together, he spake thus to them: 2. "O you Israelites and fellow-soldiers! who have been partners with me in this long and uneasy journey; since it is now the will of God, and the course of old age, at a hundred and twenty, requires it, that I should depart out of this life; and since God has forbidden me to be a prince or king, or to ascend a throne, or to do any thing done beyond Jordan, I thought it reasonable not to leave off my endeavours even now for your happiness, but to do my utmost to procure for you the eternal enjoyment of that happiness; and that I might not forget to have a memorial for myself, when you shall be in the fruition of great plenty and prosperity: come, therefore, let me suggest to you by what means you may be happy, and may leave an eternal prosperous possession thereof to your children after you; and then let me thus go out of the world: and I cannot but desire to be believed by you, both on account of the great things I have already done for you, and because when souls are about to leave the body, they speak with the sincerest freedom. 3. O children of Israel! There is but one source of happiness for all mankind, the favour of God; and he alone is of his former cruelty; as thy sword hath made (the Hebrew) women children, so shall thy mother be made childless among women by the Hebrews.' In the last place, the apostles, or their friends, that they had other reasons for the necessity of the coming of Christ, that 'men had formerly perverted both the positive law, and that mixture, and had cast you out of the land. If the flood, the burning of Sodom, the plagues of the Egyptians, and the slaughter of the inhabitants of Palestine, as signs of most amazing punishment and iniquity, were the punishments of horrid wickedness. "

Josephus here, in this one sentence, sums up his notion of Moses's vanity in that he was regarded by the Book of Dantés; and his words are as true and of such importance, that they deserve to be held in constant
able to give good things to those that deserve them, and to deprive those of them that sin against him; towards whom, if you behave yourself to his will, and according to what I, who well understand his mind, do exhort you to do, you will both be esteemed blessed, and will be admired by all men; and will never come into misfortunes, nor cease to be happy; you will then preserve the possession of the good things you already have, and will quickly obtain those that you at present are in want of; only do you be solicitous to what from God would have you to follow. Nor do you prefer any other constitution of government before the laws now given you; neither do you disregard that way of divine worship which you now have, nor change it for any other form: and if you do this, you will be the most courageous of all men, in undergoing the fatigues of war, and will not be easily conquered by any of your enemies; for while God is present with you to assist you, it is to be expected that you will be able to despise the opposition of all mankind; and great rewards of virtue are proposed for you, if you preserve that virtue through your whole lives. Virtue itself is indeed the principal and the first reward, and after that it bestows abundance of others; so that your exertions towards other men will make your own lives happy, and render you more glorious than foreigners can be, and procure you an undisputed reputation with posterity. These blessings you will be able to obtain, in case you hearken to and observe those laws which, by divine revelation, I have ordained for you; that is, in case you withal meditate upon the wisdom that is with me, and I am going from you myself, rejoicing in the good things you enjoy; and I recommend you to the wise conduct of your law, to the becoming order of your polity, and to the virtue of your commanders, who will take care of what is for your advantage; and that God, who has been till now your leader, and by whose goodwill I have myself been useful to you, will not put a period now his providence over you, but as long as you desire to have him your protector, in your pursuits after virtue, so long will you enjoy his care over you. Your high priest, Eliasazar, as well as Joshua, with the senate, and chief of your tribes, will go before you, and suggest the best advices to you: by following which advices, you will continue to be happy; to whom do we entrust so much, and so much to be trusted, that all such as know well how to be governed, will also know how to govern, if they be promoted to that authority themselves. And do not you enforce to contending in these matters, as your governors think fit to give you for your practice, as at present indeed you place your liberty in nothing else but abusing your enemies; which error if you can avoid for the time to come, your affairs will be in a better condition than they have hitherto been: nor do you ever indulge such a degree of passion in these matters, as you have oftentimes done when you have been very angry with me; for you know that I have been often in danger of death from you than from our enemies. What I now put you in mind of, is not done in order to reproach you, for I do not think it proper, now I am going out of the world, to bring this to your remembrance, in order to leave you offended at me, since at the time when I underwent those hardships from you, I was not angry at you, but I do it in order to make you wiser hereafter; and to teach you that this will be for your security; I mean that it is not of any advantage to those that trust to you for your preside over you, even when you are become rich, as you will be to a great degree when you have passed over Jordan, and are in possession of the land of Canaan. Since, when you shall have once proceeded so far by your wealth, as to a certain degree of magnificence, in that state you will most readily be able to do the greatest things with the favour of God; and when you have made him your enemy, you will be beaten in war; and will have the land which you possess taken away from you, and will have again from you by your enemies, and will suffer with great reproaches upon your conduct. You will be scattered over the whole world, and will, as slaves, entirely fill both sea and land; and be what you have had the experience of what I now say, you will repent, and remember the laws you have broken, when it is too late. Whence I would advise you, if you intend to preserve these laws, to leave none of your enemies alive when you have conquered them, but to look upon it as for your advantage to destroy them all, lest, if you permit them to live, you taste of their manners, and thereby corrupt your own proper institutions. I also do further exhort you, to overthrow their altars, and their groves, and whatsoever temples they have among them, and to preserve this, their nation, and their very memory, with fire, by this means alone the safety of your own happy constitution can be firmly secured to you. And in order to prevent the Contact of your ignorance: it is necessary for your nature into vice, I have also ordained you laws, by divine suggestion, and a form of government, which are so good, that if you regularly observe the same, you will be esteemed of all men the most happy."

3. When he had spoken thus, he gave them the laws, and the constitution of government, written in a table of stone, and to them placed in their hands, and tears, and appeared already touched with the sense that they should have a great want of their conductor, because they remembered what a number of things he had done for them, and what care he had taken of their preservation; they desponded about what would come upon them after he was dead, and thought they should never have another governor like him; and feared that God would then take less care of them when Moses was gone, who used to intercede for them. They also repented of what they had said to him in the wilderness when they were angry, and were in grief on those accounts, inso- much, that the whole body of the people fell into tears with such bitterness, that it was past the power of their weeping to bring their tears to down- tion. However, Moses gave them some consolation, and by calling them off the thought, how worthy he was of any weeping for him, he ex- horted them to consider of the many great things God had given them: and then the congregation was dissolved at that time. 4. Accordingly, I shall now first describe this form of government, which was agreeable to the dignity and virtue of Moses; and shall thereby inform those that read these antiquities what our original settlements were, and shall then proceed to the remaining histories. Now those settlements are still in writing, as he left them; and we shall add nothing by way of ornament, nor any thing besides what Moses left us, only we shall so far innovate as to digest the several kinds of laws into a regular system, for they were by him left in writing as they were accidentally scattered in their delivery, and as he upon inqui- sition had learned them of God. On which account I have thought it necessary to premise this observation beforehand, lest any of my own coun- trymen should blame me, as having been guilty of an omission; and that it is not of any instruction will include the laws that belong to our political state. As for those laws which Moses left concerning our common conversation and intercourse among men, I need not be so particular for a discourse concerning our manner of life, and the occasions of those laws which I prepare
be myself, with God's assistance, to write, after I have finished the work I am now upon.

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

6. He that blasphemes God, let him be stoned, and then buried; and let him be buried in an ignominious and obscure manner. Let those that live as remote as the bounds of the land shall possess, come to that city where the temple shall be, and this three times in a year, that they may give thanks to God for his former benefits, and may evermore remember for the first they have been taught. What they shall be taught, and let them by this means maintain a friendly correspondence with one another, by such meetings and feastings together; for it is a good thing for those that are of the same stock, and under the same institution of laws, not to be unacquainted with each other; which acquaintance will be maintained by thus conversing together, and sharing in the same nature, and living with each other, and thus renewing the memorials of this union: for if they do not thus converse together continually, they will appear like mere strangers to one another.

8. Let there be taken out of your fruits a tenth, besides that which you have allotted to the priests and Levites. This you may indeed sell in the country, but it is to be used in those feasts and sacrifices that are to be celebrated in the holy city; for it is fit that you should enjoy those fruits of the earth which God gives you to possess and the honour thereof. You are not to offer sacrifices out of the hire of a woman which is a harlot; for the Deity is not pleased with any thing that arises from such unclean and uncleanly occasions; it is chosen to judge of the heart of man, and to know what is in it worse than this prostitution of the body. In like manner, no one may take the price of the covering of a bitch, either of one that is used in hunting, or in keeping of sheep, and thence sacrifices to God.

Let no one blaspheme those gods which other cities esteem; nor may any one steal what belongs to strange temples, nor take away the gifts that are dedicated to any god.

Let not any one of you wear a garment made of woolen and linen, for that is appointed to be for the priests alone.

12. When the multitude are assembled together into the holy city for sacrificing every seventh year, at the feast of tabernacles, let the high priest stand upon a high desk, whence he may be heard, and let him read the laws to all the people; and let neither the women nor the children be hindered from hearing, nor, nor the servants neither; for it is a good thing that those laws should be engraven in their souls, and preserved in their memories, that so it may not be possible to blot them out; for by this means they will not be guilty of sin, when they cannot plead ignorance of what the laws have enjoined them. The laws also will have their great and by Josue, for foretelling what they will suffer if they break them; and imprinted in their souls by this hearing what they command them to do, so that there may always be within their minds a testimony to the laws which they have despised and broken, and have thereby been the causes of their own mischief. Let the children also learn the laws, and know that they are the best thing they can be taught, and will be the cause of their future felicity.

13. Let every one commemorate before God, the benefits which he has received upon them at their deliverance out of the land of Egypt, and this twice every day; both when the day begins, and when the hour of sleep comes on, gratitude being a thing that is in our power, and which can be no way but by way of return for past, but also by way of invitation of future, favours. They are also to inscribe the principal blessings they have received from God upon their doors, and show the same remembrance of them on their arms; as also they are to bear on their forehead, and their arm, those wonders which declare the power of God, and his good-will towards them, that God's readiness to bless them may appear everywhere conspicuous about them.

14. Let there be seven men to judge in every city;] and the such as should have been before most zealous in the exercise of virtue and righteousness. Let every judge have two officers allotted him out of the tribe of Levi. Let those officers be appointed by the people; and they are in great honour; and let none be permitted to revile any others when these are present, nor to carry themselves in an insolent manner to them. It of heathen gods, as here, and against Apion, B. ii. ch. li. sect. 4.

5. What book of the law was thus publicly read, see the note on Antit. B. ii. ch. v. sect. 51; and 1 K. ix. 29-33.

8. Whether these phylacteries, and other Jewish marks of the law, were to be hung under the phylacteries, beside the fringes on the borders of their garments, Numb. xxv. 31, were literally meant by Josephus, as much question is made by some, as to those in Zoroboas's and His temple, which were, I think, all tenuis cubici. See 2 Chron. i. 1 and Ant. B. vi. ch. iii. sect. 7. The reasons why these temples, as it is said, were hung under the ephod, and not by steps, is obvious, that before the invention of stairs, as we now see, it would not be possible to ascend thereon; whereas, it can be thought that either in the manuscripts of the Old Testament, or in the books we call Apcryp{raph, there are any signs of such literal observation or copying among the Jews, though their real spiritual significance, i.e. the constant remembrance and observation of the laws of God by Moses, he frequently insinuated in all the sacred books, see, e. g. of his Life, sect. 14; and of the Wars, B. ii. ch. xxv. sect. 5, are but seen judgments appointed for small cities, indeed, in the modern range of the story, which are called oracles in the modern range; but of very little authority in comparison of our Josephus.
being natural, that reverence towards those in
high offices among men should procure men's
fear and reverence towards God. Let those that
justly are determined to be so, think they
should be right, unless any one can show
that they have taken bribes, to the perversion
of justice, or can allege any other accusation
against them, whereby it may appear they have
passed an unjust sentence; for it is not that causes
should be openly determined out of regard to
gain, or to the dignity of the suitors, but that
the cause should end, what is right before them.
All other things, otherwise God will by that
means be despised, and esteemed inferior to
those, the dread of whose power has occasioned
the unjust sentence; for justice is the power of
God. He therefore that gratifies those in great
dignity, supposes them more potent than God
himself. But if these judges are unable to give
a just sentence about the causes that come before
them, (which ease is not infrequent in human
affairs,) let them send the cause undetermined to
the holy city, and there let the high priest, the
prophet, and the Sanhedrin, determine as it
shall seem good to them.
15. But let not a single witness be credited,
but three, or two at the least, and those such
witnesses as are confirmed by their good lives.
But let not the testimony of women be admitted,
on account of their levity and boldness of their
sex." Nor, let servants be admitted to give tes-
timony, against the liberty of their soul; since it
is probable that they may not speak truth, either
out of hope of gain, or fear of punishment.
But if any one be believed to have borne false
witness, let him, when he is convicted, suffer all
the very same punishments which he, against whom
he bore witness, was to have suffered.
16. If a murderer be committed in any place,
and he that did it be not found, nor is there any
suspicion upon one as if he had hated the man,
and so had killed him, let there be a very dis-
gust inquiry made after the man, and rewards
proposed to any who will discover him: but if
still no information can be procured, let the ma-
gistrates and senate of those cities that lie near
the place in which the murder was committed,
assemble together, and measure the distance
from the place where the dead body lies; then
let the magistrates of the nearest city thereto
punish and hang it in a valley, and to a place therein where there is no land plough-
ked, or trees planted, and let them cut the sinews
of the heifer; then the priests and Levites, and
the women of that city, shall wash their hands over the head of the heifer,
and they openly declare that their hands
are innocent of this murder, and that they have
neither done it themselves, nor been assisting to
any that did it. They shall also beseech God
to be merciful to them, that no such horrid act may
any more be done in that land.
17. Aristocracy, and the way of living under it,
is the best constitution; and may you never have
an inclination to any other form of government;
and may you always love that form, and have the
laws for your governors, and govern all your
actions according to them; for you need no su-
preme governor but God. But if you shall de-
sire a king, let him be one of your own nation;
let him be always careful of justice, and other
virtues, perpetually; let him submit to the laws,
and esteem God's commands to be his highest
wisdom; but let him do nothing without the high
priests of God and his people. Nor will he have
not a great number of wives, nor pursue
abundance of riches, nor a multitude of horses,
chap. viii.

**BOOK IV.**

**them**selves full of what you have, and this whether they be of your own country, or strangers, as before you were instructed, to bring unto the Hebrews some part of your fruits when they are ripe; but let it not be esteemed lawful for them to carry away any. Nor let those that gather the grapes, as the Hebrews were to carry away, those whom they meet from eating of them; for it is unjust, out of envy, to hinder those that desire to partake of the good things that come into their hands; and this is especially a sin while the season is at the height, and is hastening away as it pleases God. Nay, if some, out of bashfulness, are unwilling to touch these fruits, let them be encouraged to take of them. I mean those that are Israelites, as if they were themselves the owners and lords, on account of the kindness there is between them. Nay, let them desire men that come from other countries, to partake of these tokens of friendship which God has given in their proper season; for that is not to be esteemed as idly spent, which any one out of kindness communicates to another, since God Bestows plenty of good things on men, not only for themselves but to reap the advantage, but also to give to others in a way of general communication. This means, to make known to others his peculiar kindness to the people of Israel, and how freely he communicates happiness to them, while they abundantly communicate not only to the Israelites, but to gentiles also, to even the foreigners also.

But for him that acts contrary to this law, let him be beaten with forty stripes save one, by the public executioners; let him undergo this punishment, which is a most ignominious one for a freeman, and this because he was such a slave to and to lay a blot upon his own dignity; for it is proper for you who have had the experience of the afflictions in Egypt and of those in the wilderness, to make provision for those that are in the like circumstances; and while you have now obtained plenty yourselves, through the mercy and providence of God, to distribute of the same plenty, by the like sympathy, to such as stand in need of it.

23. Besides those two tithes, which I have already said you are to pay every year, the one for the Levites, the other for the festivals; you are to bring every third year a third tithe to be distributed on the sixth day, when also that are widows; and to children that are orphans. But as to the ripe fruits, let them carry that which is ripe first of all unto the temple; and will it be sent, he shall take a potion of it, three years afterwards, which shall be sacred, and which he had given them for a possession, when they have also offered those sacrifices which the law has commanded them to bring, let them give the first-fruits to the priests. But when any one hath done this, and hath brought the tithe of all that he hath, together with those first-fruits that were for the Levites, and for the festivals; and when he is about to go home, let him stand before the holy house, and return thanks to God, that he hath delivered them from the injurious treatment they had in Egypt, and hath given them a good land, and a large, and let them enjoy the fruits thereof; and when he hath openly testified that he hath fully paid the tithes [and other dues], according to the law of Moses, let him treat God that he will be ever merciful and gracious to him, and be in such constance so to the Hebrews as to preserve the good things which he hath already given them, and by adding what it is still in his power to bestow upon them.

25. Let the Corinthians, by the age fit for it, virginites that are free and born of good parents.

And he that does not marry a virgin, let him not corrupt another man's wife, and marry her, nor give her for marriage. Nor let him keep house with his house without God, although their affections should strongly bias any of them so to do; for it is decent, and for the dignity of the persons themselves, to govern those their affections. And farther, no one ought to marry a harlot; whose matrimonial obligations, arising from the prostitution of her body, God will not receive; for by these means, the dispositions of the children will be liberal and virtuous; I mean when they are not born of base parents, and of the lustful conjunction of such as marry women that are not free. If any one has been exposed to a woman as to a virgin, and does not afterward find her so to be, let him bring his action, and accuse her, and let him make use of such indication as he is furnished withal, and let the father of the damsel, or some one that is after them nearest of kin to her, defend her. If the damsel be found not in a state in which she was not guilty, let her live her husband that accused her; and let him not have any further power at all to put her away, unless she give him very great occasions for suspicion, and such as can be in no way contradicted. But for him that brings an accusation and calumny against his wife, in an impudent and rash manner, let him be punished by receiving forty stripes save one, and let him pay fifty shekels to his father. But if the damsel be convicted, as having been corrupted, and is one of the common people, let her be stoned, because she did not preserve her virginity till she were lawfully married; but if she were the daughter of a priest, let her be burnt alive. If any man has two wives, and if he greatly respect and be kind to one of them, either out of his affection to her, or for her beauty, or for some other reason, while the other is of less esteem with him; and if the son of that is beloved whom he has begetten by his other wife, but endeavours to obtain the right of primogeniture, from his father's kindness to his mother, and would thereby obtain a double portion of his father's substance, (for he that has but a single portion is what I have allotted him in the laws,) let not this he permitted; for it is unjust, that he who is the elder by birth should be deprived of what is due to him, on the father's disposition of his estate, because his mother was not equally regarded by him. He that hath corrupted a damsel espoused to another man, in case he had her as a concubine, let both him and her be put to death, for they are both equally guilty, the man because he persuaded the woman willingly to submit to a most impure action, and to prefer it to lawful wedlock; the woman, because she was persuaded to yield herself to be corrupted, either for pleasure or for gain. However, if a man light on a woman when she is alone, and forces her, where

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* This penalty of forty stripes save one, here mentioned and sect. 23, was five times inflicted on St. Paul himself by the Jews, 2 Cor. xii. 34.

1 Josephus's plain and express interpretation of this law of Moses, Deut. xiv. 29; xxv. 12, &c. that the Jews were not to cut off their own flesh to death, is the same Antig. B. vii. ch. xvi. sect. 2 8. The explanation, that the Levites, that for sacrifices at Jerusalem, and this for the indigent, the widows, and the orphans, is fully confirmed by those of Tobit, 3, 9, who interpret a captive at Assyria, against the opinion of the Rabbins, Tobit, ch. i. 6, 7, 8.

2 Those tokens of virginity, as the Hebrew and Septuag. gospels agree them, Deut. xxii. 15, 17, 20, seem to be very different from what our late interpreters suppose. They appear rather to have been such close linen garments as were never put off virgins after a certain age, till they were married, but before witnesses, and which, while they were entire, were certain evidences of such virginity. Antig. B. vii. ch. xvi. sect. 2 8. Josephus here determines nothing as to those particular tokens of virginity, or of corruption; perhaps he thought it would not easily be written, and unwritten, without saying what they might have thought a breach of modesty; which seeming breach of modesty laws cannot always wholly avoid.
nobody was present to come to her assistance, let him only be put to death. Let him that hath committed a virgin not yet espoused, marry her; but if the father of the damsel be not willing that she should marry him, let him pay fifty shekels as the price of her prostitution. He that desires to be divorced from his wife for any cause whatever, (and many such causes happen among people,) let him in writing give assurance that he never will use her as his wife any more, for by these means she may be at liberty to marry another husband, although before this bill of divorcement should be permitted. Then let him give the wife what he thinks proper for her to do: but if she be misused by him also, or if, when he is dead, her first husband would marry her again, it shall not be lawful for her to return to him.

4. If a woman's husband die, and leave her without children, let his brother marry her, and let him call the son that is born to him by his brother's name, and educate him as the heir of his inheritance, for this procedure will be for the benefit of the public, because thereby families will not fail, and the estate will continue among the kindred; and this will be for the sake of the sons and daughters, that they are to be married to the next relations of their former husbands. But if the brother will not marry her, let them not come before the senate, and protest openly that they do not admit her for his wife, but will injure the memory of his deceased brother, while she is willing to continue in the family to bear him children; and when the senate have questioned him, for what reason it is that he is averse to this marriage, whether he gives a bad or a good reason, the matter must come to this issue, that the woman shall loose the sanctity of the brother, and shall spit in his face, and say, "He deserves this reproachful treatment from her, as having injured the memory of the deceased." And then let him go away out of the senate, and hear this reproach upon him all his life long; and let her marry whom she pleases, of such as seek her in marriage. But now if any man take captive either a virgin, or one that hath been married, and has a mind to marry her, let him not be allowed to bring her to bed to him, or to live with her as his wife, before she hath her head shaved, and hath put on her mourning habit, and lamented her relations and friends that were slain in the battle, that by these means she may give vent to her sorrow for the loss of them that may betake herself to feasting and marriage, for it is good for him that takes a woman in order to have children by her, to be complaisant to her inclinations, and not marry her on his own account, while he hath put aside, with no regard to what is agreeable to her. But when twenty days are past, as the time of mourning, for so many are sufficient, to prudent persons, for lamenting the dearest friends, then let them proceed to the marriage; but in case when he hath satisfied his lust, he be too proud to retain her for his wife, let him not have it in his power to make her a slave, but let her go away whither she pleases, and have that privilege of a free woman.

25. Let no one lend to any one of the Hebrews upon usury, neither usury of what is eaten, or what is drunken; for it is not just to make ad advantage of the misfortunes of one of thy own countrymen; but when thou hast been assistant to his necessities, think it thy gain, if thou obtainest their gratitude to thee; and withal that thou mayest not charge them with this from God, for thy humanity towards him.

26. Those who have borrowed either silver, or any sort of fruits, whether dry or wet, (I mean fruits that are to be eaten,) let them make that payment that is whitely agreed upon, for the labour of God, be to their own mind,) let the borrowers bring them again, and restore them with pleasure to those that lent them, laying them up, and as it were, in their own treasuries, and justly expecting to receive them thence, if they should want them again. But if they be without shame, and do not restore it, let not the lender go to the borrower's house, and take a pledge himself, before judgment be given concerning it: but let him require the pledge, and let the debtor bring it of himself, without the least opposition to him that can have any chance with him under the protection of the law. And if he that gave the pledge be rich, let the creditor retain it till what is not be paid him again; but if he be poor, let him that takes it return it to him. And especially if the pledge be a garment, that the debtor may have it for a covering in his sleep, God himself naturally showing mercy to the poor. It also is not lawful to take a millstone, nor any was slain in this very battle, otherwise it would have been white corn upon the very heads of the judges. Matt. vii. 4. "Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause?"

Here it is supposed that this captive'sInstead, if she were before a married woman, we should be in, or rather
BOOK IV—CHAP. VIII.

27. Let death be the punishment for stealing a man; but he that hath purloined gold or silver, let him pay for that, and if a man hath three things stolen something out of his house, let him be esteemed guiltless, although the men were only breaking in at the wall. Let him that hath stolen anything be punished, unless he be one of the porters of the temple, so that he may not be put to death.  

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

29. If any one strike a man dead or a woman, and the road, let him inquire after him that lost it, and make proclamation of the place where he found it, and then restore it to him again, as not thinking it right to let it fall into the hand of one another.  

And the same rule is to be observed in cattle found to have wandered away into a lonely place. If the owner be not presently discovered, let him that is the finder keep it with himself, and appeal to God, that he has not purloined it; or if he (when he is a person of bad character) have brought upon them for whom the person was purloined.

30. He that maketh any one, let him undergo the like himself, and be deprived of the same member of which he hath deprived the other, unless he that is maimed will accept of money instead of it, for the amount of the value of what he hath suffered, and permit him to estimate it, unless he will be more severe.  

31. Let him that is the owner of an ox, which hath gone with his herd until it is lost, and goes any one in the threshing-floor, let him be put to death by stoning, and let him not be thought a person of bad character; but if he own be convicted of having killed a man. But if the ox hath killed a man-servant, or a maidservant, let him be stoned, and let the owner of the ox pay thirty shekels to the master of him that was slain; but if it be an ox that is thus smitten and killed, let both the oxen, that which smote the other, and that which was killed, be sold, and let the owners of them divide their price between them.  

32. Let there be a settlement round the tops of your houses instead of a wall, that may prevent any persons from rolling down and perishing.  

33. Let him that has received any thing in trust for another, keep it as a sacred and divine thing, and let no one invent any contrivance whereby to deprive him that hath trusted it with him of the same, and this whether it be a man or a woman, no, not although he or she were to gain an immense sum of gold, and this where he cannot be convicted of it by any body, for it is fit that a man's own conscience, which knows what he hath, should in all cases oblige him to do well. Let this conscience be his witness, and make him always act so as may procure him commendation from others; but let him chiefly have regard to God, from whose hand the wicked man can lie concealed; but if he in whom the trust was reposed, without any deceit of his own, lose what he is intrusted withal, let him, as a punishment, be made to suffer all the misfortunes that he, as the father of that trust, did not take care of that thing which he was intrusted with, but let him be condemned to repay all that he had received, after the same manner as in those trusts it is to be, if any one defraud those that undergo bodily labour for him. And let it be always remembered, that we are not to defraud a poor man of his wages, as being sensible that God has allotted that wages to him instead of land, and other possessions; and, this payment is not at all to be delayed, but to be made that very day, since God in his mercy has not willing let him in hand, to the immediate use of what he hath laboured for.  

* Psalm and others appear to have understood this law.

Exod. xxii. 27, 28: better than Josephus, who seems to allow, that though the infant in the mother's womb, even after the mother were quick, and, if it be killed, it is a manslaughter, as also killing by the stroke of the stroke upon the mother, yet if the mother escaped, the offender should only be fined, and not put to death; for the law had it, he that was killed in that act, in that case, is not to be put to death, though the mother escapes, the offender must be put to death, and not only when the mother is killed, as Josephus understands it, which was the exposition of the Pharaoh in the days of Joseph.
39. You are not to punish children for the faults of their parents, but on account of their own virtue rather to vouchsafe them commissations, because they were born of wicked parents, that they should be born in the form of bad ones. Nor indeed ought we to impute the sin of children to their fathers, while young persons indulge themselves in many practices different from what they have been instructed in, and this by their proud refusal of such instruction.

40. Let those that have made themselves enemies be had in detestation: and do you avoid any that you may be harmed by them, who have deprived themselves of their manhood, and of that fruit of generation which God has given to men for the increase of their kind: let such be driven away, as if they had killed their children, since they beforehand have lost what should procure them; for evident it is, that while their soul is become effeminate, they have within transfused that effeminacy to their body also. In like manner do you treat all that is of a monstrous nature when it is looked on; nor is it lawful to geld either men or any other animals.*

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

42. When you have pitched your camp, take care that you do nothing that is cruel. And when you are engaged in a siege, and want timber for the making of warlike engines, do not you render the land naked, by cutting down trees that bear fruit, but spare them, as considering that they were made for the benefit of men; and that if they could speak, they would have a just plea against you; because, though they are not occasions of the war, they are unjustly treated, and in such a manner, as they were made for the nation of the Canaanites, for as to that people you must entirely destroy them.

43. Take care, especially in your battles, that no woman use the habit of a man, nor man the garment of a woman.

44. This was the form of political government which was left us by Moses. Moreover, he had already in his time, with his law of the covenant, in the year, after they came out of Egypt, concerning which we will discourse in another book. But now on the following days, (for he called them sacred and holy) he delivered blessings to them, and curses upon those that should not live according to the laws, but should transgress the duties that were determined for them to observe. After this, he read to them a poetic song, which was composed in hexameter verse, and left it to them in the holy book. It contained a prediction of what was to come to pass after the things that were past, and the things now they were in the world. And when the people had heard the law, they were under necessity of doing what was done, and people of all nations, that were contiguous to them, and had not heard the law, were in a great measure astonished at it. And if I shall wish to speak of the other events of that people, I shall say that they were not to be lessed at the appearing of the sun rising, not far from the city of Shchem, between the two mountains, that of Gerizim situate on the right hand, and that called Ebal on the left; and that the army should be so divided, that six tribes should stand upon each of the two mountains, and with them the Levites and the priests. And first that, those that were upon mount Gerizim should pray for the best blessings upon those who were diligent about the worship of God, and the observation of his laws and who did not reject what Moses had said to have no oxen which are gait, but only bulls and cows in Judaea. | These laws seem to be those above-mentioned, sect. 6 of this chapter.

I What laws were now delivered to the priests, see the notes on Acts 21. 33; chap. 15. sect. 7.
BOOK IV.—CHAP. VIII.

them, while the other wished them all manner of happiness also; and when these last put up the like prayers, the former praised them. After this, curses were denounced upon those that should destroy such laws, and the worshipers of another, by way of confession of what had been said. Moses also wrote their blessings and their curses, that they might learn their example. Yet the memory of them was not forgotten by length of time. And when he was ready to die, he wrote these blessings and curses upon the altar on each side of it; where he says also, that he offered burnt-offerings, though after that day they never offered it any other sacrifices, for it was not lawful to so do. These are the constitutions of Moses; and the Hebrew nation still live according to them.

45. On the next day, Moses called the people together, with the women and children, to a congregation, as so as the very slaves were present also, that they might engage themselves to the observance of these laws by oath; and that duly considering the meaning of God in them, they might not be afraid of, or disdained, or out of fear of any one, or indeed for any motive whatsoever, think any thing ought to be preferred to these laws, and so might transgress them. For not in a man's blood, or any city, should attempt to confound or dissolve their constitution of government, they should take vengeance upon them, both all in general, and perhaps of a particular; and when they had conquered them, should overturn their city to the very foundations, and, if possible, should not leave the least footsteps of such madness: but then, also to make sure, that when they should experience vengeance, they should still demonstrate, that what was done was contrary to their wills. So the multitude bound themselves by oath so to do.

46. Moses taught them also by what means their sacrifices might be most acceptable to God; and how they should go forth to war, making use of the stones [in the high priest's breastplate] for their direction, as I have before signified. Joshua also prophesied while Moses was present. And when Moses had recapitulated whatsoever he had done for the preservation of the people, both in their wars and in peace, and had commended them a body of laws, and procured them an excellent form of government, he foretold, as God had declared, that the Tabernacle was to transgress and debar them, and then built the Tabernacle; and when they should experience the following miseries: their land should be full of weapons of war from their enemies; and there should be blood in the streets, and their temple should be burnt; that they should be sold for slaves to such men as would have no pity on them in their afflictions: that they would then repent, when that repentance would nowy profit them under their sufferings. Yet (said he) will that God who founded your nation, restore your cities to your citizens, with their temple also, and you shall lose these advantages not once only, but often.

47. Now when Moses had encouraged Joshua to lead out the army against the Canaanites, by telling him that God would assist him in all his undertakings, and had blessed the whole multitude, he said, "Since I am going to my forefathers, and God has determined that this should be the day of my departure to them, I return him thanks while I am still alive, and present with you, for that providence he hath exercised over you, which hath not only delivered us from the miseries we lay under, but hath bestowed a better providence upon us; and you may assuredly expect it. For the Lord he it was who first conducted our affairs, and brought them to a happy conclusion, by making use of me as a vicarious general under him, and also of another minister as a minister of the word, who was willing to do you good: on which account I think it proper to bless that divine Power which will take care of you for the time to come, and this in order to repay the debt which I owe him, and to leave behind me a memorial that we are obliged to worship and honour him, and to keep those laws which are the most excellent gift of all those he hath already bestowed upon us, or which, if he continue favourable to us, he will bestow upon us hereafter. Certainly a human legislator is a terrible enemy, when his laws are unfounded, and he is famous for the severity of his vengeance; but when a people experience the ill-displeasure of God, which will be the consequence of the neglect of these his laws, which he, who is your Creator, hath given you.

48. When Moses had spoken thus at the end of his life, and had foretold what would befall to every one of their tribes afterward, with the addition of a blessing to the multitude; he entered into tears, insomuch that even the women, by beating their breasts, made manifest the deep concern they had when he was about to die. The young and children also in the temple made such a noise, that they could not contain their grief; and thereby declared, that even at their age they were sensible of his virtues, and mighty deeds: and truly there seemed to be a strife between the young and the old, who should most grieve for him. The old grieved, because they knew what a careful protector they were to be deprived of, and so lamented their future state; but the young grieved not only for that, but also because it so happened that they were to be left by him before they had well tasted of his virtue. Now one may make a guess that at the excess of this sorrow and lamentations of the multitude, from what happened to the legislator himself; for although he was always persuaded that he ought not to be cast down at the approach of death, since the understandings of the child are agreeable to the will of God, and the law of nature, yet what the people did, so overbear him, he sent to his own place, and went there to the place where he was to vanish out of their sight, they all followed after him, weeping, but Moses beckoned with his hand to those that were remote from him, and bade them stay behind in quiet, while he exhorted those that were near to him that they would not render his departure so lamentable. Whereupon they thought they ought to grant him that favour, to let him depart according as he himself desired, so they restrained themselves, though weeping still toward one another. All those who accompanied him, were the king, and the senators, and all those that were his commander. Now as soon as they were come to the mountain called 'Abaram,' (which is a very high mountain situate over against Jericho, and one that affords to such as are upon it a Scripture Politico, p. 55, 56; and this same were they brought into, before they were brought unto Josephus, see Essai on the Old Testament, p. 186—171. 11 Dr. Bernardi well observes here, how unfortunate this necessity was, to be supposed, because he himself, in the case of the Gibeonites, who put a trick upon him, and ensnared him, together with the rest of the Jewish rulers, were supposed to do it, the consequence of this was to exasperate all the Canaanites root and branch; which oath he said the other rulers durst never break. See 13
BOOK V.
CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF FOUR HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SIX YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF MOSES TO THE DEATH OF EIL.

CHAPTER I.

How Joshua, the Commander of the Hebrews, passed over the Jordan with the Canaanites, and overcame them, and destroyed them, and divided their land by lot to the Tribes of Israel.

§ 1. When Moses was taken away from among men, in the manner already described, and when all the solemnities belonging to the mourning for him were finished, and the sorrow for him was over, Joshua commanded the multitude to get themselves ready for an expedition. He also sent spies to Jericho, to learn what forces they had in their city, and whether they were ready to defend it, and also to learn of those who had promised Moses, and who had exhumed, that for the sake of the care that Moses had taken of them, who had never been weary of taking pains for them, and showing them kindness, and for the sake of the public welfare, they would prepare themselves, and readily perform what they had promised; so he took fifty thousand of them, who followed him, and he marched from Ahab to Jordan, sixty furlongs.

2. Now when he had pitched his camp, the spies came to him immediately, well acquainted with the whole state of the Canaanites: for, at first, before they were at all discovered, they took a full view of the city of Jericho without disturbance, and saw which parts of the walls were strong, and which parts were otherwise, and indeed in every view, and which of the gates were such as might afford an entrance to their army. Now those that met them took no notice of them when they saw them, and supposed they were only strangers, who used to be very curious in observing every thing in the city, and did not take them for enemies; but at even they retired to a certain inn that was near to the wall, whither they went to eat their supper; which was at such a time that they were considering how to get away. Information was given to the king as he was at supper, that there were some persons come from the Hebrews' camp, to view the city as spies, and that they were in the inn kept by Rahab, and were very solicitous that they might not be discovered; so he sent immediately some to them, and commanded them to catch them, and bring them to him, that he might examine them by torture, and learn what their business was there. As soon as Rahab understood that these messengers were come from the camp of the Hebrews, she took, by the help of her sister, a bag of flax which were laid to dry on the top of her house, and snid to the messengers that were sent by the king, that certain unknown strangers had stopped with her a little before sunset, and were gone away, who might easily be taken if they were any terror to the city, or likely to bring any danger to the king: so these messengers being thus deluded by the woman, and surrendering the innkeeper Rahab's deception of the king of Jericho's messengers, by telling them what was false, in order to save lives of the spies, and yet the great commandment of her faith and good works in the New Testament, Heb. 11:31; James 2:5, as well as by many other parallel examples both in the Old Testament and in Josephus. Just the best men did not thus scruple to deceive those public enemies, who might justly be destroyed; as she might deceive ill men in order to save life, and deliver themselves from the tyranny of their unjust oppressors, and the hyd that great foresight of Rahab, I mean all this where no one was desired of them, otherwise they never durst venture on such a procedure. Nor was Josephus himself of any about the Jordan, as all the Canaanites' army was in the camp of that country, although that land beyond Jordan was an exact promise and part of the land the two tribes had a part took notice, Num. 13:14, 18, that it maintained about a fifth part of the whole people.

It plainly appears by the history of these spies, and
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peering no impostion, went their ways without as much as searching the inn, but they immediately pursued them along those roads which they most probably supposed them to have gone, and passed by the way to the two tribes, at the entrance of which, they should bear no tidings of them; so they left off the pains of any further pursuit. But when the tumult was over, Rahab brought the men down, and desired them, as soon as they should have obtained possession of the land of Canaan, when it would be in their power to make her amends for her preservation of them, to remember what danger they had put her to, and for it as pray, for their safety; for, as she said, that if she had been caught concealing them, she could not have escaped a terrible destruction, she and all her family with her, and so bid them go home; and desired them to swear to her, to preserve her and her family, when they should take the city, and destroy all its inhabitants, as they had decreed to do, for so far she said she had been assured by those divine miracles of which she had been informed. So these spies acknowledged, that they owed her thanks for what she had done already, and within swore to requite her liberality, but if her deeds: but they gave her this advice, that when she should perceive that the city was about to be taken, she should put her goods, and all her family, and all their wealth, for all the money in scarlet threads before her doors, or windows, that the commander of the Hebrews might know her house, and take care to do her no harm for the said Rahab; but if she continued in this matter, of the concern thou hast had to preserve us: but if any one of thy family fall in the battle, do not thou blame us; and we beseech thee not to be moved, as the Lord is pleased, and thou, lest thou be displeased with us, as though we had broken our oaths. So these men, when they had made this agreement, went away, letting themselves down by a rope from the wall, and escaped, and came and told their own people whatsoever they had done in their journey to this city. Joshua also told Eleazar, the high priest, and the senators, what the spies had sworn to Rahab, who confirmed what had been sworn.

2. Now, while Joshua the commander was in fear about their passing over Jordan for the river could not be passed over with bridges, for there never had been bridges laid over it hitherto, while he suspected, that if he should attempt to make a bridge, the river would overflow it; and for this reason, he thought it perfect it, and as for ferry-boats, they had none, God promised so to dispose of the river that they might pass over it, and that by taking away the main part of its waters. So Joshua, after two days, caused the army and the whole multitude to pass over in the manner following: the priests went first of all, having the ark with them; then went the Levites, bearing the tabernacle and the vessels which belonged to the sacrifices; after which the entire multitude followed according to their tribe, having their children and their wives in the midst of them, as being afraid for them lest they should be borne away by the stream. But as soon as the priests had entered the river first, it appeared fordable, the depth of the water being restrained, and the sand appearing at the bottom, because the current was neither so strong nor so swift as to carry it away by its force, so they all passed over the river without fear. And they arrived at Jericho as God had foretold he would put it in, but the priests stood still in the midst of the river till the multitude should be passed over, and should get to the other side, and, then, they themselves were gone over, the priests came out also, and permitted the current to run freely, as it used to do before.

4. So the Hebrews went on further fifty furlongs, and pitched their camp at the distance of ten furlongs from Jericho; but Joshua built an altar of those stones, which all the heads of the tribes, at the entrance of the two tribes, at the entrance of which, they should bear no tidings of them; so they left off the pains of any further pursuit. But when the tumult was over, Rahab brought the men down, and desired them, as soon as they should have obtained possession of the land of Canaan, when it would be in their power to make her amends for her preservation of them, to remember what danger they had put her to, and for it as pray, for their safety; for, as she said, that if she had been caught concealing them, she could not have escaped a terrible destruction, she and all her family with her, and so bid them go home; and desired them to swear to her, to preserve her and her family, when they should take the city, and destroy all its inhabitants, as they had decreed to do, for so far she said she had been assured by those divine miracles of which she had been informed. So these spies acknowledged, that they owed her thanks for what she had done already, and within swore to requite her liberality, but if her deeds: but they gave her this advice, that when she should perceive that the city was about to be taken, she should put her goods, and all her family, and all their wealth, for all the money in scarlet threads before her doors, or windows, that the commander of the Hebrews might know her house, and take care to do her no harm for the said Rahab; but if she continued in this matter, of the concern thou hast had to preserve us: but if any one of thy family fall in the battle, do not thou blame us; and we beseech thee not to be moved, as the Lord is pleased, and thou, lest thou be displeased with us, as though we had broken our oaths. So these men, when they had made this agreement, went away, letting themselves down by a rope from the wall, and escaped, and came and told their own people whatsoever they had done in their journey to this city. Joshua also told Eleazar, the high priest, and the senators, what the spies had sworn to Rahab, who confirmed what had been sworn.

5. Now, while the Israelites did this, and the Canaanites did not attack them, but kept themselves quiet within their own walls, Joshua resolved to besiege them; so on the first day of the feast [of the passover] the priests carried the ark round about, with some part of the armed men to be a guard to it. These priests went forward, blowing with their seven trumpets, and exhorted the army to be of good courage, and to go round about the city, and following them; and when the priests had only blown with the trumpets, for they did nothing more at all, they returned to the camp. And when they had done this, on the seventh Joshua gathered together the armed men, and all the people together, and told them this good tidings, that the city should now be taken, since God would grant them to give them by the falling down of the walls, and this of their own accord, and without their labour. However, he charged them to kill every one they should happen to take, and not to show to them the slightest kindness of their enemies, either for wariness, or for pity, and not to fall on the spoil, and be thereby diverted from pursuing their enemies, as they ran away; but to destroy all the animals, and to take nothing for their own peculiar advantage. He commanded them also to bring together all the silver and gold, that it might be set apart as first-fruits unto God out of this glorious exploit, as having given them from the city they first took; only that they should save Rahab and her kindred alive, because of the oath which the Hebrews.

6. When he had said this, and had set his army in order, he brought it against the city; so they went round the city again, the ark going before them, and the forward men, and the people to be zealous in the work; and when they had gone round it seven times, and had stood still a little, the wall fell down, while no instruments of war, nor any other force, was applied to it by the Hebrews.

7. So they entered into Jericho, and slew all the men that were therein, while they were flushed at the surprise and overthrow of the walls, and their courage was become useless, and they were not able to defend themselves; so they were slain, and their throats cut, some in the ways, and others as caught in their houses; nothing afforded them assistance, but they all perished, even to the women and the children, and the city was filled with dead bodies, and the spies had sworn that they should save Rahab and her kindred alive, and her family, who had hid to her inn. And when those who were brought before the city, Rahab owned to her that they owed her thanks for her preservation of the spies. So he said he would not appear to be behind her in her benefaction to her; whereas, when he gave her a great sum of money hands immediately, and had her in great esteem ever afterward.

8. And if any part of the city escaped the fire, he overthrew it from the foundation, and denounced a curse on all that built or inhabited, if any one should desire to rebuild it, how, upon his
laying the foundation of the walls, he should be deprived of his eldest son, and upon finishing it, he should be deprived of his second son; but on he happened hereupon we shall speak of hereafter. 

9. Now there was an immense quantity of silver and gold, and besides those, of brass also, that was carried up out of the city when it was taken, no one transgressing the decree, nor purloining for their own peculiar advantage; which spoils Joshua delivered to the priests, to be given for the reparation of their treasures. And thus did Jericho perish. 

10. But there was one 'Achar, the son of 'Charmi, the son of 'Zobedias, of the tribe of Judah, who, finding a royal garment woven entirely of gold, and a piece of gold that weighed two hundred shekels, and thinking it a very hard case, that what spoils he, by running some hazard, had found, he might gain, and offer it to God, who stood in no need of it, while he that wanted it must go without it, made a deep hole in his own tent, and laid them therein, as supposing he should not only be concealed from his fellow-soldiers, but from God himself also. 

11. Now, the place where Joshua pitched his camp, on the west side of Jericho, which denotes 'Liberty'; for since now they had passed over Jordan, they looked upon themselves as freed from the miseries which they had undergone from the Egyptians and the Canaanites. 

12. Now, a few days after the calamity that befell Jericho, Joshua sent three thousand armed men to take Ai, a city situated above Jericho; but upon the flight of the people of Ai with them they were driven back, and lost thirty-six of their men. When this was told the Israelites, 'It made them very sad, and exceedingly disconsolate, not so much because of the Almighty the men that were destroyed bare to them, though those that were destroyed were all good men, and deserved their seesten, as by the despair it occasioned; for while they believed that they were already, in effect, in possession of the land, and should bring back the army out of the battles without loss, as God had promised beforehand, they now saw unexpectedly their enemies bold with success; so they put sackcloth over their garments, and continued in tears and lamentation all the day, without the least inquiry after food; and as they were all in this manner, the sun set upon them, to terrify them, they could not deny the fact; so he confessed the theft, and produced what he had taken in the midst of them, whereupon he was immediately put to death; and attained no more than to be buried in the night in a disgraceful manner, and such as was suitable to a condemned malefactor. 

15. When Joshua had thus purified the host, he sent them against Ai; and having by night laid an ambush round about the city, he attacked the enemies as soon as it was day; but as they advanced boldly against the Israelites, because of their former victory, he made them believe he retired, and by that means drew them to a great way from the city, they still supposing that they were pursuing their enemies, and despaired of those that had been taken in the former battle; after which Joshua ordered his forces to turn about, and placed them against their front; he then made the signals agreed upon, the host lay in ambush, and so excited them to fight; so they ran suddenly into the city, the inhabitants being upon the walls, nay, others of them being in perplexity, and coming to see what had happened, those that saw them, supposing them to be those men that took the city, and seeing all that they met with, Joshua forced those that came against him, to come to a close fight, and confounded them, and made them retire when they were driven towards the city, and thought it had not been touched, as soon as they saw it was taken, and perceived it was burnt, with their wives and children, they wandered about the fields in a scattered condition, and were noway able to defend themselves, because they had none to support them. Now when this ca... 

* Upon occasion of this devotion of Jericho to destruction, the name of 'Acher, who bore the coat of the tribe of Issachar, who bore the coat of the tribe of Zebulun, and of the punishment of the future breaker of it, Ifoel, 1 Kings xvi. 34, as also of the punishment that came upon the Ammonites, and on the Amalekites, 1 Sam. xiv. 36, we may observe, that the true meaning of that law, Lev. xxvii. 24, is, that the country of the Amorites shall be redeemed; but shall surely be put to death, i.e. whatsoever any of the Jews public enemies had been, for their wickedness, so in destruction, according to the laws of God, the divine command, as were generally the seven wicked nations of Canaan, and those nations the Amalekites, 1 Samuel xiv. 7, that was very agreeable to the repetition of the word shekel, and that it ought to be read thus: A piece of gold that weighed 30 shekels, and one of silver that weighed 50 shekels, as in our other copies, Joshua vi. 21. 

I agree here with Dr. Bernard, and upgrave of Jesus piece's interpretation of Gilgal for liberty. See Josh. v. b. Apocryphal Constitut. B. v. ch. 10. b. and elsewhere. Is ev
family was come upon the men of Ai, there were a great number of children, and women, and servants, and an immense quantity of spoil.

This hehe, or multitude, caused their numbers to swell, and a great deal of money, for this was a rich country. So when Joshua came to Gilgal, he did not look for the want of food. He knew that the calamity would come as far as themselves, they did not think fit to ask for mercy of Joshua, for they supposed they should find little mercy from him, who might be so ready to destroy the nation of the Canaanites, but they invited the people of Cepheus and Kirthiaen, as their neighbours, to join in league with them; and told them, that neither could they themselves avoid the danger they were all in, if the Israelites should prevent them, and seize upon them; so when they had persuaded them, they resolved to endeavour to escape the forces of the Israelites. Accordingly, upon their agreement to what they proposed, they sent ambassadors to Joshua, to make a league of friendship, and to whom they offered the camp of a certain number of men. The offer was acceptable, and most capable of doing what was most advantageous to the multitude. Now these ambassadors thought it dangerous to entertain the design that was between the Canaanites, that they might, by this contrivance, avoid the danger, namely, by saying that they gave no reason to the Canaanites at all, but dwelt at a very great distance from them, and always were more distant from them, and that they came a long way in account of the reputation he had gained for his virtue; and as much as the truth of what they said, they showed him the general of the city; for the enemy's clothes were new when they came out, but were greatly worn by the length of time they had been in their journey, for indeed they took good parts on purposes that they might make them believe so. So they stood in the midst of the people, and said that they were sent by the people of Gibea, and of the circumjacent cities, which were very remote from the land where they now were, to make such a league of friendship with them, and this on such conditions as were customary among their forefathers. And as they were such as they would respect, that, by the favour of God, and his gift to them, they were to have the possession of the land of Canaan bestowed upon them, they said, that they would esteem them and associates, and would attempt nothing that should be unfair against them, the multitude were desirous to be admitted into the number of their citizens. Thus did these ambassadors speak; and, showing them the marks of their long journey, they extreated the Hebrews to make a league of friendship with them. Accordingly, Joshua believing what they said, and that they were not of the nation of the Canaanites, entered into friendship with them; and Eleazar the high priest, with the senate, were aware of them, that they would esteem them their friends and associates, and would attempt nothing that should be unfair against them, and the multitude were desirous of the oaths that were made to them. So these men, having obtained what they desired, by deceiving the Israelites, went home: but when Joshua led his army to the bottom of the mountains of this part of Canaan, he understood that the Gibeonites dwelt not far from Jerusalem, and that they were of the stock of the Canaanites, and not of that part of them that were brought out of Egypt by the Lord, and reproached them with the cheat they had put upon them; but they alleged on their own part, that they had both of themselves and their own countrymen that the oath they had sworn might not break the oath they had made to them; and they ordained them to be so. And this was the method by which these men found safety and security under the calamity that was ready to overtake them.

17. But the king of Jerusalem took it to heart that the Gibeonites had gone over to Joshua; so he called upon the kings of the neighbouring nations to join together, and make war against them. Now, when the Gibeonites saw these kings, which were four besides the king of Jeru- salem, and perceived that they had pitched their camp at a certain fountain not far from their city, and were getting ready for the siege of it, they called upon Joshua to assist them; for such was their case, as they were obstinately resolved to destroy the Canaanites, but to suppose they should be saved by those that came for the destruction of the Canaanites, because of the league of friendship they had contracted with them. So they made haste with his whole army to assist them, and marching day and night, in the morning he fell upon the enemies as they were going up to the siege, and he obviated to them, and then followed them, and pursued them down the descent of the hills. This place is called Bethhoron, where he also understood that God assisted him, when he declared by thunder and thunderbolts, as also by the falling of hail larger than usual. Moreover, it happened that the day was lengthened, that the night might not come on too soon, and be an obstruction to the zeal of the Hebrews in pursuing their enemies, insomuch, that Joshua took the kings, who were hidden in a certain cave at Makkedah, and put them to death. Now that the day was lengthened at this time, and was longer than ordinary, is expressed in the books laid up in the temple. 15. Those kings were then seized and were ready to fight the Gibeonites, being thus overthrown, Joshua returned again to the mountainous parts of Canaan; and when he had made a great slaughter to them, and had given their prey, he came to the camp at Gilgal. And now there went a great fame abroad among the neighbouring people, of the courage of the Hebrews, and those that heard what a number of people were destroyed, were greatly affrighted at it; so the kings that lived about mount Libnas, who were Canaanites, and those Canaanites that dwelt in the plain country, with auxiliaries out of the land of the Philistines, pitched their camp at Beroth, a city of the Upper Galilee, not far from Nades, which is itself also a place in Galilee. Now the number of the whole army was three hundred thousand armed footmen, and ten thousand horsemen, and twenty thousand chariots, so that the multitude of the enemies affrighted both Joshua himself and the Israelites confirmed by Joshua xxvii. 21; by Hahabba, ill. 11, and Edom, by the sons of Edom; by the Cuthites, by the Ezrites, by the Ezonites, by the Eshnons of Solomon, it is also said of the lamanites, with relation, so doubt, to this, and the like miraculous standing on the head of the host of Amalek, was still and going into the hand of the army of Joshua, which is one of the principal things, and for this was done by the command of his servants. See Antiqu. Rec. part i. p. 154. 1 Of the books laid up in the temple, see the note on Antiq. B. iii. ch. i. sect. 7.
Of the situation of this altar, see Essay on the Old Testament, p. 170, 171.
23. After this manner did Joshua divide the six nations that bore the names of the sons of Canaan, with their land, to be possessed by the nine tribes and a half: for Moses had prevented him, and divided this land between the two tribes and a half, the house of Joseph, Exod. xiv. 29, 30. Nevertheless, that which itself was so called also from one of the sons of Canaan, to the two tribes and a half, as we have showed already: but the parts about Shechem, about the Jordan, whose inheritance Moses gave to Joshua and the Anamites, and the Arudamen, were not yet regularly disposed of.

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

25. After this was over, he gathered the army together to a congregation; and spake thus to those tribes that had their settlement in the land of the Amorites beyond Jordan; for 50,000 of them had armed themselves, and had gone to the war along with them. "Since God, who is the Father and Lord of the Hebrew nation, has now given us this land for a possession, and promised that he will make us strong to make trial by war of our own forces; and since you have with acclivity offered yourselves to assist us when we wanted that assistance, on all occasions according to his will, and secretly, and without our knowledge, and with less expenses are over, that you should be permitted to enjoy rest, and that we should press on your assistance to help us no longer, that so we should again stand in need of help. I have thought fit to make trial by war of our own forces; and, if need be, to make any future emergency, and not tire you out so much now as may make you slower in assisting us another time. We therefore return our thanks for the dangers you have undergone with us, and the we do not at this time only, but we shall always be thus disposed, and be so good as to remember our friends, and to preserve in mind what advantages we have had from them, and how you have put off the enjoyment of your own happiness for our sakes, and have laboured for what we have now, by the good-will of God, obtained, and to reward those, by all the prosperity till you had afforded us that assistance. However, you have, by joyning your labour with ours, gotten great plenty of profit, and will carry this land as a portion of the inheritance of the people of God. And what is more, all the good will towards you, and a mind-willingly disposed to make a recompense of your kindness to us, in what case he thinks it fit, do not escape him, nor any thing which Moses beforehand required of you, nor have you despised him because he was dead and gone from you, so that the thanks of God to you which he owes to you. We therefore dismiss you joyfully to your own inheritances; and we entreat you to suppose, that there is no limit to be set to the intimate relation that is between us; and that you will not imagine, that because this river is interposed between us, that you are of a different nation from us, and that the posterity of Abraham, both we that inhabit here, and you that inhabit there; and it is the same God that brought our forefathers and yours into the world, to whom we all, with the one government we are to take care of, which he had ordained, and are most carefully to observe; because while you continue in these laws, God will also show himself merciful and restrain their anger, but if you imitate the other nations, and forsake these laws, he will reject your nation." When Joshua had spoken thus, and saluted them all, both those in authority one by one, and the whole multitude in common, he himself stayed where he was, but the people conducted those tribes on their journey, and that without tears in their eyes: and indeed they hardly knew how to part one from the other.

26. Now when the tribe of Reuben, and that of Gad, and as many of the Manassites as followed them, were passed over the river, they began to settle on the banks of Jordan, as a monument to posterity, and a sign of their relation to those that should inherit on the other side: but when the tribes of Reuben and Gad had been dismissed and built an altar, but did not hear with what intention they built it, but supposed it to be by way of innovation, and for the introduction of strange gods, they did not choose to disbelieve it, but thinking this defamatory report, as if it were built for divine worship, was not creditable, they appeared in arms, as though they would avenge themselves on those who had built the altar, and they were about to pass over the river, and to punish them for their subversion of the laws of their country, for they did not think it fit to regard them on account of their kindred, or the dignity of those that had given the occasion, but to regard the will of God, and the manner wherein he desired to be worshipped; so these men put themselves in array for war; but Joshua, and Eleazar the high priest, and the senate, restrained them; and persuaded them first to make trial by war; and after, if they found that their intention was evil, then only to proceed to make war upon them. Accordingly they sent as ambassadors to the son of Phineas, to all the public persons that were in esteem among the Hebrews, to learn of them what was in their mind. When, upon passing over the river, they had built an altar upon its banks. But as soon as these ambassadors were passed over, and were come to them, and a congregation was assembled, Phineas stood up and said, "That the offence they had been guilty of was of too heinous a nature to be punished by words alone, or by them only to be amended for the future; yet that they did not look at the heinousness of their transgression as to have recourse to arms, and to make battle for their punishment immediately, but that, on account of their kindred, and the probability there was that they might be reclaimed, they took this method of warning and advising them, that when we have learned the true reasons by which you have been moved to build this altar, we may neither seem to have been too earnest in assailing you by our weapons of war, if it prove that you made the altar for justifiable reasons, and then justly punish you if the accusation prove true: for we can hardly suppose that you who have been anciently beloved of the will of God, and have been hearers of those laws which he himself hath given us, you are separated from us, and gone to that patrimony of yours, which you now pass through the grace of God, that provision he exercises over you, have obtained by lot, can forget him, and can leave that
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ark, and that altar which is peculiar to us, and can introduce strange gods, and imitate the worship of the Canaanites. Now that it is in their hands, will appear to have been a small crime, if you repent now, and proceed no farther in your madness; but pay a due reverence to, and keep in mind, the laws of your country; but if you persist in your sins, we will not grudge our pains to preserve our law, but we will pass over Jordan and defend them, and defend God also, and shall extol them as men meekly differing from those of the Canaanites, but shall destroy you in the like manner as we destroyed them; for do not you imagine, that because you are got over the river, that you are out of the reach of God's power; you are everywhere in places that belong to him, and impossible it is to overrun his power, and the punishment he will bring on men thereby; but if you think that your settlement here will be any obstruction to your conversion to what is good, nothing need hinder us from dividing the land anew, and leaving this old land to be for the future of sheep; but you will do well to return to your duty, and to leave off these new crimes: and we beseech you, by your children and wives, not to force us to punish you. Take, therefore, such measures in this assembly as supposing that your own safety, and the safety of those that are dearest to you, is therein concerned, and believe that it is better for you to be converted, than to continue in your present purpose, and to experience deeds and war therefore.

27. When Phineas had discovered thus, the greater part of the assembly and the whole multitude began to make an apology for themselves, concerning what they were accused of, and they said, "That they neither would depart from the road of the Most High, nor had they built the altar by way of innovation; and they owned one and the same common God with all the Hebrews, and that brazen altar which was before the tabernacle, on which they would offer their sacrifices: that as to the altar they had raised, on account of which they were suspected, it was not built for worship, but that it might be a sign and a monument of our relation to you for ever, and a necessary caution to us to act wisely, and to continue in the laws of our country; but not a handle for transgressing them, as you suspect. And let God be our authentic witness, for then the known to be the occasion of our building this altar: whence we beg you will have a better opinion of us, and do not impute such thing to us as would reduce our posterity of this act. And hark what Jehovah of Judah should be slain, they should do the like for the tribe of Simeon.

2. But the affairs of the Canaanites were at this time in a flourishing condition, and they expected the Israelites with a great army at the city Bezek, having put the government into the hands of Adonibezek, which name denotes the 'lord of Bezek,' for Adoni, in the Hebrew tongue, is called lord. Now they hoped to have been too hard for the Israelites, because Joshua was dead: but when the Israelites had joined battle with them, I mean the two tribes before mentioned. For by prophesying, when spoken of a high priest, Josephus takes it of the high priest, and perhaps from his original author, Marcnus Curtius, one as old as Alexander the Great, sets down the famous inscription at Tengeri concerning the Canaanites driven out of Palestine by Joshua, take it here in that author's own words: "We are those cities that were governors of the Canaanites, but we have no such name, and we were not conquered by Joshua or any other, and are come to inhabit here:" See the note there. Nor is it unworthy of our notice, what Moses Choromansis adds, p. 53, and Dossen, to whom is committed the late examination, that the Canaanites were of those eminent men among the Canaanites came at the same time into Armenia, and founded the Gentilean family, and that we have been informed that this was confirmed by the remains of the same family or tribe, as being like those of the Canaanites."
BOOK V.—CHAP. II.

105

dioned, they fought gloriously, and slew above
a thousand of them, and put the rest to flight;
and they pursued these, who, when his fingers and
hose were cut off by them, said, "Nay, indeed, I
was not always to lie concealed from God, as I
find by what I now endure, who will be avenged
on him and his kindred: so he aware, that upon
these terms he would put the city into their
hands. Accordingly, he that thus betrayed the
city was punished, with his family and sons;
and the Israelites slew all the inhabitants, and
retained the city for themselves.

5. After this, the Israelites grew eminently as
defeated by one of the men who came to them and
slew all the inhabitants. There were till then
left the race of giants, who had bodies so large,
and countenances so entirely different from other
peoples, that Augustus, when he arrived at their
sight, was afraid. But the Israelites, with the
land they had conquered, they gave as a free
gift to their king, and the inhabitants, so
satisfied with the good offices they received,
that after this they had no more to do than to
inhabit the field, and to cultivate it. The
Canaanites, the men of whom were in heaven,
and these monitions from God, yet they were
still very unwilling to go to war, and since
they gave no tribute to the Canaanites, and
were disobedient to their laws, they suffered that
their luxury, they suffered their aristocracy to
be corrupted also, and did not ordain themselves
a senate, nor make of their such magistrates as
de signed the laws that they had forcibly required,
but they were very much given to cultivating their
fields, in order to get wealth, which great indulgence
of theirs brought a breach between them upon them, and
they proceeded so far as to fight one another, from
the following occasion:

6. There was a Levite, a man of a vulgar
family, that belonged to the tribe of Judah, and
dwelt therein; this man married a wife from
Bethlehem, which is a place belonging to the
tribe of Judah. Now he was very fond of his
wife, and overcame her beauty; but he was
unhappy in this, that he did not meet with the
like return of affection from her, for she was
averse to him, which did more inflame his passion
for her, so that they quarreled one with
another perpetually; and at last the woman
was so disgusted at these quarrels, that she left her
husband, and went to her parents in the fourth
month. The husband was very unhappy at her
departure, and that out of his fondness for
her, came to his father and mother-in-law, and
made up their quarrels, and was reconciled to
her, and lived with them there four years, being
kindly treated by them. On the fifth year he
resolved to go home, and went away in the
evening; for his wife's parents were loth to part
with their daughter, and delayed the time
until the day was gone. Now they had one son
that followed them, and an ass on which the
woman rode; and when they were near Jerusa-
lem, that if it were, it would quickly be destroyed." Remarks
on Italy, 6to, p. 151. It is usually asserted that the Armenian
records, though they give us the histo-
ry of thirty-nine of their most ancient heroes or
heroes, after the Flood, before the reign of
the last king, there is a proper king till the fortith Parusus. See Moses Choir-
tesi, p. 55. And that Almighty God does not approve of
such absolute or unlimited power, and that the
fourth king, 1 Kings xxi. 17, who were here reduced to
800 men; nor can those numbers be at all supposed gen-
early, if they were out of the reach of the Judges,
where our other copies place this.

5. However, the tribe of Ephraim, when they
besieged Bethel, made no advance, nor performed
any thing worthy of the time they spent, and
of the pain they took about that siege, yet did
they persist in it, still sitting down before the
city, though they endured great trouble thereby:

This great number of seventy-two regni, or small
kingdoms, that was divided in the mountains of Pae-
nalia, as also the thirty-one kings of Canaan, sub-doubled by Josues,
and named in one chapter, thirtieth, and thirty-two kings, or
royal auxiliaries to Benhadad, king of Syria, I Kings
xx. 1; Antiq. B. viii. ch. xiv. sect. 1. intimate to us what
was the character of these petty states and
principalities, which, like so many large families,
might be under the observation of their proper governors,
as a sort of domestic authority over every
individual person under his protection; though he
enjoys of such a scheme being brought about, and thinks

but after some time, they caught one of the citi-
zen that came to them to get necessaries, and
they gave him some assurances that if he would
deliver up the city to them, they would distant
him and his kindred: so he aware, that upon
these terms he would put the city into their
hands. Accordingly, he that thus betrayed the
city was punished, with his family and sons;
and the Israelites slew all the inhabitants, and
retained the city for themselves.

5. After this, the Israelites grew eminently as
fighting against more of their enemies, but
applied themselves to the cultivation of the
land, which producing them great plenty and
riches, they neglected the regular disposition of
their settlement, and indulged themselves in
luxury and pleasures, nor were they any longer
careful to hear the laws that belonged to their
political government: whereupon God was pro-
voked to anger, and put them in mind first, how,
contrary to his directions, they had spared the
Canaanites, and after that, how these Canaan-
ites, as opportunity offered them, were very
barbarously. But the Israelites, though they
were in heaven, and these monitions from God,
yet they were still very unwilling to go to war, and
since they gave no tribute to the Canaanites,
and were disobedient to their laws, they suffered that
by their luxury, they suffered their aristocracy to
be corrupted also, and did not ordain themselves
a senate, nor make of their such magistrates as
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fourth king, 1 Kings xxi. 17, who were here reduced to
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early, if they were out of the reach of the Judges,
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lem, having gone already thirty furlongs, the servant advised them to take up their lodgings somewhere, lest some misfortune should befall them if they travelled in the night, especially as they were not far off enemies, that season often giving reason for suspicion of dangers from even such as are friends; but the husband was not pleased with this advice, nor was he willing to take up their lodgings among strangers, for the city belonged to the Canaanites, but desired rather to go twenty furlongs farther, and so to take their lodging in some Israelite city. Accordingly, he continued his purpose, and came to a place called Gibeah, a city of the tribe of Benjamin, when it was but just dark; and while no one that lived in the market-place invited him to lodge with him, there came an old man out of the field, one that was indeed of the tribe of Ephraim, but resided in Gibeah, and met him, and asked him, who he was! and for what reason he came thereto so late? and why he was looking out for provisions for supper when it was dark? To which he replied, that he was a Levite, and was bringing his wife from her parents, and was going home, but had happened to him to lodge in the tribe of Ephraim; so the old man, as well because of their kindness, as because they lived in the same tribe, and also because they had thus accidentally met together, invited him to lodge with him. Now certain young men, of the inhabitants of Gibeah, having seen the woman in the market-place, and admiring her beauty, when they understood that she lodged with the old man, came to the doors, as contending the weakness and fearlessness of the old man's family; and when the old man desired them to go away, and not to offer any violence or abuse or there, they desired him to yield them up the strange woman, and then he should have no harm done to him: and was it not considered, that the Levite was of his kindred, and that they would be guilty of horrid wickedness if they suffered themselves to be overcome—by their pleasures, and so offend against their laws, they despised his righteous •admonition, and laughed him to scorn. They also threatened to kill him if he became an obstacle to their inclinations; whereupon, when he was unwilling to overlook his guests, and see them abused, he produced his own daughter to them; and told them, that it was a smaller breach of the law to cast off his just upon her, than to abuse his guests; supposing that he himself should by this means prevent any injury to be done to those guests. When they nowy abated of their threats towards the stranger woman, but insisted absolutely on their desires to have her, he entreated them not to perpetrate any such act of injustice; but they proceeded to take her away by force, and indulging still more the violence of their inclinations, they took the woman away to their house, and when they had satisfied their lust upon her the whole night, they let her go about daybreak. So she came to the place where she had been entertained, under great afflication at what had happened, and was very sorrowful upon occasion of what she had suffered, and her husband's lust upon her, and her husband's face in the face of shame, for she concluded that he would never forgive her for what she had done, so she fell down and gave up the ghost, but her husband slept without the door of his house, and only thinking nothing of a more melancholy nature had happened, endeavoured to raise her up, resolving to speak comfortably to her, since she did not appear to speak of what she had done before; but on a sudden he found his wife dead, and was forced away to their house; but as soon as he perceived she was dead, he acted as prudently as the greatness of his misfortunes would admit, and laid his dead wife upon the beast, and carried her home; and cutting her limb by limb into twelve pieces, he sent them to all Benjamin, saying: Behold, this day you sent away my wife from me to her mother and her brother, and have reproached me exceedingly; now therefore take my wife, and bury her: lest if she be dead, and I return not, and you carry her away, I will surely set my face against you, and curse you in the name of the Lord. So the Mesha Pedro, the captain of the host of the Lord, carried them, to inform the tribes of those that were the causes of his wife's death, and of the violence they had offered to her.

10. When it was related to the Israelites what the inhabitants of Gibeah had done upon them, they took their oath that no one of them would give his daughter in marriage to a Benjamite, but make war with greater fury against them than against the Canaanites; and they came upon the Canaanites, and sent out presently an army of four hundred thousand against them, while the Benjamites' army was twenty-five thousand and six hundred; five hundred of whom were excellent at slinging stones with their left hands, insomuch that when the battle was joined at Gibeah, the Benjamites beat the Israelites; and of them there fell two thousand men; and probably more had been destroyed had not the night come on and prevented it, and broken off the fight; so the Benjamites returned to the city with some joy and confidence, and pitched their camp in a great fright at what had happened. On the next day, when they fought again, the Benjamites beat them, and eighteen thousand of the Israelites were struck dead; and pitched their camp out of fear of a greater slaughter. So they came to Bethel, a city that was near their camp, and tarried on the next day; and in the morning sought for her left behind, with her,buried; but was not found from Bethel.
BOOK V.—CHAP. III.

give them the victory and power over their enemies. Accordingly, God promised them so to do by the Prophesying of Thineus.

11. When the three parts had divided the army into two parts, they laid the one-half of them in ambush about the city of Gibeah by night, while the other half attacked the Benjamites, and retires when they perceived them on the retreat. The Hebrews pursued them, while the Hebrews retired by slow degrees, as very desirous to draw them entirely from the city, and to destroy them. Thus the Hebrews, while they pursued them as they retired, till both the old men and young men and men that were left in the city, as too weak to fight, came running out together with them, as wizards to their enemies. Moreover, when they were a great way from the city, the Hebrews ran away no longer, but turned back to fight them, and lifted up the signal they had agreed on to those that lay in ambush, who rose up, and with a great noise fell upon the enemy.

Now, as soon as ever they perceived themselves to be deceived, they knew not what to do, and when they were driven into a certain hollow place which was in a valley, they were shot at by those that encompassed them, till they were all destroyed, excepting six hundred, which formed a body, and retired together, and waited for their passage through the midst of their enemies, and fled to the neighboring mountains, and seeking upon them, remained there; but the rest of the Benjamites were taken, and fourteen thousand were slain. Then did the Israelites burn Gibeah, and slew the women, and the males that were under age, and did the same also to the other cities of the Benjamites, and burned and destroyed them, and forced them to such a degree, that they sent twelve thousand men out of the army, and gave them orders to destroy Jabesh Gilead, because it did not join with them against the Benjamites. Accordingly, those that were sent slew the men of war, with their children and wives, excepting four hundred virgins. To such a degree had they proceeded in their anger, because they not only had the suffering of the Levite's wife to avenge, but the slaughter of their own soldiers.

12. However, they afterward were sorry for the calamity they had brought upon the Benjamites, and appointed a fast on that account, although they supposed these men had suffered justly for the breaches they had made against the laws; being caused, by their ambassadors, those six hundred which had escaped. These had seized themselves on a certain rock called 'Rimmon,' which was in the wildest part of the land, and above it, and escaped the disaster that had befallen the Benjamites, but themselves also, by this destruction of their kindred, and persuaded them to take it patiently, and to come and unite with them, and so far as in them lay, to give their sufferage to the utter destruction of the tribe of Benjamin; and said to them, "We give you leave to take the whole land of Benjamin to yourselves, and as much prey as you are able to carry away with you." So these men with sorrow confessed, that what had been done was according to the decree of God, and had happened for their own wickedness, and assozied to those that invited them, and came down to their own tribe. The Israelites also gave them the four hundred virgins of Jabesh Gilead for wives; but as to the remaining two hundred, they deliberated about it how they might compass wives enough for them, and that they might have children by them; and whereas they had been taken advisedly and judiciously, but in a passion, and thought that they should do nothing against God, if they were able to save a whole tribe which was in danger of perishing, and that perjury was then a sad and dangerous thing, not when it is done out of necessity, but when it is done with a wicked intention. But when the sense was enlightened, the name of perjury, a certain person told them, that he could show them a way whereby they might procure the Benjamites wives enough, and yet keep their oath. According to this proposal was it said, "that three times in a year when we meet in Shiloh, our wives and our daughters accompany us; let then the Benjamites be allowed to take such women as they can catch, while we will neither incite them nor forbid them; and when their parents take it ill, and desire us to inflict punishment upon them, we will tell them, that they were themselves the cause of what had happened, by neglecting to guard their daughters, and that they ought not to be over angry at the Benjamites, since that anger was permitted to rise too high already." So the Israelites were persuaded to follow this advice, and decreed, that the Benjamites should be allowed thus to steal themselves wives. So when the festival was coming on, these two hundred Benjamites lay in ambush before the city, by two and three together, in the evening of the virgin, in the vineyards and other places where they could be concealed. Accordingly, the virgins came along playing, and suspected nothing of them, until they were taken in an unguarded manner, so that those that lay scattered in the road rose up and caught hold of them: by this means these Benjamites got them wives, and fell to agriculture, and took good care to recover their former happy state. And thus this tribe of the Benjamites, after they had been in danger of entirely perishing, saved in the manner forementioned, by the providence of the Israelites; and accordingly it presently flourished, and soon increased to be a multitude, and came to enjoy all other degrees of happiness. And such was the conclusion of this war.

CHAP. III.

How the Israelites, after this Misfortune, grew wicked, and served the Egyptians, and how God delivered them by Othniel, who ruled over them forty Years.

§ 1. Now it happened that the tribe of Dan suffered in like manner with the tribe of Benjamin, and it came to do so on the occasion following: when the Israelites had already left off the execution of their arms for their vengeance upon their husbandry, the Canaanites despaired them, and brought together an army, not because they expected to suffer by them, but because they had a mind to have a sure prospect of treating the Hebrews ill when they pleased, and might thereby, for the time to come, dwell in their own cities the more securely; they prepared therefore their chariots, and gathered their soldiers together, their cities also combined together, and drew over to them Askelon and Ekron, which were within the tribe of Judah, and many more of those that lay in the plain. Then did the Danites fly into the mountainous country, and left them not the least portion of the plain country to set their foot on. Since then these Danites were not able to fight them, and had not land enough to sustain them, they sent five of their men into the midland country to see for a land to which they might remove their habitation; but so these men went to the neighborhood of mount Libanus, and the fountain of the lesser Jordan; at the great plain of Sidon, a day's journey from the sea, when they had not availed for a view of the land, and found it to be good and exceeding fruitful, they acquainted their tribe with it, whereupon they made an expedition with the army, and built there the city of Dan, of the
same name with the son of Jacob, and of the same name with their own tribe.

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

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

CHAP. IV.

How our People served the Moabites eighteen Years, and were there delivered from Slavery by one Ehud, who retained the Dominion eighty Years.

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

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

3. Hereupon Ehud informed the people of Jericho of what had happened, and he alone delivered the people of the Moabites, and exhorted them to recover their liberty; who heard him gladly, and went to their arms, and sent messengers over the country, that should sound trumpets of rams' horns, for it was our custom to call the people together by them. Now the attendants of Eglon were ignorant of what misfortune had befallen him for a great while; but towards the evening, fearing some unexpected accident had happened, they entered into his parlour, and when they found him dead they were in great disorder, and knew not what to do; and before the guards came, he got together, the number of the Israelites came upon them, so that some of them were slain immediately, and some were put to flight, and ran away toward the country round about. The number of them was above ten thousand. The Israelites seized upon the ford of Jordan, and pursued them, and slew them, and many of them they killed at the ford, nor did one of them escape out of their hands; and by this means it was that the Hebrews freed themselves from slavery under the Moabites. Ehud also was on this account dignified with the government over all the multitude, and died after he had held the government eighty years. 4. He was a man worthy of commendation, even besides what he deserved for the forementioned act of his. After him Shammgar, the son of Anath, was elected for their governor, but died in the first year of his government.
CHAP. V.

How the Canaanites brought the Israelites under Slavery for twenty years; after which they were delivered by Barak and Deborah, who ruled over them forty Years.

§ 1. AND now it was that the Israelites, taking no warning by their former misfortunes to amend their manners, and neither worshipping God, nor submitting to the laws, were brought under slavery by Jabin, the king of the Canaanites, and that before they had a short breathing time after the slavery under the Moabites; for this Jabin came out of Hazor, a city that was once over the lake Sisemochitis, and had in pay three hundred thousand footmen, and ten thousand horsemen, with no fewer than three thousand chariots. Now Jabin was the commander of all his army, and was the principal person in the king's favour. He so sorely beat the Israelites when they fought with him, that he ordered them to pay tribute.

They continued to undergo that hardship for twenty years, as not good enough of themselves to grow wise by their misfortunes. God was willing also hereby the more to subdue their obstinacy, and to prepare them to himself: so when they were at length become penitent, and were so wise as to learn that their calamities arose from their contempt of the laws, they became certain persons among them, (which name in the Hebrew tongue signifies a Bee,) to pray to God to take pity on them, and not to overlook them, now they were ruined by their own sin. So God introduced Barak among them, and chose them a general, Barak, one that was of the tribe of Naphtali (now Barak, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies Lightning.)

For Barak said to Jabin, that he would choose him out ten thousand young men, to go against the enemy, because God had said, that that number was sufficient, and promised them victory. But when Barak said, that he would not be the general unless she would also go as general with him, she had indignation at what he said, and replied, "Thou, O Barak, deliverest up menly that authority which God hath given thee, into the hand of a woman, and I do not reject it." So they collected ten thousand men, and pitched their camp at mount Tabor, where, at the king's command, Sisera met them, and pitched the camp of their victory, upon the Israelites and Barak himself were so afflicted at the multitude of those enemies, that they were resolved to march off; and not Barak, but Deborah urged him, and young Jael, so that they should fight the enemy that very day, for that they should conquer them, and God would be their assistance.

So the battle began; and when they were come to a close fight, there came down from heaven a great storm, with a vast quantity of rain and hail, and the wind blew the rain in the face of the Canaanites, and so darkened their eyes, that their arrows and slings were of no advantage to them; nor would the coldness of the air permit the soldiers to make use of their swords, while this storm did not so much incorporate the Israelites, because it came on their backs. They also took such courage, upon the apprehension that God was assisting them, that they fell upon the very midst of their enemies, and slew a great number of them, so that many of those who fell by the Israelites, some fell by their own horses, which were put into disorder, and not a few were killed by their own chariots. At last Deborah said to Jael, "Be thou very valiant, and think not of this, which he drank so unmeasurably that he fell asleep; but when he was asleep, Jael took an iron nail and drove it through his temples with a hammer into the floor: and when Barak came, a little afterward, she showed Sisera nailed to the ground. And there was this victory obtained by a woman, as Deborah had foretold. Barak also fought with Jabin at Hazor; and when he met with him he slew him; and when the general was fallen, Barak overthrew the city to the foundation, and was commander of the Israelites for forty years.

CHAP. VI.

How the Midianites and other Nations fought against the Israelites, and beat them, and fleeced their Country for seven Years. How they were delivered by Gideon, who ruled over the Multitude.

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

2. Gideon also, the son of Joash, one of the principal persons of the tribe of Manasseh, brought his shields of corn privately, and thrashed them at the winepress, for he was too fearful of their enemies, to thrash them openly in the threshing-floor. At this time somewhat appeared to him in the shape of a young man, and told him, "That he was a happy man and beloved of God." To which he immediately replied, "A mighty indication of God's favour to me, that I am forced to use this winepress instead of a threshing-floor!" But the appearance exhorited him to be of good courage, and to make an attempt for the recovery of his country. He回答ed, That "it was impossible for him to recover it, because the tribe to which he belonged, was by no means numerous; and because he was the youngest of the tribe, and too inexperienced to fight the enemy that very day, for that they should conquer them, and God would be their assistance."

3. Now therefore, as Gideon was relating this to some young men, they believed him, and immediately there was an army of ten thousand men got ready for fighting. But God stood by Gideon in his sleep, and told him, "That mankind were too fond of themselves, and were enemies to such as excelled in virtue: now, that they might not put God over, but ascribe the victory to him, and might not fancy it obtained by their own power because they were a great army, and able of themselves to fight their enemies, but God told him that it was owing to his assistance, he advised him to bring his army about noon, in the violence of the heat, to the river, and to esteem those that then banked on their knees, and sobbed about the men of courage; but for all those that drank tumultuously, that he should esteem them to do it out of fear, and as in dread of their enemies." And when Gideon had done the same, he sent out the captains of the army, which were found three hundred men that took water with their hands tumultuously; so God bid him take these men and attack the enemy. Accord-
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4. But Gideon was in great fear, for God had told him beforehand, that he should set upon his enemies in the night-time: but God, being willing to free him from this fear, bid him take one of his soldiers, and go near to the Midianites' tents, for that he should from that very place have his courage raised, and grow bold. So he obeyed, and went to his servant Purbah with him; and as he came near to one of the tents, he discovered that those that were in it were awake, and that one of them was telling to his fellow-soldier of the dream of his own, his dream so plainly, that Gideon could hear him. The dream was this: he thought he saw a barley cake, such a one as could hardly be eaten by men, it was so vile, rolling through the camp, and overthrowing the royal tent, and the tents of all the soldiers. Now the other soldier explained this vision to mean the destruction of the army, and told him what his dream was. And there the seed called barley was all of it allowed to be of the vilest sort of seed, and that the Israelites were known to be the vilest of all the people, and were always ready to the seed of barley; and that what seemed to look big among the Israelites, was this Gideon, and the army that was with him: "and since thou sayest thou didst see the cake overturning our tents, I am afraid lest God will grant the victory over us to Gideon." 5. When Gideon had heard this dream, good hope and courage came upon him; and he commanded his men to arm themselves, and told them of this vision of their enemies. They also took courage at what was told them, and were ready to perform what he should enjoin them; and so they, the great army, was four parts, and brought it out about the fourth watch of the night, each part containing a hundred men: they had all bare empty pitchers, and lighted lamps in their hands, that their outline might not be discovered by their enemies. They had also each of them a ram's horn, in his right hand, which he used instead of a trumpet: the enemies' camp took up a large space of ground; for it happened, they had a great many camp, and as they were divided into different nations, so they were all contained in one circle. Now when the Hebrews did as they were ordered beforehand, upon the signal given, sounded with their horns, and on the signal given, sounded with their horns, and brake their pitchers, and set upon their enemies with axes and pikes, and greatly out, and cried, "Victory to Gideon, by God's assistance," a disorder and a fright seized on the other men while they were fast asleep, for it was night-time, as God would have it; so that a few of them were slain by their enemies, but the greatest part by their own soldiers, on account of the diversity of their language; and when they awoke once put into disorder, they killed all that they met with, as thinking them to be enemies also. Thus there was a great slaughter made. And as the report of Gideon's victory came to the Israelites, they took their weapons and pursued their enemies, and overtook them in a cleft valley, encompassed with torrents, a place which these could not get over; so they encompassed them, and slew them all, with their kings, Oreb and Zeeb. But the remaining captains led those soldiers that were left, which were about eighteen thousand, and pitched their camp a great way off from the Israelites. However, Gideon did not grudge his passage with all his army, and joining battle with them, cut off the whole enemies' army, and took the other leaders, Erim and Shechem, and made them captives. Now these were the heroes in this battle of the Midianiters, and of their auxiliaries, the Arabians, about a hundred and twenty thousand; and the Midianites took a great prey, gold, silver, and garments, and camels, and asses. And when Gideon came to his own country of Ophra, he slew the kings of the Midianiters.

6. However, the tribe of Ephraim was so displeased at the good success of Gideon, that they resolved upon his destruction; but, because he did not tell them of his expedition against their enemies. But Gideon, as a man of temper, and that excelled in every virtue, pleaded, "That it was not the result of his own authority or reasoning that made him attack the enemy without them, but that it was the command of God, and still the victory belonged to them as well as to him, and that so plainly, that Gideon could hear him. The dream was this: he thought he saw a barley cake, such a one as could hardly be eaten by men, it was so vile, rolling through the camp, and overthrowing the royal tent, and the tents of all the soldiers. Now the other soldier explained this vision to mean the destruction of the army, and told him what his dream was. And there the seed called barley was all of it allowed to be of the vilest sort of seed, and that the Israelites were known to be the vilest of all the people, and were always ready to the seed of barley; and that what seemed to look big among the Israelites, was this Gideon, and the army that was with him: "and since thou sayest thou didst see the cake overturning our tents, I am afraid lest God will grant the victory over us to Gideon." 5. When Gideon had heard this dream, good hope and courage came upon him; and he commanded his men to arm themselves, and told them of this vision of their enemies. They also took courage at what was told them, and were ready to perform what he should enjoin them; and so they, the great army, was four parts, and brought it out about the fourth watch of the night, each part containing a hundred men: they had all bare empty pitchers, and lighted lamps in their hands, that their outline might not be discovered by their enemies. They had also each of them a ram's horn, in his right hand, which he used instead of a trumpet: the enemies' camp took up a large space of ground; for it happened, they had a great many camp, and as they were divided into different nations, so they were all contained in one circle. Now when the Hebrews did as they were ordered beforehand, upon the signal given, sounded with their horns, and on the signal given, sounded with their horns, and brake their pitchers, and set upon their enemies with axes and pikes, and greatly out, and cried, "Victory to Gideon, by God's assistance," a disorder and a fright seized on the other men while they were fast asleep, for it was night-time, as God would have it; so that a few of them were slain by their enemies, but the greatest part by their own soldiers, on account of the diversity of their language; and when they awoke once put into disorder, they killed all that they met with, as thinking them to be enemies also. Thus there was a great slaughter made. And as the report of Gideon's victory came to the Israelites, they took their weapons and pursued their enemies, and overtook them in a cleft valley, encompassed with torrents, a place which these could not get over; so they encompassed them, and slew them all, with their kings, Oreb and Zeeb. But the remaining captains led those soldiers that were left, which were about eighteen thousand, and pitched their camp a great way off from the Israelites. However, Gideon did not grudge his passage with all his army, and joining battle with them, cut off the whole enemies' army, and took the other leaders, Erim and Shechem, and made them captives. Now these were the heroes in this battle of the Midianiters, and of their auxiliaries, the Arabians, about a hundred and twenty thousand; and the Midianites took a great prey, gold, silver, and garments, and camels, and asses. And when Gideon came to his own country of Ophra, he slew the kings of the Midianiters.

CHAP. VII.

That the Judges who succeeded Gideon made War with the adjoining Nations for a long Time.

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

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

3. A little while after this festival, the Shechemites, who had now repented themselves of having slain the sons of Gideon, drove Abimelech away, both from the city and the tribe, which was a great trial how he might distress their city. Now at the season of vintage, the people were afraid to go out and gather the fruits, for they were afraid of Abimelech, and some mischief. Now it happened that there had come to them a man of authority, one Gaal, that joined with them, having his armed men and behind him Adoni-zebul, and he desired that he would allow them a guard during their vintage, whereupon he accepted of their desires, and so the people went out, and Gaal with them of the city, and his soldiers, so they gathered their fruits with safety, and when they were at supper in several companies, they then ventured to curse Abimelech openly, and the magistrates laid ambuses in places about the city, and said to Abimelech of Abimelech's followers, and destroyed them.

4. Now there was one Zebul, a magistrate of the Shechemites, that had entertained Abimelech. He sent messengers, and informed him how much Gaal had irritated the people against him, and excited him to lay ambuses before the city, for that he would persuade Gaal to go out against him, which would leave a in his power to be revenged on him, and when that was once done, he would bring him to be reconciled to the city. Abimelech, and his band, ambushed themselves, and lay with them. Now Gaal above, and the suburbs, taking little care of himself; and Zebul was with him. Now, as Gaal saw the armed men coming on, he said to Zebul, that some armed men were coming; but the other replied, they were only shadows of huge stones: and when they were come nearer, Gaal perceived what was the reality, and said, they were not shadows, but men living and moving. Then said Zebul, didst not thou reproach Abimelech for cowardice? why dost thou not now show how very courageous thou art thyself, and go and fight him! So Gaal, being in his rage, joined battle with him and some of his men fell; whereupon he fled into the city, and took his men with him. But Zebul managed his matters scorn the city, that he procured Abimelech to enter into it, and to come this by accusing him of cowardice in this action with the soldiers of Abimelech. But Abimelech, when he had learned that the Shechemites were again coming out to gather their grapes, placed ambuses before the city, and when they were coming out, the third part of his army took possession of the gates, to hinder the citizens from returning in, while the rest pursued those that were scattered abroad, and so there was slaughter every where; and when he had overthrown the city to the very foundations, for it was not able to bear the storm, and had sunk its ruins with salt, he proceeded on with his army, till all the Shechemites were slain. As for those that were scattered about the country, and so escaped the danger, they were gathered unto a certain strong rock, and settled themselves upon it, and prepared to build a wall about it; and when Abimelech knew their intentions, he prepared to destroy them, and accused them of their forsaes, and laid in gotts of dry wood round the place, and himself bringing some of them, and by his example encouraging the soldiers to do the same.

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

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

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

8. When the Ammonites had made an expedition into the land of Gilead, the inhabitants of the country met them with a certain man, who wanted a commander. Now there was one whose name was Jephtha, who, both on account of his father's virtue, and on account of that army which he maintained at his own expense, was a potent man: the Israelites therefore sent to him, and entreated him to come to their assistance, and promised him dominion over them all his lifetime. But he did not accept of that; and accused them that this did not come to his assistance when he was unjustly treated, and conclusively that is Joseph's sum of the years of the Judges, his twenty-three years are included; hence we are to consider, that somewhat has been here lost out of his copies.
that they were going to act unjustly, for while they had not courage enough to fight their enemies, they came hastily against their own kindred: and he threatened them, that with God's blessing he would slay all of them, unless they would grow wiser. But when he could not persuade them, he fought them with those forces which he sent out of Gilead, and he made great slaughter among them; and when they were beaten, he pursued them, and seized on the passages of Jordan by a part of his army which he had sent before, and slew about forty thousand of them.

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

13. Now when Jephtha was dead, Ithab took the government, being of the tribe of Judah, and of the city Bethlehem. He had sixty children, thirty of them sons, and the rest daughters; all of whom he left alive behind him, giving the daughters in marriage to husbands, and taking wives for his sons. He did nothing in the seventh year of his administration that was worthy to be recorded; therefore he died an old man, and was buried in his own country.

14. When Ithab was dead after this manner, neither did the kingdom obtain a rest from the government, and kept it ten years, do anything remarkable; he was of the tribe of Zebulon.

15. Abdon, also, the son of Hilleth, of the tribe of Ephraim, and born at the city Pyrathem, was ordained their supreme governor after Helon. He is only recorded to have been happy in his children; for the public affairs were then so peaceable and prosperous, that neither did he perform any glorious action. He had forty sons, and by them left thirty grand-children; and he marched in state with these seventy, who were all of them skilful in riding horses, and he left them all alive after him. He died an old man and obtained a magnificent burial in Pyrathem.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the Fortitude of Samaon, and what Mischias he brought upon the Philistines.

§ 1. After Abdon was dead the Philistines overcame the Israelites, and received tribute of them for forty years; from which distress they were delivered after this manner.

1. The Mischias, person of such great virtue, that he had few men his equals, and without dispute the principal person of his country. He had a wife celebrated for her beauty and excellence, and she was skilful in riding horses; and being uneasy at this want of posterity, he entreated God to give them seed of their own bodies to succeed them; and with that intent he came constantly into the suburbs, together with his wife, which suburbs were in the great plain. Now, when his wife was once alone, an apparition was seen by her; it was an angel of God, and resembled a young man beautiful and tall, and brought her the good news, that she should have a son, born by God's providence, that should be a goodly child, of great strength, by whom, when he was grown up to man's estate, the Philistines should be afflicted. He exhorted her also not to poll his hair, and that she should avoid all other kinds of drink, (for so had God commanded,) and be

* Josephus justly condemns Jephtha, as do the Apostolical Constitutions, B. vii. ch. xxxvii. for his rash vow, whether it were for sacrificing his daughter, as Josephus supposes him, who was his only child, to perpetual virginity, at the tabernacle or elsewhere, which I rather suppose. If he had vowed her for a sacrifice she ought to have been redivosed, Lev. xxvii. 1–4, but of the no reason why Mischias and his wife came so constantly into these suburbs to pray for children but because there was a synagogue or place of devotion in those suburbs.
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of the wedding feast, (for he then feasted them all,) thirty of the most stout of their youth, in the presence of the women of Beth-shemesh, and made them his bondmen, and he devoted himself to the will of God. 3. Now the wife informed her husband when he came home, of what the angel had said, who showed so great an admiration of the beauty and talkableness of Samson. Come, give me leave to entreat her, that her husband was astonished, and out of himself for jealousy, and such suspicions as are excused by that passage; but she was desirous of having the truth, and would not take any such_args away accordingly, she entreated God to send the angel again, that she might be seen by her husband. The angel came again by the favour of God, while they were in the suburbs, and appeared to her when she was alone, without her husband. She desired the angel to stay so long till she might bring her husband; and that reason being granted, she goes to call Manoah. When he saw the angel, he was not yet free from suspicion, and he desired him to inform him of all that he had told his wife: but when he said, it was sufficient that she alone knew what he had said, he then requested of him to tell him who he was, that when the child was born they might show and give him thanks. He replied, that he did not want any present, for that he did not bring them the good news of the birth of a son out of the want of anything. Now this was the greatest part of his hospitality, he did not give his consent. However, he was persauded, at the earnest request of Manoah, withal as he brought the mark of his hospitality: so he slew a kid of the goats, and bid his wife boil it. When all was ready, the angel enjoined him to set the loaves and the flesh before the rock, which, when they had done, he touched the flesh with the rod which he had in his hand, which, upon the breaking out of a flame, was consumed together with the loaves, and the angel ascended, openly, in their sight, up to heaven, by means of the smoke, as by a vehicle. Now Manoah was afraid that some danger would come to them from this sight of God, but his wife bid him to be of good courage, for that God appeared to them for their benefit.

4. So the woman proved with child, and was fast asleep, when Samson was born. He was given her: and they called the child, when he was born, ‘Samson,’ which name signifies one that is ‘strong.’ So the child grew strong, and it appeared that a lion was born on Samson’s doing, and knew also for what cause he did it, they sent their rulers to Timnath, and burnt his former wife, and her relations, who had been the occasion of their misfortunes.

8. Now when Samson had slain many of the Philistines in the plain country, he dwelt at Eyma, which is a strong rock of the tribe of Judah; for the Philistines at that time made an expedition against that tribe. But the people of Judah said, that they did not act justly with them, in inflicting punishments upon them while they paid their tribute, and this only on account of Samson’s offences. They answered, that in case they would not be blamed themselves, they must deliver up Samson, and put him into their power. So they, being desirous not to be blamed themselves, came to the rock with three thousand armed men, and complained to Samson of the bold insults he had made upon the Philistines, who were men able to bring, even, the utmost part of the whole nation of the Hebrews; and they told him they were come to take him, and to deliver him up to them, and put him into their power; so they desired him to bear this willingly. Accord-
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languishing, when he had received assurance from them upon oath, that they would do him no other harm than only to deliver him to his enemies; he refused from the roe's, and put himself into the power of his countrymen. Then did they bind him with two cords, and lead him on, in order to deliver him to the Philistines; and which was now called: 'The Jaw-bone,' on account of the great action there performed by Samson, though of old it had no particular name at all, the Philistines having adopted it, and deemed it not far off, that he came to meet him with joy, and shouting, as having done a great thing, and gained what they desired; but Samson broke his bonds asunder, and catching up the jaw-bone of an ass that lay down at his feet, fell upon his enemies, and smiting them with his jaw-bone, slew a thousand of them, and put the rest to flight, and into great disorder.

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

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

II. However, he at length transgressed the law of his country, and altered his own regular way of living, and imitated the strange customs of foreigners, which thing was the beginning of his miseries; for he fell in love with a woman who was a harlot among the Philistines; her name was Delilah, and he lived with her. So those that administered the public affairs of the Philistines came to her, and with promises induced her to get out of Samson what was the cause of that his strength, by which he became unconquerable to his enemies. Accordingly, when they were drinking, and had the like conversation; she pretended to admire the actions he had done, and contrived to get out of him by subtlety what means he so much excelled others in strength. Samson, in order to deliver, she had not set his sense; replied, that if he were bound with seven such green withes of a vine as might still be wreathed, he should be weaker than any other man. The women laughed at him, but of this to the rulers of the Philistines, and kid certain of the soldiers in ambush within the house, and when he was disorder'd in drink, and asleep, she bound him as fast as possible with the withes, and then, in presence of them, cut off his hair, which was now called, 'The Jaw-bone,' on account of the great action there performed by Samson, though of old it had no particular name at all, the Philistines having adopted it, and deemed it not far off, that he came to meet him with joy, and shouting, as having done a great thing, and gained what they desired; but Samson broke his bonds asunder, and catching up the jaw-bone of an ass that lay down at his feet, fell upon his enemies, and smiting them with his jaw-bone, slew a thousand of them, and put the rest to flight, and into great disorder.

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

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* This fountain, called Lach, or the Jaw-bone, is still in being, as travellers assure us, and was known by the very same in the days of Josephus, and has been known by the same name in all the post ages. See A heroic B. vii. ch. xvi. sect. 6.

CHAP. IX.

How, under Eli's Government of the Israelites, Beulah Harper Ruth, from whom came Obed, the Grandfather of David.

§ 1. Now after the death of Samson, Eli the high priest was governor of the Israelites. Under him, when the country was afflicted with a want of rain at one time, but of this to the rulers of the Philistines, and kid certain of the
his family under so sore a distress, took with him Naomi his wife, and the children that were born to him by her, Chilion and Mahlon, and removed his habitation into the land of Moab; and upon the happy property of his affairs, he took for his sons wives of the Moabites, Orpah for Chilion, and Ruth for Mahlon. But in the compass of ten years, both Elimelech, and a little while after that, Naomi also died, that left them all in a manner very uneasy at these accidents, and not able to bear her lonesome condition, now those that were dearest to her were dead, on account it was now in a flourishing condition. However, her daughters-in-law were not able to think of parting with her, and when they had a mind to go out of the country with her, she could not dissuade them from it; but when they insisted upon it, she wished them a more happy wedlock than they had had with her sons, and that they might have prosperity in other respects also; and seeing her own affairs were so low, she exhorted them to stay where they were, and not to think of leaving their own country, and partaking with her of that uncertainty under which she must return. Accordingly, Orpah stayed behind, but Ruth alone, as she was resolved to be persuaded to stay behind her, but would take her fortune with her. whatsoever it should prove.

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

It was not many days before Booz, after the barley was winnowed, slept in his winnowing-fan door. When Naomi was informed of this circumstance, she contrived it so that Ruth should lie down by him, for she thought it might be for their advantage. Accordingly, she advisedly, at night, she lay concealed from Booz, as he was fast asleep; but when he awoke about midnight, and perceived a woman lying by him, he asked who she was; and when she told him her name, and desired, that he whom she owned for her lord, would excuse her; he then said no more, but in the morning he sent a young man to look for his sons wives of the Moabites, Orpah for Chilion, and Ruth for Mahlon. But in the compass of ten years, both Elimelech, and a little while after that, Naomi also died, that left them all in a manner very uneasy at these accidents, and not able to bear her lonesome condition, now those that were dearest to her were dead, on account it was now in a flourishing condition. However, her daughters-in-law were not able to think of parting with her, and when they had a mind to go out of the country with her, she could not dissuade them from it; but when they insisted upon it, she wished them a more happy wedlock than they had had with her sons, and that they might have prosperity in other respects also; and seeing her own affairs were so low, she exhorted them to stay where they were, and not to think of leaving their own country, and partaking with her of that uncertainty under which she must return. Accordingly, Orpah stayed behind, but Ruth alone, as she was resolved to be persuaded to stay behind her, but would take her fortune with her. whatsoever it should prove.

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ANTIQITIES OF THE JEWS.

annul the prophet, who was yet but a child, he penly showed his sorrow for his sons' destruction.

2. I will first despatch what I have to say about the prophet Samuel, and after that which will proceed: speak of the sons of Eli, and the miseries they brought on the whole people of the Hebrews. Samuel, one of the chief of the nation among his fellow-citizens, and one that was at Ramathaim, a city of the tribe of Ephraim, was the son of Elkanah. He had children by the name of his two wives, Hannah and Peninnah. He had children by the name of his two wives, but he loved the other best, although she were barren. Now Elcanae came with his wives to the city of Shiloh to sacrifice, for there it was that the tabernacle of God was fixed, as we have already said. Now when, after he had sacrificed, he attributed at that festival portions of the flesh of his wives to Shiloh, and when Hannah saw her wife's children sitting round about her mother, she fell into tears, and lamented herself on account of her barrenness and loneliness; and suffering her grief to prevail over her, she went to her daughter-in-law to beseech God to give her seed, st to make her a mother; and to vow to consecrate the firstborn son she should bear to the service of God. All this time, and the years that followed, living should not be like that of ordinary men. And as she continued at her prayers a long time, so the high priest, for he sat there before the tabernacle, seeing that she was disfigured with wine, having received a charge from her father, that if they pretended to survive the taking of the ark, they should come no more into his presence; but instead of Phineas he was exalted as high as he could, his father having resigned the office to him, by reason of his great age. So the Hebrews were full of courage, as supposing that by the coming of the ark they should be too hard for their enemies: their enemies also were greatly concerned, and were afraid of the ark's coming to the Israelites; however, the upshot did not prove agreeable to both; for when the battle was joined, that victory which the Hebrews expected, was gained by the Philistines, and that defeat the Philistines were afraid of, fell to the lot of the Israelites, and thereby they found that they put their trust in the ark in vain, for they were presently beaten as soon as they came to a close fight with their enemies, and lost about thirty thousand men, among whom were the sons of the high priest; but the ark was carried away by the enemies.

3. When the news of this defeat came to Shiloh, with that of the death of the young man, a Benjamite, who was in the action, came as a messenger thither, the whole city was full of lamentations. And Eli the high priest, who sat there, being troubled at one of the gates, heard their mournful cries, and supposed that some strange thing had befallen his family: so he sent for the young man; and when he understood what had happened in the battle, he was not much uneasy as to his sons, or what was told him without about the army, as having beforehand known by divine revelation that these things would happen, and having himself declared them beforehand, for when sad things come unexpectedly they distress men the most: but as soon as the ark was carried captive by their enemies, he was very much grieved at it, because it fell out quite differently from what he expected; so he fell down from his throne, and died, having in all lived ninety-eight years, and of them retained the government forty.

4. On the same day his son Phineas's wife died also, as not to survive the misfortune of her husband; for they told her of his husband's death as she was in the field; she was at seven months, who lived, and to whom they gave the name of 'Lebod,' which name signifies from Samuel, and those that follow after, as many as have spoken, have likewise foretold of these days. See also Acts xiii. 22: 'and there were other things sometimes called righteous men, Matt. x. 41; Luke 17.'
BOOK V.—CHAP. XI.

1. Decrees," and this became the army received a

disorder at this time.

2. Now Eli was the first of the family of Ithai-

man, the other son of Aaron, that had the gov-

ernment, for the family of Eleazar officiated as

high priest at first, the son still receiving that ho-

nour from the father which Eleazar bequesthe

to his son Phinehas; after whom Ahabser his son

took the honour, and delivered it to his son,

whose name was Adoni-Pen, from whom Saul re-

ceived it; after whom Eli, of whom we have

been speaking, had the priesthood, and so had

his posterity until the time of Solomon's reign;

but then the posterity of Eleazar re-assumed it.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-TWO YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF ELI TO THE DEATH OF SAUL.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

The Destruction that came upon the Philistines, and upon their Land, by the Wrath of God, on account of their having carried the Ark away captive: and after what manner they sent it back to the Hebrews.

§ 1. Woe! the Philistines had taken the ark of the Hebrews captive, as I said a little before, they carried it to the city Ashdod, and put it by their own god, who was called Dagon, as one of their gods, and went out the next morning, to worship their god, they found him lying upon the Ark, and they laid it down, and set up the Ark, and went in to worship to it, because they thought it had such a power and force upon them; for had God had such a regard to it, it would not have been delivered into the hands of men: so they exalted them to be their god, and to take patiently what had befallen them, and to suppose there was no other cause of it but nature, which at certain revolutions of time produces such mutations in the bodies of men, in the earth, in plants, and in all things that grow out of the earth. But the counsel that prevailed over those already described, was that of certain men, who were believed to have distinguished themselves in former times for their understanding and prudence, and who, in their present circumstances, seemed above all the rest to speak properly. These men said, it was not right either to send the ark away, or to detain it, but to dedicate five golden images, one for every city, as a thank-offering to God, on account of his having taken care of their posterity, and having kept their lives were likely to be taken away by such distempers as they were not able to bear up against them. Also they would have them make five golden mice, and put them in the city where they destroyed their country, to put them in a bag, and lay them upon the ark; to make them a new cart also for it, and to yoke milch kine to it; but to shut up their calves, and keep them from them, lest by following after them they should prove a hinderance to their dams, and that the kine might return the faster out of a desire of those calves; then to drive these milk kine that carried the ark, and leave it at a place where three ways met, and to leave it to the kine to go along which of those ways they pleased, that it might be left in the Hebrews, and ascend

ed to their country, they should suppose that the ark was the cause of their misfortunes; but if they turned into another road, they said, this will pursue after it, and conclude it has no such force in it.

"Dagon, a famous maritime god or idol, is generally supposed to have been like a man above the navel, and like a fish beneath it."

"In the country we are here, that upon the islands of To-

mas, and those of other cities, a field mouse is engraved, to

gather with Apollo Smithsenus, or Apollo, the driver

cows of field mice; on account of his being supposed to

have freed certain tracts of ground from those mice: which

mice show how great a judgment such mice have some-

times been, and how the deliverance from them was the

attained the effect of a divine power; which observations are

highly suitable to this history."

"This device of the Philistines, of having a yoke of

kine to drive the Ark, by which they purposed to

overcome the Hebrews, is greatly illustrated by Stanchinio's account, under his ninth generation, that Agreornis, or Agons, the husbandmen, had meadow-lands, for the sake of

people, carried about by one or more yoke of oxen, or kine, in Phocis, in the neighborhood of these Philistines, See Cambden's Stanchinio, p. 87, and 375, and Es-

say on the Old Testament. Appendix p. 178."
gracious, it bebes you not only to be desirous of liberty, but to take the proper methods to obtain it. Nor are you to be contented with an inclination to get clear of your lords and masters, while you are not to desire to be free from their yoke; for, if you do act thus, you will enjoy prosperity; you will be freed from your slavery, and will get the victory over your enemies; which things, as blessing, is not to be desired, neither by weapons of war, nor by the strength of your bodies, nor by the multitude of your assistants; for God has not promised to grant these blessings by those means, but by being good and righteous men; and if you will be such, I will be security for you to the performance of God's promises.\textsuperscript{5} When Samuel had said thus, the multitude applauded his discourse, and were pleased with his exhortation to them, and gave their consent to resign themselves up to do what was pleasing to God. So Samuel gathered them together to a certain city called Mizpeh, which signifies in the Hebrew tongue, a "watch tower;" there they drew water, and poured it out to God, and fasted all day, and betook themselves to their prayers.

2. This their assembly did not escape the notice of the Philistines; so when they had learned that so great a concourse of the Israelites had fallen upon the Hebrews with a great army and mighty forces, as hoping to assault them when they did not expect it, nor were prepared for it. This thing affrighted the Hebrews, and put them into disorder and terror; so they came running to Samuel, and said, "that their souls were sunk by their fears, and by the former defeat they had received. Therefore, as in their absence it was that we lay still, lest we should excite the power of our enemies against us. Now while thou hast brought us hither to offer up our prayers and sacrifices, and take oaths, [to be obedient,] our enemies are making an expedition against us, while we are naked and unarmed; whereas we have no other hope of deliverance but that by thy means, and by the assistance God shall affix upon thy prayers to him, we shall obtain deliverance from the Philistines." Hereupon Samuel bid them be of good cheer, and promised them that God would take care of them; and so, taking a young lamb, he sacrificed it for the multitude, and besought God to hold his protecting hand over them when they should fight with the Philistines, and not suffer them, nor suffer them to come under a second misfortune. Accordingly, God hearkened to his prayers, and accepting their sacrifice with a gracious intention, and such as was disposed to assist them, he granted them victory and power over their enemies. Now while the altar had the sacrifice of God upon it and had not yet consumed it wholly by its success, the enemy's army marched out of their camp, and was put in order of battle, and this in hope that they should be conquerors, since the Jews were caught in distressed circumstances, and neither had they their weapons with them, nor being assembled there in order to fight. But things so fell out, that they would hardly have been credited though they had been foretold by any body; for in the first place, God sent the enemies with an earthquake, and moved the ground under them to such a degree, that he caused it to tremble, and made them to shake, insomuch that, by its trembling, he made some un...

\textsuperscript{5} This is the first place, so far as I remember, in these Antiquities of Josephus where he begins to call his work by that title, being formerly having hitherto usually, if not constantly, called them either Hebrews or Israelites. The second place soon follows, chap. iii. sect. 5

§ 1. Now while the city of Kirjathjearim had the ark, many of the people betook themselves all that time to offer prayers and sacrifices to God, and appeared greatly concerned and zealous about his worship. So Samuel the priest, when they really were to do their duty, thought this a proper time to speak to them, while they were in this good disposition, about the recovery of their liberty, and of the blessings that accompanied the same. Accordingly, he used such words as to them as he thought were most likely to excite that inclination, and persuade them to attempt it: "O ye Israelites," said he, "who are the Philistines are still grievous enemies, but to whom God begins to be
able to keep their feet, and made them fall down; and by opening its jaws, it caused that others should be hurried down into them; after which he caused such a noise of thunder to come among them, and mingling with the noise of the water, so terribly round about them, that it was ready to burn their faces; and he so suddenly shook their weapons out of their hands, that they made them fly and return to their own country. Thus it seemed as if God had pursued them with his enemies.

3. So the Philistines, after this stroke, made no more expeditions against the Israelites, but lay still out of fear, and out of remembrance of what had befallen them; and what courage the Philistines had formerly against the Hebrews, that, after this victory, was transferred to the Hebrews. Samuel also made an expedition against the Philistines, and slew many of them, and entirely humbled their proud hearts, and took from them that country, which, when they were formed into confederacy, they had cut off from the Jews, which was the country that extended from the borders of Gath to the city Ekron: but the remains of the Canaanites were at this time in friendship with the Israelites.

CHAP. III.

How Samuel, when he was so inform with old Age, that he could not take care of the Public Affairs, delivered them to his Son; and upon the evil Administration of the Government by them, the Multitude were so angry, that they required to have a King to govern them, although Samuel would not do it, therefore he dispatched the same.

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

But afterward he found the people oppressed with old age, and not able to do what he used to do, so he committed the government and the care thereof to his son; and the name of him of whom was called Joel, and the name of the younger was Abiah. He also enjoined them to render, and judge the people, the one at the city Bethel, and the other at Shechem, and divide the people into districts that should be under the jurisdiction of each of them. Now these men afford us an evident example and demonstration, how some children are not of the like dispositions with their parents, but sometimes perhaps good and moderate, though born of wicked parents, and sometimes showing themselves to be wicked, though born of good parents; for these men, turning aside from their father's good course, and taking a course that was contrary to them, perverted justice for the filthy lout of a king; which actions were not according to truth, but according to bribery, and turned aside to luxury, and a costly way of living, so that, as in the first place they practised what was just, and to the glory of God, in the second place what was contrary to the will of the prophet their father, who had taken a great deal of care, and made a very careful provision for his being not but a king: this they did.

3. But the people, upon these injuries offered to their former constitution and government by the prophet's sons, were very uneasy at their situation; and the men of Bethlehem, who lived at the city Ramah, and informed him of the transgressions of his sons: and said, "that as he was himself old already, and too infirm by that age of his to oversee their affairs in the manner he used to do, so they begged of him, and intreated him to appoint some person to be king over them, who should reign over the nation, and avenge them of the Philistines, who ought not to be punished for their former oppressions." These words greatly afflicteth Samuel, on account of his innate love of liberty, and his hatred to kingly government, for he was very fond of an aristocracy, as what made the men that used it of a divine and happy disposition: nor could it be either the idea of eating of the fat of the land, or the concern and torment of mind at what they had said, but all the night long did he continue awake, and resolved these notions in his mind.

4. While he was thus disposed, God appeared to him, and comforted him, saying, "That he ought not to be uneasy at what the multitude desired, because it was not he, but Himself whom they so insolently despised, and would not have to be alone their king; that they had been contriving these things from the very day that they came out of Egypt; that, however, in so long time they would satisfy the regard of what is called repentance, which repentance yet could not undo what was thus done for futurity: that they would be sufficiently rebuked for their contempt, and the ungrateful conduct they had used towards him, and the frequent and towards thy prophetical office. So I command thee to ordain them such a one as I shall at that time assign to be king, when thou hast first described what mischiefs kingly government will bring upon them, and openly testify before them unto what a great change of affairs they are hastening."

5. When Samuel had heard this, he called the Jews early in the morning, and confessed to them that he was to ordain them a king; but he said that he was first to describe to them what would follow, what treatment they would receive from their kings, and with how many mischiefs they must struggle: "For know ye (said he) that, in the first place, they will take your sons away from you, and they will command some of them to be drivers of their chariots, and some to be their horsemen, and the guards of their body, and others of them to be runners before them, and captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds; they will also make them their artificers, makers of armour, and of chariots, and of instruments; they will also make them their money, and also the curators of their own fields, and the diggers of their own vineyards; nor will there be any thing which they will not do at their command, as if they were money. They will also appoint your daughters to be concubines, and cooks, and bakers; and these will be obliged to do all sorts of work, which women slaves, that are in fear of stripes and torments, submit to. They will, besides this, take away your possessions, and bestow them upon their enmists, and the guards of their bodies, and give the herds of your cattle to their own servants; and to say briefly all at once, you, and all that is yours, will be servants to your king, and will become noway superior to his slaves; and when you are contrivings, you will there be put in mind of what I now say. And when you repent of what you have done, you will beseech God to have mercy upon you, and to grant you a quick deliverance; or if you continue them, we will not accept your prayers, but will neglect you, and permit you to suffer the punishment your evil conduct has deserved."

6. But the multitude was still so foolish as to be deaf to these predictions of what would befall them: and too peevish to suffer a determination which they had injudiciously once made, being bound to them by the force of contract, far to be taken out of their minds, rather to be turned from their purpose: nor did they regard the words of Samuel, but peremptorily in-
was himself the person, he led him in to supper, and assured him that the asses were found which he had been to seek, and that the greatest of things were assured to him; he replied, A Sir, you have conceived such a thing, and of a tribe too small to have kings made out of it, and of a family smaller than esquired by the people. But, since the King has shown me this in jest, and misused an object of less worth, then you shall discourse with me of greater matters than what I stand in need of. However, the prophet had given him this house for the present, and led down, him and his servant that followed him, above the other guests that were invited, which were seventy in number; and he gave order to the servants to set the royal portion before Saul. But when the time of going to bed was come, the rest rose up, and every one of them went home, but Saul stayed with the prophet, he and his servant, and slept with him.

2. But as soon as it was day, Samuel raised up Saul out of his bed, and conducted him houseto; and when he was out of the city, he desired him to raise his servant to go before, but to stay behind himself, for that he had somewhat to say to him, when nobody else was present. Accordingly, Saul sent away his servant that was before him, and followed the prophet; and when he came, he gave him some oil, and poured it upon the head of the young man, and kissed him, and said, Behold a king, by the ordination of God, against the Philistines, and then he added, Behold, thou hast suffered thereby; of this thou shalt have a sign, which I will show thee take notice of; as soon as thou art departed hence, thou wilt find three men returning on the road, going to worship God at Bethel, the first of whom thou wilt see carrying three loaves of bread, the second carrying a kid of the goats, and the third will follow them, carrying a bottle of wine. These three men will salute thee, and speak kindly to thee, and will give thee two of their loaves; which thou shalt accept of. And thence thou shalt come to a place called Rachel's Monument, where thou shalt meet with those that will tell thee thy asses are found; after this, when thou comest to Gabathas, thou shalt overtake a company of prophets, and thou shalt be seized with the divine Spirit, and prophesy along with them, till every one that sees thee shall be astonished, and wonder, and say, Wondrous is it that the son of King has arrived at this time of happiness! And when these signs have happened to thee, know that God is with thee; then do thou salute thy father, and kindle a fire, and bid them make haste before he sat down to supper, for he had invited many guests to a feast, and that he used to sit down before those that were invited. Now Samuel had gathered many together to feast with him on this very account; for while he every day prayed to God to tell him beforehand, when he would make king, he had informed him of this man the day before, for that he would send him a certain young man out of the tribe of Benjamin, about this hour of the day; and he sat on the top of the house in expectation of that time being come. And when the time was come, he came down and went to supper; so he met with Saul, and God discovered to him that this was he who should rule over them. Then Saul went up to Samuel and saluted him, and desired him to inform him which was the prophet's house; for he said he was a stranger, and did not know it. When Samuel had told him that he

CHAP. IV.
The Appointment of a King over the Israelites, whose Name was Saul; and this by the Command of God.

§ 1. There was one of the tribe of Benjamin, a man of good family, and of a virtuous disposition; his name was Samuel. He had a son, a young man of comely countenance, and of a tall body, but his understanding and his mind were preferable to what was visible in him; they carried him before the Captives, and he had a large share of the spoils that were wandered out of the pasture wherein they fed, for he was more delighted with these than with any other cattle he had. He brought with him one hundred ephahs of wheat, or one hundred ephahs of barley, one hundred ephahs of oil, and poured it upon the head of the young man, and kissed him, and said, Behold a king, by the ordination of God, against the Philistines, and then he added, Behold, thou hast suffered thereby; of this thou shalt have a sign, which I will show thee take notice of; as soon as thou art departed hence, thou wilt find three men returning on the road, going to worship God at Bethel, the first of whom thou wilt see carrying three loaves of bread, the second carrying a kid of the goats, and the third will follow them, carrying a bottle of wine. These three men will salute thee, and speak kindly to thee, and will give thee two of their loaves; which thou shalt accept of. And thence thou shalt come to a place called Rachel's Monument, where thou shalt meet with those that will tell thee thy asses are found; after this, when thou comest to Gabathas, thou shalt overtake a company of prophets, and thou shalt be seized with the divine Spirit, and prophesy along with them, till every one that sees thee shall be astonished, and wonder, and say, Wondrous is it that the son of King has arrived at this time of happiness! And when these signs have happened to thee, know that God is with thee; then do thou salute thy father, and kindle a fire, and bid them make haste before he sat down to supper, for he had invited many guests to a feast, and that he used to sit down before those that were invited. Now Samuel had gathered many together to feast with him on this very account; for while he every day prayed to God to tell him beforehand, when he would make king, he had informed him of this man the day before, for that he would send him a certain young man out of the tribe of Benjamin, about this hour of the day; and he sat on the top of the house in expectation of that time being come. And when the time was come, he came down and went to supper; so he met with Saul, and God discovered to him that this was he who should rule over them. Then Saul went up to Samuel and saluted him, and desired him to inform him which was the prophet's house; for he said he was a stranger, and did not know it. When Samuel had told him that he

* Of this great mistake of Saul and his servant, as if a certain young man of God would accept of a gift or present, for entertaining what was supposed of him on this occasion, see Notes on 2. iv. ch. vi. sect. 3.

** It is not improbable, that these 70 guests of Samuel, as here with himself at the head of them, were the Jewish Shechadrim, and that thereby Samuel introduced to Saul that these T1 were to be his constant councillors, and
the rest of his relations, considering, I suppose, what human nature really is, that no one is a firm friend, neither among our intimates, nor of our kindred, nor do they preserve that kind disposition when God advances men to great prosperity; but that they are still ill-natured, envious at those that are in eminent stations. 4. Then Samuel called the people together to the city of Shiloh, and spoke to them in these following words: "He said by the command of God: 'That when he had granted them a state of liberty, and brought their enemies into subjection, he did not only regard the fruit of his benefits, and rejected God that he should not be their King, as not considering that it would be most for their advantage to be preserved over the rest of the beings; for God is the best of beings, and they chose to have a man for their king; while kings will use their subjects as beasts, according to the violence of their own wills and inclinations, and other passions, as wholly carried away with the lust of power, but will not endeavour to preserve the race of mankind as his own workmanship and creation, when he had given them a state of liberty, and brought them into subjection; but since you have come to a fixed resolution, and this injurious treatment of God has quite prevailed over you, dispose yourselves by your own choice and free will, to be under the government of a king. 5. When the Hebrews had so done, the lot fell upon the tribe of Benjamin; and when the lot was cast for the families of this tribe, that which was called Matri was taken; and when the lot was cast for the single persons of that family, Saul, the son of Kish, was taken for their king. When the young man knew this, he prevailed with the king, that he would deliver themselves up, that they would do him away, and hid himself. I suppose that it was because he would not have it thought that he willingly took the government upon him; nay, he showed such a degree of command over himself, and of modesty, that the greatest part are not able to contain their joy, even in the gaining of small advantages, but presently show themselves publicly to all men, this man did not only show nothing of that nature, when he was appointed to be the lord of so many and so great tribes, but kept away and concealed himself out of the sight of everybody, and made them seek him, and that with a good deal of trouble. So when the people were at a loss, and solicited, because Saul disappeared, the people were brought into tears and woe; and the king had no man was, and to produce him before them. So when they had learned of God the place where Saul was hidden, they sent men to bring him, and the king of the multitude of the multitude. Now he was taller than any of them, and his stature was very majestic. 6. Then said the prophet, God gives you this man to be your king: see how he is higher than any of the people, and worthy of this dominion. So as soon as the people had made acquaintance, God saves the king! the prophet wrote down what would come to pass in a book, and read it in the hearing of the king, and laid up the book in the tabernacle of God, to be a witness to future generations how God had promised them to forebear. So when Samuel had finished this matter, he dismissed the multitude, and came himself to the city Ramah, for it was his own country. Saul also went away to Gibeah, where he had forebore: and many good men were there who paid him the respect that was due to him; but the greater part were ill men, who despised him, and despised the ears about them, and did bring him present, and did receive from him in affection, or even in words, regard to please him. "

**Book VI.—Chap. V.**

Saul's Expedition against the Nation of the Ammonites, and Victory over them, and the Spoils he took from them.

§ 1. After one month, the war which Saul had with Nahash, the king of the Ammonites, obtained him respect from all the people; for this he had doing what dealt mishief to the Jews that lived beyond Jordan, by his expedition he had made against them with a great and warlike army. He also reduced their cities into slavery, and that not only by exasperating them for the present, which he did by force and violence, but weakening them by tribulation and causing, that they might not be able afterward to get clear of the slavery they were under to him; for he put out the right eyes of those that either delivered themselves to him upon terms, or were taken by him in war; and this he did, that when their left eyes were covered by their shields, they might be wholly useless in war. Now when the king of the Ammonites had served those beyond Jordan in this manner, he led his army and came, and Saul and Gileadites, having pitched his camp at the metropolis of his enemies, which was the city Jabesh, he sent ambassadors to them, commanding them either to deliver themselves up, or be under the condition of having their right eyes plucked out, or to undergo a siege, and to have their cities overthrown. He gave them their choice, whether they would cut off a small part of their land, or suffer deliverance. However, the Gileadites were so affrighted at these offers, that they had not courage to say any thing to either of them, neither that they would deliver themselves up to him, nor that they would become his slaves. But they desired that he would give them seven days' respite, that they might send ambassadors to their countrymen, and entreat their assistance; and if they came to assist them, they would fight, but if that assistance were impossible to be obtained from them, they said they would deliver themselves up to suffer whatever he pleased to inflict upon them. 2. So Nahash, contempting the multitude of the Gileadites, and the answer they gave, allowed them a respite, and gave them leave to send to whomsoever they pleased for assistance. So they immediately sent to the Israelites, city by city, and informed them what Nahash had threatened to do to them, and what great distress they were in. Now the people were put into tears and woe at the hearing of what the ambassadors from Jabesh said; and the terror they were in permitted them to do nothing more. But when the messengers were come back, they were filled with joy; and declared the dangers in which the inhabitants of Jabesh were, the people were in the same affliction as those in the other cities, for they lamented the calamity of those related to them. And when Saul was returned from his husbandry into the city, he found his fellow-citizens weeping; and when, upon inquiry, he had learned the cause of the confusion and sadness they were in, he was seized with a divine fury, and sent away the ambassadors from the inhabitants of Jabesh, and gave orders to the men of Gilead to come before the third day, and to beat their enemies before surprising, that the sun, upon its rising, might see that they had already conquered, and were freed from all fear; they were more: but they were bid to go away with of them to stay to conduct them the right way to Jabesh. 3. So, being desirous to turn the people to this war against them, by fear, they declared, if they should take away under, and that they might the more suddenly be gathered together, with his right eye: he therefore that pleads out that one makes none useless in war."
be out the enews of his exen, and threatened to do the same to all such as did not come with their aipour to Jordan the next day, and follow him and Samuel the prophet whithersoever they served, and them they served together, out of fear of the losses they were threatened with, at the appointed time. And the multitude were numbered at the city Bezek. And he found the number of them, which came thither, to be besides that of the tribe of Judah, to be seven hundred thousand, while those of that tribe were seven hundred thousand. So he passed over Jordan, and proceeded in marching all that night, thirty furigons, and came to Jabez before sunrisign. So he divided the army into three companies, and fell upon their enemies on every side on the sudden, and when they expected no such thing; and joining battle with them, they slew a great many of the Ammonites, as also their king Naanah. This glorious action was done by Saul, and was related with great commendation of him to all the Hebrews; and he thence gained a wonderful reputation for his valor; for, although there were some of them that contemned him before, they now changed their minds, and bo-honored him, and esteemed him as the best of men; for he did not consist himself with having saving of Jabez only, but he made an expedition into the country of the Ammonites, and laid it all waste, and took a large prey, and so returned to his own country most glorious. And the people were greatly pleased at these excellent performances of Saul, and rejoiced that they had constituted him their king. They also made a clamor against those that prejad him, and would be no sacrifice to their affair; and they said, "Where now are these men, let them be brought to punishment!" with all the like things that multitudes do usually say, when they have got under protectority, against those that lately had desipied the authors of it. But Saul, although he took the good-will and the affection of these men very kindly, yet did he swear that he would not see any of his countrymen slain that day, since it was absurd to mix this victory, which God had given them, with the blood and slaughter of those that were of the same image with themselves; and that it was more agreeable to be men of a friendly disposition, and so to betake themselves to feasting.

4. And when Samuel had told them that he ought to deal with them according to this, God giveth Saul by a second order, and their relation, and their ceasign to their former government, they then permitting themselves to be judged by him who appeared to be the best warrior, and most courageous, whereas it was that they called this interval of their government, The Judges.

5. Then did Samuel the prophet call another assembly also, and said to them, "I solemnly adjure you by God Almighty, who brought those excellent brethren, I mean Moses and Aaron, into the world, and delivered our fathers from the Egyptians, and from the slavery which they endured, and delivered them out of the sin through ignorance; and besought the prophet, as one that was a tender and gentle father to them, to render God so merciful as to forgive this their sin, which they had added to those other offences whereby they had affronted him and transgressed against him. So he promised them that he would beseech God, and persuade him to forgive them their sins. However, he advised them to be righteous, and to be good, and ever to remember the miseries that had befallen them on account, of their departure from virtue: as also, to remember the extraordinary God who had shewed them, and the body of laws that Moses had given them, if they had any desire of being preserved and made happy with their king. But he said, that if they should grow careless of these things, great judgments would come from God upon them, and upon their king. And when Samuel had thus propounded these things, he passed on to the heathen, and spake what he had intended to say to the heathen, having confirmed the kingdom to Saul the second time.

* Mr. Roland observes here, and proves elsewhere, in his note on Asin, B. iii. ch. i. sect. 6. that although thunder and lightning with so happen usually in summer; yet passion, but say, what have I ever done that was cruel or unjust; or what have I done out of fear or covetousness, or to gratify others? Bear witness against me, if I have taken an ox or a sheep, or any such thing as this, but when they were taken to support men, it is esteemed blameless, or have I taken an ass for mine own use of any one to his grief? Lay some one such crime to my charge, and yet I am not guilty of it. But they cried out, That "no such thing had been done by him, but that he had presided over the nation after a holy and righteous manner."

6. Hereupon Samuel, when such a testimony had been given him by them all, said, "Since you grant that you are not able to lay any ill thing to my charge hitherto, come on now, and do you hearten while I speak with great freedom to you. You have been guilty of great impiety against God in asking you a king. It behoves you to remember, that our grandfather Jacob came down into Egypt, by reason of a famine, with seventy souls only of our family, and that he multiplied there to many ten thousands, whom the Egyptians brought into slavery and hard oppression; that God himself, upon the prayers of our fathers, sent Moses and Aaron, and the Egyptians were delivered out of their distress by their procuration. It was not for deliverance of the multitude out of their distress, use this without a king. These brought us into this very land which you now possess: and when you enter upon these lands of your inheritance, you have betrayed his worship and religion; say, moreover, when you were brought under the hand of your enemies, he delivered you, first by removing the desert during your journey; then the desert, and delivered you, first by removing the hands of the Egyptians; and from the Assyrians, and from the forces; he then made you to overcome the Ammonites and Moabites, and last of all, the Phi-listines; and these things have been achieved under the guidance of God; and when madness therefore possessed you to fly from God, and to desire to be under a king; yet have I ordained him for king whom you chose for you. However, that I may make it plain to you, that God is angry and displeased at your choice of kingly government, I will so dispose him that he shall declare this very plainly to you by strange signals; for what none of you ever saw here be-fore, I mean a winter storm in the midst of harvest, * I will entreat of God, and will make it visible to you." Now, as soon as he had said this, a short time after that, there was a great tempest, with thunder and lightning, and the descent of hail, as attest-
book vi.—chap. vi.
How the Philistines made another Expedition against the Hebrews, and were beaten.
§ 1. Now Saul chose out of the multitude about three thousand men, and he took two thousand of them to be the guards of his own body, and abode in the city of Bethel; but he gave the rest of them to Jonathan, his son to be the guards of his body; and sent him to Gibeah, where he besieged and took a certain garrison of the Philistines, not far from Gilgal, for the Philistines had armed themselves in their ears, and taken their weapons away, and had put garrisons into the strongest places of the country, and had forbidden them to carry any instrument of iron, or at all to make use of any iron in any whatsoever. And on account of this prohibition it was, that the husbandsmen, if they had occasion to sharpen any of their tools, whether it was the scythe or the spade, or any instrument of husbandry, they came to the Philistines to do it. Now as soon as the Philistines heard of this slaughter of their garrison, they were in a rage about it, and came in a Body of a vast number to affront them, they made war against the Jews, with three hundred thousand footmen, and thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand horsemen; and came to the city of Michmas. When Saul, the king of the Hebrews, was informed of this, he went down to the city of Gilgal, and made proclamation over all the people to come to Mount Ebal to crown him king, and recover their liberty; and called them to the war against the Philistines, diminishing their forces, and despising them as not very considerable, and as not so great as the number of those that hated them, and had a battle with them. But when the people about Saul observed how numerous the Philistines were, they were under a great consternation; and some of them hid themselves in caves, and in dens under ground, but the greater part fled into the land beyond Jordan, which belonged to Gad and Reuben.

2. But Saul sent to the prophet, and called him to consult with him about the war, and the public affairs: so he commanded him to stay there for him, and to prepare sacrifices, for he would come to him within seven days; the they might offer sacrifices on the seventh day, and might then join battle with their enemies. So he wait-ed, as the prophet sent to him to do, as in the day that was given him; but when he saw that the prophet tarried longer than he expected, and that he was deserted by the soldiers, he took the sacrifices and offered them; and when he heard that Samuel was come, he went out to meet him. But the prophet said that he had done well in offering up the blessings and sacrifices, that they should have made for the multitude, and that he therefore had performed divine offices in an ill manner, and had been rash and presumptuous in offering. For Saul made an apology for himself, and said, "That he had waited as many days as Samuel had appointed him; that he had been so quick in offering his sacrifices, upon account of the necessity he was in, and because his soldiers were departing from him, out of their fear of the enemy's camp at Michmas, the report being gone abroad that they were coming down upon him to destroy." To which Samuel replied, "Nay, certainly, if thou hadst been a righteous man, and hadst not disobeyed me, nor slighted the commandments which God suggested to thee; for in a time of the greatest distress and necessity, and in the whole course of the calamities of the country, Saul was not being grieved at what had happened, returned home; but Saul came to the city Gibeah, with his son Jonathan, having only six hundred men with him; and said unto them to recove their liberty, and to take their weapons, because of the scarcity of iron in that country, as well as of those that could make such weapons; for, as we showed a little before, the Philistines had not a single man that could make such iron, or such workmen. Now the Philistines divided their army into three companies, and took as many roads, and laid waste the country of the Hebrews, while king Saul and his son Jonathan saw what was done, but were not able to defend the land, as no more than six hundred men were with them. But as he and his son, and Abish, the high priest, who was of the posterity of Eli the high priest, were sitting upon a pretty high hill, and seeing the land laid waste, they were mightily disturbed at it. Now Saul's son and Abish, the armour-bearer, that they would go privately to the enemy's camp, and make a tumult and a disturbance among them. And when the armour-bearer promised to follow him whithersoever he should lead him, though he should be obliged to die in

* Saul seems to have stayed till near the time of the evening sacrifice, on the seventh day, which Samuel the prophet of God had appointed him, but not till the end of the day, as he ought to have done; and Samuel appears, by delaying to come till the full time of the evening sacrifice on that seventh day, to have tried him (who seems to have been already for some time declining from his strict and boundless subordination to God and his prophet, to have taken life-guards for himself and his son, which was entirely a new thing in Israel, and savoured of a distrust of God's providence, and to have affected more than he ought that independant authority which the Fagan about the, and some others, were now acquiring. It is not probable Saul had tried Samuel, whether he would stay till the priest's cause, who alone could lawfully offer sacrifices, or would not in some measure profane the priest's office; which he resuming upon, was most of the name rejected for his profligacy. See Comm. Apost. B. v. ch. xxiv. And indeed since Saul had been so long in neglecting, and so long in so gross an abasement and tyrannical, as God foretold, and the punishment of all ages, has shown, the divinity settlement by which he was to have been governed, had not in his case, by keeping strictly to his laws, and severely exec- cuting the threatenings contained therein, restrained Sual and his son, from the most insupportable and intolerable measures; as God foretold, and the punishment of all ages has shown, the divinity settlement by which he was to have been governed, had not in his case, by keeping strictly to his laws, and severely exec- cuting the threatenings contained therein, restrained Saul and his son, from the most insupportable and intolerable measures. Now was seven severity sufficient to restrain most of the future kings of Israel, and Judah from the greatest insupportable and intolerable measures: for such strict- ness in the observing divine laws, and inflicting their threat- ening penalties, see Antiq. B. vii. ch. xii. sect. 7. and con-
the attempt, Jonathan made use of the young man's assistance, and descended from the hill, and went to their enemies. Now the enemy's camp was at the mountain tops, that ended in a small but sharp and long extremity, while there was a rock that surrounded it, like lines made to prevent the attacks of an enemy. There it so happened, that the out-guards of the camp were neglected, because of the security that here arose from the situation of the place, and because they thought it altogether bad for the enemy, to send up the camp on that quarter, but so much as to come near it. As soon, therefore, as they came to the camp, Jonathan encouraged his armour-bearer, and said to him, "Let us attack our enemies, and if, when they see us, they bid us come up to them, take that for a signal of victory; but if they say nothing, as not intending to invite us to come up, let us return back again." So when they were approaching to the enemy's camp, just after break of day, and the Philistines saw them, they said one to another, "The Hebrews came out of their dens and caves, and they said to Jonathan and to his armour-bearer, "Come on, ascend up to us, that we may inflict a just punishment upon you for your rash attempt upon us," and Jonathan and his armour-bearer ascended up to them, as what signified to him victory, and he immediately came out of the place whence they were seen by their enemies; so he changed his place, and took which he had chosen to pursue it, because of its own strength: from thence they crept up with great labour and difficulty, and so far overcame by force of the place, that they were able to fight with the enemy. So they fell upon them as they were asleep, and slew twenty of them, and thereby filled them with disorder and surprise, in which they slew some of them, that threw away their entire armour and fled, but the greatest part not knowing one another, because they were of different nations, suspected one another to be enemies, (for they did not imagine there were only two of the Hebrews that came up,) and so they fought one against another; and some of them died in battle, and some, as they were flying away, were thrown down from the rock headlong. 3. Now Saul's watchmen told the king, that the camp of the Philistines was in confusion; then he inquired whether any body was gone out of the camp, and, while he said this, and his son, and with him his armour-bearer, were absent, he bid the high priest take the garments of his high priesthood, and prophecy to him what events should happen; who said to him, "I will tell thee what should get the victory, and prevail against their enemies." So he went out after the Philistines, and set upon them as they were slaying one another. Those also came running to him, who had fled to dens and caves, upon hearing that Saul was gaining a victory. When therefore the number of the Hebrews that came to Saul amounted to about ten thousand, he pursued the enemy, who were scattered all over the country; but then he fell into an action, which was a very unhappy one, and liable to be very much blamed; for whether out of ignorance, or whether out of joy for a victory gained so strangely, for it frequently happens, that persons so fortunate are not then able to use their reason consistently, as he was desirous to avenge himself, and to exact a due punishment of the Philistines, he de- nounced a curse on the Hebrews. 4. "That if any one put a stop to his slaughter of the enemy, and fell on eating, and left off the slaughter or the pursuit of them, he should be accursed."

4. When therefore they had slain many ten thousands of the Philistines, they fell upon spoiling the camp of the Philistines, but not till late in the evening. Then they took a great deal of prey, and cattle, and killed them, and ate them with their blood. This was told to the king by the scribes, that the multitude were slaying the enemy, and the king commanded them to come up to them, before the blood was well washed away, and the flesh made clean. Then did Saul give order that a great stone should be rolled into the midst of them, and that they should kill their sacrifices upon it, and not feed upon the flesh with the blood, for that was not acceptable to God. And when all the people did as the king commanded them, Saul erected an altar there, and offered burnt-offerings upon it to God. This was the first altar that Saul built. 5. So when Saul was desirous of leading his men to the enemy's camp before it was day, in order to plunder it, and when the soldiers were not unwilling to follow him, but indeed showed great readiness to do as he commanded them, the king called Ahithob the high priest, and enjoined him to know of God, whether he would grant him the favour and permission to go against the enemy's camp, in order to destroy those that were in it. And when the priest said, that God did not give any answer; "And not without some cause," said Saul, "does God refuse to answer me?" And when he heard the year before he declared to us all that we desired before hand, and even prevented us in his answer. To be sure there is some sin against him, that is concealed from all; who sinned thereby, I will find out the sinners in the presence of the Lord. Now I swear by Him himself, that though he that hath committed this sin should prove to be my own son Jonathan, I will slay him, and by that means will appease the anger of God against us, and that in the very same manner as if I were to punish a stranger, and one not at all related to me, for the same offence." So when the multitude cried out to him so to do, he presently set all the rest on one side, and he and his son stood on the other side, and he sought to discover the offender by lot. Now the lot appeared to fall upon Jonathan himself. So when he was asked by his father what sin he had been guilty of, and what he was conscious of in the course of his life that might be esteemed instances of guilt or profaneness! his answer was this: "O father, I have done nothing more than that yesterday, without being supported by public prayer, is here very remarkable, as indeed it is every where else in the Old Testament. Further we have still more indications of Saul's affecta¬tion for divine worship, sanctity or extraordinary priesthood, and making and undertaking to execute a rash vow or curse without consulting Samuel, or the Sa¬laam of the tribe. In these respects, in God's eyes, this breach of a new altar by Saul, and his offering of burnt-offerings himself upon it, and not as any proper instance of devotion or religion, with other enemies.
BOOK VI.—CHAP. VII.

Knowing of the curse and oath thou hadst denounced, while I was in pursuit of the enemy, I tasted of a honeycomb." But Saul swore that he would not kill him, so as to preserve the observation of his oath before all the ties of blood and natural affection. And Jonathan was not dismayed at this threatening of death, but offering himself to it generously, and undaunted, he said, "Nor do I desire you, father, to spare me. But do not let it be a very acceptable, when it proceeds from thy pity, and after a glorious victory; for it is the greatest consolation to a king to see his enemies vanquished over the Philistines." Hereupon all the people were very sorry, and greatly afflicted for Jonathan, and they saw that he would not overlook Jonathan, and see him die, who was the author of their victory. By which means they snatched him out of the danger he was in from his father's curse, while they made their prayers to God also for the young man, that he would remit his sin.

6. So Saul, having sworn about sixty thousand of the enemy, returned home to his own city, and reigned happily; and he also fought against the neighbouring nations, and subdued the Ammonites, and Moabites, and Philistines, and Edomites, and Amalekites, as also the king of Zobah. He had three mighty chief men, Joab, Abishai, and Elea, and Melchishua; with Merab and Michal his daughters. He had also Abner, his uncle's son, for the captain of his host; that uncle's name was Ner. Now all these were very brave and glorious among them. Saul had also a great many chariots and horsemen: against whomever he made war, he returned conqueror, and advanced the affairs of the kingdom to a great degree of success and prosperity, and made them superior to other nations; and he made such of the young men that were remarkable for tallness and comeliness, the guards of his body.

CHAP. VII.

Saul's War with the Amalekite and Conquest of them.

1. Now Samuel came unto Saul, and said to him, "That he was sent by God to put him in mind that God had preferred him above all others, and ordained him king; that he therefore ought to be obedient to him, and to submit to his authority, as considering, that though he had the dominion over the twelve tribes, yet that God had the dominion over him, and over all things. That accordingly, God said to him, that because the Amalekites did the Hebrews a great deal of mischief, and that they had not taken them, and when, upon their coming out of Egypt, they were making their way to that country which is now their own, I enjoin thee to punish the Amalekites, by making war upon them, and when thou hast subdued them, to leave none of them alive, but to pursue them through every age, and to slay them, beginning with the women and the infants, and to require of this as a punishment to be inflicted upon them for the mischief they did to our forefathers. To spare nothing, neither axes nor other beasts, nor to reserve any of them for your own advantage and possession, but to devote them universally to God, and, in obedience to the commands of Moses, to blot out the name of Amalek entirely."

2. So Saul promised to do what he was commanded; and supposing that his obedience to God would be shown, not only in making war against the Amalekites, but more fully in the readiness and quickness of his proceedings, he made no delay, but immediately gathered together all his forces; and when he had numbered them in Gilgal, he found them to be about four hundred thousand of the Israelites, besides the tribe of Judah, for that tribe contained by itself thirty thousand. Accordingly, Saul made an irruption into the country of the Amalekites, and set many men in several parties in ambush at the cities, and others to come with him; so that he might by open fighting, but might fall upon them unexpectedly in the ways, and slay thereby compass them round about, and kill them. And when he had taken battle with them, he went to beat them, and, pursuing them as they fled, he destroyed them all. And when that undertaking had succeeded, according as God had foretold, he set upon the cities of the Amalekites: he besieged them, and took them by force, partly by warlike machines, partly by mines dug under ground, and partly by building walls at the outsides. Some they starved out with famine, and some they gained by other methods, and after all, he betook himself to slay the women and the children, and thought he did not set them therein barbarously and inhumanly; first, because they were enemies whom he thus treated, and, in the next place, because it was done by the command of God, whom he did not dare to disobey. He also took Agag, the enemy's king, captive; the beauty and tallness of whose body he admired so much, that he thought him worthy of preservation; yet was he, however, and his son, hanged. For God had given to the will of God, but by giving way to human passions, and suffering himself to be moved with an unreasonable commiseration, in a point where it was not safe for him to act thus. For God had given to the nation of the Amalekites to such a degree, that he commanded Saul to have no pity on even those infants which we by nature chiefly compassionate; but Saul preserved their king and governor from the miseries which the Hebrews brought on the people, as if he preferred the fine appearance of the enemy to the memory of what God had sent him about. The multitude were also guilty, together with Saul, for they spared the herbs and the flocks, and took them for a prey, when God had commanded they should not spare them. They also carried off with them the rest of their wealth and riches, but if there were any thing that was not worthy of regard, that they destroyed.

3. But when Saul had conquered all those Amalekites that reached from Pelusium of Egypt to the Red Sea, he laid waste all the rest of the enemy's country: but for the nation of the Shechemites, he did not take them, and when, upon their coming out of Egypt, they were making their way to that country which is now their own, I enjoin thee to punish the Amalekites, by making war upon them, and when thou hast subdued them, to leave none of them alive, but to pursue them through every age, and to slay them, beginning with the women and the infants, and to require of this as a punishment to be inflicted upon them for the mischief they did to our forefathers. To spare nothing, neither axes nor other beasts, nor to reserve any of them for your own advantage and possession, but to devote them universally to God, and, in obedience to the commands of Moses, to blot out the name of Amalek entirely."

4. Hereupon Saul returned home with joy, for the glorious things he had done, and for the conquest of his enemies, as though he had not neglected any thing which the prophet had commanded him to do, when he was going to make war with the Amalekites, and as though he had exactly observed all that he ought to have done. But God was grieved at the king of the Amalekites being preserved alive, and that the multitude had seized on the cattle for a prey, because those things were done without his permission; for he thought it an intolerable thing, that they should be the other way, and overcome their enemies by that power which

See Exod. xxv. 18; Num.; xvi. 43; Deut. xix. 17-19; Josh. vi. 3-6; 1 Sam. xix. 33; Psal. xxxi. 7, and above all, the most barbarous of all cruelties, that of Hesron the Araunt, or one of the posterity of Agag, the old king of the Amalekites, 1st Sam. x. 15.
be gave them, and then that he himself should be grossly despised and disdained by them, that a mere man, that was a king, would not bear it. Therefore he told Samuel the prophet, that he repeated that he had made Saul king, whilst he himself, had brought him up with his own hands and his own hands had commanded him; but indulged his own inclinations. When Samuel heard that, he was in confusion; and began to beseech God all that night that he should be reconciled for his anger with him; but he did not grant that forgiveness to Saul which the prophet asked for, and not deeming it a fit thing to grant forgiveness to such sins at this extremity, since injuries do not otherwise grow so great as by the easy terrors of those that are injured; for while they hunt after the glory of being thought gentle and good-natured, before they are aware they produce other sins. As soon therefore as God had rejected the intercession of the prophet, and it plainly appeared he would not change his mind, at break of day Samuel came to Saul at Gilgal. When the king saw him, he ran to him, and embraced him, and said, "I return thanks to God, who hath given me the victory with every thing that he hath commanded me." To which Samuel replied, "How is it then that I hear the bleating of the sheep, and the lowing of the greater cattle in Saul's land?" Saul made answer, that "the people had reserved them for sacrifices; but that, as to the nation of the Amalekites, it was entirely destroyed, as he had received it in command to see that no one man was left, but that he had saved alive the king alone, and brought him to him, concerning whom he said they would advise together what should be done with him." But the prophet said, "God is not delighted with sacrifices, but with good and righteous men, who are such as follow his will and his laws, and never think that any thing is well done by them, but when they do it as God hath commanded them: that he then looks upon himself as affronted, not when any one does not sacrifice, but when any one appears to be disobedient to him. But that from those who do not obey him, nor pay him that duty which is the alone true and acceptable worship, he will not kindly accept their oblations, be those they offer never so great and fine, and be the presents they make him never so ornamental, nay, though they were made of gold and silver themselves, but he will reject them, and esteem them instance of sin, and not of the good. And thus, he is delighted with those that still bear in mind this one thing, and this only, how to do that, whatsoever be it, which God pronounces or commands for doing, and not to run in the way, nor to transgress any of those commands; nor does he require so much as a sacrifice from them. And when these do sacrifice, though it be a mean oblation, he better accepts of it as the honour of poverty, than such oblations as come from the richest men that offer them to him. Wherefore take notice, that thou art under the wrath of God, for thou hast despised and neglected what he commanded thee. How dost thou then suppose that he will accept a sacrifice out of such things as he hath denounced to destruction? unless perchance thou dost imagine that it is almost all one to offer it in sacrifice to God as to destroy it. Do thou therefore expect that thy kingdom will be taken from thee, and that authority which thou hast abused by such an insulent behaviour, to neglect that God who bestowed it upon thee." Then did Saul confess that he had acted unjustly, and that he had done this, because he had transgressed the injunctions of the prophet; but he said, that it was out of a dread and fear of the soldiers, that he did not prohibit and restrain that they might prey. But forgive me, said he, and be merciful to me, for I will be cautious how I offend for the time to come. He also entreated the prophet to go back with him, that he might offer his thank-offerings to God; but Samuel went home, because he saw that God would not be reconciled to him. 3. But then Saul was persuade to remain Samuel, that he took hold of his cloak, and because the vehemence of Samuel's departure made the motion to be violent, the cloak was rent. Upon which Saul, that after the same manner should the kingdom be rent from him, and that a good and a just man should take it; that God persevered in what he had decreed about him; to which he, according as he is determined, is agreeable to human passions only, but is not agreeable to the divine power. Hereupon Saul said, that he had been wicked, but that what was done could not be undone: he therefore desired him to honour him so far, that the multitude might see that he would accompany him in worshipping God. So Samuel granted him that favour, and went with him and worshipped God. Agag, also, the king of the Amalekites, was brought to him; and when the king asked, How bitter death was! Samuel said: "As thou hast not left the living to the Lord, to be his people, and to bless thy people, and to make thee a kingdom of princes, even so shall thy death cause thy mother to lament thee also." Accordingly, he gave order to slay him immediately at Gilgal, and then went away to the city Ramah. "

CHAP. VIII."

How, upon Saul's Transgression of the Prophet's Commands, Samuel ordained another Person to be King over Israel, whose name was David, as God commanded him."

§ 1. Now Saul being sensible of the miserable condition he and brought himself into, and that he had made God to be his enemy, he went up to his royal palace at Gibeah, where name denotes a hill, and after that day he came no more into the presence of the prophet. And when Samuel mourned for him, God bid him leave off his concern for him, and to take the holy oil, and go to Bethlehem to Jesse, the son of Obed, and to anoint such of his sons as he should show him, for their future king. But Samuel said, he was afraid lest Saul, when he came to know of it, should kill him. But God said, if the people choose a king to be a tall and handsome man, he guessed by his comeliness that he was the person who was to be their future king. But he was mistaken in judging of God's providence, for when Samuel inquired of God, whether he should anoint this youth, whom he so admired, and esteemed worthy of the kingdom! God said, "Men do not see as I see; for they indeed hast respect to the fine appearance of this youth, and thence esteem him worthy of the kingdom, while I provoke the kingdom as a reward, not of the beauty of bodies, but of the virtue of souls, and I inquire after one that is perfectly comely in that respect. I mean one who is beautiful in piety, and righteousness, and fortitude, and obedience, for in them consists the comeliness of the soul." When God had said this, Samuel bade Jesse to show him all his sons. So he made five others; and among them was the eldest, Aminadab the second, Shammi the third, Nathaniel the fourth, Rael the fifth, and Asam the sixth. And when the prophet saw that Jesse had not sent for the eldest, he said, "Is there not yet one left?" But when he heard Samuel, he said, "There is yet one, but he is yet at pasture with the sheep." Then said Samuel, send for him, and let him come; for he has been approved by the Lord."
And when God said it was none of them, he asked of Jesse, whether he had not some other sons besides these! and when he said that he had one more named David, but that he was a shepherd, and was seen of none, the Spirit said; to oppose them by that name, that he was higher, the child immediately, for that till he was come they could not possibly sit down to the feast. Now as soon as his father had sent for David, and he was come, he found him void of a splendid array, of a sharp sight, and a comic person in other respects also. This is he, said Samuel privately to himself, whom it pleases God to make sure his choice. And he took the child of the youth under him, and Jesse also, with his other sons; after which he took oil, in the presence of David, and anointed him, and whirled him in the ear, and acquainted him, that God chose him to be their king; and exorted him to be righteous, and obedient to his commands, for that by this means his kingdom would continue for a long time, and that his house should be of great splendor, and celebrated in all the world: that he should overthrow the Philistines; and that against what nation soever he should make war, he should be victorious, and raise the sword and survive the fight; and that while he lived he should enjoy a glorious name, and leave such a name to his posterity also. 2. So Samuel, after this had given him these admonitions, went away; but the divine power departed from Saul, and removed to David; who, upon this removal of the Divine Spirit to him, began to prophesy. But as for Saul, some strange and demesneical disorders came upon him, and brought upon him such suffocations as were ready to choke him; for which the physicians could find nothing that could help him, but this, that if any person could charm those passions by singing, and playing upon the harp, they advised him to inquire for such a one, and to see whether there was a man of all those demons come upon him and disturbed him, and to take care that such a person might stand over him and play upon the harp, and recite hymns to him. Accordingly Saul did not delay, but commanded them to seek out such a man. And when a certain bystander said that he had seen in the city of Bethlehem a son of Jesse, who was yet no more than a child in age, but comely and beautiful, and in other respects one that was deserving of great regard, who was skillful in playing upon the harp, and in singing of hymns, and an enchanting music, he sent for this son of Jesse, and desired him to take David away from the flocks, and send him to him, for he had a mind to see him, as having heard an advantageous character of him; and having found him, they showed him the son of Jesse, and gave him presents to carry to Saul. And when he was come, Saul was pleased with him, and made him his armour-bearer, and had him in very great esteem, for he charmed his passion, and was the only physician against the trouble he had from the demon, whenever it was that it came upon him, and this by reciting of hymns, and playing upon the harp, and bringing Saul to his right mind again. However, he sent to Jesse the father of the child, and desired him to permit David to stay with him, for that he was delighted with him, and the sight and company which stayed, that he might not contradict Saul, he granted. 3. Now the Philistines gathered themselves together again no very long time afterward, and having got together a great army, they made war against the Israelites and having seized a place between Shocoeh and Azekah, they there pitched their camp. Saul also drew out his army to meet them by pitch of the morning. As they were in a certain hill, he forced the Philistines to leave their former camp, and to encompass themselves upon such another hill, over against that on which Saul's army lay. There was between the two hills on which they lay, divided their camps saunter. Now there came a man out of the camp of the Philistines, whose name was Jonathan, the son of Abishai of Gath, a man of vast bulk, for he was of four cubits and a span in tallness, and had about him weapons suitable to the largeness of his body, for he had a breastplate that weighed five thousand shekels; he had also a helmet and greaves of brass as large as you would naturally suppose might cover the limbs of so vast a body. His spear was also such as was not carried like a light thing in his right hand, but he carried it as lying on his shoulders. He had also a lance of six hundred shekels: and many followed him to carry his armour. Wherefore this Goliath stood between the two armies, as they were in battle array, and sent out a loud voice, and said to Saul, and to the Hebrews, “I will free you from fighting and from dangers; for when this man is in the army your army shall fall and be afflicted? Give me a man of you that will fight with me, and he that conquers shall have the reward of the conqueror, and determine the war; for those shall serve others to whom the conqueror shall belong: and certainly it is much better, and more prudent, to gain what you desire by the hazard of one man than of all.” When he said this, he retired to his own camp; but the next day he came again, and used the same words, and did not leave off forty days together; or, to challenge the enemy in the same words, till Saul and his army were therewith terrified, while they put themselves in array as if they would fight, but did not come to a close battle. 2. Now while this war between the Hebrews and the Philistines was going on, Saul sent away David to his father Jesse, and contented himself with three sons of his whom he had sent to his assistance, and to be partners in the dangers of the war: and at first David returned to feed his sheep and his flocks; but after so long time he came to the city of Hebron, and his father to carry provisions to his brethren, and to know what they were doing. While Goliath came again, and challenged them, and reproached them, that they had no man on earth to fight against them that durst come down to fight him; and as David was talking with his brethren about the business for which his father had sent him, he heard the Philistine reproaching and abusing the army, and had indignation at it, and said to his brethren, I am ready to fight a single combat with this adversary. Whereupon Eliab, his eldest brother, reproved him, and said that he spake too rashly and improperly for one of his age, and bid him go to his flocks, and to his father. So he was abashed at his brother's words, and went away, but still he spoke not. David, who was willing to fight with him that challenged them. And when they had informed Saul what was the resolution of the young man, the king was a little displeased with him for his courage; and when he asked what he had to say, he replied, “O king, be not cast down nor afraid, for I will depress the insolence of this adversary, and will go down and fight with him, and deliver you and the people, and all shall fall as tall and as great as he is, till shall be sufficiently laughed at; and thy army shall get great
much that Goliath was stunned, and fell upon his face. So David ran, and stood upon his adversa-
ry as he lay down, and cut off his head with his sword; and David said, There is none like to me, but by a child. For though I be as white as snow, and you have the appearance of being old in age, you still look like a child, and am really no older in age
than a child."

3. Now Saul wondered at the boldness and alacrity with which the doings of this boy were brought to his notice, and the readiness with which he did many things, and did well, by his very youth and ability, by reason of his age: but said he must on that account be too weak to fight with one that was skillful in the art of war. So he undertook that he should not fight with Goliath, but that Saul should fight in his stead. God’s being with me, for I have had experience already of his assistance; for I once pursued after and caught a lion that assaulted my flocks, and took away a lamb from them, and I snatched the lamb out of the wild beast’s mouth, and when he leaped upon me with violence, I took him by the tail, and dashed him against the ground. In the same manner did I avenge myself on a bear also; and let this adversary of ours be esteemed like one of these wild beasts, since he has a long while reproached our army, and blasphemed our God, who yet will reduce him under my power."

4. However, Saul prayed that the end might be, by God’s assistance not disagreeable to the valor and boldness of the child; and said, "Go thy way to the fight." So he put about him his breastplate, and girded on his sword, and fitted the helmet to his head, and sent him away. But David was burdened with his armor, for he had not been exercised to it, nor had he learned to walk with it; so he said, "Let this armor be thine, O king; whi art able to bear it, but give me leave to fight as thy servant, and as I myself desire." Accordingly he laid by the armor, and taking his staff with him, and putting five stones in his pocket, he went towards Goliath. But the adversary seeing him in such a manner, disdained him, and jesting upon him, as if he had not such weapons with him as are usual when one man fights against another, but such as are used in driving away and avoiding of dogs; and said, "Doest thou take me not for a man, but a dog?" To which he replied, "No, not for a dog, but for a creature worse than a dog." This provoked Goliath to anger, who thereupon cursed him by the name of God, and then offered to strike him to the earth, and to the fowls of the air, to be torn in pieces by them. To whom David answered, "Thou comest to me with a sword, and with a shield, and with a breastplate, but I have God for my armour, in coming against thee, who will destroy thee and all thy army by my hands; for I will this day cut off thy head, and cast the other parts of thy body to the dogs, and all men shall learn that God is the protector of the Hebrews, and that our armour and our strength is in his providence, and that, without God’s assistance, all other warfare preparations and power are useless." So the Philistine, being retarded by the weight of his armor, when he attempted to meet David in haste, came on but slowly, as did the oxen going to plough; so he paused to turn him that he would not slay him, who was both unarmed, and a child also, without any trouble at all.

5. But the youth met his antagonist, being approachable and accessible, who was no other than God himself. And taking one of the stones that he had out of the brook, and had put into his shepherd’s bag, and setting his sling over his mouth, he slung it against the Philistine. This stone struck upon his forehead, and sunk into his brain, insa-

Josephus says twice in this chapter, and twice afterward, chap. x. sect. 2, and vii. sect. 1. sect. 4, i.e. a few lines in all, that Saul required not a single head of the Philistines as a guarantee of the Phcenicians, but six hundred of their heads. The Septuagint have 100 for him, but the Syriac..
and my design about him will succeed
faily to my mind, for I shall be freed from him
and shall not have a care for another man.'
So he gave order to his servants to try
how David would relish this proposal of marry-
ing the damsel. Accordingly, they began to
talk to him, that king Saul loved him, and was
tolerably well satisfied with all the points of his
affinity by the marriage of this damsel.
To which he gave this answer: 'Seemeth it to
you a light thing to be made the king's son-in-
law? It does not seem to me, especially when
I am one of a family that is low, and without
any glory or honour.'
Now when Saul was in-
formed by his servants what answer David had
made, he said, 'Tell him, that I do not want any
money nor dowry from him, which would be ra-
ther to set my daughter to sale than to give her
a marriage; but I desire only such a sum of mon-
ey as hath in him fortitude, and all other kinds of
virtue, (of which he saw David was possessed.)
and that his desire was to receive of him, on ac-
count of his marrying his daughter, neither gold
nor silver, nor that he should bring such wealth out
of his father's house, but only some revenge
on the Philistines, and indeed six hundred of
their men, and that he would do it for a more
glorious present could not be brought him,
and that he had much rather obtain this than any
of the accustomary dowries for his daughter, viz.,
that he might have the benefit of his virtue in
the court, and to one who had a testimony as having
conquered his enemies.'
3. When these words of Saul were brought to
have been told the strangers, they persuad-
ed that Saul was really desirous of this affinity
with him; so that without hearing to deliberate any
longer, or casting about in his mind whether
what he had written was true; or not he, and his
companions immediately set upon the enemy, and
went about doing what was proposed as the condition of the marriage.
Accordingly, because it was God who made all
things easy and possible to David, he slew many
[of the Philistines], and cut off the heads of six
hundred of them, and came to the king, and by
showing him these heads of the Philistines, re-
served that he might have his daughter in mar-
rriage. Accordingly, Saul, having no way of get-
ing off his engagements, as thinking it a hippen
that a man so young, so wise, so renowned and
brave had overcome him in this marriage, or to appear to have acted treacherously by him, in putting him upon what
was in a manner impossible, in order to have him
take care and be absent the next day, for that he would
shut him in his father, and, if he met with a favourable
opportunity, he would discourse with him about it,
and learn the cause of his disgust, and see how
little ground there was for it, and that for it
he ought not to kill a man that had done so many
good things to his father, and had been a
benefactor to himself, on account of which he
ought in reason to obtain pardon, had he been
 guilty of the greatest crimes; and I will then in-
form thee of my father's reason. Accordingly,
David complied with such advantageous terms,
and kept himself then out of the king's sight.
2. On the next day Jonathan came to Saul as
soon as he saw him in a cheerful and joyful dis-
position, and began to introduce a discourse about
David: 'What unjust action, O father, either
little or great, hast thou found so exceptional
in David, as to induce thee to order us to slay a
man who hath been of great advantage to thy
own preservation, and of still greater to the
punishment of the Philistines?—a man who hath
delivered the people of the Hebrews from re-
proach and derision, which they underwent for
forty days together, when he alone had courage
enough to sustain the challenge of the adversary,
and after that brought them to victory over so
many enemies as he was appointed to bring, and had,
as a reward for the same, my sister in marriage;
insomuch that his death would be very sorrowful
to us, not only on account of his virtue, but on
account of the nearness of our relation. Thy daughter
must be injured at the same time that he is slain, and must be obliged to experience
widowhood, before the expiration of our advance
advantage from their mutual conversation. Con-
sider these things, and change your mind to
a more merciful temper, and do no mischief to
one who, in the first place, hath done you the
greatest kindness of preserving thee; for when
an evil spirit and demons had seized upon thee,
he cast them out, and procured rest to thy soul
from their incursions; and in the second place,
hath avenged us of our enemies; for it is a base
thing to forget such benefits.' So Saul was
persuaded with these words; and swore to his son
that he would not David no harm; for a righteous
discourse proved too hard for the king's anger
and fear. So Jonathan sent for David, and
brought him good tidings, and that he
was to be preserved. He also brought good
news to his father; and David continued with the king
as formerly.
3. About this time it was, that, upon the
Philistines making a new expedition against the
Hebrews, Saul sent David with an army to fight
with them; and joining battle with them, he
drew many of them, and after his victory he re-
turned to the king. But his reception by Saul
was not as he expected upon such success, for he
was grieved at his prosperity, because he thought
he would be more dangerous to him by having
acted so gloriously; but when the demoniacal
spirit came upon him, and put him into disorder,
and disturbed him, he called for David into his
bed-chamber wherein he lay, and having a harp
in his hand, he ordered him to charm him with
playing on his harp, and with singing hymns;
which, when David did at his command, he with
the greatest force threw the spirit out of him; and
he was aware of it before it came, and avoided it,
and fled to his own house, and abode there all
that day.
4. But at night the king sent officers, and
commanded that he should be watched till the
morning, lest he should get quite away, that he
might come to the judgment-hall, and so might
be delivered up, and executed as a traitor. But
when Michal, David's wife, the king's daughter,
understood what her father designed, she came
to her husband, as having small hopes of his de-
licerance, and as greatly concerned about her
own life also, for she could not bear to live in case she were deprived of him; and she said, "If thou thyself hast bought the bath when it rises, or if it do, that will be the last time it will see thee: fly away then while the night may afford thee opportunity; and may God lengthen it for thy sake, O king, if my father find thee, thou art a dead man." So she let him down by a cord out of the window, and saved him: and after she had done so, she fitted up a bed for him as a wall, and put under it the bed-clothes of a goat's liver; and when her father, as soon as it was day, sent to seize David, she said to those that were there, that he had not been well that night, and she had made them believe by the leaping of the liver, which caused the bed-clothes to move also, that David breathed like one that was asthmatic. So when those that were sent told Saul that David had not been well in the night, he ordered him to be brought in that condition, for he intended to kill him. Now when they came, and uncovered the bed, and found out the woman's contrivance, they told it to the king; and when her father complained of her, that she had saved his enemy, and had put a trick upon himself, she inflammation of her heart, and said, "That when he threatened to kill her, she lent him her assistance for his preservation, out of fear; for which her assistance she ought to be freed from all punishment. And it was not done of her own free choice, but out of necessity; for, (said she,) I do not suppose that thou wast so zealous to kill the enemy as thou wast that I should be saved." Accordingly, she left the house; but David, when he had escaped this danger, came to the prophet Samuel to Ramah, and told him what snared the king had laid for him, and how he was very near to death by Saul's throwing a spear at him, although he had been noway guilty with relation to him, nor had he been cowardly in his battles with his enemies, but had succeeded well in them all, by God's assistance; which thing was indeed the cause of Saul's hatred to David.

5. When the prophet was made acquainted with the unjust proceedings of the king, he left the city Ramah, and took David with him, to a certain place called Naioth, and there he abode with him: and when it was told Saul that David was with the prophet, he sent soldiers to him, and ordered them to take him, and bring him to him: and when they came to Samuel, and found these words of prophesying, they became partakers of the Divine Spirit, and began to prophesy; which when Saul heard of, he sent others to David, who prophesying in like manner as did the first, he again sent others; which third sort prophesying also, at last he was angry, and went thither in great haste himself; and when he was just by the place, Samuel, before he saw him, made him prophesy also. And when Saul came to him, he was disordered in mind, and under the vehement agitation of a spirit, and putting off his garments, he fell down, and lay on the ground all that day and night, in the presence of Samuel and David.

6. And David went thence, and came to Jona than, the son of Saul, and lamented to him what had happened to him. Then Saul said unto him, "Thou hast acted wisely and discreetly, nor to the calamities of those that raised those reports, if there were any that did so, but to depend on him, and take courage; for that David's bed-clothes of a goat's liver, and he had acquainted him with that matter, and taken his advice, had it been so, as he used to consult with him in common, when he acted in other affairs. But David aware to him, that so it was, and he desired him rather to believe him, and to provide for his safety, than to despise what he, with great sincerity, told him: that he would believe what he said, when he should either see him killed himself, or learn it upon inquiry from others: and that the reason why his father did not tell him of these things, was this, that he knew of the friendship and affection that he bore towards him.

7. Hereupon, when Jonathan found that this intention of Saul's was so well attested, he asked him, "If it be so, why dost thou not kill me?" To which David replied, "I am sensible that thou art willing to gratify me in every thing, and procure me what I desire. Now to-morrow is the new moon; and I know that Saul will assuredly eat with the king at supper; now if it seem good to thee, I will go out of the city, and conceal myself privately there; and if Saul inquire why I have left him, I will say, I have gone to my own city Bethlehem, to keep a festival with my own tribe; and add this also, that thou gavest me leave so to do. And if he say, as is usually said in such cases, that thy friends that are gone abroad, it is well that he went; then assure thyself that no latent mischief or enmity may be feared at his hands: but if he answer otherwise, that will be a sure sign that he hath some designs against me. Accordingly, thou shalt inform me of thy father's inclinations; and that out of pity to my case, and out of thy friendship for me, as instances of which friendship thou hast vouchsafed to accept of the assurances of my love to thee, and to give thee the like assurances to me, that is, of those to a master to his servant; but if thou discoverest any wickedness, then do thou prevent thy father, and kill me thyself."

8. But Jonathan heard these last words with infatuation, and promised to do what he desired of him, so that he would conform him if his father implied any thing of a melancholy nature, and any enmity against him. And that he might the more firmly depend upon him, he took him out into the open field, into the pure air, and swore that he would neglect nothing that might tend to the preservation of David; and he said, "I appeal to that God, who, as thou seest, is diffused everywhere, and knoweth this intention of mine, before I explain it in words, as the witness of this my covenant with thee, that I will not leave off to my frequent trials of the purpose of my father, till I learn whether there be any lurking intentions being never observed in true prophets, when they were under the inspiration of the Spirit of God."

* Since the modern Jews have lost the signification of the Hebrew word here used, Obed: and since the LXXII. as well as Josephus, render it the liver of the goat, and accounts rendering, and Josephus's account, are here so much more clear and probable than those of others, it is without contradiction, that our commentators should so understand, and give this true interpretation.
* These violent and wild agitations of Saul seem to me to have been no other than diabolical, and that the same diabolical presence, which, according to Josephus, was in the harp of David, used to expel, was now in a just agreement of Saul, and was only in order to distinguish his intentions against innocent David, but to expose him to the Laughter: and contempt of all that saw him, or heard of these his agitations, most violent and wild agitations being never observed in true prophets, when they were under the inspiration of the Spirit of God.
* What is meant by Saul's lying down naked that day they say, was this, that he was not only in order to distinguish his intentions against innocent David, but to expose him to the Laughter: and contempt of all that saw him, or heard of these his agitations, most violent and wild agitations being never observed in true prophets, when they were under the inspiration of the Spirit of God.
BOOK VI.—CHAP. XII.

And when Jonathan had done what had been thus agreed, he dismissed his servant that fol-
lowed him, to return to the city, but he himself went into the camp, and came near to his pres-
ence, and communed with him. So David appeared,
and fell at Jonathan's feet, and bowed down to
him, and called him the preserver of his soul: for
he had taken him up from death, and neither
mutually embraced another, and made a long
meeting, and that not without tears. They also
lamented their age, and that familiarity which
they were wont to have; and the same which must
now be expected, which seemed to them no death but that death itself. So, reconstructing
themselves at length from their lamentation,
and exhорting one another to be mindful of
the oaths they had sworn to each other, they
parted asunder.

CHAP. XII.

How David fled to Abimelech, and afterward to the Kings of the Philistines, and of the Moda-
bles; and how Saul slew Abimelech and his Family.

§ 1. But David fled from the king, and that
day he was in danger of his life, and came to
the city of Nob, to Abimelech the priest, who,
when he saw him, and was alone, and neither
friend nor servant with him, he wondered at it,
and desired to learn of him the cause why there
was such a flight. To which Abimelech answer-
ed, "That the king had commanded him to do a
certain thing that was to be kept secret, to
which, if he had a mind to know so much, he had
no occasion for any one to accompany him; howe-
ever, I have ordered my servants to meet me
at such and such a place." So he desired him to
let him have somewhat to eat; and that in case
he would supply him, he would act the part of a
friend, and be assisting to the business he was
now about: and when he had obtained what he
desired, he also asked whether he had any
weapon with him, either sword or spear; and
there was at Nob a servant of Saul's, by birth a
Syrian, whose name was Doeg, one that kept the
king's mules. The high priest said, that he had
no such weapon, but he added, "Here is the
sword of Goliath, which, when thou hast slain
the Philistine, thou didst dedicate to God."

2. When David had received the sword, he fled out of the country of the Hebrews into the
country of the Philistines, over which Achish reigned:
and when the king's servants knew him, and he
was made known to the king himself, the ser-
vants informed the king that he had killed many
ten thousands of the Philistines, David was afraid lest the king should put him to
death, and that he should experience that danger
from him which he had escaped from Saul: he
pretended to be distracted and mad, so that his
spittle ran out of his mouth, and he did other the
like actions before the king of Gath, which
might make him believe that they proceeded
from such a distemper. Accordingly the king
was very angry with his servants that they had
brought him a madman; and he gave orders that
they should eject David immediately [out of the
city].

3. So when David had escaped in this manner
out of Gath, he came to the tribe of Judah, and
abode in a cave by the city of Adullam. Then it
was that he sent to his brethren, and informed
them where he was, who then came to him with
all their kindred; and as many others as were
either in want, or in fear of king Saul, came and
made a body together, and told him they were
ready to obey his orders: they were in all about
four hundred. Whereupon he took courage,
now such a force and assistance was come to him:
so he removed thence, and came to the
king of the Moabites, and desired him to enter-
tain his parents in his country, while the issue of
ANTIOCHIES OF THE JEWS.

7. Now this king Saul, by perpetrating so barbarous a crime, and murdering the whole family of the high priestly dignity, by having no pity of the infants, nor reverence for the aged, and by overthrowing the city which God had chosen for the property, and for the support of the priests and prophets which were there, and had ordained as the only city allotted for the education of such men, gives all to understand and considers the disposition of men, that while they are private persons, and in a low condition, because it is not in their power to indulge nature, nor to venture more, they are modest and moderate, and pursue nothing but what is just, and bend their whole minds and labours that way; then it is that they have this belief about God, that he is good to all, and that he does not only see the actions that are done, but clears those thoughts also, whereas those actions do arise: for they do not think that men are exposed to envy, and all they think, and all they say, are in the view of all men; then it is that they become so insolent in their actions, as though God saw them no longer.

This section contains an admirable reflection of Josephus concerning the general wickedness of men in great authority, and the danger they are in rejecting that regard to justice and humanity, to divine providence and the fear of God, which they either really had, or pretended to have, when conditions were such. It may be rekindled by the usual concern for kings and great men, nor by those who expect to obtain such elevated dignities among mankind. See E also for Josephus, p. 53; E also for Josephus, p. 56, ch. xi. sect. 1, the beginning. They are like the porcupine with their branch of acacia, which is stabb'd and their tormentor have by them, then, deny it me not before I die; give me not revulsion. I am full and deny thee, and say, who is the Lord? 1. P. 7. 8.
BOOK VI.—CHAP. XIII.

he took his four hundred men, and retired into a desert that was over against a city called Engedi.

2. Then David removed thence, and came to a certain place called the证监会, belonging to Ziph; where Jonathan, the son of Saul, cast up a watch over him, and saluted him, and exhorted him to be of good courage, and to hope well as to his condition hereafter; and not to think him in present circumstances, for that he should be hindered, and have all the forces of the Hebrews under him; but told him, that such happiness uses to come both with great labour and pains; they also took oath, that they would all their lives long continue in good-will and fidelity one to another; and he called God to witness, as to what executions he made upon himself, if he should transgress his covenant, and should change to a contrary behaviour. So Jonathan left him there, having rendered his cares and fears somewhat lighter, and returned home. Now the men of Ziph, to gratify Saul, informed him that David abode with them; and [assured him] that if he would come to them, they would deliver him up, so that if the king could seize upon them, he would not escape to any other people. So the king commanded them, and confessed that he had reason to thank them, because they had given him information of his whereabouts, and promised them that it should not be long ere he would requite their kindness. He also sent men to seek for David, and to search the wilderness of Dor, and he answered, that God himself would follow them. Accordingly, they went before the king, to hunt for, and to catch David, and used endeavours, not only to show their hatred to him by a god-will to Saul, but by God's enemy was, but to evidence the same more plainly by delivering him up into his power. But the men failed of those their unjust and wicked desires, who, while they underwent no hazard by not discovering such an ambition ofrevealing this to Saul, yet did they falsely accuse, and promise to deliver up, a man beloved of God, and one that was unjustly sought for to be put to death, and one that might otherwise have lain concealed, and this out of flattery, and expectation of gain from the king; for when David was maligned by the Philistines, and the intention of Ziph, and of the approach of Saul, he left the straits of that country, and fled to the great rock that was in the wilderness of Maon.

3. Hereupon, Saul and the Philistines made an incursion into the country of the Hebrews, called Saul another way from the pursuit of David, when he was ready to be caught; for he returned back again to oppose those Philistines, who were naturally their enemies, as judging it more necessary to avenge himself of them, than to take a great deal of pains to catch an enemy of his own, and to overlook the ravage that was made in the land.

4. And by this means David unexpectedly escaped out of their hands, and went in, and came to the straits of Engedi. And when Saul had driven the Philistines out of the land, there came some messengers, who told him that David abode within the bounds of Engedi; so he gathered him a thousand chosen men that were armed, and made haste to him, and when he was not far from those places, he saw a deep and hollow cave by the way side; it was upper in the mountain, and breadth, and there it was that David with his four hundred men was concealed. When therefore he had occasion to ease nature, he entered into it by himself alone; and being seen by one
of David's companions, and he that saw him, saying to him, that "he had now, by God's providence, an opportunity of avenging himself of his adversaries, and of cutting off his head; and so deliver himself out of that tedious wandering condition, and the distress he was in," he rose up, and only cut off the skirt of that garment, which he was wearing, and of what he had done; and said it was not right to kill him that was his master, and one whom God had thought worthy of the kingdom; "for this man was swallowed up in holy inspired impiety towards us, yet does it not belie me to be so disposed towards him." But when Saul had left the cave, David came near, and cried out aloud, and desired Saul to hear him; whereupon the king turned his face back, and David, according to custom, fell down on his face before the king, and bowed to him; and said, "O king, thou oughtest not to hearken to wicked men, nor to such as forge calumnies, nor to gratify them so far as to believe what they say, nor to entertain suspicions of such as are your best friends, but to judge of the disposition of such men, and men's own actions are a clear demonstration of their kindness. Words indeed, in their own nature, may be no strong evidence to take, but men's actions express their intentions nakedly to our view. By these, therefore, it will be well for thee to believe me, as to my regard to thee and to thy house, and not to believe those that frame such accusations against me as never came into my mind, nor are possible to be executed, and do this farther by pursuing after my life, and have no concern even to thy life at all, nor to the life of my life, and to murder me, which thing I think thou dost unjustly prosecute. For how comes it about, that thou hast embraced this false opinion about me, as if I had a desire to kill thee? Or how canst thou escape the crime of impiety towards God, when thou wishest thou couldst kill, and dost esteem thine adversary, a man who had it in his power this day to avenge himself, and to punish thee, but would not do it, nor make use of such an opportunity, which, if it had fallen out to thee against me, thou hadst not let it slip; for when I cut off the skirt of thy garment, I could have done the same to thy head?" So he showed him the piece of his garment, and thereby made him agree to what he said to be true; and a messenger, that was sent out, had obtained from the king a just revenge upon thee; yet art thou not ashamed to prosecute me with unjust hatred. May God do justice, and determine about each of us, as he deems it to be just and right."

But Saul did not yet receive the strange delivery he had received; and being greatly affected with the moderation and disposition of the young man, he groaned: and when David had done the same, the king answered, that "he had the justest occasion to groan, for thou hast been the author of good to me, as I have been the author of calamity to thee. And that the most demonstration of thy love and respect to the righteousness of the ancients, who determined that men ought to save their enemies, though they caught them in a desert place. I am now persuaded that God reserves the kingdom for thee, and that thou wilt obtain the dominion over all the Hebrews. Give me then assurance, upon oath, that thou wilt not root out my family, but of remembrance of what evil I have done thee, destroy my posterity, but save and preserve my house." So David swore as he desired, and sent back Saul to his own kingdom; but he, and those that were with him, went up to the straits of Maestheroth.

5. And Saul the prophet died. He was a man whom the Hebrews honoured in an extraordinary degree; for that lamentation which the people made for him, and this long time, months and his virtues, and the affection which the people bore for him; as also did the solemnity and concern that appeared about his funeral, and about the complete observance of all the manner of burial, it revealed to him in his own city Ramah; and wept for him a very great number of days, not looking on it as a sorrow for the death of another man, but as that in which they were every one themselves concerned. He was a righteous man, and gentle in his nature, and on that account he was very dear to God. Now he governed and presided over the people alone, after the death of Eli the high priest, twelve years, and eighteen years together with Saul the king; and thus we have finished the history of Samuel.

6. There was a man that was a Ziphite, of the city of Maon, who was rich, and had a vast number of cattle: for he fed a flock of three thousand sheep, and another flock of a thousand goats. Now the Ziphites that were of Maon feared David because he had been a persecutor of Saul; and they went and sought the king, these flocks without hurt and without damage, and to do them no mischief, neither out of covetousness, nor because they were in want, nor because they were in the wilderness, and so could not easily be discovered; but to exterm freedom from injustice above all other motives, and to look upon the touching of what belonged to an other man, rich or poor, as contrary to the will of God. These were the instructions he gave, thinking that the favours he granted this man were granted to a good man, and one that deserved to have such care taken of his affairs. This man was Nabal, for that was his name, a harsh man, and of a very wicked life, being like a cynic in the course of his behaviour, but still had obtained for his wife a woman of a good character, wise and handsome. To this Nabal, therefore, David sent ten men of his attendants at the time when he sheared his sheep, and by them was the salute given. But when they were come, and had found nothing that was amiss in the goods, the messengers had carried this message to Nabal, he accosted them after an intruder and rough manner; for he asked them, who David was, and when he heard that he was the son of Jesse, "Now is the time, said he, that fiddigit grow in solent, and make a figure, and leave their marks. When they told David this, he was wroth, and commanded four hundred armed men to bid low him; and left two hundred to take care of the stuff, (for he had already six hundred,) and went against Nabal; he also swore, that he would that night utterly destroy the whole house and possessions of Nabal: for that he was grieved, not only that he had proved ungrateful to them, without making any return for the humanity they had shown him, but that he had also reproached them, and used ill language to them, when he had received no cause of disgust from them.

* The phrase in David's speech to Saul, as set down in Josephus, that he had abstained from just revenge, puts this in the light of the Gospels. It is a remarkable instance of the use of the Apocryphal Scriptures in the Apostolic Constitutions and the Ante-Nicene, B. vii. chap. ii., that 'revenge is not evil, but passion is more horrible."

The number of that came first to David, are distinctly in Josephus, and in our common copies, but four hundred. When he was at Kiriat, still but four hundred, both in Josephus and in the LXX: but six hundred or eight hundred were in the Ante-Nicene, B. vii. chap. ii., which I suppose to be the solution of this seeming discrepancy.
BOOK VI.—CHAP. XIII.

7. Hereupon, one of those that kept the flocks of Nabul, said to his mistress, Nabul’s wife, that “when David sent to her husband, he had received no civil answer at all from him, but that her husband had added to her the unkindly language, while yet David had taken extraordinary care to keep his flocks from harm, and that what had ensued would prove very pernicious to both.” Then did Nabul’s wife say, “Abigail, for that was the wife’s name, saddled her asses, and loaded them with all sorts of presents: and without telling her husband any thing of it, she went down (she was come, on account of his drunkenness,) she went to David. She was then met by David as she was descending a hill, who was coming against Nabul with four hundred men. When the woman saw David, she leaped down from her ass, and fell on her face, and bowed down to the ground; and intreated him not to bear in mind the words of Nabul, since he knew that he resembled his name: now Nabul, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies ‘folly.’ So she made her apology, ‘That she did not see the messengers whom he sent: forgave therefore, (as a son to his god,) who had hitherto been feeding him with food; for so long as thou keepest thyself innocent, the wise amongst the wise of wicked men, for what means wast thou come, when so many were upon the heads of thine enemies. Behold thou therefore, and take me for so worthy as to accept these presents from me; and out of regard to me, remit that wrath and that anger which thou hast against my husband and his house, for mildness and humanity become thee, especially as thou art to be our king.’ Accordingly David accepted her presents, and said, ‘Now, but O woman, it was no other than God’s mercy which brought thee to us to-day, for otherwise thou hadst perished to-night when he restrained them to destroy Nabul’s house this very night, and to leave alive not one of you who belonged to a man that was wicked and ungrateful to me and my companions: but now thou prevented me, and reasonably mollified my anger, as being thyself under the care of God’s providence; but as for Nabul, although for thy sake he now escape punishment, yet, in the top of a month, if he shall continue, his evil conduct on some other occasion will be his ruin.”

8. When David had said this, he dismissed the woman with her servants, and to the people, and upon the woman and her husband he gave them a feast with a great company, and oppressed with wine, she said nothing then to him about what had happened: but on the next day he sent for her and the particulars, and made his whole body to appear like that of a dead man by her words, and by that grief which arose from them: so Nabul survived ten days, and no more, and then died. And when David heard of his death, he said, that “God hadavenged him of this man, for that Nabul died by his own wickedness, and had suffered punishment on his account, while he had kept his own hands clean.” At which time he understood, that the wicked are prosecuted by God: that he does not overlook any man, but of every kind he doth punish them, and inflicts a deserved punishment on the wicked. So he sent to Nabul’s wife, and invited her to come to him, to live with him, and to be his wife. Whereupon she replied to those that came, that she was not worthy to touch his feet; however, she came with all her servants, and became his wife; having received that honour on account of her wise and righteous course of life. She also obtained the name of Abigail, as is said, on account of her beauty. Now David bad a wife before, whom he married from the city of Abeser; for as to Michal, the daughter of King Saul, who had been brought to him, on account of her beauty, in marriage to him, the city of Gallim. But when David heard that Saul was coming against him, he sent spies, and bid them let him know what place of the country Saul was already come; and when they told him that he was at Hazihelah, he concealed his going away from his own companions, and came to Saul’s camp, having taken with him Abigail, his sister from her son, and his brother-in-law the Hittite. Now Saul was asleep, and the armed men, with Abner their commander, lay round David, but were not aware of his presence. He crept into the king’s tent: but he did neither kill Saul, though he knew where he lay, by the spear that was struck down by him, nor did he give leave to Abishai, who would have killed him, and was earnestly bent upon it, so do: for he said, “It was a horrid crime to kill one that was ordained king by God, although he was a wicked man: for that He who gave him the dominion, would in time inflict punishment upon him.” So he restrained his eagerness: but that it might appear to have been in his power to have killed him, and to have taken it from him, he took his spear and the cruse of water which stood by Saul as he lay asleep, without being perceived by any of the camp, who were all asleep, and went securely away, having performed every thing among the king’s attendants that the opportunity afforded, and his boldness encouraged him to do. So when he had passed over a brook, and was gotten up to the top of a hill, when he sufficiently heard, he cried aloud to Saul’s soldiers, and to Abner their commander, and awakened them out of their sleep, and called both to him. Then Saul knew it was he, and heard him, and asked who it was that called him? To whom David replied, “It is I, the son of Jesse, whom you make a vagabond. But what else is the matter? Does not the court, in the great dignity, and of the first rank in the king’s court, take so little care of thy master’s body? and is a sleep of more consequence to thee than his preservation, and thy care of him? This negligence of yours deserves death, and punishment to be inflicted on you, who never perceived when a little while ago some of us entered into your camp, nay, as far as to the king himself, and all the rest of you. If thou look for the king’s spear, and his cruse of water, thou will learn what a mighty misfortune was ready to overtake thee in thy very country and army of it.” Now, when Saul knew David’s voice, and understood that when he had him in his power while he was asleep, and his guards took no care of him, yet did not he kill him, but spured
him when he might justly have put him off, he said, that "he loved him thanks for his preservation; and exhorted him to be of good courage, and not to be afraid of suffering any mischief from him any more, and to return to his own house; and he further persuaded, that he did not love himself so well as he was beloved by him: that he had driven away him that could guard him, and had given many demonstrations of his greatness, that he had forced him to live so long in a state of banishment, and in great parts of his life, destitute of his friends and his hundred, while he was often saved by him, and under his protection. And when he received his kind again when it was evidently in danger of perishing." So David bade them send for the spear and the cruise of water, and take them back; adding this whilast, that "God would be the judge of both their dispositions, and of the actions that flowed from the same, who knows that when it was this day in my power to have killed thee, I abstained from it."

10. Thus Saul, having escaped the bands of David twice, he went his way to his royal palace, and his own city; but David was afraid, that if he stayed there he should be caught by Saul, so he fled thither; but it was better for him to the land of the Philistines and abide there. Accordingly, he came, with the six hundred men that were with him, to Achish, the king of Gath, which was one of the Philistine cities. The king received both him and his men, and gave them a place to inhabit in. He had with him also his two wives, Ahinoam and Abigail, and he dwelt in Gath. But when Saul heard this, he took no further care about sending to him, or going after him, because he had been twice, in a manner, caught by him, while he was himself endeavouring to catch him. However, David had no mind to continue in the city of Gath, but desired the king, that, since he had received him with such humanity, that he would grant him another favour, and bestow upon him some place of that country for his habitation; for he was ashamed, by living in the city, to be grievous and burdensome to him. So Achish gave him a certain village called Ziklag; which place David and his sons were fond of; when he was king, and reckoned it to be their peculiar inheritance. But some say, it was only a sheepfold. He gave it to the regard of the king, and repeatedly visited them there. The king was greatly afraid that nobody should know what she did; and that he would not tell any one else what she foretold, but that she should incur no danger.

CHAP. XIV.

How Saul, upon God's not answering him concerning the Fight with the Philistines, desired a necromancer Woman to raise up the Soul of Samuel before him; and David, with his Sa.s, upon the Overthrow of the Hebrews in Battle.

§ 1. Amen the same time the Philistines resolved to make war against the Israelites, and sent to all their confederates that they would go together with them to war to Rehob, [near the city Shunem,] whence the sea coasteth, the part that goeth that way sellest together, and suddenly attack the Hebrews. Then did Achish, the king of Gath, desire David to assist him with his armed men against the Hebrews. This he readily promised; and said, that the time was now come wherein he might require him for his kindness and hospitality; so the king was needful. And when Saul, after the victory, supposing that the battle with the enemy succeeded to their mind, which promise of honour and confidence he made on purpose to increase his zeal for his service.

2. Soon after the king of the Hebrews, had cast out of the country the fortuneloaders, and the necromancers, and all such as exercised the like arts, excepting the prophets. But when he heard that the Philistines were already come, and had pitched their camp near the city Shunem, situate in the plain, he made haste to oppose them with his forces; and when he was come to the mouth of the river, and pitched his camp over against the enemy; but when he saw the enemy's army, he was greatly troubled, because it appeared to him to be more numerous, and superior in his own eyes. And the king of the Hebrews, supposing the battle to the battle, that he might know beforehand what would be the event of it. And when God did not answer him, Saul was under a still greater dread, and was grown still more confounded and fell, foreseeing, as it was reasonable to suppose, that mischief would befall him, now God was not there to assist him; yet did he bid his servants to inquire out for him some woman that was a necromancer, and called up the souls of the dead, do them by foretell, and to bring up such a soul to him as he should name to her. But when the woman opposed his motion, and said, she did not desire the king, who did not seek it, but he that was a false prophet, to bring up the soul of any man; for he that did not do well himself, when she had done him no harm, to endeavour to lay a snare for her, and to discover that she exercised a forbidden art, and was unclean; for she was sure, that nobody should know what she did; and that he would not tell any one else what she foretold, but that she should incur no danger.

As soon as she was arrived there, he bid her bring him up to the soul of Samuel. She not knowing who Samuel was, called him out of Hades. When he appeared, and the woman saw one that was venerable, and of a divine form, she was in disorder; and being astonished at the sight, she said, "Art not thou King Saul?" for Samuel had informed her who he was. When he had owned that to be true, and had asked her whence her disorder arose, she said, that he saw a certain person ascend, who in his form was like a god. And when he bade her tell him what he resembled, in what habit he appeared, and of what age he was, she told him, "He was an old man already, and of a glorious personage, and had on a sacred mantle." So the king discovered by these signs that he was Samuel; and he fell down upon the ground, and saluted, and worshipped him. And when the soul of Samuel asked him, why he had been disturbed, and caused him to be brought to him; he lamented the necessity he was under; for he said, "That his enemies pressed heavily upon him; that he was in distress what to do in his present necessity, and he entreated God, and could obtain no prediction of what
was coming, neither by prophets nor dreams, and that these were the reasons why I have recourse to thee, who always takest care of me." But Samuel, seeing that the end of Saul's life was approaching, was enabled to impart to him of anything farther, when God hath forsaken thee; however, hear what I say, that David is to be king, and to finish this war with good success; and thou art to lose thy dominion and thy life, because thou didst not obey God in the war with the Amalekites, and hast not kept his commandment as, forsooth, thou while I was alive. Know, therefore, that the Lord also shall be made subject to their enemies, and that thou, with thy sons, shall fall in the battle to-morrow, and thou shalt then be with me in Jair Hades."

3. When Saul had heard this, he could not speak for grief, and fell down on the floor, whether it were from the sorrow that arose upon what Samuel had said, or from his emptiness, for he had taken no food the foregoing day nor night, he easily fell quite down: and when with difficulty he had recovered himself, the woman would force him to eat, begging the bread of him as a favour on account of her concern in that dangerous instance of fortunetelling, which it was not lawful for her to have done, because of the fear she had of the man, and also of the uncertain condition who he was, yet did she undertake it, and go through with it, on which account she entreated him to admit that a table and food might be set before the man, and so get safe to his own camp. And when he opposed her motion, and entirely rejected it, by reason of his anxiety, she forced him, and at last persuaded him to do so for his own advantage, that she was very fond of, and one that she took a great deal of care of, and fed it herself; for she was a woman that got by living by the labour of her hands, and had none but Saul, but that one calf; this she killed, and made ready its flesh, and set it before his servants and himself. So Saul came to the camp while it yet was night.

4. Now it is just to recommend the generosity of this woman, because when the king had forbidden her to use that art which her circumstances were bettered and improved, and when she had never seen the king before, she still did not remember to his disadvantage that he had condemned her art, but did not refuse him as a stranger, and one that she had no acquaintance with; but she had compassion upon him, and comforted him, and exhorted him to take courage, and offered him the only creature she had, as a poor woman, and that earnestly, and with great humanity, while she had no requital made her for her kindnes, nor hunted after any future favour from him, for she knew she was to die; whereas men are naturally either ambitious to please those that bestow benefits upon them, or are very ready to serve those from whom they may receive some advantage. It would be well therefore to imitate the example of this woman, and to do kindness to all such as are in want; and this is better than seeking wellmenkind, such a general beneficence, nor what will sooner render God favourable, and ready to bestow good things upon us. And so far many suffice to have spoken concerning

* This history of Saul's consultation, not with a soothsayer, but with a woman, is a piece of modern alteration, as the whole history shows, is easily understood, especially if we contrast the recognitions of Clement, B. i. chap. 18, and that of St. Jerome, in the paraphrase of the Ezechiel, xlix. 26. "Samuel prophesied after his death, and showed the king his end, and lifted up his voice from the heavens for him. He was not a man of God, but knew he should die in the battle, their subjects; but to be more than moderately good to them, I could say more in this case of Saul, and his courage, the subject affording matter sufficient; but that I may not appear to run out improperly in his commendation, I return again to that history from which I made this digression. All modern hypotheses against the natural sense of such ancient and authentic histories, I take them to be of very small value or consideration.

† These commendations of the sacred writings are taken from those of Ezechiel, and of St. Jerome, in the paraphrase of the Ezechiel, xix. 26. "Samuel prophesied after his death, and showed the king his end, and lifted up his voice from the heavens for him. He was not a man of God, but knew he should die in the battle, their subjects; but to be more than moderately good to them, I could say more in this case of Saul, and his courage, the subject affording matter sufficient; but that I may not appear to run out improperly in his commendation, I return again to that history from which I made this digression. All modern hypotheses against the natural sense of such ancient and authentic histories, I take them to be of very small value or consideration.
5. Now when the Philistines, as I said before, had pitched their camp, and had taken an account of their forces, according to their nations, and kingdoms, and governments, king Achish came out and met David. And Zophai came with David into the six hundred armed men. And when the commanders of the Philistines saw him, they asked the king whom these Hebrews were. And he answered, that it was David, who was fled away from his master Saul, and that he had entertained him when he came to him, and that now he was a guest in his house, and that he sent him with joy, and with no malice towards him, but nor less than a familiar friend, and for this reason he asked David to eat with him, and to share his table, and to take wine with him, and to stay with him one month. And David made use of him as a guide to find out the Amelekites; and when he had overtaken them, as they lay scattered about on the ground, some at dinner, some at supper, they were together, some with wine, and in the fruition of their spoils and their prey, he fell upon them on the sudden, and made a great slaughter among them, for they were one hundred and fifty thousand horsemen; and when they fell upon him, they betaken themselves to drinking and feasting, and so they were all easily destroyed. Now some of them that were overtaken as they lay at the table, were slain in that posture, and their blood brought up with it their meat and their drink. They slew others of them as they were drinking to one another in their cups, and when they fell asleep, and when their full bellies had made them fall asleep, and for so many as had time to put on all their armour, they slew them with the sword no less than six hundred thousand men, and twelve thousand chiefs. And when the king of Gath heard this, he thought they spake well; so he called David, and said to him, "As for myself, I can bear witness that thou didst show kindness and all diligence about me, and on that account it was that I took thee for my confederate; however, what I have done does not please the commanders of the Philistines; go therefore within a day's time to the place I have given thee, without suspecting any harm, and there keep my country, lest any of our enemies should make an incursion upon it, which would be a great loss to me, and I expect that I shall come to thee." So David came to Ziklag, as the king of Gath bid him; but it happened, that while he was gone to the assistance of the Philistines, the Amelekites had made an incursion, and taken Ziklag before, and had burnt it: and when they had taken a great deal of other prey out of that place, and out of the other parts of the Philistines' country, they departed.

6. Now when David found that Ziklag was laid waste, and that it was all spoiled, and that all the wives of his companions, with their children, were made captives, he presently rent his clothes, and girded himself, and wept, and mourned, together with his friends; and indeed his six hundred men, all men of valor, with these misfortunes, that at length tears themselves failed him. He was also in danger of being stoned to death by his companions, who were greatly afflicted at the captivity of their wives and children, for they laid the blame upon him of what had happened. But when he had recovered himself out of his grief, and had raised up his mind to God, he desired the high priest Abinahar to put on his sacred garments, and to inquire of God, and to propesy to him, "Whether the Lord would grant, that if he pursued after the Amelekites, he should overtake them, and save their wives and their children, and avenge himself on the enemies." And when the high priest had him pursue after them, he marched apace, with his six hundred men, after the enemy; and when he was come to a certain brook called Besor, and had lit upon one that was wounded, he bound up his wounds, and kindled for him a fire, and thereby refreshed him. He then asked him to whom he belonged, and whence he came? Wherupon the man told him he was an Egyptian by birth, and was left behind by his master, because he was so sick and weak that he could not follow him. He also informed him, that he was one of those that had burnt and plundered, not only the cattle of Ziklag, but also his own family. And thus David made use of him as a guide to find out the Amelekites; and when he had overtaken them, as they lay scattered about on the ground, some at dinner, some at supper, they were all together, some were drunk, and in the fruition of their spoils and their prey, he fell upon them on the sudden, and made a great slaughter among them, for they were one hundred and fifty thousand horsemen; and when they fell upon him, they betaken themselves to drinking and feasting, and so they were all easily destroyed. Now some of them that were overtaken as they lay at the table, were slain in that posture, and their blood brought up with it their meat and their drink. They slew others of them as they were drinking to one another in their cups, and when they fell asleep, and when their full bellies had made them fall asleep, and for so many as had time to put on all their armour, they slew them with the sword no less than six hundred thousand men, and twelve thousand chiefs. And when the king of Gath heard this, he thought they spake well; so he called David, and said to him, "As for myself, I can bear witness that thou didst show kindness and all diligence about me, and on that account it was that I took thee for my confederate; however, what I have done does not please the commanders of the Philistines; go therefore within a day's time to the place I have given thee, without suspecting any harm, and there keep my country, lest any of our enemies should make an incursion upon it, which would be a great loss to me, and I expect that I shall come to thee." So David came to Ziklag, as the king of Gath bid him; but it happened, that while he was gone to the assistance of the Philistines, the Amelekites had made an incursion, and taken Ziklag before, and had burnt it: and when they had taken a great deal of other prey out of that place, and out of the other parts of the Philistines' country, they departed.

7. Now upon the Philistines joining battle, there followed a sharp engagement, and the Philistines became the conquerors, and slew a great number of their enemies; but Saul the king of Israel, and his son Jonathan, and many of the people, were killed. How came this about? David and his men were encamped in the wilderness, and Saul and the Philistines came upon them, and killed of the Israelites a great many; and Saul himself fled, having a strong body of soldiers about him and upon the Philistines sending after him those that were fallen, and they pursued them; and then Saul and his company except a few; as for himself, he fought with great bravery, and when he had received so many wounds, that he was not able to
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bear up, nor to oppose any longer, and yet was not able to kill himself, he bid his armour-bearer draw his sword, and run him through, before the enemy should take him alive. But his armour-bearer not daring to kill his master, he drew his own sword, and placing himself over against its point, he threw himself upon it, and when he could neither run it through him, nor by leaning against it, make the sword pass through him, he turned him round, and asked a certain young man that stood by, who he was? and when he understood it was very stout, both in body and in heart, he ordered him to force the sword through him, because he was not able to do it with his own hands, and thereby to procure him such a death as he desired. This the young man did accordingly; and he took the golden bracelet that was on Saul’s arm, and his royal crown that was on his head, and ran away. And when Saul’s armour-bearer saw that he was slain, he killed himself; nor did any of the king’s guards escape, but they all fell upon the mountain called Gilboa. But when those Hebrews that dwelt in the valley beyond Jordan, and those who had those cities in the plain, heard that Saul and his sons were fallen, and that the multitude about them were destroyed, they left their own cities, and fled to such as were the nearest. And when they came to the city of Bethshan, and the Philistines finding those cities deserted, came and dwelt in them.

8. On the next day, when the Philistines came to strip their enemies that were slain, they got the bodies of Saul and of his sons, and stripped them, and cut off their heads; and they sent messengers about their country, to acquaint them of their enemies were fallen; and they dedicated their armours in the temple of Ashtaroth, and hung their bodies on crosses at the walls of the city of Bethshan, in order to overlook this barbarity, and to suffer them to be without funeral rites, that the most courageous and hardy among them (and indeed that city had it in men that were not afraid to horrid a thing to the enemy’s wall, and came to Bethshan, and approached to the enemy’s wall, and taking down the bodies of Saul and of his sons, they carried them to Jabesh, while the enemy were not able enough nor bold enough to hinder them, because of their great courage. So the people of Jabesh went all in general, and buried their bodies in the best place of their country, which was named Arooa; and they observed a public mourning for them seven days, with their wives and children, beating their breasts, and lamenting the king and his sons, without either tasting meat or drink (till the evening.)

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

weather in the Adriatic Sea, as ver. 27, and that on this fourteenth day alone they had continued fasting, and had taken nothing but the evening. The mention of their long abstention, ver. 21, inclines me to believe the former replication to be only a formal statement, and not a faithful account of what went before. Then, the very nearest and dearest in the king’s heart, and to whom he must give his obedience to David, he inquired of him whencesoever he came. He replied, from the battle of the Israelites: and he informed him, that the enemy of the Israelites had not been cut off, and Saul together with his sons, slain. He also said, that he could well give him this information, because he was as the very man who had slain the king, and with whom he had been his most faithful friend, and the occasion of his own deliverance. He also demonstrated himself to have such great virtue, and such great worth, and as not to take his death to heart, though he had been frequently in danger of losing his life by his means, but to punish him that slew him: for when David had said that Saul was subject to an own accuser, as the very man who had slain the king, and when he had understood that he was the son of an Amalekite, he commanded him to come to him. He also composed in his own mind, and wrote him lamentations and funeral commendations of Saul and Jonathan, which have continued to my own age.

2. Now when David had paid these honours to the king, he left of his mourning: and inquired of God by the prophet, which of the cities of the tribe of Judah he would bestow upon him to

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

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.

How David reigned over one Tribe at Hebron, while the Son of Saul reigned over the rest of the Multitude; and how in the civil War, which then arose, Asaik and Aber murdered each other.

1. Two fight proved to be on the same day whereon David was come back to Ziklag, after he had overcome the Amalekites. Now when he had already two days at Ziklag there came to him the man who slew Saul, which was the third day after the fight. He had escaped out of the battle which the Israelites had with the Philistines, and had his clothes rent, and sought to hide himself, and when David made his obedience to David, he inquired of him whence he came. He replied, from the battle of the Israelites: and he informed him, that the enemy of the Israelites had not been cut off, and Saul together with his sons, slain. He also said, that he could well give him this information, because he was as the very man who had slain the king, and with whom he had been his most faithful friend, and the occasion of his own deliverance. He also demonstrated himself to have such great virtue, and such great worth, and as not to take his death to heart, though he had been frequently in danger of losing his life by his means, but to punish him that slew him: for when David had said that Saul was subject to an own accuser, as the very man who had slain the king, and when he had understood that he was the son of an Amalekite, he commanded him to come to him. He also composed in his own mind, and wrote him lamentations and funeral commendations of Saul and Jonathan, which have continued to my own age.

2. Now when David had paid these honours to the king, he left of his mourning: and inquired of God by the prophet, which of the cities of the tribe of Judah he would bestow upon him to

 demonstrations that the king was slain, which were the golden bracelets that had been on the king’s arms, and his crown, which he had taken away from Saul, with his body, and had brought them to him. So David having no longer any room to call in question the truth of what he said, but seeing most evident marks that Saul was dead, he rent his garments, and continued all that day with his companions, in weeping and lamentation. This grief was augmented by the consideration of Jonathan, the son of Saul, who had been his most faithful friend, and the occasion of his own deliverance. He also demonstrated himself to have such great virtue, and such great worth, and as not to take his death to heart, though he had been frequently in danger of losing his life by his means, but to punish him that slew him: for when David had said that Saul was subject to an own accuser, as the very man who had slain the king, and when he had understood that he was the son of an Amalekite, he commanded him to come to him. He also composed in his own mind, and wrote him lamentations and funeral commendations of Saul and Jonathan, which have continued to my own age.

2. Now when David had paid these honours to the king, he left of his mourning: and inquired of God by the prophet, which of the cities of the tribe of Judah he would bestow upon him to
dwell! he answered, that he bestowed upon him Hebron. So he left Zikik, and came to Hebron, and took with him his wives, who were in number two, and his armed men: whereupon the people of the forementioned tribe came to him, and ordained him their king. But when he heard that the inhabitants of Jabez-Gilead had buried Saul and his sons, (be- cause they had taken the bones of Saul and the bones of his sons out of the ground), and took what they had done kindly, and pro- mised to make them amends for their care of them that were dead; and at the same time he informed them, that the tribe of Judah had chosen him for their king.

3. But as soon as Abner, the son of Ner, who was general of Saul's army, and a very active man, and good-natured, knew that the king, and Jonathan, and his two other sons, were fallen in the battle, he made haste into the camp; and taking away with him the remaining son of Saul, whose name was Ish-bosheth, he passed over the land beyond Jordan, and ordained him the king of the whole multitude, excepting the tribe of Judah, and made his royal seat in a place called in our own language Mahanaim, but in the lan- guage of the Grecians, The Camps; from whence Abner made haste with a select body of soldiers, to act with the chief of the tribe of Judah as well disposed to it, for he was angry that this tribe had set up David for their king. But Joab, whose father was Suri, and his mother Zeruiah, David's sister, was general of David's army, had left him, according to David's appointment. He had with him his brethren Abishai and Asahel, as also all David's armed men. Now when he met Ab- ner at a certain ford, in the city of Gibeon, he prepared to fight. And when Abner said to him, that he had a mind to know which of them had the most valiant soldiers, it was agreed be- tween them, that twenty soldiers of each side should fight together. So those that were chosen out by both the generals for this fight, came be- tween the two armies, and throwing their lances one against the other, they drew their swords, and catching one another by the head, they held one another fast, and ran each other's swords into their sides and groins, until they all, as it were by mutual agreement, perished together. When these were fallen down dead, the rest of the army came to a sore battle, and Abner's men were beaten; and when they were beaten, Joab did not pursue them, but he pressed upon them, and excited the soldiers to follow them close, and not to grow weary of killing them. His brethren also pursued them with great fury, but as the younger, Asa- hel, who was the most eminent of them. He was very famous for his swiftness of foot, for he could not only be too hard for men, but is reported to have overrun a horse, when they had a race together. This Asahel ran violently after Abner, and would not turn in the least out of the straight way, either to the one side or to the other. Hereupon Abner turned back, and attempted arti- fully to avoid his violence. Sometimes he bade him leave off the pursuit, and take the armour of one of his soldiers; and sometimes, when he could not persuade him so to do, he exhorted him to restrain himself, and not to pursue him any longer, lest he should force him to kill him, and he should then not be able to look his brother in the face. But when Asahel would not admit of any persuasion, but still continued to pursue him, Abner smote him with his spear, as he held it in his flight, and that by a back stroke, and gave him a mortal wound, so that he died instantly; but those that were with him pursuing Ab- ner, when they came to the place where Asahel lay, they stood round about the dead body, and

left off the pursuit of the enemy. However, both Joab himself and his brother Abishai ran past the dead corpse, and making their anger at the death of Asahel an occasion of greater and more than ordinary excitement, they went on with incensed hatred and sincerity, and pursued Abner to a cer- tain place called Ammonab: it was about sunset. Then did Joab ascend a certain hill, as he stood at the place where Asahel was wounded (before him), whence he took a view of them and of Abner also. Hereupon Abner cried aloud, and said, "This was not fitting that we should fight of the same nation to fight so bitterly one against another; that as for Asahel his brother, he was himself in the wrong, when he would not be advised by him not to pursue him any further, which was the occasion of his wound- ing and death." So Joab consented to what he said, and accepted these his words as an excuse about [Asahel], and called the soldiers back, and the sound of the trumpet, as a signal for their retreat, and thereby a put a stop to any further pursuit. After which, Joab pitched his camp there, and pursued Abner no more, but Abner marched all that night, and passed over the river Jordan, and came to Ish-bosheth, Saul's son, to Mahanaim. On the next day Joab counted the dead men, and took also the spoil of the slain of Abner's soldiers about three hundred and sixty, but of those of David nineteen. And Asa- hel, whose body Joab and Abishai carried to the sepulchre of Saul's father, and who was his sepulchre, which stood among the sepulchres of his fathers, they came to Da- vid to Hebron. From this time, therefore, there began an intestine war, which lasted a great while, in which David was stronger in the dangers they underwent, and the servants and subjects of Saul's son did almost every day become weaker. So that at last it was become the father of six sons, born of as many mothers. The eldest was by Ahinoam, and he was called Am- non; the second was Daniel, by his wife Abigail; the name of the third was Abinun, by Maacah, the daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur; the fourth he named Adonijah, by his wife Haggith; the fifth was Shephatiah, by Abital; the sixth he called Ithream, by Eglah. Now while this intest- ine war went on, and the subjects of the two kings came frequently to action and to fighting, it was Abner, the general of the host of Saul's son, that was the chief of them all. But as he had长效 the multitude, made them all con- tinue with Ish-bosheth: and indeed it was a con- siderable time that they continued of his party. By which time the nation was wearied of the accu- sation was laid against him, that he went in to Saul's concubine; her name was Rispah, the daughter of Aiah. So when he was complained of by Ish- bosheth, he was very uneasy and angry at it, be- cause he had not justice done him by Ishbosheth, to whom he had shown the greatest kindness; whereasupon he threatened that he would transfer the kingdom to David, and demonstrate that he did not rule over the people beyond Jordan by his own abilities and wisdom, but by his warlike conduct and fidelity, in leading his army. So he sent messengers to Hebron to David, and de- sired that he would give him security upon oath that he would esteem him his companion and his friend, upon condition that he should persuade the people to leave Saul's son, and choose him king of the whole country. And when David had made that league with Abner, for he was pleased with his message to him, he desired that he would send three thousand men of the house of Saul into the land of the Philistines, upon which he went into the land of the Philistines, and proved his faithfulness to David, as the consequence of the present league, that he might have his wife Michal restored to him, as her whom he had purchased with great hazards, and with
BOOK VII—CHAP. I.

these six hundred bands of the Philistines which he had brought to Saul his father. So Abner took Michal from Paltiel, who was then her husband, and sent her to David, Ichaboseh himself affording him his assistance, for David had written to him that of right he should have been his son-in-law and his wife restored to him. Abner also called together the elders of the multitude, the commanders, and captains of thousands, and spoke thus to them: the 'Hebrews, be subject to the king,' and he drew his sword and smote them from the very roots of their own resolution when they were ready to forsake Ichaboseh, and to join themselves to David; that, however, he now gave them leave so to do. He said to them: 'I seek not the blood of any of the inhabitants of the land of the Philistines, nor of those who were subject to me: but I have appointed David to be king of all the Hebrews, by Samuel the prophet: and had foretold that he should punish the Philistines and overcome them, and bring them under.' Now when the elders and rulers heard this, and understood that Abner was come over to those sentiments about the public affairs which they were of before, they changed their measures, and came in to David. When these men had agreed to Abner's proposal, he called together the tribe of Benjamin for that of the king's regeneration. He took Ichaboseh's body, and spoke to them to the same purpose. And when he saw that they did not in the least oppose what he said, but received it, and came to David in order to receive himself security upon oath from him; for we may justly esteem those things that are done now by them who do not change them by ourself, than those which we do by another. He also gave him an account of what he had said to the rulers, and to the whole tribe of Benjamin. And when he had received him in a courteous manner, and had treated him with great hospitality for many days, Abner, when he was dismissed, desired him to permit him to bring the multitude with him, that he might deliver up the government to him, when David himself was present, and a spectator of what was done.

5. When David had sent Abner away, Joab the general of his army, came immediately to Hebron, and when he had understood that Abner had been with David, and had parted with him a little before, under leagues and agreements that the government should be delivered up to David, he feared lest David should place Abner, who had assisted him to gain the kingdom, in the first rank of dignity, especially as he was a traitor in other respects in understanding affairs, and in managing them artfully, as proper seasons should require, and that he should himself be put lower, and be deprived of the command of the army; so he took knavish and wicked course. In the first place, he endeavoured to calumniate Abner to the king, exhorting him to have a care of him, and not to give atten- tion to what he had engaged to do for him, because all he did tended to confirm the government to Saul's son; that he came to him deceitfully and with guile, and was gone away in hopes of gaining his purpose by this management. But when he could not thus persuade David, nor saw him at all exasperated, he betook himself to another course. He determined to kill Abner; and in order thereto he sent some messengers after him, to whom he gave in charge, that when they should overtake him, they were to say to him, and tell him that he had somewhat to say to him about his affairs, which he had not remembered to speak of when he was with him. Now Abner, when he received this news, (for they overtook him in a certain place called Beurra, which was distant from Hebron twenty furlongs,) he suspected none of the mischief which Joab projected. So when he had heard that the king satisfied himself, he walked with Abner down to a place between Hebron and Jerusalem; and thereupon Joab met him in the gate, and received him in the kindest manner, as if he were Abner's most benignant acquaintance and friend; for such as undertakes the vilest actions, in order to prevent the suspicion of any private mischief intended, do frequently make the greatest pretences to what really good men sincerely do. So he took him aside, and besought him, in the name of God, that he would speak with him in private, and brought him to a void place of the gate, having himself nobody with him but his brother Abishai; then he said to him: 'Thou knowest, my lord Abner, that I have followed thee into the battle of Hebron, but as the truth was, out of his fear of losing his command of the army, and his dignity with the king, and lest he should be deprived of those advantages, and Abner should obtain the first rank in David's court. By these examples any one may learn, how many and how great instances of wickedness men will venture upon, for the sake of getting money and authority, and that they may not fall of either of them: for as they are desirous of obtaining the same, they acquire them by ten thousand evil practices, so when they are afraid of losing them, they get them confirmed to them by practices much worse than the former, as if to save the one, they may lose the other. A man may therefore be accounted as the failure of acquiring so exalted an authority, and when they have acquired it, and by long custom found the sweetness of it, the losing it again; and since, as this man has been the cause of all affections, all them they have of converse and venture upon the most difficult actions, out of the fear of losing the same. But let it suffice that I have made these short reflections upon that subject.

6. When David heard that Abner was slain, it grieved his soul; and he called all men to witness, with stretching out his hands to God, and crying out, that he was not partaker in the murder of Abner, and that his death was not procured by his command or approbation. He also wished the heaviest curses might light upon him that slew him, and upon his whole house; and he devoted those that had assisted him in this murder to the same penalties on its account; for he took care not to appear to have had any hand in this murder, contrary to the assurances he had given, and the oaths he had taken to Abner. However, he pained his soul, and lamented, and lamented Abner, and by his tears demonstrating his good-will to him while he was alive, and his sorrow for him now he was dead, and that he was not taken off with his consent. So he buried him at Hebron, in a magnificent manner, and endued funeral elegies for him: he also stood first over the monument weeping, and caused others to do the same; nay, so deeply did the death of Abner disorder him, that his companions could not persuade him to eat bread, and he was in a misery until he had meat, which he mightily satisfied with the respect he paid him when he was dead, and the observation of that faith he had pledged to him, which was showed in his vouchsafing him meat; and he was as if he had been his kinsman and his friend, and not suffering him to be neglected and injured with a dishonourable burial, as if he had been his enemy; how much more that the entire people rejoiced at the king's gentleness and mildness of disposition, every one being ready to suppose
that the king would have taken the same care of them in the like circumstances, which they saw he showed in the burial of the dead body of Abner. And indeed David principally intended to gain a good reputation, and therefore he took care not to do what would be proved to the world to be an iniquity, wherein none had any suspicion that he was the author of Abner's death. He also said to this multitude, that "he was greatly troubled at the death of Abner, and that the affair had grieved the Hebrews; that he had suffered great detriment by being deprived of him, who was of so great abilities to preserve them by his excellent advice, and by the force of his valour in the field of battle. But added, that God, who hath a regard to all men's actions, will not suffer this man [Josh.] to go off unrewarded; but know ye, that I am not able to do any thing to these sons of Zeruiah, Josh and Abi-sal, who have more power than I have, but God will require their insolent attempts upon their own heads!" and this was the fatal conclusion of the life of Abner.

CHAP. II.

That upon the Slaughter of Ishboseth by the Treachery of his friends, David received the kingdom.

§ 1. Waxed Ishboseth the son of Saul had heard of the death of Abner, he took it to heart to be deprived of a man that was of his kindred, and had indeed given him the kingdom, but was greatly afflicted, and Abner's death very much troubled him; nor did he himself outside any long time, but was treacherously set upon by the sons of Rimmon, (Baana and Rechab were their names,) and was slain by them; for these being of a family of the Benjamites, and of the first rank among them, thought that if they should slay Ishboseth, they should obtain large presents from David, and be made commanders by him; or, however, should have some other trust committed to them. So when they once found him alone, asleep at noon, in an upper room, when none of his guards were there, and when the woman that kept the door was not watching, but was fallen asleep also, partly on account of the labour she had undergone, and partly on account of the heat of the day, these men went into the room in which Ishboseth, Saul's son, lay asleep, and slew him; they also cut off his head, and took their journey all that night, and the next day they brought it to David. Of the lying away from those they had injured, to one that would accept of this action as a favour, and would afford them security. So they came to Hebron, and, after the death of both the sons of Ishboseth, and presented themselves to him as his well-wishers, and such as had killed one that was his enemy and antagonist.—Yet David did not receive what they had done as they expected, but said to them, "You vile wretches, you shall immediately receive the punishment you deserve. Did not you know what vengeance I executed on him that murdered Saul, and brought me his crown of gold, and this while he who made this slaughter did it as a favour to him, that he might not be caught by his enemies! Or do you imagine that I shall not murder you, and do you think that I am not the same man I then was, but am pleased with men that are wicked doers, and execute your vile aotions, when you are become murderers of your master, as great to see, when you have slain a righteous man upon his bed, who never did evil to any body, and treated

you with great good-will and respect? Wherefore you shall all suffer the punishment due on his account, and the vengeance I ought to inflict upon you for killing Ishboseth, and for supposing that I should take his death kindly at your hands, I should not have so much honour, than by making such a proposal." When David had said this, he tormented them with all sorts of torments, and then put them to death; and having set the head of Ishboseth upon the wall of the tower, put the head of the tower near the door of the temple, the head of the tower of the head of Ishboseth, and laid it in the grave of Abner.

2. When those things were brought to this, the chief men of the Hebrew people came to David to Hebron, with the heads of thousands, and other rulers, and delivered themselves up to him, putting him in mind of the good will they had borne to him in Saul's lifetime, and the respect they then had not ceased to pay him when he was captain of a thousand, as also that he was chosen of God by Samuel the prophet, he and his sons; and declaring besides, how God had given him power to save the land of the Hebrews, and to overcome the Philistines. Whereupon he received kindly this their decision on his head, and exhorted them to continue in it, for that they should have no reason to repent of being thus disposed to him. So when he had fed and watered them, and treated them well, he sent them out to bring all the people to him upon which there came to him about six thousand and eight hundred armed men of the tribe of Judah, who bare shields and spears for their weapons, for these had [still now] continued with Saul's son, when the rest of the tribe of Judah had ordained David for their king. There came also seven thousand and one hundred out of the tribe of Simeon. Out of the tribe of Levi came four thousand and seven hundred, having Jehoiada for their leader. After these came Zadok, the high priest, with twenty-two captains of his kindred. Out of the tribe of Benjamímin the armed men were four thousand, but the rest of the tribe continued, still expecting that some one of the house of Saul should reign over them. Those of the tribe of Ephraim were twenty thousand and eight hundred, and these mighty men of valour, and eminent for their strength. Out of the half tribe of Manasseh came eighteen thousand of the most potent men. Out of the tribe of Issachar came two hundred, who foreknew what was to come hereafter; but of armed men twenty thousand and twenty. Out of Zebulun there were thirteen thousand chosen men. This was the only tribe that came universally in to David, and all these had the same weapons with the tribe of God. Out of the tribe of Dan the chief of all the armed men and rulers were one thousand, whose weapons were shields and spears, and the tribe itself followed after, being, in a manner, innumerable, (thirty-seven thousand.) Out of the tribe of Dan there were of chosen men twenty-seven thousand and six hundred. Out of the tribe of Asher were forty thousand. Out of the two tribes that were between Asher and Manasseh, and the rest of the tribe of Manasseh, such as used shields, and spears, and head pieces, and swords, were a hundred and twenty thousand. The rest of the tribes also made war, and joined together to Hebron to David, with a great quantity of corn, and wine, and all other sorts of food, and established David in his kingdom with one consent. As soon as he had taken possession of the city, he kept three days in Hebron, David and all the people removed and came to Jerusalem.
BOOK VII—CHAP. III. IV.

CHAP. III.

He led Jews to Jerusalem and inhabited the city out of, and brought in the Jews to inhabit therein.

§ 1. Now the Jews, who were the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and were by destruction Ca-
non, were slain, and placed blind, and led captive, and their wives, and all their male
people, upon the wall, in way of derision of the king; and said, that we have destroyed these
and not to undo all others that might be of the like [evil] disposition towards him: so he
lowered the city by force, and the citadel held out still; whence it was, that the king
proposing that the proposal of dignities and rewards would encourage the soldiers to greater actions, pro-
mised that he would give the first-born of the children of God; that was beneath the citadel, and should
ascend to the citadel itself and take it, should have

and to ascend the chief command.

When David had cast the Jews out of the

and as soon as he was got up to the citadel, cried out to the king, and claimed

and as soon as he was got up to the

citadel, cried out to the king, and claimed the chief command.

When David had cast the Jews out of the
citadel, he also rebuilt Jerusalem, and named it

and abode there all the

time of his reign: but for the time that he reigned

over the tribes of Judah only is it said, that it was

seven years and six months. Now when he had

chosen Jerusalem to be his royal city, his affairs
did more and more prosper, by the providence of

God, who took care that they should improve and

be augmented. Hiram also, the king of the Tyri-

ans, sent ambassadors to him, and made a league
dee, and assisted him. He also sent him presents, cedar trees and mecha-

nics, and skilful in building and architecture, that they might build him a royal palace at Jeru-

salem. Now David made buildings round about the

and made it one body: and when he had encom-

passed all walls, he appointed Joab to take

care of them. It was David, therefore, who first

cast the Jews out of Jerusalem, and called it

by his own name, the City of David: for under

our forefather Abraham it was called [Salem or]
Solyms: but after that time some say that Ho-

mer mentions in the Iliad a place called Solyms,

namely the temple Solyms, according to the He-

brew language, which denotes security. [Now the

whole time from the warfare under Joshua our
general against the Canaanites, and from that

war in which he overcame them, and distributed

the land among the Hebrews, (nor could the Is-

raelites ever cast out the Jews from Jerusa-

lem until this time, when David took it by siege.)

this whole time was five hundred and fifteen

years.

3. I shall now make mention of Arasam, who

was a wealthy man among the Jews, but was

not slain by David in the siege of Jerusalem,

because of the good will he bore to the Hebrews, and a particular benignity and affection which he

had to the king himself, which I shall take a

more seasonable opportunity to speak of a little

afterward. Now David married other wives

over and above these, and had concubines. The

sons whom he had were in number eleven, whose names were

Amnon, Eunom, Khan, Nathan, Solomon, Jeban,

Eli, Phalna, Jeana, So, and Tamar. Nine of these

were born of legitimate wives, but the two last named of concubines: and Tamar had the same

mother with Absalom.

CHAP. IV.

That when David had conquered the Philistines, who made war against him at Jerusalem, he

removed the Ark to Jerusalem, and had a mind to build a Temple.

§ 1. When the Philistines understood that

David was made king of the Hebrews, they

made war against him at Jerusalem; and when

they had seized upon that valley which is called

the valley of the Giants, and is a place not far

from the city, they pitched their camp therein.

But the king of the Jews, who never permitted

himself to do any thing without prophecy, and

the command of God, and without depending on

him as a security for the time to come, bade the

high priest foretell to him what was the will of

God, and what was to be done. And when he

foretold that he should gain the victory, and the dominion, he led his army

and others Hierosolyma or Jerusalem. The latter best

agree to what Josephus says elsewhere, Of the War, B. vi.

ch. 2.; that this city was called Selymsa or Selyms before

the days of Machabees, but was by him called Hierosol-

yma or Jerusalem. I rather suppose it to have been so

called after Abraham had received that oracle Jehovah
Jesu, "Thou shalt come or previle, Gen. xxii. 14. The

latter word Jesu, with a little alteration, prefixed to the

old name Salem, is there still Jerusalem. And from

that expression, "God will see," or rather, "God will pro-

vide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering," ver, 8. 14, as

there said to have been prophesied till the days of

David, this seems to me the most probable derivation

of that name, which will then denote, that "God would

pro-" be peace by that lamb of God, which was to take away

the sins of the world." However, that which is put into
diabolic brackets can hardly be supposed the genuine words of Jo-


phusus, as Dr. Hudson well judges.

It is desirable here to be remarked, that Saul was

very rarely and David very frequently, consulted God by

 idols, and that David aimed much more at the power of

divine oracles, that the command of God, and the

directing of affairs, or the taking the truth, and giving the best light to that

history. As our Bible. Mr. Ottavius observes, opp. Ha-

vericus, p. 305, the name Jerusalem, as meaning, to take it as

for an apotthegm, as I suppose, and not for a proper word: he

or rather it sits in the citadel, or the upper city.

Mr. Cramer, in his notes on this procedure of Joes-

phus.

* Some copies of Josephus have here Selyms or Salem.
against the Philistines, and when the battle was joined, he came himself behind, and fell upon the enemy on the sudden, and slew some of them, and put the rest to flight. And let no one suppose the advanced of the Philistines that day came against the Hebrews, as guessing so from the suddenness of their defeat, and from their having performed no great action, or that was worth to care put of their march, and want of courage; but let him know that all Syria and Phenicia, with many other nations besides them, and those warlike nations also, came to the assistance of the Philistines, in this war. Which thing was the only cause why, when they had been so often conquered, and had lost so many ten thousands of their men, they still came upon the Hebrews with greater armies; nay, indeed, when they had so often failed of their purposes in these battles, they came upon David with an army nine times as numerous as before, and pitched their camp on the same spot of ground as before. The king of Israel therefore inquired of God again concerning the event of the battle; and the high priest prophesied to him, that he should keep his arm in the grove, called the Groves of Weeping, which were not far from the enemy's camp, and that he should not go down to the battle till the trees of the grove should be in motion without the wind's blowing; but as soon as these trees moved, and the time foretold by him God was come, he should go down to the battle, and he should gain, what was already prepared, an evident victory; for the several ranks of the enemy's army did not sustain him, but retreated at the first onset, whom he overtook, and slew them, as he went along; and pursued them to the city of Gaza, which is the limit of their country; after this, he spoiled their camp, in which he found great riches and all their treasures. 2. When this had proved the event of the battle, David thought it proper, upon a consultation with the elders, and rulers, and captains of thousands, to send for those that were in the flower of their age, out of all his countrymen, and out of the whole land, and withal for the priests and the Levites, in order to their going to Kirjathjearim, to bring up the ark of God out of that city, and to carry it to Jerusalem, and there to keep it, and offer before it those sacrifices and other honors, with which God used to be well pleased: for had they done thus in the reign of Saul, they had not undergone any great misfortunes at all. So when the word of the people came together, and they had resolved to do, the king came to the ark, which the priests brought out of the house of Aminadab, and laid it upon a new cart, and permitted their brethren and their children to draw it, together with the oxen. Before it went the king and the whole multitude of the people with him, singing hymns to God, and making use of all sorts of songs usual among them, with variety of the sounds of musical instruments, and with dancing and singing of psalms, as also with the sound of trumpets and of the cymbals, and went back to Jerusalem. But as they were come to the threshold-floor of Chidon, a place so called, Uzzah was slain by the anger of God; for as the oxen shook the cart, and the ark, one of the priests, who had preferred him before her father, and before all others, that he would pray frequently and dance, without any regard to what the people should have done, was stricken down by the might of this God, who had no children; however, when she was afterward married to him to whom Saul her father had given her, (for at this time David had taken her away from him, and had her herself,) she bare five children. But concerning those subjects I shall discourse in a proper place. 4. Now, when the king saw that his affairs grew better almost every day, by the will of God, he thought he should offend him, if while he himself continued in houses made of ceder, such as were of a great height, and had the most costly ornaments of balsam, and such as God should overlook the ark while it was laid in a tabernacle; and was desirous to build a temple to God, as Moses had predicted such a temple should be; and when he had a mind to build it, with Nathan the prophet about these things, and of the anger of God on that breach of his law. See Numab. iv. 15; 1 Chron. xiv. 13.

* Josephus seems to be partly in the right, when he observes here, that Uzzah was no priest, (though perhaps he might be a Levite,) and was therefore struck dead for touching the ark. From this it appears, that the ark was not not brought from the tabernacle, as we have elsewhere supposed, but from the house of Aminadab. This explanation is to be preferred, as it appears more consonant to the narrative of the text.
been encouraged by him to do whatsoever he had a mind to do, as having God with him, and his helper in all things, he was therefore more ready to set about that building. But God appeared to him, very much to man him to say to David, "that he took his purpose and his desires kindly, since nobody had before now taken it into their head to build him a temple. Yet howbeit, though he was such a notion he would not permit him to build him that temple, because he had made many wars, and was desired with the whole of his enemies; that however, after his death, in his old age, and when he had lived a long life, there should be a temple built by a son of his, who should take the kingdom in all its wealth and dignity; and that his son, Solomon, whom he promised to provide for, as a father provides for his son, by preserving the kingdom for his son's posterity, and delivering it to them; but that he still punish him if he sinned, with diseases and barrenness of land."

When David understood this from the prophet, and was overjoyed at this knowledge of the sure continuance of the dominion to his posterity, and that his house should be splendid, and very famous, he came to the ark, and fell down on his face, and began to adore God, and to return thanks for this, and to glorify God, and to bless God for those that he had already bestowed upon him in raising him from a low state, and from the employment of a shepherd, to so great dignity of dominion, and so much glory and power, which he had promised to his posterity; and besides, for that providence which he had exercised over the Hebrews in procuring them the liberty they enjoyed with the whole of his enemies; but that he still punish him if he sinned, with diseases and barrenness of land."

CHAP. V.

How David brought under the Philistines, and the Edomites, and the Moabites, and the King of Damascus, and of the Syrians, as also the Ammonites, in War; and how he made a League with the King of Hamath; and was mindful of the promises, he had made to Jonathan the Son of Simeon, that had borne to him.

§ 1. A little while after this, he considered that he ought to make war against the Philistines, and not to see any idleness or laziness permitted in his management, that so it might prove, as he himself had seen, that God overthrew his enemies, he should leave his posterity to reign in peace afterward: so he called together his army again, and when he had chosen out thereof two hundred thousand men, and when he thought that all things in his army were in a good state, he removed from Jerusalem, and came against the Philistines; and when he had overcome them in battle, and had cut off a great part of their country and adjoined it to the country of the Hebrews, he transferred the war to the Moabites; and when he had overcome them in battle, and had cut off the remaining part captive, and imposed tribute upon them, to be paid annually. He then made war against Hadadezer, the Son of the King of Sophene; and when he had joined battle with him at the river Euphrates, he destroyed twenty thousand of his footmen, and about seven thousand of his horsemen. He also took about a thousand of his chariots, and destroyed the great part of them, and had contrived that no more than one hundred should be kept.

2. Now when Hadadezer, the King of Damascus and of Syria, heard that David fought against Hadadezer, who was his friend, and came to his assistance, and for so much as assistance with a powerful army, in hopes to rescue him; and when he had joined battle with David at the river Euphrates, he lost of his purpose, and lost in the battle a great number of his soldiers; for there were slain of the army of Hadadezer twenty thousand, and all the rest fled. Nicolaus also [of Damascus] makes mention of this king, in the fourth book of his histories; where he speaks thus: "A great while after these things had happened, there was one of that country whose name was Hadadezer, who was become very potent; he reigned over Damascus, and the other parts of Syria, excepting Phenicia. He made war against David, the king of Judah, and tried his fortune in many battles, and particularly in the last battle at Euphrates, wherein he was beaten. He seemed to have been the most excellent of all their kings in strength and manhood." Nay, besides this, he was an enemy to all his successors receiving from his father that his dominion, and this his name; as did the Ptolemies in Egypt. But the third was the most powerful of them all, and was willing to engage with the king; and that his forefathers had received; so he made an expedition against the Jews, and laid waste the city which is now called Samaria." Nor did he err from the truth so far as this is that Hadadezer made the expedition against Samaria, in the reign of Ahab, king of Israel; concerning whom we shall speak in due place hereafter.

3. Now when David had made an expedition against Damascus, and the other parts of Syria, and had brought it all into subjection, and had placed garrisons in the country, and appointed that they should pay tribute, he returned home. He also dedicated to God at Jerusalem, the golden quivers, the entire armour which the guards of Hadadezer used to wear, which Shishak the king of Egypt had taken away when he fought with David. And the grandson Rehoboam, with a great deal of other wealth which he carried out of Jerusalem. However, these things will come to be explained in his proper place. Nor shall we omit that the young king of the Hebrews, he was assisted by God, who gave him great success in his wars, and made an expedition against the best cities of Hadadezer, Bethe, and Machon; so he took them by force, and laid them waste. Therein was found a very great quantity of gold and silver, besides that sort of brass which is said to be more valuable than gold, of which brass Solomon made that large vessel which was called the [brass] sea, and those most curious lavers, when he built the temple for the Lord.

4. But when the king of Hamath was informed a king of Israel to multiply horses to himself, [Deut. xviii. 16; one of the principal of God's forcible means to bring such a table presently, ch. xiv. sect. 10, contrary to our other copies, or at least to our translation of the Hebrew, 2 Sam. vii. 6, 7: 1 Chron. xvii. 5, 6. * Josephus seems, in this place, with our modern interpreters, to confound the two different distinctions which made to David and to Naaman operating the building for a temple by one of David's posterity, the one belonging to Solomon, the other to the Messiah; the distinction between these two being of a very different kind.]

* Josephus seems, in this place, with our modern interpreters, to confound the two different distinctions which made to David and to Naaman operating the building for a temple by one of David's posterity, the one belonging to Solomon, the other to the Messiah; the distinction between these two being of a very different kind. [This being a very great king, was conquered by David, whose posterity yet for several generations were called Benjamin, or the son of Benjamin, till the days of Solomon. The son Asher or Asher is also in our Hebrew copy, 2 Kings xiii. 34, written Benashrei, but is Josephus Asher or Asher which straing it is, that these Baris of Hebra-
of the ill success of Hadadzezer, and had heard of the ruin of his army, he was afraid on his own account, and resolved to make a league of friendship and alliance with David before he should come against him; so he sent to him his son Jo-ram, and professed that he owed him thanks for his fighting against Hadadzezer, who was his enemy. As such a league with him of mutual assistance and friendship. He also sent him presents, vessels of ancient workmanship, both of gold, of silver, and of brass. So when David had made him presents of mutual assistance with Tobiah (for that was the name of the king of Hamath,) and had received the presents he sent him, he dismissed his son with that respect which was due on both sides. But then David brought those presents that were sent by him, as also the rest of the gold and silver which he had taken of the cities whom he had conquered, and dedicated them to God. Nor did God give victory and success to him only when he went to the battle himself, and led his own army, but he gave victory to Abishai, the brother of Joab, general of his forces, over the Idumeans," and by him to David, when he sent him with an army into Idumea; for Abishai destroyed eighteen thousand of them in the battle; whereupon the king placed him over his Argoblect, that he might receive the tribute of the country, and of every head among them. Now David was in his nature just, and made his determination with truth. He had for the general of his whole army Joab; and he made Jehoshaphat, the son of Ahilud, recorder. He also appointed Zadok, of the family of Priest Michael, to be high priest, and Abiathar for he was in kind a friend. He also made Seisan the scribe; and committed the command over the guards of his body to Benaiah, the son of Jehoshaphat. His elder sons were near his body, and had the care of it also.

5. He also called to mind the covenants and the oaths he had made with Jonathan the son of Saul, and the friendship and affection Jonathan had for him; for besides all the rest of his excellent qualities with which he was endowed, he was also exceeding mindful of such as had at other times bestowed benefits upon him. He therefore gave order that inquiry should be made, whether any of Jonathan's lineage were living, to whom he might make return of that familiar affection and kindness he had shown toward him, and for which he was still debtor. And when one of Saul's freedmen was brought to him, who was still acquainted with those of his family that were still living, he asked him, Whether he could tell him of any one belonging to Jonathan that was now alive, and capable of a requital of the benefits which he had received from Jonathan?' And when he said, "That a son of his was remaining, whose name was Mephibosheth, but that he was lame of his feet; for that when his nurse heard that the father and grandfather of the child were fallen in the battle, she snatched him up, and fled away, and let him fall from her shoulders, and his feet were lamed.' So when he was informed of this by whom he was brought up, he sent messengers to Machir, to the city of Lodebar, for with him was the son of Jonathan brought up, and sent for him to come to him. And when he was come before to the king, he fell on his face and worshipped him; but David encouraged him, and bid him be of good cheer, and expect better times. So he gave him cows and sheep, and all the house, and all the estate which his grandfather Saul was in possession of, and bade him come and eat with him at his own table, and never to be absent one day from that table. And when the youth had worshipped him on account of his words and gifts given to him, he made him the profits of all to which he had given the youth his father's house, and all Saul's estate. He also ordered that Ziba should cultivate his land, and take care of it, and bring him the profits of all to which he had made these appointments, and Ziba had worshipped him, and promised to do all that he had hidden him, he went his way; so that this son of Jonathan dwelt at Jerusalem, and dined at the king's table, and had the same care taken of him that a son could claim. He also had himself a son, whom he named Micha.

CHAP. VI.

How the War was waged against the Ammonites and happily concluded.

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

2. But David was under no consternation at this confederacy, nor at the forces of the Ammonites; and putting his trust in God, because he was going to war in a just cause, on account of the injuries he had met with, he immediately sent Joab, the captain of his host, against them, and gave him the flower of his people, the army of Ramoth; and the ness, the tropolis of the Ammonites; whereupon the enemy came out, and set themselves in array, not
all of them together, but in two bodies; for the auxiliaries were set in array in the plain by themselves, and the Ammonites laid siege to their gates over against the Hebrews. When Joab saw this, he opposed one stratagem against another, and chose out the most hardy part of his army to oppose the king and the kings of Syria, and the kings that were with him, and gave the other part to his brother Abisami, and made him set them in opposition to the Ammonites; and said to him, "That in case he should see that the Syrians distressed him, and were too hard for him, he should order his troops to turn about and assist him:" and he said, "he himself would do the same;" to him, if he saw him, in the like distress from the Ammonites." So he sent his brother before, and encouraged him to do every thing courageously and with alacrity, which would teach them to be afraid of disgrace, and to fight manfully; and so he dismissed him to fight with the Ammonites, while he fell upon the Syrians. And though they made a strong opposition for a while, Joab slew many of them, and compelled the rest to betake themselves to flight; which, when the Ammonites saw, and were withal afraid of Abishai and his army, they yielded; and Joab pursued him, and punished Uriah, and died for the city. So Joab, when he had thus overcome the enemy, returned with great joy to Jerusalem to the king. Still the defection did not induce the Ammonites to be quiet, nor to acknowledge as superior to them those who were so, but they sent to Chal- man the king of the Syrains, beyond Euphrates, and such as might be desirous to be in the greatest jeopardy, for he bade him order his fellow-soldiers to retire out of the fight. When he had written this to him, and sealed the letter with his own seal, he gave it to Uriah to carry it to Joab. When Joab had received it, and upon reading it understood the king's purpose, he set Uriah in that place where he knew the enemy would be most troublesome to them; and gave him for his part some of the best soldiers in the army; and said, that he would also come to their assistance with the whole army, that if possible they might break down some part of the wall, and enter the city. And he desired him to be glad of the opportunity of exposing himself to such pains, and not to be disquieted about his life, for he, as a great soldier, and had a great reputation for his valour, both with the king and with his countrymen. And when Uriah undertook the work he was set upon with alacrity, and ran presently up to those who were to be his companions, that when they saw the enemy make a rally, they should leave him. When, therefore, the Hebrews made an attack upon the Ammonites, Uriah was afraid that the enemy might prevent them, and get up into the city, and this at the very place whither Uriah was ordered, so they exposed their best soldiers to be in the forefront, and opened their gates suddenly, and fell upon the enemy with great vaehemenoe, and ran violently upon them. When those that were with them saw this, they all retreated backward, as Joab had directed them beforehand; but Uriah, as ashamed to run away and leave his post, sustained the enemy, and receiving the violence of the battle, but being encompassed around, and caught in the midst of them, he was slain, and some other of his companions were slain with him. 2. When this was done, Joab sent messengers to the king, and ordered them to tell him, That "he did what he could to take the city soon, but that, as they made an assault on the city, they had been forced to turn about with great loss." And bid them, if they saw the king was angry at it, to add this, that "Uriah was slain also." When the king had heard this of the messenger, he took it heinously, and said, That "they did
ANTIOCHUS OF THE JEWISHS.

woven when they assaulted the wall, whereas they sought, by undermining and other strate-
gies, to overcome the taking of the city; and especially when they had before their eyes the example of Abimelech, the son of Gideon, who would needs take the tower of Thebes by force, and was the first to stone down at him by an old woman; and although he was a man of great prowess, he died ignominiously by the dangerous manner of his assault: that is, such as he always showed in the assaults near the enemy’s wall, for that the best method of making war with success was to call to mind the accidents of former wars, and what good or bad success had attended them in the like dan-
gerous cases, that so they might imitate the one, and avoid the other. But when the king was in this disposition, the messenger told him, that Uriah was slain also: whereupon he was pacified. So he bid the messenger go back to Joab and tell him, that “this misfortune is no other than what is common among mankind, and that such is the nature and such the accidents of war; in-
compass, that sometimes the enemy will have success therein, and sometimes others; but that he would not still in his cares about the siege, that no ill accident might befall him in it:
hereafter: that they should raise bulwarks, and use machines in besieging the city; and when they had overthrown the fortifications, and destroyed all those that are in it.”
Accordingly the messenger carried the king’s mes-
sage with which he was charged, and made haste to tell Joab, for Uriah, the wife of David, was slain, when she was informed of the death of her husband, mourned for his death many days; and when her mourning was over, and the tears which she shed for Uriah were dried up, this king took her to wife presently, and a son was born to him by her.

3. With this marriage God was not well pleased, but was thereupon angry at David; and he appeared to Nathan the prophet in his sleep, and complained of the king. Now Nathan was a fair and prudent man; and considering that kings, when they fall into passion, are guided more by that passion than they are by justice, he re-
solved to conceal the threatenings that proceed-
ed from God, and make a good-natured discourse to him, and this after the manner following: He desired that the king would give him his opinion in the following case: “There were (said he) two men inhabiting the same city, the one of them was rich, and the other poor; the rich man had a great many flocks of cattle, of sheep, and of kine, but the poor man had but one ewe lamb; this he brought up with his children, and lived on, and fed with it. Be he dead, the same natural affection for her which any one might have for a daughter. Now upon the com-
ing of a stranger to the rich man, he would not vouesafe to kill any of his own flocks, and the- nes feast his friend, but he sent for the poor
man’s lamb, and took her away from him, and made her ready for food, and then besought the stranger. This discourse troubled the king ex-
ceedingly; and he denounced to Nathan that this man was a wicked man, who could dare to do it. And that it was not just that he should remove the lamb fourfold, and be punished with death for it also.” Upon this Nathan im-
immediately said, that “he was himself the man who had done these punishments, and that by his own sentence, and that it was he who per-

2. [After describing the siege of Thebes and Joab's action, the text infers:] now this God was displeased by him, and afflicted by his impiety, when he had married, and now another man's wife; and another husband to the enemy, had really slain him; that God would inflict punishments upon him on account of those instances of wickedness; that like punishment would be inflicted on his own house, and that he should be treacherously supphanted by the same son; and that although he had per-

4. However, God sent a dangerous distemper upon the child that was born to David of the wife of Uriah; at which the king was troubled, and was displeased, he feared his servants almost forced him to take it; but it clothed itself in a black garment, and fell down, and lay upon the ground in sackcloth, eu-

3. [The text continues with the account of Uriah's death and the king's response, leading to Uriah's wife being taken to the king as his wife. The narrative follows the events up to this point, with the king resolving the matter through Nathan's advice.]

5. [The text proceeds to the account of God's displeasure with the king's actions and the consequent distress of the people.]
of Rabbah, and when he had taken it by force, he gave it to his soldiers to plunder it; but he himself took the king of the Ammonites' crown, whose weight was a talent of gold; and it had in it another talent of gold, which crown David ever after wore on his own head. He also found many other vessels in the city, and those both splendid and of great price; but the king was not met with, for he had destroyed them: and when he had taken the other cities of the Ammonites by force, he treated them after the same manner.

CHAP. VIII.

How Absalom murdered Amnon, who had forced his own Sister; and how he was punished, and afterwards recalled by David.

§ 1. When the king was returned to Jerusalem, a sad misfortune befell his house, on the occasion following: He had a daughter, who was yet a virgin, and very handsome, insomuch that she surpassed all the most beautiful women; her name was Tamar: she had there been brought up with Absalom. Now Amnon, David's eldest son, fell in love with her, and being not able to obtain his desires, on account of her virginity, and the consequence was, that she was under his power; she was given to him in marriage, on condition to do him service in every order, nay, his grief so ate up his body, that he became lean, and his colour was changed. Now there was one Jonadab, a kinsman and friend of his, who was extraordinary wise man, and of great seducery of mind. When therefore he saw that every morning Amnon was not in body as he ought to be, he came to him, and desired him to tell him what was the cause of it: however, he said, that he guessed that it arose from the passion of love. Amnon confessed his passion, that he was in love with a sister of his, who had the same father with himself. So Jonadab suggested to him by what method and contrivance he might obtain his desires; for he persuaded him to pretend sickness, and bade him, when his father should come to him, to beg of him that his sister might come and minister to him, for that if that were done, he should be better, and should quickly recover from his distemper. So Amnon lay down on his bed, and pretended to be sick, as Jonadab had suggested. When his father came, and inquired how he did, he begged of him to send his sister to him, that he desired her presence, and that she might be brought to him; and when she was come, Amnon bade her make cakes for him, and fry them in a pan, and do it all with her own hands, because he was very hungry. Then Absalom seized upon one of his servants, that when they should see Amnon disorder and drowsy with wine, and he should give them a signal, they should fear nobody, but kill him.

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

§ 3. When they had done as they were commanded, the rest of his brethren were astonished and disturbed, and were afraid for themselves, so they immediately got on horseback, and rode away to their father; but somebody there was who prevented them, and told their father they were all slain by Absalom; whereupon he was overcome with sorrow, for he had seen that they were destroyed at once, and that by their brother also; and by this consideration, that it was not the desire of those seven nations of Canaan, whose wickedness had rendered them incapable of mercy; otherwise I should be unable to do the meaning of the words in Samuel, only be this, that they were made the lowest slaves, to work in saving timber or stone, to carry in the hewing the largest timber, and that the smallest; or, at least, the garrison of Rabbah, and of the other Ammonite cities which he besieged and took, 'under, or cut through,' as in the old Chaldee; or, 'a man, servant, or man servant, a brick having the brick-heap in it is not here directly expressed. If he saw it, he had a brick-heap to his head; he, not only extended them to terminating these Ammonites to death, who were invaded by the king and his army.
their brother that appeared to have slain them, he aggravated his sorrow for them. So he set out the same day with his chariot and his horse, and his armed men, and he passed through the vineyard of his son, and he put his sword into his sheath, and threw himself upon the ground, and there lay, lamenting the loss of all his sons, both those who, as he was informed, were slain, and of him who escaped and lived, and of his brother Shimshah, entreated him not to indulge his sorrow so far, for as to the rest of his sons, he did not believe that they were slain, for he found no cause for such a suspicion; but he said it might deserve inquiry as to Ammon, for it was not unlikely that Abasalom might venture to kill him on account of the injury he had offered to Tamar. In the meantime, a great noise of horses, and a tumult of some people that were coming, turned their attention to them; they were the king’s sons, who were fled away from the feast. So their father met them as they were in their grief, and he himself grieved with them; but it was more that he expected to see those his sons again, than that he was happy he had not been slain. However, there were tears on both sides: they lamenting their brother who was killed, and the king lamenting his son, who was killed by his own. Afterwards he sent to Jeush, to his grandson by his mother’s side, who was king of that country, and he remained with him three whole years.

4. Now David had a design to send to Abasalom, not that he should come to be punished, but that he might be with him, for the effects of his anger were abated by length of time. It was Joab, the captain of his host, that chiefly provoked him to send his son to Jeush; and when he had persuaded him so to do; for he suborned an ordinary woman, that was stricken in age, to go to the king in mourning apparel, who said thus to him: “That two of his sons, in a coarse way, had some difference between them, and that in the progress of that difference they came to an open quarrel, and that one was smitten by the other, and was dead; and she desired him to interpose in this case, and to do her the favour to save this her son from her kindred, who were very zealous to have him that had slain his brother put to death; but that he might not be further deprived of the hopes she had of being taken care of in her old age by him; and that if he would hinder this slaughter of her son by those that wished for his death, she had a great reason to beseech him and the kindred would not be restrained from their purpose by any thing else than by the fear of him.” And when the king had given his consent to what the woman had begged of him, she made this reply to him: “I owe thee thanks for thy benignity to me in pitying my age, and preserving the life of my only remaining child; but in order to assure me of this thy kinduess, be first reconciled to thine own son, and cease to be angry with him; for how shall I persuade myself that thou hast really bestowed this favour upon me, while thou thyself conferrest the like manner in thy wrath to thine own son? for it is a foolish thing to add wilfully another to thy dead son, while the death of the other was brought about without thy own consent.” And now the king perceived that this pretended story was a subterfuge derived from Joab, and was of his counsel, and he was greatly affected; but the old woman, he understood it to be so in reality, he called for Joab, and told him he had ob

* Of this weight of Abasalom’s hair, how in 90 or 30 years it might well amount to 300 shekels, or to somewhat above 8 or 10 lbs. of o. the following Accident ascribed to Pro-

**Chap. IX.**

Concerning the Insurrection of Abasalom against David; and concerning Abishshal and Hushai; and concerning Ziba and Shimea: and how Abasalom changed himself.

§ 1. Now Abasalom, upon this success with the king, procured to himself a great many horses, and many chariots, and that in a little time also. He had moreover fifty armour-bearers that were armed about him, besides the 300 chief men of his father’s house, that were familiar with his father’s palace, and spoke what was agreeable to such as came for justice, and lost their causes, as if that happened for want of good counsellors; and as in the case of the woman who, said the judge mistook in that unjust sentence they gave whereby he gained the good-will of them all upon 3 Sam. xiv. 25. It does not appear what was Joas-

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BOOK VII.—CHAP. IX.

He told them, that he had but such authority committed to him, he would distribute justice to them in a most equitable manner. When he had made his speech, so far as he could, he thought he had already the good-will of the people secured to him; but when four years had passed since his father's reconciliation to him, 'he thought, most probably, he would give him, as the son of Jonathan, the son of Saul, with a couple of asses laden with provisions, and desired him to take as much of them as he and his followers stood in need of, and where he had left Mephiboseth? he said, "He had left him in Jerusalem, expecting to be chosen king in the present confusions, in remembrance of the benefactions Saul had conferred upon them." As this the king had great indignation, and gave to Ziba all that he had formerly bestowed on Mephiboseth; for he determined that it was much fitter that he should have them than the other; at which Ziba greatly rejoiced.

2. Among them came Ahithophel the Gilonite, a counsellor of David, and two hundred men out of Jerusalem itself, who knew not his intentions, but were sent for as to a sacrifice. So he was appointed king by all of them, which he obtained by this stratagem. As soon as this news was brought to David, and he was inform'd of what he did not expect from his son, he was exasperated at this his impiety and bold unfast, and wondered that he was so soon from remembering how his offence had been so lately forgiven him, that he undertook much worse and more wicked enterprises; first to deprive him of the kingdom; and then, and secondly, to take away his own father's life. He therefore resolved to fly to the parts beyond Jordan: so he called his most intimate friends together: and casting to be the kingdom, and to choose what inquires he had heard of his son's madness. He committed himself to God, to judge between them about all their actions; and left the care of his royal palace to Absalom. Absalom, early Ahithophel, who had a mind to kill Shimai, David restrained his anger: "Let us not, said he, bring upon ourselves another fresh misfortune to those we have already, for truly I have not the least regard or concern for this dog that raves at me: I submit myself to God, by whose permission this man treats me in such a wild manner; nor is it any wonder that I am obliged to undergo these abuses from him, while I experience the like from an impious son of my own; but perhaps God will have some commiseration upon us, if it be his will we shall overcome them. So he went on his way without troubling himself with Shimai, who ran along the other side of the mountain, and troubled us not at large, he spent plentifully. But when David was coming to Jordan, he allowed those that were with him to refresh themselves: for they were weary.

5. But when Absalom, and Ahithophel his councillor, were come to the Israelites, with all the people, David's friend, Hushai came to them, and when he had worshipped Absalom, he wished that his kingdom might last a long time, and continue for all ages. But when Absalom said to him, "How comes this, that he who was so intimate a friend of my father's, and appeared faithful to him in all things, is not with him now, but hath left us? And is come over to me?" Hushai's answer was very pertinent and prudent; for he said, "We ought to follow God and the counsel of wisdom, while these, therefore, my lord and master, are with thee, it is fit that I should follow them, for thou hast received the kingdom from God. J, therefore, as the little is of thee, my friend, show the same fidelity and kindness to thee, which thou knowest I have showed to thy father: nor is there any reason to be in the least dissatisfied with the counsel that is sent for the kingdom is not transferred unto another, not be more than four years after it, as have in Josephus; whose number is directly confirmed by that copy of the Septuagint version whence the Armenian translation was made which gives us the same small number of four years.
but remains still in the same family, by the son's receiving it after his father." This speech per-
suaded Absalom, who before suspected Hushai. And, indeed, he was called, and came to the man with what he ought to do: for he persuaded him to go into his father's concubines; for he said, that, by this action, the people will believe that he is in league with his father; and, therefore, will vengeance with the father is irrecon-
cileable, and will thence fight with great ascerity against thy father, for hitherto they are afraid of taking up open enmity against him, but we are expressly informed that you will be reconciled again." Accordingly Absalom was prevailed on by this advice, and commanded his servants to pitch him a tent upon the top of the city, in the sight of the multitude; and he went in and lay with his father's concubines. Now this came to pass according to the prediction of Nathan, when he prophesied and signified to him, that his son would rise up in rebellion against him.

6. And when Absalom had done what he was advised to by Abihithel, he desired his advice, in the second place, about the war against his father. Now, Abihithel only asked him to let him have ten thousand chosen men, and he promised he would slay his father, and bring the soldiers in safety; and he said, that, "when Absalom is dead, but not otherwise.” Absalom was pleased with this advice; and called for Hushai's counsel; for so did he style him, and informing him of the opinion of Abihithel, he asked further what was his opinion concerning that matter? Now, he was sensible that if Abihithel's counsel was to come to pass, David would be in danger of being seized on, and slain; so he attempted to introduce a contrary opinion, and said, "Thou art not acquainted, O king, with the manner of thy father, and with the counsel of those that are now with him; that he hath made many wars, and hath always come off with victory; though probably he now abides in the camp, for he is very skilful in stratagems, and in foreseeing the deceitful tricks of his enemies, yet will he leave his own soldiers in the evening, and will either hide himself in some valley, or will place an ambush at some rock; so that when our army joins battle with him, his soldiers will retire for a little while, but will come upon us again, as encouraged by the king's near being there; and thy father will show himself suddenly in the time of the battle, and will infuse courage into his own people when they are in danger, but bring consternation to this army; therefore, my advice is, do thou make an eye on it, and if thou canst not but acknowledge it to be the best, reject the opinion of Abihithel. Send to the entire country of the Hebrews, and order them to come and fight with thy father; and do thou thyself take the army, and be thine own general in this war, and do not trust its management to another; then expect to conquer him with ease, when thou overtakest him openly with his few partisans, but hast thyself many ten thousands, who will be desirous to demonstrate to thee their diligence and alacrity. And, if thou dost shut himself up in some city, and bear a siege, we will overthrow that city with machines of war, and by undermining it." When Hushai had said this, he obtained his point against Abihithel, for his opinion was pre-
ferred by Absalom before the other's: however, it was no other than God who made the counsel of Hushai appear best to the mind of Absalom.

7. So Hushai, in his turn, called Zadok and Abiathar, and told them the opinion of Abihithel, and his own, and that the recol-
lection was of more advantage and prudence. He therefore bade them send to David, to tell him of it, and to inform him of the counsel that had been taken; and to desire him further to pass quietly through Jerusalem, and to change his mind, and make haste to pursue him, lest he prevent him, and seize upon him before he be in safety. Now, the high priests had their sons amongst the proper people out of the city, that they might carry news to David of what was transacted. Accordingly, they sent a maid serv-
ant whom they could trust, to carry them the news of Abihithel's counsels, and ordered them to signify the same to David with all speed. So they made no excuse or delay, but taking along with them their fathers' injunctions, because pious and faithful ministers, and judging that quickness and suddenness was the best mark of faithful service, they made haste to meet with David; but certain horsemen saw them when they were yet afar off, and galloped before, and informed Absalom of them, who immediately sent some to take them; but when the sons of the high priests perceived this, they went out of the high priests' court, and led David to that village which was called Bahurim; there they des-
ired a certain woman to hide them, and afforded them security. Accordingly, she let the young men down in a room into a well, and laid a piece of wool over them: and when those that pursued them came to her, and asked her whether she saw them? she did not deny that she had seen them, and, under pretence that she said they then went their ways; and she fore-
told, that, however, if they would follow them di-
rectly, they would catch them. But when after a long pursuit they could not catch them, they came back again; and when the woman saw those men were returned, and that there was no longer any fear of the young men's being caught by them, she drew them up by the ropes, and made them go on their journey. Accordingly, they used great diligence in the prosecution of that journey, and came to David and informed him that, according to the advice of Abihithel, he commanded those that were with him to pass over Jordan while it was night, and not to delay at all on that account.

8. But the rejection of his advice, got upon his ass, and rode away to his own country Gilon; and calling his family together, he told them distinctly what advice he had given Absalom; and since he had not been permitted by it, he said he would evidently perish, and this in no long time, and that David would overtake him, and return to his kingdom again: so he said it was better that he should take his own life away with freedom and magnanimity, than ex-
pose himself to be punished by David, in opposition to whom he had acted entirely for Absalom. When he had discoursed thus to them, he went into the innermost room of his house, and hanged himself; and thus was the death of Abihithel, who was self-condemned: and when his relations had taken him down from the hanger, they took

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This reflection of Josephus's, that God brought to nothing the counsel of Abihithel, and directly 'Infatuated' wicked Absalom to reject it, (which 'infatua-
tion' is what the scripture styles the judicial 'hardening' the eyes of men) and the eyes of Absalom, who, by these former voluntary wickednesses, have justified deserved to be destroyed, and are thereby brought to destruction,) is a very proper method to be used in such cases. Nor does Josephus ever praise himself, or praises his readers, with sub-
tle hypotheses to the manner of such judicial infatua-
tions by God, while the justice of them is generally so ob-
vious. That peculiar manner of the divine operations, or operations divine, in the state of human affairs, is often impossible by us. "Secret things belong to the Lord our God;" but those things that are revealed belong only to the eyes of God, and are not subject to us, as he is the author of all the words of this law." Deut. xxxii. 29. Nor have all the ab-
ilities of the moderns, so far as I see, given any consider-
able light in this, and so none the less the parts of difficulty relating either to divine or human operations. See the notes on Amos, B. v. chap. 1: sect. 3, and Amos. B. is.

chap. iv. sect. 3.
care of his funeral. Now, as for David, he passed over Jordan, as we have said already, and came to Mahanaim, a very large and very flourishing city; and all the chief men of the country received him with great pleasure, both out of the shame they had that he should be forced to flee away, [from Jerusalem]; but more than all for the plentiful provisions for himself and his followers, insomuch that they wanted no beds nor blankets for them, nor loaves of bread, nor wine; nay, they were most solicitous for little for slaughter, and offered them what furniture they wanted for their refreshment when they were weary, and for food, with plenty of other necessaries.

CHAP. X.

Now, when Absalom was beaten, he was caught in a Tree by his Hair, and was slain.

§ 1. And this was the state of David and his followers. But Absalom got together a vast army, and they were forewarned, and passed therewith over the river Jordan, and set down not far off Mahanaim, in the country of Gilead. He appointed Amasa to be captain of all his army; and his father Joab was slain, and his mother Zeruiah, the mother of Joab, was David’s sister. But when David had numbered his followers, and found them to be about four thousand, he resolved not to tarry till Absalom attacked him, but set over his men captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds, and divided his army into three parts: the one part he committed to Joab, the next to Abishai, Joab’s brother, and the third to Ittai, David’s companion and friend, but one that came from the city of Gath. And when he was desirous of fighting himself among them, his friends would not let him; and this refusal of theirs was founded upon very wise reasons: "For, (said they,) if we be conquered when he is with us, we have lost all good hopes of recovering ourselves; but if we should be beaten in one part of our army, the other parts may retire to him, and may thereby prepare a greater force against us, and will have the ground to suppose that he hath another army with him." So David was pleased with this their advice, and resolved himself to tarry at Mahanaim. And as he sent him six days’ victual, he desired them to show all possible alacrity and fidelity, and to bear in mind what advantages they received from him, though they had not been victorious, and they might be insensible; and he begged of them to spare the young man Absalom, lest some mischief should befall himself if he should be killed. And thus did he send out his army to the battle, and wished them a victory therein.

2. Then did Joab put his army in battle array over against the enemy in the great plain, where he had a wood behind him. Absalom also brought his army into the field to oppose him. Upon the joining of the battle, both sides showed great actions with their hands and their boldness; the one side exposing themselves to the greatest hazards, and using their utmost alacrity, that David might recover his kingdom; and the other being now very deficient, either in doing or suffering, that Absalom might not be deprived of that kingdom, and be brought to punishment by his father, for his impudent attempt against him. These also that were the most numerous were

solicitous that they might not be conquered by those few that were with Joab, and with the other commanders. Now it was the greatest disgrace to them, while David’s soldiers strove greatly to overcome so many thousands [as the enemy had with them.] Now David’s men respected his presence while he was in his former prosperity. These were Barzillai the Gileadite, and Siphah the ruler among the Ammonites, and Machir the principal man of Gilead, with the fierce and sanguinary forebearers of the country, the Ammonites and Moabites, and the Edomites, and the Arabians, of whom, though they were not in the number, for there fell about twenty thousand that day. But all David’s men ran violently upon Absalom, for he was easily known by his beauty and softness. He was himself also afraid lest his enemies should seize on him, so he got upon the king’s mule and fled; but as he was carried with violence, and noise, and a great motion, as being himself light, he entangled his hair greatly in the large boughs of a knotty tree that spread a great way, and there he hung after a surprising time; and as for the beast, it went on further, and that swifly, as if his master had been still upon his back; but he hanging in the air upon the boughs, was taken by his enemies.

Now when one of David’s soldiers saw this, he informed Joab of it, and he commanded him without delay, that "if he had shot at and killed Absalom, he would have given him fifty shekels,” he replied, "I would not have killed my master’s son"; he would not have given him a thousand shekels, especially when he desired that the young man might be spared, in the hearing of us all." But Joab bade him show him where it was that he saw Absalom hang; whereupon he shot him to the heart, and slew him, and Joab’s armour-bearers stood round about the tree, and pulled down his dead body, and cast it into a great chasm that was out of sight, and laid a heap of stones upon him till the cavity was filled up, and both had the appearance and the bigness of a grave. Then Absalom fell at once, and recollected his own soldiers from pursuing the enemy’s army, in order to spare their countrymen.

3. Now Absalom had erected for himself a marble pillar in the king’s dale, two furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which he named Absalom’s Hand, saying, that if his children were killed, his name would remain by that pillar; for he had three sons, and then he died. And as we said before, who, when she was married to David’s grandson, Rehoboam, bare a son, Abijah by name, who succeeded his father in the kingdom: but of his case we speak not here, as it is our business to show how the war was carried on, which will be more proper. After the death of Absalom, they returned every one to their own homes respectively.

4. But now the prince of Zadok, the high priest, went to Joab, and desired he would permit him to go and tell David of this victory, and bring to him: the good news that God had afforded his assistance and his providence to him. However, he did not grant his request; but said to him, "Wilt thou, who hast always been the messenger of good news, go and acquaint the king that his son is dead?" So he desired him to desist. He then called Cushi, and committed the business to him, that he should tell the king what he had seen. But when Ahimaaz in further desire to tell it to him as soon as possible, and assured him that he would only relate what concerned the victory, but not concerning the death of Absalom, he gave him leave to go to David. Now when Absalom’s charioteer came, he said, "Cushi did, for nobody knew it but himself, and he came before Cushi. Now as David was sitting between the gates, and waiting to see when causes were heard, and public consultations taken, as it is well known from several places of scripture, 2 Chron. xiv. 14; Ezra ii. 2; Ps. cvii. 16; Prov. xlix. 6; Ps. cit. 93: xxxi. 93; and often elsewhere.

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somewhere would come to him from the battle, and then he knew how he was out. When the watchmen saw Ahimeazel running, and before he could disclose who he was, he told David that he saw somebody coming to him; who said, he was a good messenger. A little while after he informed him that another messenger followed him; whereupon the king said that he was also a good messenger: but when the watchmen saw Ahimeazel running, and that he was already very near, he gave the king notice that it was the son of Zadok the high priest, who came running. So David was very glad, and said, "He was a messenger of good tidings, and brought him some such news from the battle as he desired to hear." 5. While the king was saying thus, Ahimeazel appeared, and worshipped the king. And when the king inquired of him about the battle, he said, "He brought him the good news of victory and dominion." And when he inquired what he had to say concerning his son, he said, that "he came away on the sudden as soon as the enemy was defeated, but that he heard a great noise of those that pursued Absalom, and that he could earn nothing of the battle, because as he made his way, when Joab sent him to inform him of the victory, "But when Cushil was come, and had worshipped him, and informed him of the victory, he said to his son, why so? He replied, "May the like misfortune befall thine enemies as has befallen Absalom." That word did not permit either himself or his soldiers to rejoice for the victory, though it was a very great one; but David went up to the highest part of the city, and wept for his son, and beat his breast, tearing [the hair off] his head, and tormenting himself all manner of ways, and crying out, "O my son! I wish that I had died myself, and ended my days with thee!" For he was of a tender natural affection, and had extraordinary compassion for this son, in particular. But when the army and Joab heard that the king mourned for this son, they were ashamed to enter the city in the habit of conquerors, but they all came as in cast down, and uncapping, as if they had been beaten. Now while the king covered himself, and grievously lamented his son, Joab went in to him, and comforted him, and said, "O my lord the king, thou art just, and thou hast judged thyself on thyself by what thou now dost: for thou seestest to hate those that love thee, and undergo dangers for thee; nay, to hate thyself and thy family, and that are thy bitter enemies, and to desire the company of those that are no more, and who have been justly slain; for had Absalom gotten the victory, and firmly settled himself in the kingdom, there had been none of us left alive, but all of us, beginning with thyself and thy children, have miserably perished, while our enemies had not wept over us, but rejoiced over us, and punished even those that pittied us in our misfortunes; and thou art not ashamed to do this in the case of one that has been thy bitter enemy, who, while he was alive, hath proved so wicked to thee. Leave off, therefore, thy unreasonable grief, and come abroad and be seen by thy soldiers, and return them thanks for the alacrity they showed in the fight, that the king will this day persuade the people to leave thee, and to give the kingdom to another, if thou continuest to do thus; and then I shall make thee to grieve bitterly, and in earnest, and to think upon this evil to thee, and make the king leave off his sorrow, and brought him to the consideration of his affairs. So David changed his habit, and exposed himself in a manner fit to be seen by the multitude, and sat at the gate upon the steps of the city, and there set up all the people heard of it, and ran together to him, and saluted him. And this was the present state of David's affairs.

CHAP. XI.

How David, when he had recovered his Kingdom, was reconciled to Shimei, and to Ziba; and showed a great Affection to Barrullai; and how, upon the Rise of a Sedition, he made Amasa Captain of his host, in order to pursue Sheba, which Amasa was slain by Joab.

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

2. When the ambassadors came to him, he came to Jerusalem; and the tribe of Judah was the first that came to meet the king at the river Jordan. And Shimei, the son of Gerar, came hither with a very great multitude, and blessed him out of the tribe of Benjamin; and Ziba, the freedman of Saul, with his sons, fifteen in number, and with his twenty servants. All these, as well as the tribe of Judah, had a bridge [of boats] over the river, that the king and those that were with him, might with ease pass over it. Now as soon as he was come to Jordan, the tribe of Judah saluted him only. Shimei also came upon the bridge, and took hold of his feet, and prayed him "to forgive him what he had offended, and not to be too bitter against him, nor to think fit to make him suffer the severity under his new authority; but to consider that he had repented of his failure of duty, and had taken care to come first of all to him." While he was thus entreating the king, and moving him by compassion, Abishai, Joab's brother, said, "And shall not this man die for this, that he hath cursed that king whom God hath appointed to present reading in Josephus, and for city should read g-er, i.e. instead of the highest part of the city, should say the city wall, and since our other copies say, he 'went up to the chamber over the gate,' 3 Sam. xix. 51, I think we ought to correct our
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reign over us?" But David turned himself to him, and said, "Will ye never leave off, ye sons of Zeruiah? Do not ye, I pray, raise new troubles and seditions among us, now the former are over; for I would not have ye ignorant that this day begin my reign, and therefore swear to remit all offenders their punishments, and not banish or curseth any one that hath sinned. Be thou therefore, (said he,) O Shimeah of good courage, and do not at all fear being put to death." So he worshipped him, and went on before him.

2. Mephibosheth also, Saul's grandson, met David, clothed in a sordid garment, and having his hair thick and neglected: for after David was fled away, he was in such grief that he had not pulled his head, nor had he washed his clothes, as dooming himself to undergo such hardships upon occasion of the change of the king's affairs. Now he had been unjustly calumniated to the king by Ziba his steward. When he had saluted the king, and worshipped him, the king began to ask him, "Why he did not go out of Jerusalem with him, and accompany him during the flight?" He replied, That "this piece of injustice was owing to Ziba; because, when he was ordered to get things ready for his going out with him, he sent to me to know what I had; and then, when he saw that I had been a slave, and indeed, had I had my feet sound and strong, I had not deserted thee, for I could then have made use of them in my going out with thee; but I lost them, which I supposed was the fault of Ziba. Ziba has done me, as to my duty to thee, my lord and my master, but he hath calumniated me besides, and told lies about me of my own inventions. I know not what rules he has used, calumnies, but is righteously disposed, and a lover of truth, which it is also the will of God should prevail. For when thou wast in the greatest danger of suffering by my grandfather, and when, on that account, our whole family might justly have been destroyed, thou wast moderate and merciful, and didst then especially remember us, thou hast the power of punishing us for them; but thou hast judged me to be thy friend, and hast set me every day at thine own table, nor have I wanted any thing which the king's household could have had. And I have used kind usage to thee. And when he said this, David resolved neither to punish Mephibosheth when he came to condemn Ziba, for he was himself the father's master; but said to him, that as he had [before] granted all his estate to Ziba because he did not come along with him, so he now promised the same to give him, and commanded that the one half of his estate should be restored to him. Whereupon Mephibosheth said, "Nay, let Ziba take it; it suffices me that thou hast recovered thy kingdom."

4. But David desired Barzillai, the Gileadite, that great and good man, and one that had made a plentiful provision for him at Mahanaim, and conducted him as far as Jordan, to accompany him to Jerusalem, for he promised to treat him in his old age with all manner of respect; to take care of him, and provide for him. But Barzillai was so desirous to live at home, that he entreated him to excuse him from attendance on him; and said, That "his age was too great to enjoy the pleasures [of a court], since he was fourscore years old, and was therefore making provision for his death and burial; so he desired him to gratify him in this request, and dismiss him, for he had no relish for his meat or his drink, and had much shut up to hear the sound of pipes, or the melody of other musical instruments, such as those that have with kings delight in them. But he entreated for this so earnestly, the king said, "I dismiss thee, but thou shalt grant me thy son Chimham, and upon him I will bestow all sorts of good things." And Barzillai left part of his substance to him, and worshipped the king, and wished him a prosperous conclusion of all his affairs according to his own mind, and then returned home; but David came to Gilgal, having about him half the people of Israel, and the whole tribe of Judah.

5. Now the principal men of the country came to Gilgal to him with a great multitude, and complained of the tribe of Judah, that they had come to him in a private manner, whereas they ought all conjointly, and with one and the same intention, to have given him the meeting. But the rulers of the tribe of Judah desired them not to be displeased, if they had been prevented by them; for said they, "We are David's kinsmen, and are all of the same blood; we love and care of him, and loved him, and so came first to him; yet had they not, by their early coming, received any gifts from him, which might give us a reason and a just cause to be blamed; but the rulers of the tribe of Judah had said this, the rulers of the other tribes were not quiet, but said farther, "O brethren, we cannot but wonder at you, when you call the rest of such a man alone, whereas he that hath received from God the power over all of us in common, ought to be esteemed a kinsman to us all; for which reason the whole people have eleven parts in him, and you but one part: we also are elder than you; wherefore you have not done justly in coming to the king in this private and concealed manner."

6. While these rulers were thus disputing one with another, a certain wicked man who took a pleasure in seditious practices, (his name was Sheba, the son of Bichri, of the tribe of Benjamin,) stood up in the midst of the multitude, and cried aloud, and spake thus to them: "We have no part in David, nor inheritance in the son of Jesse." And all the men who had used the king blew with a trumpet, and declared war against the king, and they all left David, and followed him; the tribe of Judah alone steid with him, and settled him in his former palace at Mahanaim. But as for his concubines, with whom Absalom his son had accompanied, truly he removed them to another house; and ordered those that had the care of them to make a plentiful provision for them, but he came not near them any more. He also appointed Amasa for the captain of his forces, and gave him the same high office which Joab before had; and commanded him to gather together out of the tribe of Judah as great an army as he could, and to come to him within three days, that he might deliver to him his entire army, and might settle him there. But Joab, the son of Bichri. Now while Amasa was gone out, and made some delay in gathering the army together, and so was not yet returned, on the third day the king said to Joab, "It is not fit we a man as he was should not be able to procure some others as it was for the sake of the census!" I clearly profess Josephus's reading here, when it supposes slaves tribes, including Benjamin, to be on the one side, and the sons of the house of Saul, and less firm to David hitherto than any of the rest, and so cannot be supposed to have rejoiced or refused to bring Mephibosheth as an one of his own, on which he might ride to David, it is hard to suppose that so great
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should make any delay in this affair of Sheba; lest he get a numerous army about him, and be the occasion of greater mischief, and hurt our affairs more than did Absalom himself; do not thou, therefore, tarry, but make use of all thy forces as thou hast at hand, and that [old body] of six hundred men, and thy brother Abishai with the other of the army, and endeavour to fight him wherever thou seest occasion to overtake him. Make haste to prevent him, lest he seize upon some fenced cities, and cause us great sorrow, and perhaps we cannot take him.”

7. So Joab resolved to make no delay, but taking with him his brother, and those six hundred men, and giving orders that the rest of the army which was at Jerusalem should follow him, he marched with great speed against Sheba; and when he was come to Gibeon, which is a village forty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, Amasa brought a great army with him, and met Joab. Now Joab was girded with a sword and his breastplate on; and when Amasa came near to salute him, he took particular care that his sword should fall out as it was of its own accord: so he took it up from the ground, and while he approached Amasa, who was then near him, as though he would kiss him, he took hold of his beard with his other hand, and he smote him in his belly when he did not foresee it, and slew him. This impious and altogether profane action, Joab did to a good young man, and a valiant man, and one that had done him no injury, and this out of jealousy that he would obtain the chief command of the army, and be in equal dignity with himself about the king; and for this reason he killed Abner. But as to that former wicked action, the death of his brother Asahel, which he seemed to revenge, afforded him a decent pretence, and that gave an occasion to murder Amasa; but in this murder of Amasa there was no such covering for it. Now when Joab had killed this general, he pursued after Sheba, having left a man with the dead body, who was ordered to proclaim aloud to the army, that Amasa was justly slain, and deservedly punished. “But, (said he,) if you be for the king, follow Joab his general, and Abishai Joab’s brother.” But because the body lay on the road, and the multitude came running to it, and, as is usual with the multitude, when they see a great while at it, he that guarded it removed it from the road, and set it in a certain place that was very remote from the road, and there laid it, and covered it with his garment. When all the people followed Joab. Now as he pursued Sheba through all the country of Israel, one told him that he was in a strong city called Abel-beth-maacah; hereupon Joab went thither, and set about it with his army, and cast up a bank round it, and ordered his soldiers to undermine the walls, and to overthrew them; and since the people in the city did not admit him, he was greatly displeased at them.

8. Now there was a woman of small account, and yet both wise and intelligent, who seeing her husband at the last extremity, ascended upon the wall, and by means of the armed men called for Joab; and when he came near her, she began to say, that “God ordained kings and princes to subdue the enemies of men, and to destroy the enemies of the Hebrews, and introduce a universal peace among them; but thou art thus deavouring to overthrow and depopulate a most eminent city, which has been guilty of no offence.” But he replied, “God continue to be merciful unto me: I am disposed to avoid killing any one of the people, much less would I do any thing like this: and if they will deliver me up Sheba, the son of Bichri, who hath rebelled against the king, I will leave off the siege, and withdraw the army from the place.” Now as soon as the woman heard what Joab said, she desired him to intermit the siege for a little while, for that she should have the head of his enemy thrown out to him presently. So she went and fetched the head of Abner, and brought it to Joab, who said, “Will you be so wicked as to perish miserably, with your children and wives, for the sake of a vile fellow, and one whom nobody knew? And wilt thou place him for your king instead of David, who hath been so great a benefactor to you, and oppose your city alone to such a mighty army and strong people, and put before you, and they cut off the head of Sheba, and threw it into Joab’s army. When this was done, the king’s general sounded a retreat, and raised the siege: and when he was come to Jerusalem, he was again appointed to be general of all the people. The king also constituted Benainah captain of the guards and of the six hundred men. He also set Adoram over the tribute, and Sabaethas and Achilias over the records. He made Sheva the scribe, and appointed Zadok and Abiathar the high priests.

CHAP. XII.

How the Hebrews were delivered from a famine, when the Gibeonites had caused Punishment to be inflicted for those of them that had borne false witness; as also what great Actions were performed against the Philistines by David, and the men of Valour about him.

§ I. After this, when the country was greatly afflicted with a famine, David besought God to have mercy on the people, and to discover to him what was the cause of it, and how a remedy might be found. And when the prophets answered, that God would have the Gibeonites avenged, whom Saul the king was wicked as to betray to slaughter, and had not observed the oath which Joshua the general and the senate had sworn to them. If, therefore, said God, the king would permit such vengeance to be taken for those that were slain, as the Gibeonites desire, he promised that he would be reconciled to them, and free the multitude from their miseries. As soon, therefore, as the king understood that this it was which God sought, he sent for the Gibeonites, and asked them, What it was they would have, and when they desired to have seven sons of Saul delivered to them, to be slain, he did not deny it, but gave them up, and took Mephibosheth, the son of Jonathan. So when the Gibeonites had received the men, they punished them as they pleased; upon which David was much indignant at all the people following Joab. Now as he pursued Sheba through all the country of Israel, one told him that he was in a strong city called Abel-beth-maacah; hereupon Joab went thither, and set about it with his army, and cast up a bank round it, and ordered his soldiers to undermine the walls, and to overthrew them; and since the people in the city did not admit him, he was greatly displeased at them.

8. Now there was a woman of small account, and yet both wise and intelligent, who seeing her husband at the last extremity, ascended upon the wall, and by means of the armed men called for Joab; and when he came near her, she began to say, that “God ordained kings and princes to subdue the enemies of men, and to destroy the enemies of the Hebrews, and introduce a universal peace among them; but thou art thus deavouring to overthrow and depopulate a most eminent city, which has been guilty of no offence.” But he replied, “God continue to be merciful unto me: I am disposed to avoid killing any one of the people, much less would I do any thing like this: and if they will deliver me up Sheba, the son of Bichri, who hath rebelled against the king, I will leave off the siege, and withdraw the army from the place.”
3. When the king heard that the Philistines were gone up into the Philistine mountains, he sent an army against them, when Sibbecai, the Hittite, one of David's most courageous men, behaved himself so as to deserve great commendation. He fought against the five sons of the giants. He slew them all, and the Philistines fought again: and when David had sent an army against them, Nophan, his kinman, fought in a single combat with the stoutest of all the Philistines, and put him to death. Many of them also were slain in the fight. A little while after this, the Philistines pitched their camp at a city which lay not far off the bounds of the country of the Hebrews. They had a man who was six cubits tall, and had on each of his feet and hands one more toe and finger than men naturally have. Now the person who was sent against him by David out of his army was Jonathan, the son of Shimea, who fought this man in a single combat, and slew him; and as he was the person who gave the turn to the battle, he desired to inquire of God concerning what was to happen in the war again: and when David had sent an army against them, Nophan, his kinman, fought in a single combat with the stoutest of all the Philistines, and put him to death. Many of them also were slain in the fight. After this, the Philistines made war no more against the Israelites. We leave this passage.

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

4. Now all the men that were about David, were men of war and of men of counsel. These last were very numerous and famous of them for their actions were thirty-eight; of five of whom I will only relate the performances, for these will suffice to show that they were the most eminent men in Israel also; for these were powerful enough to subdue countries, and conquer great nations. First, therefore, was Jassiel, the son of Achimana, who frequently was upon the troop, and was in the front line and did not leave off fighting till he overthrew nine hundred of them. After him was Eleazar, the son of Dodo, who was with the king at Arad. This man, when once the Israelites were under a consternation by the multitude of the Philistines, and were running away, stood alone, and fell upon the enemy, and slew many of them, till his sword clung by the hill and the liquor of his flesh was shed, and till the Israelites, seeing the Philistines retire by his means, came down from the mountains and pursued them, and at that time won a surprising hand and victory. Eleazar slew the men, and the multitude followed and spoiled their dead bodies. The third was Sheba, the son of Hush. Now this man, when in the wars against the Philistines, pitched their camp at a place called Ledi, and when the Hebrews were again afraid of their enemy, and did not stand, he stood alone, as an army and a body of men, and some of them he overthrew, and some, who were not able to abide his strength and force, he pursued. These are the works of the hands, and of fighting, which these three performed. Now at the time when the king was once at Jerusalem, and the army of the Philistines came upon him to fight him, David went up to the top of the citadel, as we have already said, and he inquired of God concerning the battle. The enemy's camp lay in the valley that extends to the city Bethlehem, which is twenty furlongs distant from Jerusalem. Now David said to his companions, "We will have excellent water; we have an excellent water." So they went and took water, which was near the gate." wondering if any one would bring him some of it to drink: but he said that he "would have no other on that account to drink it." But he poured it out to God, and gave him thanks for it. And Abishai, Josue's brother; for he in one day slew six hundred. The fifth of these was Benia, by lineage a priest; for being challenged by [two] men who came against him, he slew them both, and came by his valour. Moreover, there was a man, by nation an Egyptian, who was of a vast bulk, and challenged him; yet did he, when he was unarmed, kill him with his own spear, which he threw at him, for he caught him by force, and took away his weapon, while he was alive and to Babylon at the captivity of the two tribes, were brought back after that captivity; as also, that the singers and musicians, who outlived that captivity, came back with those instruments: Ezra ii. 41; iv. 24; Neh. vii. 44; Antip. B. xii. ch. iii. sect. 8, and ch. iv. sect. 11; and that these music and these instruments at the temple could not be well known to Josephus, a priest belonging to that temple; who accordingly gives us a short description of three of the instruments, B. xii. ch. iii. sect. 8, as well as a distinct account, that such psalms and hymns were sung in his days at that temple, Antip. B. xii. ch. ix. sect. 6: so that Josephus's authority, at least, is not to be rated as very probable. Nor any hypothesis of the moderns, that does not agree with Josephus's characters, be justly supposed the true metre of the ancient poems, whether they were sung at the temple, or whether they were sung at the court; nor any other original authority now extant, hitherto relating, be opposed to these testimonies before us. That the ancient music of the Jews, and the psalms and hymns, and the national songs and odes, and the religious songs, and the sarabees, are so various and in great variety of tunes, is evident by the number of their musical instruments, and by the necessity of another most excellent judgment. Josephus, Antiq. B. xii. sect. 4, ch. iv. sect. 11, all which implies, that he thought those Hebrew poems must have been described to the Greeks and Romans, and been used by them in their synagogues, temples, and fastmeetings. When the Hebrews, and some of them were carried to Babylon at the captivity of the two tribes, were brought back after that captivity; as also, that the singers and musicians, who outlived that captivity, came back with these instruments: Ezra ii. 41; iv. 24; Neh. vii. 44; Antip. B. xii. ch. iii. sect. 8, and ch. iv. sect. 11; and that this music and these instruments at the temple could not be well known to Josephus, a priest belonging to that temple; who accordingly gives us a short description of three of the instruments, B. xii. ch. iii. sect. 8, as well as a distinct account, that such psalms and hymns were sung in his days at that temple, Antip. B. xii. ch. ix. sect. 6: so that Josephus's authority, at least, is not to be rated as very probable. 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ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

Chapter XIII.

That when David had numbered the People, they were punished; and how the Divine Compassion restrained that Punishment.

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

2. Now when the prophets had signified to David that God was angry at him, he began to enquire whether he should be reconciled to him, and forgive his sin. But God sent Nathan the prophet to him, to propose to him the election of three things, that he might choose one of them. "Whether he would have a famine come upon the country for seven years? or would have a war, and be subdued three months by his enemies? or whether God should send a distemper upon the people, and burn them with the sword?" But as he was fallen to a fatal choice of great miseries, he was in trouble, and sorely confounded; and when the prophet had said that he must of necessity make his choice, and had ordered him to answer quickly, then he might declare what he should do. Then the king repeated with himself, that in case he should ask for famine, he would appear to do it for others, and without danger to himself; since he had a great deal of corn reserved up to the barns of others: that in case he should choose to be overcome [by his enemies]; he might appear to have chosen war, because he had valiant men about him, and strong holds; and, that, therefore, he feared nothing therefrom; so he chose that affliction which is common to kings and to their subjects, and in which the four was equal on all sides; and said this beforehand, that it was much better to fall into the hands of God than into those of his enemies.

3. When the prophet had heard this, he declared it to God; who thereafter sent a pestilence upon the Hebrews; nor did they die one after the other and the same manner, nor so that it was easy to know what the distemper was. Now the miserable disease was one indeed, but it carried them off by ten thousand causes and occasions, which those that were afflicted could not understand. It was another, and the terrible malady seized them before they were aware, and brought them to their end suddenly; some giving up the ghost very old, others immediately; some in grief, and some were worn away by their distempers, and had nothing remaining to be buried, but as soon as ever they fell, were entirely massacred; some were chased, and greatly burned, and perished their case, as being also stricken with a sudden darkness; some there were, who, as they were burying a relation, fell dead, without being yet wrapped in their shroud; others were stricken with a distemper which began with the morning and lasted till the hour of dinner, seventy thousand. Nay, the angel stretched out his hand over Jerusalem, as sending this terrible judgment upon it. But David had put on sackcloth, and lay upon the ground, entreatning God, and begging that the distemper might now cease, and that he would be satisfied with those that had already perished. And when the king looked up into the air, and saw the angel carried along thereby unto Jerusalem, with his sword drawn, he thought he might be punished, who was his shepherd, but that the sheep ought to be preserved, as not having sinned at all; and he implored God that he would have mercy upon the whole city, and upon all his family, but spare the people.

4. When God heard his supplication, he caused the pestilence to cease; and sent God the prophet to tell him how he was to be reconciled to him, immediately to the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, and build an altar there to God, and offer sacrifices. When David heard that, he did not neglect his duty; but made haste to the presence of human before Divine law, seeming to us the principal character of philosophers or anti-Christian nations. Accordingly, Josephus well observes, Antiq. B. iv. ch. vii. sect. 17, that it was the duty of the people of Israel to take care that the king did not exceed their proper limits of power, and prove unaccountable by the laws of God, which would certainly be a most perilous thing to their Divine settlement. Nor do I think that negligence peculiar to the Jews; those nations which are called Christians are sometimes indeed very subservient to religion, but they too are governed by human laws of their several kingdoms; and without the like care for restraining them, from breaking the laws of God, they have been able to make laws to unto men more than unto God, judge ye," Acts iv. 19. We ought to obey God rather than men," ver. 33.

5. We have seen that the distemper was caused by the unusual and sudden appearance of several pestilential symptoms, and most invisible methods of dying in this terrible pestilence, we cannot now tell, our other reasons according as we name our countries.
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place appointed him. Now Arraunah was threshing wheat; and when he saw the king and all his host come near, he came to him, and worshipped him: he was by his lineage a Jebusite, but a particular friend of David; and for that cause it was, that when he overthrew the city he did him no harm, as we informed the reader a little before. Now Arraunah inquired "Wherefore is my lord come to my servant?" He answered, "To buy of him the threshing-floor, that he might therein build an altar to God, and offer a sacrifice." He replied, "that he freely gave him both the threshing-floor, and the plough-oxen, and the oxen for a burnt-offering; and he besought God graciously to accept his sacrifice." But the king made answer, that he took his generosity and magnanimity kindly, and accepted his good will, but he desired him to take the price of them all, for it was not just to offer a sacrifice that cost nothing. And when Arraunah said, he would do as he pleased, he bought the threshing-floor of him for fifty shekels. And when he had thus bought it, he performed divine service, and brought a burnt-offering, and offered peace-offerings also. With these God was pacified, and became gracious to them again. Now it is said, that Abraham came and offered his son Isaac for a burnt-offering at that very place; and when the youth was ready to have his throat cut, a ram appeared on a sudden; and the Lord said, "Abraham and Isaac shall be sacrificed in the stead of his son, as we have before related. Now when king David saw that God had heard his prayer, and had graciously accepted him, he sent for all the chief men, that entire place the altar of all the people, and to build a temple to God there. Which words he uttered very aptly to what was to be done. And he sent for Solomon, and told him, that there should his son build him an altar, that son who was to take the kingdom after him.

CHAP. XIV.

That David made great Preparations for the House of God; and that upon Adonijah's Attempt to gain the Kingdom, he appointed Solomon to reign.

§ 1. After the delivery of this prophecy, the king commanded the strangers to be numbered; and they were found to be one hundred and eighty thousand: of these he appointed four-score thousand to be hewers of stone, and the rest to carry burdens on them he set over the workmen three thousand and five hundred. He also prepared a great quantity of iron and brass for the work, with many (and those exceeding large) cedar trees; the Tyrians and Sidonians sending them to him, for he had sent to them for a supply of those trees. And he told his friends that these things were now prepared, that he might leave materials ready for the building of the temple to his son, who was to reign after him, and that he might not have them to seek then, when he was very young, and by reason of his age, unskillful in such matters, but might have them lying by him, and so might the more readily complete the work.

2. So David called his son Solomon, and charged him, when he had received the kingdom, to build a temple to God; and said, "I was willing to build God a temple myself, but he prohibited me, because I was polluted with blood and wars: but he hath foretold, that Solomon, my youngest son, should build him a temple, and should be called by that name, which Dathan, and Abiram made to take the like care, as a father takes over his sons; and that he would make the country of the Hebrews happy under him, and that, not only in his respect, but by giving it peace and freedom from wars, and from internal seditions, which are the greatest of all blessings. Since, therefore, (says he,) thou wast ordained by God himself before thou wast born, and endeavoured thyself worthy of this his providence, as in other instances, so particularly in being religious, and righteous, and courageous. Keep thou also his commands, and his laws, which he hath given us by Moses, and do not permit others to break them. Be zealous also to dedicate to God a temple, which he hath chosen to be built under thy reign; nor be thou affrighted by the vastness of the work, nor set about it timorously for I will make all things ready before I die: and I take notice, that there are already ten thousand talents of gold, and a hundred thousand talents of silver, collected together. I have also laid together brass and iron without number, and an immense quantity of timber and of stones. Moreover, thou hast many ten thousands of workers and carpenters; and if thou shalt want any thing farther, do thou add somewhat of thine own. Wherefore, if thou performest this work, thou shalt not only be acceptable to God, but also to thy father. David also further exhorted the rulers of the people to assist his son in this building, and to attend to the divine service, when they should be from the court. This he foretells, and sets him in his place already over all the people of the land, and he would have the ark set up there, and he would have the temple built there; and when the temple was once built, they should put the ark therein, with the holy vessels, and he assured them, that they should have had a temple long ago, if their fathers had not been negligent of God's commands, who had given it in charge, that when they had not the possession of this land, they should build him a temple. This did David discourse to the governors and to his son.

3. David was now in years, and his body, by length of time, was become cold, and consumed, insomuch that he could not heat himself with many clothes: and when the physicians came together, they agreed to this advice, that a beautiful virgin, chosen out of the royal family, should suckle him, and by that means, and by that dainty food which would communicate heat to him, and be a remedy against his numbness. Now there was found in the city one woman of a superlative beauty to all other women, (her name was Abishag,) who, sleeping with the king, did no more than communicate warmth to him, for he was so old that he could not know her as a husband knows his wife. But of this woman we shall speak more presently.

4. Now the fourth son of David was a beautiful young man, and tall, born to him of Haggith his wife. He was named Adonijah, and was in his disposition like to Absalom; and exalted himself as hoping to be king; and told his friends that he ought to take the government for himself. He also prepared many chariots and horses, and fifty men to run before him. When his father saw this, he did not reprove him, nor restrain him from his purpose, nor did he go to seek wherefore he did so? Now Adonijah had for many years been afterwards his father, for he was born in 1 Chron. xxix. 29, 30; and xxii. 1; to which places refer the reader.

Of the quantity of gold and silver expended in the building of Solomon's temple, and wherein it arose, see the Description of the Temple, chap. xxvii.
his assistants, Joash the captain of the army, and Abiathar the high priest; and the only persons that opposed him were Zadok the high priest, and the prophet Nathan, and Benaiah, who was one of the mighty men, and Shimei, David's friend, with all the other most mighty men. Now Adonijah had prepared a supper out of the city, near the fountain that was in the king's paradise, and had invited all his brethren, except Solomon, and had taken with him Joab the captain of the army, and Abiathar, and the rulers of the tribe of Judah; but had invited to this feast neither the high priest, nor Nathan the prophet, nor Benaiah the captain of the guards, nor any of those of the contrary party. This matter was told by Nathan the prophet to Bathsheba, Solomon's mother, that Adonijah was king, and that David knew nothing of it; and he advised her to save herself, and her son Solomon, and to go by herself to David, and say to him, that he had indeed sworn that Solomon should reign after him, but that, in the mean time, Adonijah had already taken the kingdom. He said, that he, the prophet himself, would come after her, and would make known to the king all the things which she had told him. Accordingly, Bathsheba agreed with Nathan, and went in to the king, and worshipped him, and when she had made an end of all his speech with him, she told him all things in the manner that Nathan had suggested to her; and related what a supper Adonijah had made, and who they were whom he had invited. Abiathar, the high priest, and Joab the general, and David's sons, excepting Solomon and his intimate friends. She also said, "That all the people had their eyes upon him, to know what would befall them in their future punishment. She desired him also to consider how, after his departure, Adonijah, if he were king, would slay her and her son Solomon. 3. Now as Bathsheba was speaking, the keeper of the king's chambers told him, that Nathan desired to see him. And when the king had commanded that he should be admitted, he came in, and asked him, whether he had ordained Adonijah to be king, and delivered the government to him or not? for that he had made a splendid supper, and invited all his sons, except Solomon, as also that he had invited Joab the captain of his host, [and Abiathar the high priest,] who are feasting with applause, and many joyful sounds of instruments, and wish that his kingdom may last for ever. He hath not given the kingdom to Zadok the high priest, nor Benaiah the captain of the guards: and it is but fit that all should know whether this be done by thy approbation or not. What then? saith he. And the king commanded that they should call Bathsheba to him, for she had gone out of the room when the prophet came. And when Bathsheba was come, David said, "I swear by Almighty God, that thy son Solomon shall certainly be king, as I formerly swore, and that he shall sit upon my throne, and that this very day also." So Bathsheba worshiped him, and wished him a long life; and the king sent for Zadok the high priest, and Benaiah the captain of the guards; and when they were come, he ordered them to take with them Nathan the prophet, and all the armed men about the palace, and to set his son Solomon upon the king's mule, and to carry him out of the city to the Gihon, and to anoint him there with the holy oil, and to make him king. He charged Zadok the high priest, and Nathan the prophet, to do, and commanded them to fish for the Messiah in the midst of the city, and to sound the trumpets, and to wish aloud: '"That Solomon the king may sit upon the royal throne for ever,' that so all the people may know that he has been anointed king by his father. He also gave Solomon a charge concerning his government, to rule the whole nation of the Hebrews, and particularly the tribe of Judah, religiously and righteousv. And when Benaiah had prayed to God to be favourable to Solomon, without any delay they set Solomon upon the throne, and the people made the noise of the trumpet, and anointed him with oil, and brought him into the city again, with acclamations and wishes that his kingdom might continue a long time. And when they had introduced him into the king's house, they set him upon the throne. Whereupon all the people bestowed themselves to make merry, and to celebrate a festival, dancing, and singing; and the musical instruments were still both the earth and the air echoed with the multitude of the instruments of music. 6. Now when Adonijah and his guests perceived this noise, they were in disorder; and Joab, the captain of the host said, "He was not pleased with these echoes, and the sound of these trumpets." And when supper was set before them, nobody tasted of it, but they were all very thoughtful what would be the matter. Then Jonathan, the son of Abiathar the high priest, came running to them; and when Adonijah saw him he said, "Jonathan, I have heard that thou was a good messenger, he declaimed to them the whole matter about Solomon, and the determination of king David; hereupon both Adonijah and all his guests stood up, and every one fled to their own houses; but Adonijah also as afraid of the king for what he had done, became a supplicant to God, and took hold of the horns of the altar, which were prominent. It also told Solomon that he had so done; and that he desired to receive assurances from him that he would not remember the injury he had done, nor impose any punishment on them. Therefore, David answered very mildly and prudently that "he forgave him this his offence," but said withal, that "if he were found out in any attempt for new innovations, that he. would be the author of his own punishment." So he sent to him, and raised him up from the place of his supplication. And when he was come to the king, and had worshipped him, the king bade him go away to his own home, and have no suspicion of any harm; and desired him to show himself a worthy man, as what would tend to his own advantage. 7. And as David was king over all the people, called together their rulers to Jerusalem, with the priests and the Levites; and having first numbered the Levites, and all that was thirty years old and to fifty: out of which he appointed twenty-three thousand to take care of the building of the temple, and out of the same six thousand to carry the block, and four thousand for porters to the house of God, and as many for singers, to sing to the instruments which David had prepared, as we have said already. He divided them also into courses; and when he had separated the priests from them, he found of these priests twenty-four courses, sixteen of the house of Eleazar, and eight of that of Ithamar; and he ordained that one course should minister to God eight days from Sabbath to Sabbath. And thus were the courses distributed by lot, in the presence of David, and Zadok and Abiathar the high priests, and of all the rulers: and that course which came up first was written down as the first, and according the second, and so on to the twenty-fourth; and this partition hath remained to this day. He also made twenty-four parts of the tribe of Levi; and when they cast lots, they came up in the same manner for their four parts of the tribe of Levi, as well as the priests, who should serve God night and day, as Moses had enjoined them.
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8. After this he parted the entire army into twelve parts, with their leaders, and captains of thousands, and of hundreds. Now every part had twenty-four thousand, which were ordered to wait on Solomon, by thirty days at a time, from the first day till the last, with the captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds. And he also set rulers over every part, such as he knew to be good and righteous men. He set others also to take charge of the treasures, and of the villages, and of the bounds, and of the beasts. But I do not think it necessary to mention. When David had ordered all these offices after the manner before mentioned, he called the rulers of the Hebrews, and the heads of tribes, and the officers over the several divisions, and those that were appointed over every work, and every possession: and standing upon a high pulpit, he said to the multitude as follows: "My brethren and my people, I would have you know, that I intended to build a house for God, and prepared a large quantity of gold, and a hundred thousand talents of silver, but God prohibited me by the prophet Nathan, because of the wars I had on your account, and because my right hand was polluted with the slaughter of our enemies; but he promised me, that the son who should succeed me in the kingdom, should build a temple for him. Now, therefore, since you know that of the twelve sons whom Jacob our forefather had, Judah was preeminent, and he was the first son of Leah, and he was born before all the rest, now Solomon has received the kingdom, but to bear him cheerfully for their lord, as knowing that God hath chosen him: for it is not a grievous thing, if you hear that he is not God's will, but it is fit to rejoice when a brother hath obtained that dignity, since the rest partake of it with him. And I pray that the promises of God may be fulfilled; and that this happiness which he hath promised to bestow upon king Solomon, over all the country, may continue there for all time to come. And these promises, O son, will be firm, and come to a happy end, if thou showest thyself to be a religious and a righteous man, and an observer of the laws of thy country; but if not, expect adversity upon thee and thy descendants." 9. Now when the king had said this, he left off, but gave the description and pattern of the building of the temple in the sight of them all, to Solomon, who was a wise man and an observer of things inferior and superior, how many they were to be, and how large in height and in breadth; as also he determined the weight of the golden and silver vessels: moreover, he earnestly exhorted them with his words, to use the utmost alacrity about the work; he exhorted the rulers also, and particularly the tribe of Levi, to assist him, both because of his youth, and because God had chosen him to take care of the building of the temple, and of the government of the kingdom. He also declared to them the work would be easy, and not very laborious to them, because he had prepared for it many talents of gold, and more of silver, with timber, and a great many cedars, and the quantity of emeralds, and all sorts of precious stones; and he said, that even now he would give of the proper goods of his own dominion towards the temple. And other taxes would be paid, talents of pure gold, for the most holy place, and for the chariot of God, the cherubims, which are to stand over and cover the ark. Now when David had done speaking, there appeared great alacrity among the rulers, and the priests, and the Levites, who now contributed, and they gave great and splendid promises for a future contribution; for they undertook to bring of gold five thousand talents, and ten thousand drachmas, and of silver ten thousand talents, and manna, and two thousand talents of iron; and if any one had a precious stone he brought it, and beseeched it to be put among the treasures; of which Jachiel, one of the posterity of Moses, had the care. 10. Upon this occasion all the people rejoiced, as in particular did David, when he saw the zeal and forward ambition of the rulers and the priests, and of all the rest; and he began to bless God with a loud voice; calling him "the Father and Parent of the universe, and the Author of human and divine things, with which he has adorned Solomon, the patron and guardian of the Hebrew nation, and of its happiness, and of that kingdom which he hath given his son. Besides this, he prayed for happiness to all the people; and to Solomon his son, a sound and a righteous mind, and confirmed in all sorts of virtue;" and then he commanded the multitude to come and bless God. Upon this they fell down upon the ground, and worshipped him. They also gave thanks to David, on account of all the blessings which they had received ever since he had taken the kingdom. On the next day, the young men offered sacrifices to God, a thousand bullocksteers, and as many lambs, which they offered for burnt-offerings. They also offered peace-offerings, and slew many of the same kind of beasts; and the king feasted all day, together with all the people; and they anointed Solomon a second time with the oil, and appointed him to be king, and Zadok to be the high priest of the house of God, and when they had brought Solomon to the royal palace, and had set him upon his father's throne, they were obedient to him from that day.

CHAP. XV.

What charge David gave to his Son Solomon, at the Approach of his Death; and how many Things he left him for the Building of the Temple

§ 1. A LITTLE AFTERWARD David also fell into a distemper, by reason of his age; and perceiving that he was near to death, he called his son Solomon, and discoursed to him thus: "I am now, O my son, going to my grave and to my fathers, which is the common lot of men. I see that what is to be done now, or shall be hereafter, must go; from which way it is no longer possible to return, and to know any thing that is done in this world. On which account I exhort thee, while I am still alive, though already very near to death, in the same manner as I have formerly said in my advice to thee, to be righteous and good; among the ancients, and religious towards God, that hath given thee thy kingdom; to observe his commands and his laws, which he hath sent us by Moses; and neither do thou out of favour nor flattery any lust or other passion to vouch with thee, to disregard them; for if thou transgress his laws, thou wilt lose the favour of God, and thou wilt turn away from him and from the doing of all good things, but if thou behave thyself so as it becometh thee, and as I exhort thee, thou wilt preserve our kingdom to our family, and no other house will bear the name of Hebrews, and of ourselves, for all ages. But thou also mindful of the transgressions of Josha," the captain of the
host, who hath slain two generals out of envy, and those right good and good men, Abner the son of Ner, and Amasa the son of Jether, whose death doth avenge as shall seem good to thee, since Joab hath been too hard for me, and more potent over me, and hath escaped punish- ment hitherto. I also commit to thee the son of Barzillai the Gileadite, whom, in order to gratify me, thou shalt have in great honour, and take great care of; for we have not done good to him first, but we only repay that debt which we owe to his father, for what he did to me in my flight. There is also Shimei, the son of Gera, of the tribe of Benjamin, who, after he had made many reproaches upon me, when, in my flight, I was going to Mahanaim, met me at Jordan, and received assurances that he should then suffer nothing. Do thou now seek out for some just occasion, and punish him."

2. When David had given these admonitions to his son about public affairs, and about his friends, and about those whom he knew to deserve punishment, he died, having lived seventy years, and reigned seven years and six months in Hebron, over the tribe of Judah, and thirty-four years in Jerusalem, over all the country. This man was of an excellent character, and was endued with all virtues that were desirable in a king, and in one that had the preservation of so many tribes committed to him; for he was a man of valour in a very extraordinary degree, and went readily and first of all into dangers, when he was to fight for his subjects, as exciting the army by his own labours, and fighting for them, and not by commanding them in a despotic way. He was also of very great ability, any of his kings. Though Joab was so nearly related to David, and so potent in the army under a warlike administra tion of the tribe of Benjamin, who put him to death, yet he was also a man of valour, even in the time of Saul. Sam. iii. 39, and xix. 7. Shimei cursed the Lord's anointed, and this without any just cause, was the highest act of treason against God and his anointed king, and justly deserved death; and though David could forgive treason against himself, yet bad he done more in the case of Shimei than promised him that he would not take, on the ground of the punishment inflicted upon him to death, 2 Sam. xix. 22, and he swore to him no further, v. 23, as the words are in Josephus, than that he would not take him to death, which he performed, for was Solomon under any obligation to spare such a traitor.

BOOK VIII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-THREE YEARS—FROM THE DEATH OF DAVID TO THE DEATH OF AHAB.
he had reason to thank Solomon for giving him such an asylum; and added an oath, that he would do as he had done; and leaving the country, he made his abode in Jerusalem. But three years afterward, when he heard that two of his servants had run away from him, and were in Gath, he went for his servants; and when he was come back with them, the king perceived it, and was much displeased that he had contumaciously disobeyed his commands, and what was more, had no regard to the oaths he had sworn to God; so he called him, and said to him, "Didst thou not swear never to leave me, nor to go out of the bounds of this city to another? thou shalt not therefore escape punishment for thy perjury; but I will punish thee, thou wicked wretch, both for this crime, and for those wherewith thou didst abuse my father when he was in his flight, that thou mayest know that wicked men gain nothing at last, although they be not punished immediately upon their unjust practices, but that in all the time wherein they think themselves secure, because they have yet suffered nothing, their punishment increases, and is heavier upon them, and that to a greater degree than if they had been punished immediately upon the commission of their crimes." So Benaijah, on the king's command, slew Shimei.

CHAP. II.
Concerning the Wife of Solomon: concerning his Wisdom and Riches; and concerning what he obtained of Hiram for the Building of the Temple.

§ 1. Solomon having already settled himself firmly in his kingdom, and having brought his enemies to himself, he married the daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and built the walls of Jerusalem, much larger and stronger than those that had been before, and henceforward he managed public affairs very peacefully; nor was his youth any hindrance in the exercise of justice, or in the observation of the laws, or in the remembrance of what charged his father had given him at his death, but he discharged every duty with great accuracy, that might have been expected from such as are aged, and of the greatest prudence. He now resolved to go to Hiram, to provide for the temple and to discuss the question of the building of these splendid structures, which were built by Moses. Accordingly, he offered there burnt-offerings, in number a thousand; and when he had done this, he thought he had paid the greatest glory to God, for he was asleep that very night, God appeared to him, and commanded him to ask of him some gifts which he was ready to give him, as a reward for his piety. So Solomon asked of God what was most excellent and of the greatest worth in itself, what God would bestow with the greatest joy, and what it was most profitable for man to receive; for he did not desire to have bestowed upon him either gold or silver, or any other riches, as a man and a youth might naturally have done, for these are the things that are generally esteemed by most men, as also the first place, understanding and wisdom, and in this such a degree as no other mortal man, neither kings nor ordinary persons, ever had.
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He also promised to preserve the kingdom to his posterity for a very long time, if he continued righteous, and sent him to him, and imitation of the king's father in those things wherein he excelled. When Solomon heard this from God, he presently leaped out of his bed; and when he had waked, he determined to go to Jerusalem; and surnamed these: over the lot of Ephraim was Urs; over the topharchy of Bethlehem, was Diodorus: Abiahu, who married Solomon's daughter, had the region of Japhon, and the sea-coast, under him; the great plain was under Beilihah, the son of Achius; he also governed all the country as far as Jordan, as Jophiel and G rushing city [of Oj.] Achisdesign managed the affairs of all Galilee, as far as Sidon, and had himself also married a daughter of Solomon, whose name was Bathana: Banacates had the sea-coast about Arce, as bad Shaphat Mount Tabor, and Carmel, and the Lower Galilee, as far as the river Jordan; one man was appointed over all this country: Shimeel was entrusted with the lot of Benjamin; and Gabares had the country beyond Jordan, over whom there was again one governor. The Hebrews, and particularly the tribe of Judah, received a wonderful increase when they bestowed themselves on husbandry, and the cultivation of their lands; because they were not distracted with wars and troubles, and having besides an abundant fruition of the most desirable liberty, every one was busy in augmenting the number of his flocks and herds; and reckoning them worth more than they had formerly been.

The king had also other rulers, who were over the affairs of the Philistines, which reached from the river Euphrates to Egypt, and these collected his tributes of the nations. Now these contributed to the king's table, and to his supper every day, thirty cori of fine flour, and sixty of meal; as also ten fat oxen, and twenty oxen out of the pastures, and a hundred fat lambs; all these were besides what were taken by hunting, harts and buffaloes, and birds and fishes, which were brought to the king by foreigners day by day. Solomon had also so great a number of chariots that the stalls of his horses for those alone who were most eminent among the Hebrews at that time for shrewdness; these I mean were Ethan, and Heman, and Chalcol, and Darda, the sons of Mahol. He also composed books of odes and songs, a thousand and five: of parables and similitudes, three thousand; for he

vouring to see her friend's child destroyed also. Now the multitude looked on this determination as a great sign and manifestation of the king's sagacity and wisdom, and after that day, attended to him as to one that had a divine mind.

3. Now the captains of his armies, and officers skilful in the use of arms, were also among these: over the lot of Ephraim was Ures; over the topharchy of Bethlehem, was Diodorus: Abiahu, who married Solomon's daughter, had the region of Japhon, and the sea-coast, under him; the great plain was under Beilihah, the son of Achius; he also governed all the country as far as Jordan, as Jophiel and Gauntians, and had under him the sixty great and fenced cities [of Oj.] Achisdesign managed the affairs of all Galilee, as far as Sidon, and had himself also married a daughter of Solomon, whose name was Bathana: Banacates had the sea-coast about Arce, as bad Shaphat Mount Tabor, and Carmel, and the Lower Galilee, as far as the river Jordan; one man was appointed over all this country: Shimeel was entrusted with the lot of Benjamin; and Gabares had the country beyond Jordan, over whom there was again one governor. The Hebrews, and particularly the tribe of Judah, received a wonderful increase when they bestowed themselves on husbandry, and the cultivation of their lands; because they were not distracted with wars and troubles, and having besides an abundant fruition of the most desirable liberty, every one was busy in augmenting the number of his flocks and herds; and reckoning them worth more than they had formerly been.

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for me; and once in ten days store of all sorts of wine and yet for all this. I required not the bread of the governor, because the bondage was heavy upon this people," 2 Kings 25, 28, with the like daily furniture of N-hrish, the governor, which was sent from Babylon, and to remember what, that Nehemiah was now building the walls of Jerusalem, and maintained more than usual, declining the other as a wicked woman, who had not only killed her own child, but was enlenen

8 It may not be amiss to compare the daily furniture of king Solomon's table, here set down, and 1 Kings 4, 28, 29, with the like daily furniture of N-hrish, the governor, which was sent from Babylon, and to remember what, that Nehemiah was now building the walls of Jerusalem, and maintained more than usual, declining the other as a wicked woman, who had not only killed her own child, but was enlenen

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SOLOMON'S TEMPLE.

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BOOK VIII.—CHAP. II.

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SOLOMON TO KING HIRAM.

"Know thou that my father had built a temple to God, but was hindered by war and continual expeditions; for he did not leave off to overthrow his enemies till he made them all subject to tribute; but I give thee this land for the peace I at present enjoy, and on that account I am at leisure, and design to build a house to God, for God forsook my father that such a house should be built; whereas I desire thee to send some of thy subjects with mine to mount Lebanon to cut down timber, for the Sidonians are more skilful than our people in fitting of wood. As to the setting of wood, I will pay whatsoever price thou shalt determine."

7. When Hiram had read this epistle, he was pleased with it, and wrote back this answer to Solomon.

HIRAM TO KING SOLOMON.

"It is fit to bless God that he hath committed thy father's government to thee, who art a wise man, and endued with all that maketh men great and wise: I rejoice at the condition thou art in, and will be subservient to thee in all that thou sendest to me about; for what by my subjects I have cut down many such large trees of cedar I will press wood, I will send them to thee, and will order thy subjects to make floats of them, and to sail to what place soever of thy country thou shalt desire, and leave them there, after which thy subjects may carry them to Jerusalem: but do thou take care to procure us corn for this timer, which we stand in need of, because we inhabit in an island."

8. The copies of these epistles remain at this day, and are preserved not only in our books, but among the Tyrians also, insomuch that if any one would know the matters contained in them, he may desire of the keepers of the public records of Tyre to show him them; and he will find what is there set down to agree with what we have said. I have said much out of a desire that my readers may know that we speak nothing but the truth, and do not compose a history out of some plausible relations which deceive men and please them at the same time, but the truth of the matter is reported by the Tyrians, and other ancient writers."

So some pretended fragments of these books of conjurations, and other things, are by a necklace that was given against Solomons cisterns, still called; and the city's fresh wat-a probably was carried along by pipes that lead from land; and this city was thereon, and was straitly walled with a wall, and had then a peninsula, having villages in its fields. Ezek. xxvi 6, and so a small about it, Ezem 10: 18; and the city was not so great reputation as Athens for some ages; it was attacked by sea and land by Salaminae, so Soph Neo plus informs us, Antiq. B. ix. chap. xiv. sect. 3, and afterward came to be the metropolis of Phœnis, and afterward taken and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, according to the numerous scripture prophecies thereunto relating, Isai. xxiv. 25; xxvii. 3; xlvii. 4, 6. Ezek. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii. That seventy years after that destruction by Nebuchadnezzar this city was in some measure revived and rebuilt Isai. xxix. 17, 18; but that, as the prophet Ezekiel had foretold, xxvi. 3, 4, 5, 14; xxvii. 34, the sea arose higher than before, till at last a large islet without land, but the main island or peninsula itself, and destroyed that old and famous city for ever; that, however, there still remained an adjoining smaller island, once connected to old Tyre itself by Hiram, which was afterward inhabited; to which Alexander the Great, with incredible pains, raised a new base or causeway; and that it plainly appears, from Maundrell, a most authentic eyewitness, that the old large and famous city, on the original large island, is now laid bare, and that there is now more than forty acres of it, or rather that of adjoining small island, remain at this day; so that perhaps not above a hundredth part of the island that is thirty feet above water. This was foretold in the same prophesies of Ezekiel; and, according to them, as Mr. Maundrell discovered, and wrote, there was a straitly observ'd, that 'the roofs of old Tyre are now "become like the top of a rock, a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea."'
nor attempt to avoid examination, nor desire men to believe us immediately; nor are we at liberty to depart from speaking truth, which is the foundation of all history, and must be so.

But we insist upon no admission of what we say, unless we be able to manifest its truth by demonstration and the strongest evidence.

3. Now king Solomon, as soon as this epistle from the king of Tyre was brought him, commenced the readiness and good-will he declared that he was going to be, repleat. And he desired, to an image sent him yearly twenty thousand cor of wheat, and as many baths of oil; now the bath is able to contain seventy-two sextaries. He also sent him the same measure of wine. So the friendship between Hiram and Solomon hereby increased more and more: and they swore to continue it for ever. And the king appointed a tribute to be paid on all the people, of thirty thousand labourers, whose work he rendered easy to them by prudently dividing it among them: for he made ten thousand cut timber in mount Lebanon for one month, and then to come home; and the rest two months until the time when the other twenty thousand had finished their task at the appointed date. And afterward it came to pass that the first ten thousand returned to their work every fourth month: and it was Adoram who was over this tribute. There were also of the other ten thousand twelve men for the work of David, who were to carry the stones, and other materials, seventy thousand; and of those that cut the stones, eighty thousand. Of these, three thousand and three hundred were rulers over the rest. He also enjoined them to cut large stones for the foundations of the temple, and that they should fit them and unite them together in the mountain, and bring them to the city. This was done not only by our own country workmen, but by those workmen whom Hiram sent also.

CHAP. III.

Of the Building of the Temple.

§ 1. Solomon began to build the temple in the fourth year of his reign, on the second month, which the Macedonians call Artemisius, and the Hebrews Jar, five hundred and ninety-two years after the exodus out of Egypt, but after one thousand four hundred and forty years from Abraham's coming out of Mesopotamia into Canaan, and after the deluge one thousand four hundred and forty years; and from Adam, the first man who was created, a thousand four hundred years. And when the temple was built, there had passed in all three thousand one hundred and two years. Now, that year on which the temple began to be built, was already the eleventh year of the reign of Hiram; but from the building of Tyre to the building of the temple, there had passed two hundred and forty years.

2. Now, therefore, the king laid the foundations of the temple very deep in the ground, and the materials were strong stones, and such as would resist the force of time; these were to unite themselves with the earth, and become a basis and a sure foundation for the superstructure which was to be erected over it: they were to be so strong, in order to sustain with ease those vast superstructures, and precious ornaments, whose own weight was not to be less than the weight of those other high and heavy buildings which the king designed to be very ornamental and magnificent. And he had bought the site, quite up to the roof, of white stone: its height was sixty cubits, and its length was the same, and its breadth twenty. There was another building erected over it, equal to it in its measure: so that the entire altitude of the temple was a hundred and twenty cubits, or six hundred feet. As to the porch, they built it before the temple; its length was twenty cubits, and it was so ordered that it might agree with the breadth of the house; and it consisted of six cubits in altitude, for which reason it was raised as high as a hundred and twenty cubits. He also built round about the temple thirty small rooms, which might include the whole temple in cubits, six feet in the width. And as to their number, and outward position round it. He also made passages through them, that they might enter into one through another. Even one of these rooms had five cubits in breadth, and the same in length, but in height twenty. Above there there were other rooms, and others above them, each both in their measures and number; so that these reached to a height equal to the lower part of the house; for the upper part had no buildings about it. The roof that was over the house was of cedar; and truly every one of these rooms had a roof of their own, that was not connected with the other rooms; but for the other parts, there was a covered roof over the temple, and another over the very long beams, that passed through the rest, and through the whole building, so that the middle walls being strengthened by the same beams or pillars, and the height of the roof was so arranged for that part of the roof that was under the beams, it was made of the same materials, and was all made smooth, and had ornaments proper for roof; and it was painted upon with colours. And as he enclosed the walls with boards of cedar, so he fixed on them plates of gold, which had sculptures on them, so that the whole temple shone to the city. This was done not only by our own country workmen, but by those workmen whom Hiram sent also.

* Of the temple of Solomon, here described by Josephus in this and the following sections of this chapter, see any Description of the Temple belonging to this work, especially that of Justin.  
† These small rooms, or side chambers, seem to have been, by Josephus's description, no less than twenty cubits high apiece, otherwise there must have been a large interval between one and the other that was over it, and this with double floors, the one of six cubits distance from the floor, as 1 Kings vi. X.  
‡ Josephus says here, that the cherubims were of solid gold, and only five cubits high, while our Hebrew copies.
cubits; they had each of them two wings stretch- ed out as far as five cubits; wherefore Solomon set them without the temple, six on the north- side, six on the south; and the wings of one wing they might touch the southern wall of the secret place, and with another the northern: their other wings, which joined to each other, were a cubit and a half long, so that the wings of one were against the wings of another; and every one was wondrous between them: but nobody, can tell, or even conjecture, what was the shape of these cherubim. He also laid the floor of the temple with plates of gold; and he added doors, andA the doors of the temple, agreeable to the measure of the height of the wall, but in breadth twenty cubits, and on them he glazed gold plates. And, to say all in order, the doors in like manner as they were drawn over the inner doors of the most holy place; but the porch of the temple had nothing of that sort.

4. Now Solomon sent for an artificer out of Tyre, whose name was Hiram; he was by birth of the tribe of Naphtali, on the mother's side, (for she was of that tribe,) but his father was Ur, of the stock of the Israelites. This man was skilled in all sorts of work; but his chief skill he had in ivory work, and in all manner of woodwork, and whomever were made all the mechanical works about the temple, according to the will of Solomon. Moreover, this Hiram made two [hollow] pillars of ivory; the height of one was thirty cubits, the thickness of the brass was four fingers' breadth, and the height of the pillars was eighteen cubits, and their circumference twelve cubits, but there was cast upon them no chiselling lily-work that stood upon the pillar, and it was elevated five cubits, round about which there was network interwoven with small palms, made of brass, lay upon it. These were hung two hundred pomegranates, ten in two rows: the one of these pillars he set at the entrance of the porch on the right hand, and called it Jachin, and the other at the left hand, and called it Booz.

5. Solomon also cast a brazen sea, whose figure was that of a hemisphere: this brazen vessel was called a sea, for its largeness, for the aver was ten feet in diameter, and cast of the thickness of a palm: its middle part rested on a short pillar, that had ten spirals round it: and the top was black with a high stand round about it twelve oxen, that looked to the four winds of heaven, three to each wind, having their hinder parts depressed, that so the hempen cords might be set on them, which also was itself depressed round about similarly. Now this sea contained three thousand baths.

6. He also made ten brazen bases for so many quadrangular vessels; the length of every one of these bases was five cubits, and the breadth four cubits, and the height six cubits. This vessel was partly turned, and was thus contrived: there were four small quadrangular pillars that stood one at each corner, those had the sides of the base fitted to them on each quarter: they were parted into three parts; every interval had a border fitted to support [the learner.] Upon which the base was engraved, in one place a bull, and another place a bull and an eagle. The small pillars had the same animals engraved that were engraved on the bases, and stood upon four wheels, which were also made, which had also naives and felloes, and were a foot and a half in diameter. Any one who saw the spokes of the wheel, how they stuck up in the turns, and united to the sides of the bases, and with what harmony they agreed, to the felloes, would wonder at them. However, their structure was this: certain shoulders of hounds stretched out each side, and then rested a short spiral pillar, that lay under the hollow part of the layer, resting upon the forepart of the layer and the lion, who was tumbled to them, in one place, that those who viewed them would think they were of one piece: between these were engravings of palm-trees. This was the construction of the ten bases. He also made ten large round brass vessels, which were the layers themselves, each of which contained forty baths; for it had its height four cubits, and its edgines were as much distant from each other. He also placed these layers upon the ten bases that were called Mechnonoth; and he set five of the layers on the left side of the temple, which was toward the north, and as many on the right side, towards the south, but looking towards the east: the same [eastern] way he also set the sea. Now, he appointed the sea above the doors to be for washing the hands and feet of the priests, when they entered into the temple, and were to ascend the altar, but the layers to cleanse the entrails of the beasts that were to be burnt-offerings, with their fat also.

7. He also made a brazen altar, whose length was twenty cubits, and its breadth the same, and its height ten, for the burnt-offerings. He also made all its vessels, the pyx, the shovels, and the basins, and besides these, the snuffers and the tongs, and all its other vessels, he made of brass, and such brass as was in splendour and beauty like gold. The king also dedicated a great number of tables, but one that was large and made of gold, upon which they set the loaves of God: and he made ten thousand more that resembled them, but were done after another manner, upon which lay the viands and the cups; those of gold were twenty thousand: those of silver were forty thousand. He also made ten thousand candlesticks out of brass, and ten thousand basins of brass, and the Lord commanded to Moses, one of which he dedicated for the temple, that it might burn by the day-time, according to the law; and one table with loaves upon it, on the north side of the altar, and over against the candlestick; for this he set on the south side, but the golden altar stood between them. All these vessels were contained in that part of the holy house which was forty cubits long, and were before the veil of that most secret place wherein the ark was to be set.

8. The king also made pouring vessels, in number eighty thousand, and a hundred thousand golden vials, and twice as many silver vials of golden dishes, in order therein to offer kneaded fine flour at the altar, there were eighty thousand, and twice as many of silver. Of large basins also, wherein they mixed fine flour with oil, been corrupted, and he was not able to restore the true reading. In the mean time, these forty baths are probably the true quantity contained in each layer, since they stood upon wheels, and were to be drawn by the oxen, but the courts of the priests for the washings they were designed for; and had they held much more, they would have been too heavy to be so drawn.

1 Here Josephus gives us a key to his own language, of right and left hand, in the tabernacle and temple, that by the right hand he means that hand raised against our left; and that when he suppose ourselves going up from the east gates of the courts towards the tabernacle or temple themselves, and that he twice means: where our right hand was the right hand of the temple, was on the south, against our left hand and Booz on the north, against our right hand.
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sixty thousand of gold, and twice as many of silver. Of the measures like those which Moses called the M Dasi and the Assarim, [a tenth deal,] there were twenty thousand of gold, and twice as many of silver. The golden censers, in which they carried the incense to the altar, were twenty thousand; the other or ten thousand saccardos, in which they carried fire from the great altar to the little altar, within the temple, were fifty thousand. The saccardos garments which belonged to the high priest, with the long robes, and the oracle, and the precious stones, were ten thousand. But the crown upon which Moses wrote [the name of God,] was only one, and hath remained to this very day. Also, ten thousand saccardos garments of fine linen, with purple girdles, for every priest, and two hundred thousand trumpets, according to the command of Moses: also, two hundred thousand garments of fine linen for the singers that were Levites. And he made musical instruments, and such as were invented for singing of hymns, called Nabile and Cinyleae, [vases and harps,] which were made of electrum, [the finest brass,] forty thousand.

9. Solomon made all these things for the honour of God, with great variety and magnificence, spending among all the people liberally in adorning the temple; and these things he dedicated to the treasures of God. He also placed a partition round about the temple, which in our tongue is called a court, but it is called Thuro by the Greeks, and he raised it up to the height of three cubits; and it was for the exclusion of the multitude from coming into the temple, and was made of a place that was free and open only for the priests. He also built beyond this court a temple, whose figure was that of a quadrangle, and erected for it great and broad cloisters, and this was entered into by very high gates, each of which had its front exposed to one of the four winds, and were shut by golden doors. Into this temple all the people entered that were distinguished from the rest by being pure, and observer of the laws. But he made that temple which was beyond this a wonderful one indeed, and such as exceeds all description in words; say, if I may so say, is hardly believed upon sight; for when he had filled up great valleys with earth, which, on account of their immense depth, could not be looked on, who could arise and see the temple, without pain, and had elevated the ground four hundred cubits, he made it to be on a level with the top of the mountain, on which the temple was built, and he so made this outer temple, which was exposed to the air, was even with the temple itself. He encompassed this also with a building of a double row of coisters, which stood on high pillars of native stone, while the roofs were made of cedar, and were polished in a manner proper for such high roofs; but he made all the doors of this temple of silver.

CHAP. IV.
How Solomon removed the Ark into the Temple; how he made Supplication to God, and offered public Sacrifices to him.

§ 1. When king Solomon had finished these works, these large and beautiful buildings, and had laid up his donations in the temple, and all this in the interval of seven years, and had given a demonstration of his riches and acquisitiveness innumerable that any one who saw it would have thought must have been an immense time ere it could have been finished; and [would have] observed, that so much should be finished in so short a space of time. I mean, if we consider the greatness of the work: he also wrote to the rulers and elders of the Hebrews, and ordered all the people to gather themselves together to Jerusalem, both to see the temple he had built, and to remove the ark of God into it; and when this invitation of the whole body of the people to come to Jerusalem was every where carried abroad, it was the seventh month before they came together, which month is by our countrymen called Tisrio, but by the Macedonians Hyperberenion. The feast of tabernacles happened to fall at the same time, which was celebrated by the Hebrews as a most holy and most eminent feast. So they carried the ark and the tabernacle which Moses had pitched, and all the vessels that were for ministration to the sacrifices of God, and removed them to the temple. The king himself, and all the people and the Levites, and the priests, and the virgins, and the singers, with sacrifices and drink-offerings, and the blood of a great number of oblations, and burning an immense quantity of incense, and this till the morning of the eighth day was done; and all this was done so that all of those odours that it met, in a most agreeable manner, persons at a great distance, and was an indication of God's presence, and, as was men's opinions, of the covenants with them in this newly built and consecrated place, for they did not grow weary, either of singing hymns or of dancing, until they came to the temple; and when they entered, and saw the sanctuary, and when they should transfer it into the most secret place, the rest of the multitude went away, and only those priests that carried it set it between the two obelisks, which, embracing it with their wings, (for so were they framed by the artificer,) they covered it as under a tent or a canopy. Now the ark contained nothing else but those two tables of stone that preserved the ten commandments, which God spake to Moses in mount Sinai, and which were engraved upon them; but they set the candlesticks, and table, and other vessels, and the holy vessels in the most sacred place, in the very same places wherein they stood till that time in the tabernacle. So they offered up the daily sacrifices; but for the great sacrifices, they put the ark into the temple, over against the door, that when the door was opened, it might be exposed to sight, and the sacred solemnities, and the richness of the sacrifices, might be there seen; and all the rest of the vessels they gathered together, and put them within the temple.

2. Now, as soon as the priests had put all things in order about the ark, and were gone out, there came down a thick cloud, and stood there, and spread itself after a gentle manner into the temple; such a cloud it was, as was diffused, and tempestless, such a rough one as we see full of rain in the winter season. This cloud so darkened the place, that one priest could not discern and although neither our present Hebrew copy nor Josephus directly name that number of years, yet do they both (it seems) the building itself did not begin till Solomon's seventh year, and was finished two years later. As to the time when the ark was removed into the temple, in the former place before, I Kings v. 18; Antiq. B. viii. chap. v. sect. 1. There is no reason therefore to alter the Septuagint's version of the time of the removal, as it is not at all contrary to the just time of the preparation, as I have done in my computation, and in the judgement of very considerable authorities. This solemn removal of the ark from Mount Sinai to Mount Moriah, at the distance of almost three quarters of the circuit of the temple, I do not think to be followed by many Christians also, as if those two were after a sort one and the same mountain; for which there is I think, very little foundation.
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another, but it afforded to the minds of all a visible image, and glorious appearance of God's habitation, the temple of his having gladly pitched his Tabernacle therein. So these men were intent upon this thought. But Solomon rose up, (for he was sitting before,) and introduced the subject of building a house to the divine nature to receive, and fit for him to give: for he said, "Thou hast an eternal house, O Lord, and such a one as thou hast created for thy glory and bearing upon it; to be the heaven, and the air, and the earth, and the sea, which thou pervadest; nor art thou contained within their limits. I have indeed built this temple to help, as many to the time from hence, when we sacrifice, and perform sacred operations, we may send our prayers up into the air, and may constantly believe that thou art present, and art not remote from what is thine own; for neither when thou seest all things, and heardest all things, nor now, when it pleaseth thee to dwell here, dost thou leave the care of all men, but rather art very near to them all, but especially thou art present to those that address themselves to thee, whether by night or by day." When he had thus solemnly addressed himself to them, and discoursed with them, and with all men in common, he told them to build the temple of Mount Moriah, and the rest would certainly come to pass hereafter; and how he had given him his name, and told to David what he should be called before he was born and after he was born. He showed what a king after his father's death he should be made a temple, which, since they saw accomplished according to his prediction, he required them to build the temple, and built up the throne of the place of which they had been accustomed, in order to despair of any thing that he had promised for the future, in order to their happiness, or so much that it would not come to pass.

3. When the king had thus discursoed to the multitude, he looked again towards the heavens, and lifting up his right hand to the multitude, he said, "It is not possible by what means of our own to return sufficient thanks to God for his mercy bestowed upon them, for the Divine work, so mightily wrought in them, and so far as we have been made answerable, O Lord, to other animals by thee, it becomes us to bless thy majesty, and it is necessary for us to return all this grace to him, and all this glory of a nation essayed upon our house, and on the Hebrew people; for with what other instrument can we better appear there, when thou art angry at us, or more properly preserve thy favour, than with our voice, which, as we have it from the air, so do we know that by that air it ascends upwards [towards thee.] Therefore ought myself to return thee thanks thereby in the first place, concerning my father, whom thou hast raised from obscurity unto so great joy; and in the next place, concerning myself, since thou hast performed all that thou hast promised unto this work. And I beseech thee, for the time to come, to afford us whatsoever thou, O God, hast power to bestow on such as thou dost esteem; and to augment our house, and to make it greater, and greater, to David my father to do, both in his lifetime and at his death, that our kingdom shall continue, and that his posterity should successively receive it to their name. This was the duty, therefore fail to give us these blessings, and to bestow on my children that virtue in which you delightest. And besides all this, I humbly beseech thee, that thyself mayst come down and inhabit in this temple, that thou mayest appear to be with us upon earth. As to thyself, the entire heavens, and the immensity of the things that are therein, are out a small habitation for thee. Much more is this thy temple; but I entreat thee to keep it, its own house, from being destroyed, and to be careful of it, and to take care of it as thine own possession: but if this people be found to have sinned, and be therein afflicted by thee with any plague, would not because of their sin, or for any other affliction which thou usest to inflict on those that transgress any of thy holy laws, and if they, all of them to this temple, be departing therefrom, then do thou hear their prayers, as being within thine house, and have mercy upon them, and deliver them from their afflictions; any, moreover, this help is what I implore of thee, not for the Hebrews only, when they are in distress, but when any shall come either from any ends of the world unawares, and shall return from their sins and implore thy pardon, do thou then pardon them, and hear their prayer. For hereby all shall learn that thou thyself wast pleased with the building of this house for thee and that we are not ourselves of an unseemly nature, nor behave ourselves like enemies to such as are not of our own people; but are willing that thy resistance should be communicated by thee, to the good, and that thy kindness should be the joy of thy people and the rejoicing of thy good persons."

4. When Solomon had said this, and had cast himself upon the ground, and worshipped a long season, and with uplifted hands, he rose up, and blessed them, and rose up on the altar; and when he had filled it with unblemished victims, he most evidently discovered that God had with pleasure accepted of all that he had offered, and had sacrificed to God, and had caused a fire running out of the air, and rushed with violence upon the altar, in the sight of all, and caught hold of and consumed the sacrifices. Now, when he raised this divine appearance, he was the more disposed to it as a demonstration of God's abode in the temple, and were pleased with it, and fell down upon the ground and worshipped. Upon which the king began to bless God, and exhorted the multitude to do the same, as now having sufficient indications of God's favourable disposition to them; and to pray that they might always have the like indications from him, and that he would preserve in them a mind pure from all wickedness, in righteousness and religious worship, and to observe the observance of those precepts which God had given them by Moses, because by that means the Hebrew nation would be happy, and indeed the whole nation of the most blessed of God. And he exhorted them also to be meditative, that by what methods they had attained their present good things, by the same they must preserve them sure to themselves, and make them greater, and more and more than they were at present; for that it was not sufficient for them to suppose they had received them on account of their piety and righteousness, but that they had no other way of preserving them for the time to come, for that it is not so great a thing for men to acquire something which they want, as to preserve what they have acquired, and to be guilty of no sin, whereby it may be hurt.

5. So when the king had spoken thus to the multitude, he dissolved the congregation, but not before he had blessed his people, both himself and for the Hebrews, insomuch that he sacrificed twenty and two thousand oxen, and a hundred and twenty thousand sheep; for then it was the custom did first of all taste of the victims, and all the Hebrews, with their wives and children, feasted therein; nay, besides this, the king then observed splendidly and magnificently the feast which was held on the feast of Tabernacles, before the temple, for twelve seven days; and he then feasted together with all the people.

6. When all these solemnities were abundantly
SATISFIED, AND NOTHING WAS OMITTED THAT CONCERNED THE DIVINE WORSHIP, THE KING DISMISSED THEM; AND THEY EVERY ONE WENT TO THEIR OWN HOMES, GIVING THANKS TO THE KING FOR THE CARE HE HAD TAKEN OF THEM, AND FOR THE RICH GIVER IN THE TEMPLE FOR THEM; AND PRAYING TO GOD TO PRESERVE SOLOMON TO BE THEIR KING FOR A LONG TIME. THEY ALSO TOOK THEIR JOURNEY HOME WITH REJOICING, AND MAKING MERRY, SINGING HYMNS TO GOD: AND INDEED THE PLEASURE THEY ENJOYED TOOK AWAY THE SENSE OF THE PAIN THEY ALL WENT THROUGH IN THEIR JOURNEY HOME. SO WHEN THEY HAD BROUGHT THE ARK INTO THE TEMPLE, THEY CAME AND GAVE THANKS TO GOD, AND TOOK AWAY THEIR ANXIETY AND GRIEVES, AND THE TEMPLE WAS FINISHED. IT WAS THEN PART-TAKERS OF THE MANY SACRIFICES THAT HAD BEEN OFFERED, AND OF THE FEASTS THAT HAD BEEN CELEBRATED, THEY EVERY ONE RETURNEO TO THEIR OWN CITIES. BUT A DREAM THAT APPEARED TO THE KING IN HIS SLEEP, INFORMED HIM, THAT "GOD HAD HEARD HIS PRAYERS; AND THAT HE WOULD NOT ONLY PRESERVE THE TEMPLE, BUT WOULD ALWAYS ABIDE IN IT: THAT IS, IN CASE HIS PESTERITY AND THE WHOLE MULTITUDE WOULD BE RIGHTEOUS. AND FOR HIMSELF, HE SAID, THAT IF HE CONTINUED ACCORDING TO THE ADVICE OF HIS FATHER, HE WOULD BECOME MORE POPULAR AND GREAT IN THE WORLD, WHILE THE HOUSE OF JUDAH WOULD BE IN THE DIGNITY AND HAPPINESS, AND THAT THEN HIS POSTERITY WOULD BE OF THE HIGHEST RANK AND INFLUENCE IN THE LAND."

That God had heard his prayers; and that he would not only preserve the temple, but would always abide in it, that is, in case his posterity and the whole multitude would be righteous. And for himself, he said, that if he continued according to the advice of his father, he would become more popular and great in the world, while the house of Judah would be in the dignity and happiness, and that then his posterity should be kings of that country, of the tribe of Judah, for ever; but that still if he should be forgetful of the education of his family, and take away from the worship of the strange gods, he would cut him off by the sword, and make the whole of his family to continue, nor would overlook the temple of Israel, or preserve them any longer from afflictions, but would utterly destroy them with ten thousand wars and misfortunes; would cast them out of the land which he had given their fathers, and make them sojourners in strange lands; and deliver that temple, which was built by exceeding wisdom and counsel, into the hands of their enemies; and that city to be utterly overthrown by the hands of their enemies: and make their miseries deserve to be a proverb, and such as should very hardly be credited for their stupendous magnitude, till their neighbours, when they should hear of them, should wonder at their calamities, and very earnestly inquire for the occasion, why the Hebrews, who had been so far advanced by God to such glory and wealth, should be thus so hated by him? And that the answer that should be made by the remainder of the people, by consulting their scribes and the transgression of the laws of their country."—Accordingly, we have it transmitted to us in writing, that thus did God speak to Solomon in his sleep.

CHAP. V.

How Solomon built himself a royal Palace, very costly and splendid; and how he solved the Riddle which were sent him by Hiram.


2. THIS HOUSE WAS A LARGE AND CURIOUS BUILDING, AND WAS SUPPORTED BY MANY PILLARS, WHICH SOLOMON TOOK TO CONTAIN A MULTITUDE FOR HEARING CAUSES, AND TAKING CONSCIENCE OF SUITS. IT WAS SO CAPACIOUS TO CONTAIN A GREAT BODY OF MEN, WHO WOULD COME TOGETHER TO HAVE CAUSES DETERMINED. IT WAS A HUNDRED CUBITS LONG, AND FIFTY WIDE, AND THIRTY HIGH, SUPPORTED BY SQUARE-ANGULAR PILLARS, WHICH WERE ALL OF CEDAR, BUT ITS ROOF WAS ACCORDING TO THE CORINTHIAN ORDER, WITH FOLDING-DOORS, AND THEIR ADJACENT PILLARS OF EQUAL SIZE, WHICH EACH FLUTED WITH THREE CAVITIES: WHICH BUILDING WAS AT ONCE FARM, AND VERY ORNAMENTAL. THERE WAS ALSO ANOTHER HOUSE, SO ORDERED, THAT ITS ENTIRE BREATH WAS PLACED IN THE MIDDLE, ANOTHER HUNDRED CUBITS WIDE, HAVING THIRTY CUBITS, HAVING A TEMPLE OVER AGAINST IT, RAISED UPON MAssy PILLARS; IN WHICH TEMPLE WERE SEATED THE MOST MAGNIFICENT, WERE IN THE KING SIT IN JUDGMENT. TO THIS WAS JOINED ANOTHER HOUSE, THAT WAS BUILT FOR HIS QUEEN. THERE WERE OTHER SMALLER EDIFICES FOR DICT, AND FOR SLEEP, AFTER PUBLIC MATTERS WERE OVER, AND THESE WERE ALL FLOOED WITH BOARDS OF CEDAR. SOME OF THESE SOLOMON BUILT WITH STONES OF TEA CUBITS, AND WAXNISCOTT THE WALLS WITH OTHER STONES THAT WERE DUG OUT OF THE EARTH FOR THE ORNAMENTS OF TEMPLATES, AND TO MAKE FINE PROSPECTS IN ROYAL PALACES, AND MAKE THE MIRACLES, WHICH THEY SEEN AND SEEN AND SEEN TO BE THE SPIRIT OF SOLOMON."—ACCORDINGLY, WE HAVE IT TRANSMITTED TO US IN WRITING, THAT THIS DID GOD SPEAK TO SOLOM9N IN HIS SLEEP.

* The mention of the Corinthian ornaments of architecture in Solomon's palace by Josephus, seems to be here set down by way of parenthesis; for although it appears to many, that the Corinthian orders of architecture were taken from Solomon's temple, as from their original patterns, yet it is not so clear that the last name was so called, as Corinthian, from the city of that name; and though the same Josephus says, Of the War, B. v. ch. v. sect. 5, that one of the gates of Herod's temple was raised according to this Corinthian order, it is very improbable, that order being, without dispute, much older than the reign of Herod. However, upon some trial, I confess I have not hitherto been able to understand the structure of this palace of Solomon's, either as described by Porphyrius, or even with the additional help of this description here by Josephus; only the latter may easily observe with me, that the measures of this first building, which was not less than a hundred cubits long, and fifty cubits broad, are the very same with the measures of the temple of the tabernacle of Moses, and just half an Egyptian aresa, or acre.
receive the like from him, but that he who could not solve them should pay money to him that solved them, and that he should accept the solutions; and when he was not able to solve the riddles (proposed by Solomon,) he paid a great deal of money for his fine: but that he afterward made of the riddles that he could not solve, a kind of apocryphal book, called the Apocryphon of Pharaoh, a demon, a man of Tyre; and that Hiram proposed other riddles, which, when Solomon could not solve, he paid back a great deal of money to Hiram. This it is which Dina wrote.

CHAP. VI.

How Solomon fortified the City of Jerusalem, and built great Cities; and how he brought some of the Captive Nations, and discontented the Queen of Egypt and of Ethiopia.

§ 1. Now when the king saw that the walls of Jerusalem stood in need of being better secured, and made stronger (for he thought the walls that encompassed Jerusalem ought to correspond to the dignity of the city,) he both repaired them, and made them higher, with great towers upon them; he also built cities which might be convenient for the army, and numbered them, according to the language of the Phoenicians, names, what does not please. Moreover, the king of Tyre sent sophisms and enigmatical sayings to the king of Judah, in the form of riddles, that he would solve them, and free them from the ambiguity that was in them. Now sagacious and understanding was Solomon, that none of these problems were too hard for him; and he solved them by his reasons, and discovered their hidden meaning, and brought it to light. Menander also, one who translated the Tyrian archives out of the dialect of the Phoenicians into the Greek language, makes mention of these two kings, where he says thus: "When Abibalus was dead, his son Hiram received the kingdom from him, who, when he had lived fifty-three years, reigned thirty-four. He raised a bank in the large place, and dedicated the golden pillar which is in Jupiter's temple. He also went and cut down material of mount Libanus, for the roofs of temples; and when he had pulled down the ancient temples, he both built the temple of Hercules and that of Astarte; and he built also the temple of the goddess Peritho; he also made an expedition against the Euchui (or Titi,) who did not pay their tribute, and when he had subdued them to himself, he returned. Under this king, there was Abdon, a very youth in age, who always conquered the difficult problems which Solomon, king of Jerusalem, commanded him to explain." Also thus makes mention of him, where he says thus: "When Abibalus was dead, his son Hiram reigned. He raised the eastern parts of the city higher, and made the city itself larger. He also joined the temple of Jupiter, which before stood by itself, to the city, by raising a bank in the middle between them: and he adorned it with donations of gold. Moreover, he went up to mount Libanus, and cut down materials of wood for the building of the temples." He says also, that "Solomon, who was then king of Jerusalem, sent riddles to Hiram, and desired to
made kings, they changed them into the name which in their own tongue denoted their authority; for thus it was also that the kings of Alexander, who were called formerly by other names, when he took the kingdom, were named Ptolemies, from their first king. The Roman emperors also were from their native names called by other names, and their dignity imposing that name upon them, names which their fathers gave them. I suppose he said that there were three hundred and thirty kings of Egypt after Memnon, who built Memphis, did therefore not tell us their names, because afterwards there was a queen reigning, he calls, as thereby declaring, so admitted of the same name, while a woman did not of the same name, he did therefore set down that her name which she could not naturally have. As for myself, I have discovered from our own books, that after Pharaoh, the father-in-law of Moses, there were eight kings of Egypt; and it was at that time that the well-known saying came to Solomon, concerning whom we shall inform the reader presently; but I have now made mention of forming kings, that I may prove that our books and those of the Egyptians agree together in many things.

3. But King Solomon subdued to himself the remnant of the Canaanites that had not before submitted to him; those I mean that dwelt in the land of Lebanon, and as far as the city of Hamath to the north, and the Syrian kings to the south. He also chose out of every year such as were set over the harvest, and over the vineyards, and over the olive trees, and over the labors and operations of all kinds of labors, and set over them governors over them. Moreover, the king built many ships in the Egyptian Bay of the Red Sea, in a certain place, called Ezion-geber: it is now called Heremence, and the city of Ezion-geber belonged to the king of Tyre, and the sea was for shipping; from the donations of Hiram king of Tyre; for he sent a sufficient number of ships thither for pilots, and such as were skilful in navigation, to whom Solomon gave this command, that they should go along with his own ships to the land of the Philistines. This caused the Carthaginians and others to be afraid. But the coasting of the country was so easy, and so pleasant for commerce, that the sailors there left the sea to come to Tyre, and in a great number of ships, to make their living in those seas. And when they had gathered four hundred talents together, they returned to the king again.

5. There was then a woman queen of Egypt and Ethiopia: she was inquisitive into philosophy, and one that on other accounts was to be admired. When this queen heard of the visit of Solomon, she sent to him, and wrote to him, and had a great mind to see him, and the relations that went every day abroad, induced her to come to him, as being desirous to be satisfied by her own experience, with the things of which she had thus heard are likely enough to comply with a false opinion, while they wholly depend on the credit of the relations, so she resolved to come to him, in order to visit him in the trial of his wisdom, while she proposed questions of very great difficulty, and entreated that he would solve their hidden meaning. Accordingly, when Solomon showed a great desire to please her, and easily comprehending in his mind the meaning of the curious questions she propounded to him, he resolved them sooner than any body could have expected. So she was amazed at the wisdom of Solomon, and discovered that it was more excellent upon trial than what she heard by report beforehand; and especially she was surprised at the fineness and largeness of his royal palaces, and not less at the good order of the apart mansions, and the sumptuous furniture, and the rich and varied provision of his table. For the oracle was, that Solomon should be a great king, and that he should be the most wealthy and the richest of all that were before him, and of all that were after him.

6. Now that the queen had thus demonstrated in works what the king had said, she departed, and her disposition was known by certain presents, for she gave him twenty talents of gold, and an immense quantity of spices, and precious stones. The queen of Sheba thus paid to the king, that the balsam which our country still bears by this word, Matt. xii. 62; Luke xi. 31; which descriptions agree better to this Arabia than to Egypt and Ethiopia, there is little occasion for doubting in this matter. The queen of Sheba came and brought the tree to Jerusalem, near the temple of Solomon, and that branch brought the queen of Sheba, and gave her name to the branch, and to the tree; and that branch that she took, and that branch of that tree, which is an olivewood, not only of great beauty, but of a great value. It is our firm opinion that the balsam tree might be first brought out of Arabia, or Egypt, or Ethiopia, into India, by the queen of Sheba, since seven thousand years. We are told that old as our country is, they say it was that branch brought the queen of Sheba, and gave her name to the tree; and that branch of the tree, which is an olivewood, not only of great beauty, but of a great value. It is our firm opinion that the balsam tree might be first brought out of Arabia, or Egypt, or Ethiopia, into India, by the queen of Sheba, since seven thousand years. We are told that old as our country is, they say it was that branch brought the queen of Sheba, and gave her name to the tree; and that branch of the tree, which is an olivewood, not only of great beauty, but of a great value. It is our firm opinion that the balsam tree might be first brought out of Arabia, or Egypt, or Ethiopia, into India, by the queen of Sheba, since seven thousand years.
BOOK VIII.—CHAP. VII.

CHAP. VII.

For Solomon grew rich, and fell desperately in love with Women; and how God, being incensed at it, raised up Adar and Jerobeam against him. Concerning the Death of Solomon.

1. About the same time there were brought to the king from the Aurora Chersonesus, a country so called, precious stones, and pine-trees; and these trees he made use of for supporting the temple and the palace, as also for the materials of musical instruments, the harps and the psalteries, that the Levites might make use of them in their hymns to God. The wood which was brought to him at this time was larger and finer than any that had ever been brought before; but let no one suppose that these pine-trees were like the androsylvae which are now so named, and which take that denomination from the merchants, who so call them, that they may procure them to be admired by those that purchase them; for those we speak of were to the sight like the wood of the fig-tree, but were whiter and more shining. Now we have said thus much, that nobody may imagine these differences between the wood of the androsylvae to be of wood, nor unacquainted with the nature of the genuine pine-tree; and we thought it both a sensible and humane thing when we mentioned it, and we use the king made of it, to explain this difference so far as we have done.

2. Now the weight of gold that was brought him was six hundred and sixty-six talents, not including what was bought by the merchants, nor what the toparchs and kings of Arabia gave him in presents.

3. Accordingly, there went a great fame abroad amongst the neighboring countries, who claimed the virtuous and wise wisdom of Solomon, and that all the kings every where were run to see him, as not giving credit to what was told to them, to the extent of its being the case. This is still the case; for them, by the present, they made him clear vessels of gold, and silver, purple garments, and many sorts of spices, horses, and chariots, and also all manner of carriage as they could find proper to please king's eyes, by their strength and beauty.

Addition that he made to those chariots horses which he had before from them that sent him, augmented the number of his chariots to four hundred, for he had a thousand, and augmented the number of his horses to two thousand, for he had twenty thousand before. These horses also were so much prized, in order to their making a fine appearance, and running swiftly, that no other could upon the comparison appear either finer, or swifter; but they were at once the most beautiful of all others, and their swiftness was incomparable also. Their riders also were a full compliment of men, being in the first place the most flower of their men and being eminent for their largeness, not taller than other men. They had also very fine heads of their horses, and were like the men in garments of Tyrian purple. They had of gold every day sprinkled on their hands so that their heads sparkled with the reflection of the sunbeams from the gold. The king himself rode upon a chariot in the midst of men, who were still in armour, and had bows fitted to them. He had on a white mantle, and used to take his progress out of the city in the morning. There was a certain camp about fifty furlongs distant from Jerusalem which is called Elahim, very pleasant it is, and fine gardens, and abundance in reviels of which thither he used to go out in the morning ting on high [in his chariot].

4. Now Solomon had divine sagacity in things, and was very diligent and studious of things done after an elegant manner, did not neglect the care of the ways, but he a causeway of black stone along the road led to it, which was the royal city, to render them easy for travellers, and to fest the grandeur of his riches and government. He also partied the chariots, so that regularity to the certain number of should be in every city, still keeping a few for him; and those cities he called the cities of chariots. And the king made his principal city in Jerusalem, which was in the street; and so tidified cedar-trees in the plains of Judah, which did not grow there before, that they were like multitude of common sycamore-trees. He ordained the Egyptian merchants that bring him their merchandise to sell them a chariot, a pair of horses, for six hundred drachmas, and he sent them to the kings of Tyre to those kings that were beyond Euphrates. 5. But although Solomon was become the lord; it should be rendered the terrapin of Gilead.

* Whether these fine gardens and reviels of Egypt were only a short time from Jerusalem, whether Solomon so often in state, not those that dwelled to Egypt, is 5, 6, he says, "He made him gardens and orchards, and a causeway of black stone along the road." 1 Kings, 4, 30. But is confirmed how he certainly is, but may very probably be conjectured. But with this instance has any relation to the "revered" 1 Kings, 4, 30. It is also the same were two names of a miraculous man, that the terrapin which we must call terrapin of Cyrene, the place of the terrapin. In this process, as that is rendered the terrapin of Gilead, we elsewhere render the same name, Gilead, a mountain descent. 1 Kings, 4, 30. And in the Septuagint, I cannot say.
glorious of kings, and the best beloved of God, and had exceeded in wisdom and riches those that had been rulers of the Hebrews before him, yet dipt he in the way of slavery till he died. Nay, he forsook the observation of the law of his fathers, and came to an end noway suitable to our foregoing history of him. He grew mad in the love with which he did to the gratification of his wives, and out of his affection for them. This very thing our legislator suspected, and so admonished us beforehand, that we should not marry women of other countries, lest we should be entangled with foreign customs, and apostatize from our own; lest we should leave off to honour our own God, and should worship their gods. But Solomon was fallen headlong into unseasonable pleasures, and regarded not these admonitions. For when he had married seven hundred wives, the daughters of princes, and of emi-
nient men, and three hundred concubines, and these besides the king of Egypt’s daughter, he soon was governed by them till he came to imitate their practices. He was forced to give them the fruits of his kindness and affections to them, to live according to the laws of their countries. And as he grew into years, and his reason became weaker by length of time, it was not convenient to recall to his mind the institutions of his own country, so he still more and more contemned his own God, and continued to regard the gods that his marriages had introduced: nay, besides, he sinned, he sinned, and fell into with error about the observation of the law, when he made the images of brazen oxen that supported the brazen sea, and the images of lions about his own throne for these he made, although it was not agreeable to piety so to do; and this he did, notwithstanding that he had his father as a most excellent and domestic pattern of virtue, and knew what a glorious character he had left behind him, because of his piety towards God: nor did he imitate David, although God had twice appeared to him in his sleep, and exhorted him to be like his father, so he died ignominiously. There came therefore a prophet to him, who was sent by God, and told him, that “his wicked ac-
tions were not concealed from God; and threat-
ened, that what he should not long rejoice in because he had done: that indeed the kingdom should not be taken from him while he was alive, be-
cause God had promised to his father David that he would make him his successor, but that he would take care that this should befall his son when he was dead; not that he would withdraw all the people from him, but that he would give ten tribes to a servant of his, and leave only two tribes to David’s grand son, for his sake, because he loved God, and for the sake of the city of Jeru-
usalem, wherein he would have a temple.”

* * *

When Solomon heard him, he was grieved.

These seven hundred wives, or the daughters of great men, and three hundred concubines, or the daughters of such as were without the land; the daughters of the spoule, make one thousand in all; and are, I suppose, these very one thousand women intimated elsewhere by Scripture, 1 Kings vii. 34, 35. For not having found a one [good] woman among that very number. Ezech. viii. 3.

Josephus is here certainly too severe upon Solomon, who is making the chervum, and these twelve brazen oxen, upon which he had done so much more than imitate the patri-
tarch left him to be wrought up by the art of the false hand, and having been so rashly forbidden by Moses, Antiq. B. iv. ch. viii. sect. 6; yet did not the two tribes and a half offend, when they made an altar for a memorial of their tribes and a half, 2 Kings xxiii. 25. Ant. B. ch. i. cxxi. Antiqu. B. ch. i. sect. 18.

* * *

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Since the beginning of Solomon’s evil life and adversity was the time when Hadad, or Adon, who was born at least two hundred years before, and was a gibeonite by birth and crown, in the days of David, began to give him distur-
bance. At this time, it is supposed that Solomon’s evil life continued very long, while the multitude of his wives and concubines does imply also. I suppose when he was not fifty years of age.
of Solomon, and give one tribe, with that which is next it, to his son, because of the promise made to David for his succession, and will make his tribe to sit in the ark of God as king. He hath sinned against him, and delivered up himself to women, and to their gods. Seeing, therefore, thou knowest the cause for which God hath cast out those of his royal lineage out of the land of promise, be thou righteous, and keep the laws, because he hath promised thee to thee the greatest of all, and it is thy piety, and thy sons Solomon's shall part to God, if thou be greatly exalted as thou knowest David to have been."

3. So Jeroboam was elevated by these words of the prophet; and being a young man of a warm temper, and ambitious of greatness, he could not be quiet: and when he had so great a charge in the government, and called to mind what had been revealed to him by Ahijah, he endeavored to persuade the people to forsake Solomon, to make a disturbance, and to bring the government over to himself. But when Solomon understood his intention and treachery, he sought to catch and kill him; but Jeroboam was informed of it beforehand, and fled to Shishak, the king of Egypt, and there abode till the death of Solomon, in which time the king of Egypt preserved this, to suffer no harm from Solomon, and to be preserved for the kingdom. So Solomon died when he was already an old man, having reigned forty years. He left all the blood of those who had been buried in Jerusalem, having been superior to all other kings in happiness, and riches, and wisdom, excepting that when he was growing into years, he was defiled by these two advantages, and transgressed the law; concerning which transgressions, and the miseries which befell the Hebrews thereby, I think proper to discourse at another opportunity.

CHAP. VIII.

I. Then, upon the Death of Solomon, the People forsook his Son Rehoboam, and ordainèd Jeroboam King over the ten Tribes.

§ 1. Now when Solomon was dead, and his son Rehoboam, (who was born of an Ammonite wife, whose name was Naamah,) had succeeded him in the kingdom, the rulers of the multitude sent immediately into Egypt, and called back Jeroboam; and when he came to them, to the city Shechem, and heard all this, they resolved to declare himself king to the Israelites, while they were there gathered together. So the rulers of the people, as well as Jeroboam, conceived a wish to be quiet, and to be ought to relax, and to be gentler than his father, in the servitude he had imposed upon them, because they had borne a heavy yoke, and that they should be better affected to him, and that, well contented to serve him under his moderate government, and should do a more out of love than fear. But Rehoboam told them they should come to him again in three days' time, when he would give an answer to their request. This delay gave occasion to a present suspicion, since he had not given them a favorable answer to their mind immediately, for they thought that he should have given them a humane answer off hand, especially since he was but young. However, they thought that his consultation about it, and took time to consider, would give them a desire, and afforded them some good hopes of success.

2. Rehoboam now called his father's friends, and advised with them what sort of answer he ought to give to the multitude: upon which they gave him the advice which became friends, and that those knew the temper of such a multitude. They advised him not to speak in a very more popular than suited the grandeur of a king, because he would thereby oblige them to submit to him with good will, it being the most agreeable to subjects, that their king should be at the level with them. But Rehoboam rejected this so good, and in general so profitable advice: (it was such, at least, at that time, when he was to be made king.) God himself, I suppose, gave me what was most advantageous to be condemned by him. So he called for the young men, who were brought up with him, and told them what advice the elders had given him, and bade them speak what they thought he ought to do. They advised him to give the following answer to the people, (for neither their youth, nor God him self, suffered them to discern what was best:) "that his little finger should be thicker than his father's loins; and if they had met with hard usage from his father, they should experience much rougher treatment from him; and if his father had chastised them with whips, they must expect that he would do it with scorpions." The king was pleased with this advice, and thought it agreeable to the dignity of his government to give them such an answer. Accordingly when the multitude was some together to hear this answer on the third day, all the people were in great expectation, and very intent to hear what the king would say to them, and supposed they should hear something of a kind nature; but he passed by his friends, and answered, as the young men had given him counsel. Now this was done according to the will of God, that what Ahijah had foretold might come to pass.

3. By these words the people were so struck as it were by an iron hammer, and were so grieved at the words, as if they had already felt the effects of them, and they had great indignation at the king; and all cried out aloud and said, "We will have no longer any relation to David or his posterity after this day." And they said farther, "We only leave to Rehoboam the temple which his father built," and they threatened to forsake him. Nay, they were so bitter, and retained their wrath so long, that when he sent Adoram, who was over the tribute, that he might pacify them, and render them content, rather, and make them to forgive him if he had said any thing that was rash or grievous to them in his youth, they would not hear it, but threw stones at him and stoned him. When Rehoboam saw that the people thought himself aimed at by those stones with which they had killed his servant, and feared lest he should undergo the last of punishments in earnest, so he got immediately into his chariot, and fled to Jerusalem, where the tribe of Judah and that of Benjamin ordained him king: but the rest of the multitude forsook the sons of David from that day, and appointed Jeroboam to be the ruler of their public affairs. Upon this, Rehoboam, Solomon's son, assembled a great congregation of those two tribes that submitted to him, and was ready to take a hundred and eighty thousand men out of the army, to make an expedition against Jeroboam and his people, that he might force them by his power and his servants; but he was forbidden by God by the prophet (Shemeniah) to go to war, for that it was not just that brethren of the same country should fight one against another. He also said, his wickedness began early, and continued very long. See 2 Kings. ch. x. ver. 14.

* This youth of Jeroboam, when Solomon built the walls of Jerusalem, he was but seven or eight years of the building of the temple, and his own palace, or very long after the twenty-fourth year of his reign, 1 Kings. iii. 1. of Solomon, when Rehoboam's wickedness was become 2 Kings. x. 16. more notorious, fully confirm my former observation, that such
Here that those images shall so come to pass, I foretell to the things that shall also come to pass: This altar shall be broken to pieces immediately; and all the fat of the sacrifices that is upon it, shall be poured upon the ground.

And now I relate the first of Jeroboam; as I did not proceed in this expedition. And now I will relate the first of Jeroboam the king of Israel, after which we will relate what are therewith connected. For Jeroboam, the king of Israel, was a son of the two tribes; by this means we shall preserve the good order of the history Entire.

When Jeroboam had made himself a place, the sanctuary, he did not stand it up here. He also built another at Penuel, a city so called. And now the feast of tabernacles was approaching in a little time, Jeroboam considered, that if he should take upon him to build a sanctuary to go to worship God at Jerusalem, and there to celebrate the festival, they would probably repent of what they had done, and be cut off by the temple, and by the utmost of God there performed, and would leave him, and return to their first king; and if so, he should run the risk of losing his own life: so he invented this contrivance: he made two golden calves, and built two little temples for them, the one in the city Bethel, and the other in Dan, which last was at the fountain of the lesser Lebanon, and he put the heifers into both the little temple, and the tabernacles or tabernacles, and there he had called those ten tribes together, on whom he ruled, he made a speech to the people in these words: I suppose, my countrymen, that you know this, that there is only one place hath God in it, nor is there any one determinate place in which he is; but he everywhere hears and sees: think that what we do upon which account I do not think right for you to go so long a journey to Jerusalem, which is an enemy’s city, to worship him. It was a man that built the temple: I have also made two golden heifers, dedicated to the same God; and the one of them I have consecrated in the city Bethel, and the other in Dan, to the end that those of you that dwell nearest these cities, may go to them, and worship God there; and I will ordain for you certain priests and Levites from among yourselves, that you may have no want of the tribe of Levi, or of the sons of Aaron; but let him that is disposed among you of being a priest, bring to God a bullock and a ram, which they say Aaron the first priest brought also. When Jeroboam had said this, he took the calfs and made them to revile from the worship of their forefathers, and to transgress their laws. This was the beginning of misery to the Hebrews, and the cause why they were in war by foreigners, and so fell into captivity. But we shall relate those things in their proper places hereafter.

5. When the feast of tabernacles was just approaching, there was a dream that came to celebrate it itself in Bethel, as did the two tribes celebrate it in Jerusalem. Accordingly he built an altar before the heifer, and undertook to be high priest himself. So he went up to the altar with his own priests about him; but when he was going to offer the sacrifices, and the burnt-offerings, in the sight of all the people, a prophet, whose name was Jehu, was sent by God, and came to him from Jerusalem, who stood in the midst of the multitude, and in the hearing of the king, and directing his discourse to the king; and first said to him, There shall be a certain man of the family of David, Josiah by name, who shall shew upon thee those false priests that shall live at that time, and shall burn the bones of those deceivers of the people, those impostors and wicked wrtches. However, that this people may be
BISH. VIII.—CHAP. X.

But that punishment should be; for he said that he should meet with a lion as he was going on his way, by which lion he should be torn in pieces. He also said, that he should die without issue of the seed of his fathers. What things hence happened to pass, as I suppose, according to the will of God, that so Jerobom might not give heed to the words of God which were delivered by the hand of His prophet; and that he might become the instrument of perdition of lying. However, as Judon was again going to Jerusalem, a lion assaulted him, and pulled him off the beast he rode on, and slew him, yet did not any of all Jerusalemites, and the Levites, and the priests, and the people, kept him, as also the prophet's body. This confounded all those travellers that saw it came and told it in the city to the false prophet, who sent his sons, and brought the body into the city, and made a funeral for him at great expense. He also charged his sons to bury himself with him; and said, that all which he had foretold against that city, and the altar, and priests, and false prophets, would prove true; and that if he were buried with him, he should receive no injuries after his death, the stories not being then to be distinguished as adulterer. But now, when he had performed those funeral rites to the prophet, and had given that charge to his sons, as he said, he gathered himself upon a high mountain to Jerobom, and says to him, "And wherefore is it now that thou art disturbed at the words of this silly fellow?" And when the king had returned, he was appalled and his soul was cast down, and he said to his chief officers, and to his young captains, and to his chief officers, and to his own chief officers, and to his own, and gave him the name of a divine man, and an excellent prophet, he endeavoured, by a wicked trick, to weaken his opinion, and by using plausible words concerning what had happened, he aimed to injure the truth that was in them; for he attempted to persuade him, that 15 his hand was overfeebled by the labour it had undergone, and to go to the right way, and to work thus and hereafter, and to make his successor; and he despised the worship of God, till the people themselves imitated his wicked actions; so truth usually happens, that the masters of subjects are corrupted at the same time with those of their governors, which subjects then lay aside their own sober way of living, as a reproof of their governors' intemperate courses, and follow their wickedness, as if it were virtue, for it is not possible to show that men approve of the actions of their kings, unless they do the same actions with them. Agreeably to this, when Rahobom saw this his kingdom so much increased, he went out of the city and to war, and to his success in the war; and returned upon it, his former nature again; and that as to the altar, it was but new, and had borne abundance of sacrifices, and those large ones too, and was accordingly broken to pieces, and fallen down by the weight of what had been laid upon it. He also informed him of the death of him that had foretold those things, and how he perished; [whence he concluded that] he had not any thing in him of a prophet; we speak any thing like one. When he had thus spoken, he persuaded the king, and entirely alienated his mind from God, and do great wrongs that were righteous and holy, and encouraged him to go on in his impious practices; and accordingly, he was to that degree injurious to God, that he would have destroyed the city, and the king, and all that was therein, for nothing else every day, but how he might be guilty of some new instances of wickedness, and such as should be more detestable than what he had been so insolent as to do before. And so much shall at present suffice to have said concerning Jerobom.

CHAP. X.

Concerning Rahobom, and how God inflicted punishment upon him, for his impious, by Shi-shak, [King of Egypt.] 1. Now Rahobom, the son of Solomon, who, as we said before, was king of the two tribes, built strong and large cities, Bethelhem, and Sam, and Bethos, and Bethur, and Bohec, and Adullam, and Ipan, and Marabu, and Ziph, and Adoram, and Lachish, and Azekah, and Horob, and Aijalon, and Hebron; these he built first of all in the tribe of Judah, and he also built other large cities in the tribe of Benjamin, and walled them about, and put garrisons in them all, and captains, and a great deal of corn, and wine, and oil, and he furnished every of them with provision, and with other provisions that were necessary for sustenance; moreover, he put therein shields and spears, for many ten thousand men. The priests also that were in all Israel, were not in Jericho, and if there were any of the multitude that were good and righteous men, they gathered themselves together to him, having left their own cities, that they might worship God in Jerusalem; for they were not willing to be forced to worship the heifers which Jerobom had made; and they augmented the kingdom of Rehobom for three years. And after he had married a woman of his own kindred, and had by her three children born to him, he married also another of his own kindred, who was daughter of Abazull, by Tamar, whose name was Manachal, and by her he had a son, whom he named Abijah. He had moreover many other children by other wives, also that he was a great and strong man, and he had eighteen legitimate wives, and thirty concubines: and he had born to him twenty-eight sons and three-score daughters; but he appointed Abijah, whom he had by Manachal, to be his successor in the kingdom; and intrusted him already with the treasuries, and the strongest cities.

2. Now I cannot but think, that the greatness of a kingdom, and its change into prosperity, often becomes the occasion of mischief and of transgression to men; for when Rehobom saw this his kingdom so much increased, he went out of the city and to war, and to his success in the war; and returned upon it, his former nature again; and that as to the altar, it was but new, and had borne abundance of sacrifices, and those large ones too, and was accordingly broken to pieces, and fallen down by the weight of what had been laid upon it. He also informed him of the death of him that had foretold those things, and how he perished; [whence he concluded that] he had not any thing in him of a prophet; we speak any thing like one. When he had thus spoken, he persuaded the king, and entirely alienated his mind from God, and do great wrongs that were righteous and holy, and encouraged him to go on in his impious practices; and accordingly, he was to that degree injurious to God, that he would have destroyed the city, and the king, and all that was therein, for nothing else every day, but how he might be guilty of some new instances of wickedness, and such as should be more detestable than what he had been so insolent as to do before. And so much shall at present suffice to have said concerning Jerobom.

3. Now when Rahobom, and the multitude to persuade Jerobom to persuade his subjects to follow his wishes, that he might be able either to settle, or to persuade them to live in their own country, was intimated in Josephus's copy, or in some other ancient book, cannot now be determined; our other copies may not one word on the subject.

1 That this Shishak was not the same person with the famous Sesostris, as some have very lately, in contradiction to all antiquity, intimated, and that he very well may not take him to be the same as the 2 pretend, but that Sesostris was many centuries earlier than Shishak, see Ancient Records, part ii. p. 1984.
with him, were shut up in Jerusalem by the means of the army of shishak, and when they besought God to give them victory and deliverance, they could not persuade God to be on their side: so Shishak prophesied to them, that God threatened to forsake them, as they had forsaken his worship. When they heard this, they were immediately in a consternation of mind, and calling no way of deliverance, they all earnestly set themselves to confess that God might justly overlook them, since they had been guilty of impiety towards him, and had let his holiness to pass by in confusion. So when God saw them in that disposition, and that they acknowledged their sins, he told the prophet, that he would not destroy them, but that he would however make them servants to the Egyptians, that they may learn whether they will suffer less by serving men or God. So when Shishak had taken the city without fighting, because Rehoboam was afraid, and received him into it, yet did not Shishak stand to the covenant he had made, but he spoiled the temple, and emptied the treasures of God, and those of the king, and carried off innumerable heaps of gold and silver, and left nothing at all behind him. He also took away the bucklers of gold, and the shields, which Solomon the king had made; nay, he did not hinder taking out what he could, even from the king from the house of Zobah, and had dedicated to God. And when he had thus done, he returned to his own kingdom. Now Herodotus of Halicarnassus mentions this expedition, having only mistaken the king's name; and [in saying that] he made war upon many other nations also, and brought Syria of Palestine into subjection, and took a captive nation which he retained in prison without fighting. Now it is manifest, that he intended to declare that our nation was subdued by him: for he saith, that he left behind him pillars in the land of those that delivered themselves up to him without fighting, and engraved upon them the secret parts of women. Now our king Rehoboam delivered up our city without fighting. He says withal, that the Ethiopians learned to circumcise their privy parts from the Egyptians, with this addition, that the Phenicians and Syrians that live in Palestine confess that they learned it of the Egyptians. Yet it is evident that no other of the Syrians that live in Palestine besides us alone are circumcised; but as to such matters, let every one speak what he will, it belongs not to my end to treat of women's circumcision. 4. When Shishak was gone away, king Rehoboam made bucklers and shields of brass, instead of those of gold, and delivered the same number of them to the king's chamber, and to the chamber of the prince: So instead of warlike expeditions, and that progress which results from those public actions, he reigned in great quietness, though not without fear, as being always an enemy to Jeroboam, and he died when he had lived fifty-seven years, and reigned seventeen. He was in his disposition a proud and a foolish man, and lost [part of his] dominions by not hearkening to his father's friends. He was buried in Jerusalem, in the sepulchres of the kings; and his son Abijah succeeded him to the kingdom, and reigned in the eightieth year of Jeroboam's reign over the ten tribes: and this was the conclusion of these affairs. It must be now our business to relate the affairs of Jeroboam, and how he ended his life: for he ceased not, nor rested to be injurious to God, but every day raised up altars upon high mountains, and went on making priests out of the multitude.  

Chapter XI.

Concerning the Death of a Son of Jeroboam.

How Jeroboam was beaten by Abijah, who died a little afterward, and was succeeded in his kingdom by his son. And also, how, after the Death of Jeroboam, Bcesal became the Ben Nadab, and all the House of Jeroboam.

§ 1. However, God was in no long time ready to return Jeroboam's wicked actions, and the punishment they deserved, upon his own head, and upon the heads of all his house. And whereas as a son of his lay sick at that time, who was called Abijah, he enjoined his wife to lay aside her robes, and to take the garments belonging to a private person, and to go to Abijah the prophet, for that he was a wonderful man in foreseeing futurities, it having been he who "told me that I should be king." He also enjoined her, when she came, to take a vial of oil, and a mitter, and going into his house, his eyes being then dim with age, God appeared to him, and informed him of two things, that the wife of Jeroboam was come to him; and what answer he should make to her inquiry. Accordingly, as the woman was coming into the house like a private person, and a stranger, she cried out, "Come in, O thou wife of Jeroboam!" and Abijah answered, "Thou art not concealed from God, who hath appeared to me, and informed me that thou wast coming, and hast given me in command what I shall say to thee." So he said, "That she should go away to her husband, and speak to him thus: Since I made thee a great man when thou wast little, or rather wast nothing, and reigned the kingdom from the house of David, and gave it to thee, and thou hast been unmindful of these benefits, hast left off my worship, hast made thee molten gods and honoured them; wilt in like manner cast thee down again, and will destroy all thy houses, and make them food for the dogs and the fowls; for a certain king is rising up, by appointment, over all this people, who shall leave none of the family and none of the persons remaining. The king shall themselves partake of the same punishment, and shall be cast out of this good land, and shall be scattered into the places beyond Euphrates, and shall be an object of reproach to the nations of their king, and have worshipped the gods that he made, and forsaken my sacrifices. But do thou, O woman, make haste back to thy husband, and tell him this message, but thou shalt then find thy son dead, for as thou enterest the city he shall depart this life: yet shall he be buried with the lamentation of all the multitude, and honoured with a general mourning, for he is the only person of goodness of Jeroboam's family."— When the prophet had foretold these events, the woman turned again to the door of the house, and thought in her mind, and greatly grieved at the death of the forenamed child: So she was in lamentation as she went along the road, and mourned for the learned that circumcision in Egypt, and had it not before. Manasseh, the famous Egyptian chronologer, and historian, and Joas, who kept the records of the Phenicians and Syrians in Palestine [which last are generally supposed to denote the Jews]; owned their receiving circumcision from the Egyptians; whereas I think, that the Jews received their circumcision from the patriarch Abraham, Gen. xvii. 8-14, John viii. 35, &c., as I conclude the Egyptians private of circumcision. This also is not, therefore, very likely. Neither Herodotus, because the Jews had lived long in Egypt, and came out of it circumcised, did thereupon think that they had
death of her son, that was just at hand. She was indeed in a miserable condition at the unexpected misfortune, and was quite overwhelmed, but in circumstances very unfortunate, because of her son; for the greater haste she made, she would sooner see her son dead, yet was she forced to wait for the conclusion of the siege. Accordingly, when she was come back, she found that the child had given up the ghost, as the prophet had said; and she related all the circumstances of the siege.

2. Yet did not Jeroboam lay any of these things to heart, but he brought together a very numerous army, and made an unworthy expedition against Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, and succeeded his father in the kingdom of the two tribes, for he despised him because of his age. But when he heard of the expedition of Jeroboam, he was not affrighted at it, but proved of a courageous temper of mind, superior both to his youth, and to the hopes of his enemy; so he chose him an army out of the two tribes, and met Jeroboam at a place called mount Zemaraim, and pitched his camp near the other, and prepared everything necessary for the fight. His army was large, but the army of Jeroboam was double. Now, as the armies stood in array, ready for action and dangers, and were just going to fight, Abijah took his stand with the priests, and in a stately manner knocking with his hand, he desired the multitude and Jeroboam himself to hear first with silence what he had to say. And when silence was made, he began to speak, and told them, "God has condescended that David and his posterity should be the rulers for all time to come, and this you yourselves are not unacquainted with; but I cannot rest quietly while you shall appoint any father, and join yourselves to his servant Jeroboam, and are now here with him to fight against those, who, by God's own determination, are to reign, and to deprive of them that dominion which they have still retained; for as to the greater part of it, Jeroboam is unjustly in possession of it. However, I do not suppose he will enjoy it any longer, but when he hath suffered that punishment which God thinks due to him for what is past, he will leave off the transgressions he hath been guilty of, and the injuries he hath offered us, and would have had these children of Israel offered, and hath persuaded you to do the same; yet when you were not any farther unjustly treated by my father than that he did not speak to you so as to please you, and are in compliance with the advice of wicked men, you in anger forsook him, as you pretended, but in reality you withdrew yourselves from God, and from his laws, although it had been right for you to have forgiven a man that was young in age, and not used to govern people, not only some disagreeable words, but if his youth and his unskilfulness in affairs had led him into some unsuitable actions, and that for the sake of his father Solomon, and the benefits you received from him, for men ought to excuse the sins of posterity on account of the benefactions of parents; but you considered nothing of all this then, neither do you consider it now, but come with so great an army against us. And what is it you depend upon for victory? Is it upon the golden hedges, and the stars that you have on high places, which are demonstrations of your impurity, and not of religious worship? Or is it the exceeding multitude of your army which gives you such good hopes? Yet certainly there is no strength at all in an army of many, unless it be a strength of heart and men, and want space, and wind. But you must needs be weak, for you have not the least religious regard to God; you are so far from your ancestors, and so far from your God, that you do not consider him as your God, and have no regard to him; for you have forsaken him, and have done whatsoever seemed good to yourselves, in the sight of him that is the judge of the whole world; and this is the reason of the gods not being with you, and of your being defeated by me, and of the great number of your army being cut off."

3. This was the speech which Abijah made to the multitude. But while he was still speaking, Jeroboam sent some of his soldiers privately to encompass Abijah round about, on certain parts of the camp that were not taken notice of; and when he was thus within the compass of the enemy, his army was affrighted, and their courage failed them; but Abijah exhorted them to place their hopes on God, for that he was not encompassed by the enemy. So they all at once implored the divine assistance, and being united with the priests, they made a shout, and fell upon their enemies, and God brake the courage and cast down the force of their enemies, and made Abijah's army superior to them; for God was pleased to grant them a wonderful and very famous victory: and such a slaughter was now made of Jeroboam's army, as is never recorded to have happened in the course of human affairs, whether in the Great War, or of the Barbarians, for they overthrew [and slew] five hundred thousand of their enemies, and they took their strongest cities by force, and spoilt them; and besides those, they did the same to Bethel and her towns, and Jeshanah and her towns. And after this defeat Jeroboam never recovered himself during the life of Abijah, who yet did not long survive, for he reigned but three years, and was buried in Jerusalem, in the sepulchre of his forefathers. He left behind him twenty-two sons and sixteen daughters to reign after him; and asa his son succeeded to the kingdom; and the young man's mother was Micaiah. Under his reign the country of the Israelites enjoyed peace for ten years.

4. And so far concerning Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, as his history hath come down to us; but Jeroboam, the king of the two tribes, died when he had governed them two-and-twenty years; whose son Nadab succeeded him, in the second year of the reign of Asa. Now Jeroboam's son governed two years, and resembled his father in impiety and wickedness. In these two years he made an expedition against Gibbethon, a city of the Philistines, and continued the siege in order to destroy it; but he was cast fourteen against while he was there, by a friend of his, whose name was Baasha, the son of Abijah, and was slain; which Baasha took the kingdom after the other's death, and destroyed the whole house of Jeroboam. It also came to pass, according as God had foretold, that some of Jeroboam's kindred that died in the city were torn to pieces and devoured by dogs, the remainder were thereby seriously cautioned not to murder any of them, and that they should regulate their actions to common sense, and to catholic Christianity. Perhaps he only means that he was made some, but was unmerci-
and that others of them that died in the fields were torn and devoured by the fowls. So the house of Jeroboam suffered the just punishment of his impiety and of his wicked actions.

CHAP. XII.

How Zerah, King of the Ethiopians, was beaten by Asa; and how Asa, upon Barasha’s making the Egyptians swear to assist him, and on the Desig- nation of the House of Baasha, Omri got the Kingdom, as did his Son Ahab after him.

§ 1. Now Asa, the king of Jerusalem, was of an excellent character, and had a regard to God, and neither did nor designed any thing but what had relation to the observation of the laws. He made a reformation of his kingdom, and cut off whatsoever was wicked therein, and purified it from every impurity. Now he had an army of chosen men that were armed with targets and spears; out of the tribe of Judah three hundred thousand; and out of the tribe of Benjamin, that bekef, shields and draw bows, two hundred and fifty thousand. But when he had already reign’d ten years, Zerah king of Ethiopia made an expedition against him, with a great army of armed men, and chariots of men, and chariots of horse, and thousand horsemen, and three hundred chariots, and came as far as Mareshah, a city that belonged to the tribe of Judah. Now when Zerah had passed over with his own army, Asa met him, and put his army in array over against him, in a valley called Zephathah, not far from the city; and when he saw the multitude of the Ethiopians, he cried out, and brought God to give him the victory, and that he might kill many ten thousands of the enemy: “For,” said he, “I depend on nothing else but that assistance which I expect from thee, which is able to make the fewer superior to the more numerous, and the weaker to the stronger; and thence it is alone that I venture to meet Zerah, and fight him.”

2. While Asa was saying this, God gave him a signal of victory, and joining battle cheerfully on account of what God had foretold about it, he slew a great many of the Ethiopians, and when he had put them to flight, he pursued them to the country of Gerar; and when they left off killing them, they betook themselves to spoiling them, (for the city Gerar was already taken and to spoiling their camp, so that they carried off much gold, and much silver, and a great deal of raiment, and camels, and great cattle, and flocks of sheep. Accordingly, when Asa and his army had obtained such a victory, and such wealth from God, they returned to Jerusalem.

Now as they were coming, a prophet, whose name was Azariah, met them on the road, and bade them stop their journey a little; and began to say to them thus: “The reason why they had obtained this victory from God was this, that they had shown themselves righteous and religious men, and had done every thing according to the will of God; that therefore he said, if they pursued them, God would grant that they should always overcome their enemies, and live happily: but that if they left off his worship, all things shall fall out on the contrary, and a time shall come when you shall see a true prophet of his shall be left in your whole multitude, or a priest who shall deliver you a true answer from the oracle; but your cities shall be overthrown, and your nation cast down over the whole earth, and live the life of strangers and wanderers.” So he advised them, while they had time, to be good, and not to deprive themselves of the favour of God. When the king and the people heard this, they rejoiced and were all in common, and every one in particular, took great care to behave themselves righteously. The king also sent some to take care that those in the country should observe the laws and duties.

3. And this was the state of Asa, king of the two tribes. I now return to Barasha, the king of the multitude of the Israelites, who slew Nah- dath, the son of Jeroboam, and retained the gov- ernment. He dwelt in the city Tirzah, having made that his habitation, and reigned twenty-four years. He became more wicked and impi- ous than Jeroboam or his son. He did a great deal of mischief to the multitude, and was injuri- ous to God, who sent the prophet Jehu, and told him beforehand, that this whole family should be destroyed, and that he would bring the same miseries on his house which had brought that of Jeroboam to ruin; because, when he had made himself king, he had not required his kind- ness by governing the multitude righteously and religiously; which things, in the first place, tended to their own happiness, and in the next place, were commanded and promised by God. But Barasha, that very wicked king, Jeroboam: and although that man’s soul had perished, yet did he express to the last his wickedness; and he said, that he could therefore justly expect the divine aversion: yet did not he leave off his wicked practices for the time to come, nor did he care to appear to be other than worse and worse till he died; nor did he the least suffer other miseries to come to him, to obtain pardon of God for them, but did as those do who have rewards proposed to them when they have once in earnest set about their work, they do not leave off their labours; for thus did Barasha, when the prophet foretold to him what would come to pass, grow worse, as if what were threatened, the perdition of his family and the destruction of his house, (which are really among the greatest of evils,) were good things; and as if he were a combatant for wickedness, he every day took more and more pains to destroy the priest and those the city of Ramah, which was forty furlongs distant from Jerusalem; and when he had taken it, he found it was determined beforehand, to leave a garrison in it, that they might thence make excursions and do mischief to the kingdom of Asa.

4. Whereupon Asa was afraid of the attempts the enemy might make upon him, and consider- ing with himself how many mischiefs this army that was left in Ramah might do to the country over which he reigned, he sent ambassadors to the king of the Damascus, with gold and silver, desiring his assistance, and putting him in mind that we were all bound together in the same times of our forefathers. So he gladly received the sum of money, and made a league with him, and broke the friendship he had with Baasha, and sent the commissary of his army to the cities that were under Barasha’s dominion, and ordered them to do them mischief. So they went and burnt some of them, and spoiled others, Ijon, and Ben, and Abelaim, and many others belonging to the land of Israel, and bordered on the coasts of Zebulun and Naaman, and were in charge both by Hadassah and Zeeb, and by Beth-dagon, and had from the sea to be the same with Abel or Ablo, where came Ab- basha. This may be that city so denominated from Abel the righteous, who, being slain, was washed in the sea, and thus the sea blood within the compass of the land of Israel, I under- stand our Saviour’s words about the taking war and ever-
BOOK VIII.—CHAP. XIII.

CHAP. XIII.

How Abish, when he had taken Jezebel to wife, became more wicked than all the kings that had been before him. Of the divisions of the Prophet Elijah; and what befell Naboth.

§ 1. Now Abish, the king of Israel, dwelt in Samaria, and held the government for twenty two years; and made no alteration in the condition of the kings. For he did not drop the wickedness of his predecessor, nor only in such things as were of his own invention for the worse, and in his most gross wickedness. He imitated them in their wicked courses, and in their injurious behaviour towards God, and more especially he imitated the transgression of Jeroboam; for he worshipped the heifers that he had made; and he contrived other absurd objects of worship besides the heifers; he also took to wife the daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Tyrians and Sidonians, whose name was Jezebel, of whom he learned to worship her own gods. This woman was active and bold, and fell into so great a degree of impurity and madness, that she built a temple to the god of the Tyrians, which they call Belus, and planted a grove of all sorts of trees; she also appointed priests and false prophets to this god. The king also himself had many such about him, and so exceeded in madness and wickedness all (the kings) that went before him.

2. There was now a prophet of God Almighty, of Theshon, a country in Gilead, that came to Abish, and said to him, that God foretold he would not send rain upon the country but when he should appear. And when he had confirmed this by an oath, he departed into the southern parts, and made his abode by a brook, and he had no other drink; for as for his food, ravens brought it to him every day; but when that river was dried up for want of rain, he came to Zarephath, a city not far from Sidon and Tyre, for it lay between them, and this at the command of God, for (God told him) that he should there find a woman who was a widow, that should give him sustenance: so when he was not far off the city, he saw a woman that laboured with her own hands gathering of sticks; so God informed him who it was, and then he said to her that this was the woman that should give him sustenance: so he came and saluted her, and desired her to bring him some water to drink; but as she was going so to do, he called to her, and said, why, she would have her bring him a losing of the sticks that she brought him, and said, whereupon she affirmed on oath that she had at home nothing more than one handful of meal and a little oil, and that she was going to gather some sticks, that she might knead it, and make bread for herself and her son; after which, she said, they must perish, and be consumed by the famine, for they had nothing for themselves any longer. Hereupon he said, "Go on with good courage, and hope for better things; and first of all make me a little cake, and bring it to me, for I foretell to thee that this vessel of meal and this crust of oil shall not fail, until God send rain." When the prophet had said this, she came to him, and made him the beforenamed cake; of which she had part for herself, and gave the rest to her son, and to the prophet also; and the woman knew of the thing of this fail until the drought ceased. Now Menander mentions this drought in his account of the acts of Ethbaal, king of the Tyrians; and says that God foretold him the want of rain from the month Hyperbereteus till the mouth Hyperbereteus of the year following; but when he made his suppositions, there came great thunders. This Ethbaal built the city of
Bozra in Phœnæa, and the city of Ama in Liban. By these words he expressed this want of rain that was in the days of Ahab; for at that time it was that Ethbaal also reigned over the Tyrians, as Memnonius informs us. But it is uncertain of whom we speak before that sustained the prophet, when her son was fallen into a distemper till he gave up the ghost, and appeared to be dead, came to the prophet Zezebel, and as she was holding him by his breast, when she was holding him by her hands, and by her breast, when she saw that he had ceased to breathe, she sent such expressions as her passions dictated to her, and complained to him, that he had come to her to reproach her for her sins, and that on account of her son was informed of this, and the prophet, not willing to give way in anger, answered her, that he had been to reproach her; and because she had withstood his words, he would not come to reproach her, but that it was not his business. But he bade her be of good cheer, and deliver her son to him, for that he would deliver him again to her alive. When she had delivered her son up to him, he carried him into an upper room, where he himself lodged, and laid him down upon the bed, and cried unto God, and said, that God had not done well in rewarding the woman who had entertained him, and sustained him, by taking away her son; and he prayed that he would send again the soul of the child into her womb to be alive again. According to his prayer God did look pity on the mother, and was willing to gratify the prophet, that he might not seem to have come to her to do her mischief; and the child was restored, and came to life again. So the mother returned the prophet thanks, and said she was then clearly satisfied that God did convince him. 4. After a little while Elijah came to king Ahab, according to God's will, to inform him that rain was coming. Now the famine had seized upon the whole country, and there was a great want of rain. But the prophet declared, that it was not only men that wanted it, but the earth itself also, which did not produce enough for the horses and the other beasts, of what use was for them to feed on, by reason of the drought of the soil. So the king called for Obadiah, who was steward over his cattle, and said to him, "That he would have go to the fountains of water, and to the brooks, that if any herbs could be found for them, they might now s-word, and reserve it for the beasts." And when he had sent persons all over the habitable earth, to discover the prophet, and they could not find him, he bade Obadiah accompany him: so it was resolved they should make a progress, and divide the ways between them, and Obadiah took one road, and Elijah another. Now it happened that the same time when queen Jezebel slew the prophets, that this Obadiah had hidden a hundred prophets, and had fed them with nothing but bread and water; but when Obadiah was alone, and absent from the king, the prophet Elijah met him: and Obadiah asked him who he was; and when he had learned it from him, he worshipped him. Elijah then bade him go to the king, and "tell him that I am here ready to wait on him;" but Obadiah replied, "What evil have I done to thee, that thou sendest me to one who seeketh to kill thee, and hath sought over all the earth for thee? Or, was he so ignorant as not to know that the king had left no place untouched unto which he had not sent persons to bring him back, and that if they could take him, he would have him put to death?" For he told him that he was afraid lest God should appear to him again, and he should go away into another place, and that when he went away, he would miss him; and Elijah, and he would miss of him, and not be able to find him any where upon earth, he should be put to death. He desired him therefore to take care of his preservation, and not to tell him how diligently he searched for him. But to procure such an end, he was informed for those of his own profession, and had saved a hundred prophets, when Jezebel slew the rest of them, and had kept them concealed, and looked that they were with him, and by his means; and Jezebel bade him fear nothing, but go to the king; and he assured him upon oath, that he would certainly show himself to Ahab that very day. 5. So on the next day Obadiah went to king Ahab, and told him of the prophet Elijah was there, Ahab met him, and asked him, in anger, "If he was the man that afflicted the people of the Hebrews, and was the occasion of the drought they lay under." But Elijah, with out any flattery, said, "That he was himself the man, and his house, which had brought such and afflictions upon them, and that by introducing strange gods into their country, and worshipping them, and by leaving their own, who was the only true God, and having no manner of regard to him, he should go away, and gather together all the people to him, to mount Carmel, with his own prophets, and those of his wife, telling him how many there were that came there, and about four hundred in number. And as all the men whom Ahab sent for ran away to the forenamed mountain, the prophet Elijah stood in the midst of them, and said, "How long will you halt and live thus in uncertainty of mind and opinion?" He also exhorted them, that in case they esteemed their own country God to be the true and only God, they would follow him and his commandments; but in case they esteemed him to be nothing, but had an opinion of the strange gods, and that they ought to worship them, his counsel was, that they should follow them. And when the multitude made no answer to what he said, Elijah desired, that for a trial of the power of the strange gods, and of their own God, he, who was his only prophet, while they had four hundred, might take a heifer, and kill it as a sacrifice, and lay it upon pieces of wood, and not kindle any fire, and that they should bring four pieces of wood, and call upon their gods the wood on fire, for if that were done, they would thence learn the nature of the true God. This proposal pleased the people. Now it happened that there was at that time a heifer first, and kill it, and to call on their gods; but when there appeared no effect of the prayer or invocation of the prophets upon their sacrifice, but it was burnt, Elijah desired them to call upon their gods with a loud voice, for they might either be on a journey, or asleep; and when these prophets had done so from morning till noon, and cut themselves with swords and lances, according to the customs of their country, and he was about to offer his sacrifice, he bade [the prophets] go away, but bade [the people] come near and observe what their lest he should privately hide fire among the pieces of wood. So upon the approach of the multitude, he took twelve stones, one for the tribe of the Hebrews, and built an altar with them, and dug a very deep trench and when he had laid the pieces of wood upon

*Josephus, in his present copies, says, that εἰκενεκτωαεροςητοςοντοςεσετηταθεοκατακαματαιουθεοσετηταθεοιοσετητοςοντοςεσετηταθεοστηθεοστηθεοστηθεοστηθεοστηθεοστηθεοστηθεοστηθεοστηθεοστηθεοστηθεοστηθεοστηθεοστηθ
the altar, and upon them had laid the pieces of the burnt-offering, to fill for burnt-offerings with the water of the fountain, to pour it upon the altar, till it ran over it, and fill the trench was filled with the water poured into it. When they had done, they went away, to show to God, and to invite him to make manifest his power to a people that had already been in an error a long time: upon which words a fire came down from heaven, upon the midst of the two men, and stood still, and fell upon the altar, and consumed the sacrifices, till the very water was set on fire, and the place was become dry.

When the ark saw this, they fell down upon the ground and worshipped one God, and called him the great and the only true God; but they called the others mere names, framed by the evil and vile opinions of men. So they caught their prophets, and, at the command of Elijah, slew them. Elijah also said to the king, that he should go to dinner without any further concern, for that in a little time he would see God send them rain. Accordingly, Ahab went his way: but Elijah went up into the highest top of mount Carmel, and sat down upon the ground, and laid his head upon his knees, and the servant go up to a certain elevated place, and look towards the sea, and when he should see a cloud rising any where, he should give him notice: the servant went up, and made the king clear. When the servant had gone up, and had said many times that he saw nothing, at the seventh time of his going up, he said that he saw a little smoke out of the earth, and a vehement storm of wind came upon the earth, and with it a great deal of rain; and the prophet was under a divine fury, and ran along with the king's chariot unto Jezebel, a city of Izar [Issa- dar].

7. When Jezebel, the wife of Ahab, understood what sign Elijah had wrought, and how he had slain her prophets, she was angry, and sent messengers to him, and by them threatened to kill him when he should come to his prophet. At this time Elijah was afflicted, and fled to the city called Becarthes, which is situate at the utmost limits of the country belonging to the tribe of Judah, to the south of Judah, where he left his servant, and went away into a cave. He prayed also that he might die; for that he was not better than his fathers, nor need he be very humble to live; when the servant was asked, he said, "I have eaten and recovered his strength by that his food, he came to that mountain which is called Sinai, where it is related that Moses received his laws from God; and finding there a certain hovel, he entered into it, and continued to make his abode in it. But when a certain voice came to him, but from whence he knew not, and asked him, "Why he was come this other day, and had lain under a certain tree, and when somebody awakened him, and he was risen up, he found food set by him, and water; so when he had eaten and recovered his strength by that his food, he came to that mountain which is called Sinai, where it is related that Moses received his laws from God; and finding there a certain hovel, he entered into it, and continued to make his abode in it. 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Hereupon Ahab began to be sorry for the things he had done, and to repent of them, and he put on sackcloth, and went barefoot, and would not touch any food: he also confessed his sins, and endeavoured thus to appease God. But God told him the prophet, that while Ahab was living he would put off the punishment of his family. But when he was dead, because he repented of those insolent crimes he had been guilty of, but that still he would fulfil his threatenings under Ahab's son. Which message the prophet delivered to the king.

CHAP. XIV.

How Hadad, King of Damascus and of Syria, made two Expeditions against Ahab, and was beaten.

§ 1. When the affairs of Ahab were thus, at that very time the son of Haddad (Benhadad,) who was king of the Syrians and of Damascus, gathered an army out of all his country, and procured thirty-two kings beyond Euphrates to be his auxiliaries: so he made an expedition against Ahab; but because Ahab's army was not like that of Benhadad's, he did not set it in array to fight him, but he sent up everything that was in the country, in the strongest cities he had, he abode in Samaria himself, for the walls about it were very strong, and it appeared to be not to be taken; and in the same manner the city of Syria took his army with him, and came to Samaria, and placed his army round about the city, and besieged it. He also sent a herald to Ahab, and desired he would admit the ambassadors he would send him, by whom he would let him know his pleasure. So upon the king of Israel's permission for him to send, those ambassadors came with his king, and command, spake thus: that "Ahab's riches, and his children, and his wives, were Benhadad's, and if he would make an agreement, and give him leave to take as much of what he had as he pleased, he would withdraw his army, and leave off the siege." Upon this, Ahab bade the ambassadors to go back, and tell their king, that both he himself and all that he had, were his possessions. And when these ambassadors had told this to Benhadad, he sent to him again, and desired, since he confessed that all he had was his, that he would admit those servants of him which he should send the next day; and he commanded him to deliver to those whom he should send, whatsoever, upon their searching his palace, they should find to be excellent in its kind, but what did not please them they should leave to him. At this second embassy of the king of Syria, Ahab was not sent for, and gathered the multitude to a congregation, and told them, "That for himself he was ready, for their safety and peace, to give up his own wives and children to the enemy, and to yield to him all his own possessions, for that was what the Syrian king required at his first embassy; but that now he desires to send his servants to search all their houses, and in them to leave nothing that is excellent in its kind, seeking an occasion of fighting against him, as knowing that I would not spare my father, nor my mother, in order to make a handle from the disagreeable terms he offers concerning you to bring a war upon you; however, I will do what you resolve is fit to be done." But when the king of Syria heard his proposals, but to despise him, and be in readiness to fight him. Accordingly, when he had given the ambassadors this answer to be reported, he still continued in the mind of what to comply with what terms he at first desired, for the safety of the citizens; but as for his second desires, he cannot submit to them," he dismissed them.

2. Now when Benhadad heard this, he had indignation, and sent ambassadors to Ahab the third time, and threatened that his army would raise a bank higher than those walls, in confidence of whose strength he despised him, and that by only each man of his army taking a handful of earth, hereby making a show of the great number of his army, and aiming to sight him. Ahab answered, that "he ought not to vaunt himself when he had only put on his armour, but when he came out to the battle, then he would make a sight of the army of his enemy," and when he inquired by whose means the victory was to be obtained, he said, "By the sons of the princes, but under thy conduct as their leader, by reason of their unskillfulness in war." Upon which he called for the sons of the princes, and found them to be two hundred thirty and two persons. So when he was informed that the king of Syria had betaken himself to feasting and repose, he opened the gates, and sent out the princes' sons. Now when the sentinels had told Benhadad of it, he sent some to meet them, and commanded them, when they were come, to open the gates, they should bind them and bring them to him; and if they came out peaceably, they should do the same. Now Ahab had another army which was his, and gathered the multitude to a congregation, and told them, "That for himself he was ready; he being in his own house and in his own court, he was not afraid of the army of his enemy, which falling upon the Syrians, beat them, for they did not think they would have come out; on which account it was that they assaulted them when they were naked and drunk, insomuch that they left all their armour behind them when they fled out of the camp, and the king himself escaped with difficulty, by flying away on horseback: but Ahab went a great
way in pursuit of the Syrians, and when they had spued their camp, which contained a great deal of wealth, and moreover a large quantity of gold and silver, he took Benhadad's chariots and horses, and returned to the city; but as the pursuing army was in good heart, and the city was ready, because the Syrian king would make another expedition against him the next year, Ahab was busy in making provision for it accordingly.

Now Benhadad, when he had saved himself and as much of his army as he could, out of the battle he consulted with his friends how he might make another expedition against the Israelites, and he found him no less an enemy than he had before been, when they came to Damascus, and betrayed his counsel to be good, and acted according to it in the management of the army.

4. At the beginning of the spring, Benhadad took his army away, and left it with the Hi- reeves; and when he was come to a certain city which was called Apekhe, he pitched his camp in the great plain. Ahab also went to meet him with his army, and pitched his camp against him, although his army was a very small one, in comparison to that of the enemy: but the prophet came again to him, and told him, that "God would give him the victory;" and he might demonstrate his own power to be, not only on the mountains, but on the plains also: which it seems was contrary to the opinion of the Syrians. So they lay quiet in their camp seven days, and when they thought the enemy were come out of their camp, and put themselves in array in order to fight, Ahab also brought out his own army, and when the battle was joined, they fought valiantly, he put the enemy to flight, and pursued them, and pressed upon them, and slew them; but, they were destroyed by their own chariots, and by one another, so many of them, that a few of them escape to their own city Apekhe, who were also killed by the walls falling upon them, being in number twenty-seven thousand. Now these were the words for he, saying, twenty-seven thousand: but Benhadad, the king of the Syrians, fled away, with certain others of his most faithful servants, and hid himself in a cellar under ground: and when these told him that the kings of Israel were humane and merciful men, and that they might make use of the usual manner of supplication, and obtain deliverance from Ahab, in case he would give them leave to go to him, he gave them leave accordingly. So they

* Josephus's number, two myriads and seven thousand, agree here with that in the other copies, excepting that twenty thousand, and then thirty, a few, which could hardly be said of so many as twenty-seven thousand, and because of the improbability of the fall of a portion of the walls killing so many, and, lastly, when I consider Josephus's next words, how the rest which were slain in the battle were ten other myriads, that twenty thousand may be less, and twenty thousand more: but Benhadad, the king of the Syrians, fled away, with certain others of his most faithful servants, and hid himself in a cellar under ground: and when these told him that the kings of Israel were humane and merciful men, and that they might make use of the usual manner of supplication, and obtain deliverance from Ahab, in case he would give them leave to go to him, he gave them leave accordingly. So they

...
ANTIOCHITIES OF THE JEWS.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning Jehoshaphat, the King of Jerusalem: and how Ahab made an Expedition against the Syrians, and was assassinated by Jehoshaphat, but was himself overcome in Battle, and slain.

6. And these were the circumstances in which Ahab was. But I now return to Jehoshaphat, the king of Jerusalem, who, when he had augmented his kingdom, and had set garrisons in all the places belonging to his subjects, and had put such garrisons no less into those cities which were taken out of the tribe of Ephraim, by his grandfather Abijah, when Je-roboam reigned over the ten tribes, yet, and he belonged to the other: but then he had good favour and assisting to him, as being both righteous and religious, and seeking to do somewhat every day, that should be agreeable and acceptable to God. The kings also that were round about him, honoured him with the presents they made him, till the riches that he had acquired were immensely great, and the glory he had gained was of a most exalted nature.

2. Now, in the third year of his reign, he called together the rulers of the country, and the priests also, and the chief officers of the troops, and the provinces, and the cities, and the land, and all the people that were under him, city by city, the laws of Moses, and to keep them, and to be diligent in the worship of God. With this he was much much pleased. When they were not so eagerly set upon, or affected with anything so much as the observation of the laws. The neighbouring nations also continued to love Jehoshaphat, and to respect him. And the Philistines paid their appointed tribute; and the Arabians supplied him every year with three hundred and sixty lambs, and as many kgs of the wool. He also fortified great cities, which were many in number, and of great consequence. He prepared also a mighty army of soldiers and weapons against their enemies. Now the army of men that wore their armour, were three hundred thousand of the tribe of Judah, of whom Adnah was the chief; but John was chief of two hundred thousand; the same man was chief of the tribe of Benjamin, and had two hundred thousand archers under him. There was another chief, whose name was Jehozabad, who had a hundred and fourscore thousand armed men that were also for the service of the king, besides those whom he sent to the best fortified cities.

3. Jehoshaphat took for his son Jehoram to wife Zebadijah, daughter of Asa, king of Judah, and sister of Jehoshaphat, and the tribe of Benjamin; whose name was Athaliah. And when, after some time, he went to Samaria, Ahab received him courteously, and treated the army that followed him in a splendid manner, with great plenty of corn and wine, and of slain beasts; and desired that he would join with him in his war against the king of Syria, that he might recover from him the city Ramoth, in Gilead; for though it had belonged to his father, yet had the king of Syria's father taken it away from him; and he of Jehoshaphat's promise to afford him assistance, (for indeed his army was not inferior to the other's), and his sending for his army from Jerusalem to Samaria, the two kings went out of the city, and each of them sat on his own throne, and each gave their orders to their several armies. Now Jehoshaphat bade them call some of the prophets, if there were any there, and inquire of them concerning this expedition against the king of Syria, for he was too old to give them counsel, to make that expedition at this time, for there

was peace at that time between Ahab and the king of Syria, which had lasted three years, from the time he had taken him captive till that day.

4. So Jehoshaphat sent his own prophet, and the number about four hundred, and bade them inquire of God whether he would grant him the victory, if he made an expedition against Ben-hadad, and enable him to overthrow that which he was to perform. Upon whose advice he asked for the true God, that we may have sure information concerning futurities? Hereupon Ahab said, "there was indeed such a one, but that he hated him, and as having prophesied evil to him, and having foretold that he should be overcome, and slain by the king of Syria, and that for this cause he had him now in prison, and that his name was Mic-aiah, the son of Im-elah." But upon Jehoshaphat's desire that he might be produced, Ahab sent a eunuch, who brought Micaiah to him. Now the eunuch had informed him by the way, that all the other prophets that went round that land, and teach all the people that were under him, had all gone out and were prophesying for the victory; but he said, that "it was not lawful for him to lie against God, but that he must speak what he should see to him about the war." When the king, therefore, had summoned Ahab, and he had adjured him upon oath to speak the truth to him, he said, that "God had showed to him the Israelites running away, and pursued by the king of Syria, and he showed him also the mountains by them, as are flocks of sheep dispersed when their shepherd is slain." He said further, that "God signified to him, that those Israelites should return, and he should return home, and that he only should fall in battle." When Micaiah had thus spoken, Ahab said to Jehoshaphat, "I told thee a little while ago the disposition of the man with regard to me, and that he uses to prophesy evil to me." Upon which Micaiah replied, that he "ought to bear all, whatsoever it be, that God foretells; and that in particular, they were false prophets that encouraged him to make this war in hope of victory, whereas he must fight and be killed." Whereupon the king was in suspense with himself: for the false prophets, came near, and exhorted him not to hearken to Micaiah, for he did not at all speak truth; as a demonstration of which, he instanced how he had been sent by the king of the ten tribes in foretelling futurities more than Micaiah; for he foretold, That the dogs should lick his blood in the city of Jerseel, in the field of Naboth, as they licked the blood of Naboth, who by his means was there stoned to death by the multitude," that therefore it was plain that this Micaiah was a liar, as contradicting a greater prophet than himself, and saying, that he would be slain at three days' journey distance. And [said he] you shall soon know whether he be a true prophet, and hath the power of the Divine Spirit; for I will smite him, and let him then hurt my hand, as Japhon caused the hand of Je-roboam the king to wither when he would have caught him; for I suppose thou hast certainly heard of that accident." So when, upon his uniting Micaiah, no harm happened to him, Ahab took courage, and readily led his army against the king of Syria, for, as I suppose, fete of the king was too great for them counsel to make that expedition at this time, for there

* These remarks of Zedekiah, the false prophet, in order to persuade Ahab not to believe Micaiah, the true prophet, are plausible, but being omitted in our other copies, we cannot be sure whether Josephus had them, whether from his own source copy, from some other original author, or from certain ancient ones. That some such plausible objection was now raised against Micaiah, we may likely, otherwise Jehoshaphat, who used to disbelieve all such false prophets, could never have been induced to ex- company Ahab in these desperate enterprises.
BOOK VIII.—CHAP. XV.

resolved not to make his mischance known to his army, lest they should run away, but he bade the driver of his chariot to turn it back, and carry him out of the battle, because he was sorely wounded by and mortally wounded; therefore, he set in his chariot and endure the pain till sunset, and then he fainted away and died.

6. And now the Syrian army, upon the coming of the night, retired to their camp; and when the herald belonging to the camp gave notice that Ahab was dead, they returned home; and they took the dead body of Ahab to Samaria, and buried it there; but when they had washed his chariot, in the fountain of Jezreel, which was bloody with the dead body of the king, they acknowledged that the prophecy of Elijah was true, for the dogs licked his blood, and the birds continued afterward to wash themselves in that fountain; but still he died at Ramoth, as Micahah had foretold. And as what things were foretold should befall Ahab, so he met with them at his time, and came to pass, we ought therefore to have high notions of God, and every where to honour and worship him, and never to suppose that the word of God is void before what is true, and to esteem nothing more advantageous than the gift of prophecy, and that foreknowledge of future events which the word of God gives; and therefore we ought to avoid it. We may also guess, from what happened to this king, and have reason to consider the power of fate, that there is nothing avoiding it, even when we know it. It creeps upon human souls, and flatters them with pleasing hopes, till it leads them into the place where it will be too hard for them. And accordingly, Ahab appears to have been deceived thereby, till he disbelieved those that foretold his defeat, but by giving credit to such as foretold what was grateful to him, was slain; and his son Ahabiah succeeded him.

We have here a very wise reflection of Josephus about Divine Providence, and what is derived from it, prophecy, and the inevitable certainty of its accomplishment; and that when wicked men think they take proper methods to hide what is denounced against them, and to escape the divine judgments thereby threatened them, without repentance, they are ever by Providence induced to bring about their own destruction, and thereby work to demonstrate the perfect veracity of that God whose predictions they in vain endeavour to evade.

BOOK IX.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SEVEN YEARS—FROM THE DEATH OF AHAB TO THE CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES.

CHAP. I.

Concerning Jehoshaphat again; how he constituted judges, and, by God's Assistance, overcame his Enemy.

§ 1. When Jehoshaphat the king was come to Jerusalem, from the assistance he had afforded Ahab, the king of Israel, when he fought with Benhadad king of Syria, the prophet Jehu met him, and accused him for asisting Ahab, a man both impious and wicked; and said to him, that "God was displeased with him for so doing, but that he delivered him from the enemy, notwithstanding his improper disposition, which was good." Whereupon the king bestowed himself to thanksgivings and sacrifices to God: after which he presently went over all that country which he ruled round about;

as taught the people, as well the laws which Jehosaphat put on, not his own, but Ahab's robes, in order to appear to be Ahab, while Ahab was without any robes at all, and hoped thereby to escape his own evil fate, and dispose Micahah's prophecy to his great advantage to this whole history, and shows, that although Ahab hoped Jehoshaphat would be mistaken for him, as soon as he was taken among the slain in the battle, yet he was entirely disappointed, while still the escape of the godless Jehoshaphat, and the slaughter of the bad man Ahab, demonstrated the great distinction that Divine Providence made between them.

These judges, constituted by Jehoshaphat, were a kind of Jewish Saduchists, out of the priests, the Levites, and the principal of the people, both here and 2 Chron.

6. Much like the old Christian judasuits in the bishop, the prelates, the deacons, and the people.
of great consequence, they should send them out of the other cities to these judges, who would be obliged to give righteous sentences concerning such cases. For this was early the greater care, because it was feared that if a man should commit this crime, and the on the fourth day, all the people were gathered together unto a certain hollow place or valley, and blessed God for his power and assistance. Now he set and this he gave it, The Valley of [Gerashah, or] Blessing.

4. And when the king had brought his army back to Jerusalem, he betook himself to celebrate the annual sacrifices, and for many days. And, indeed, after this destruction of their enemies, and when it came to the ears of the foreign nations, they were all greatly afrighted, as supposing that God would openly fight for him hither. So Jehoshaphat from that time lived in great glory and splendour, as account of his righteousness and his pious towards God. He was also in friendship with Ahab's son, who was king of Israel: and he joined with him in the building of ships that were to sail to Punt, and the traffic cities of Tharshish; but he failed of his gains, for the ships were destroyed by being so great and unwieldy; on which account he was no longer concerned about shipping. And this is the history of Jehoshaphat the king of Judah.

CHAP. II.

Concerning Ahasiah, the King of Israel, and again concerning the Prophet Elijah.

§ 1. And now Ahasiah, the son of Ahab, reigned over Israel, and made his abode in Samaria. He was a wicked man, and, in all respects, like to both his parents, and to Jeroboam, who first of all transgressed, and began to deceive the people.

On the second year of his reign, the king of Moab fell off from his obedience, and left off paying those tributes which he before paid to his father Ahab. Now it happened that Ahasiah, as he was coming down from the top of his house, fell down from it, and in his sickness sent to the Fly, which was the god of Ekron, for that was this god's name, to inquire about his recovery; but the God of the Hebrews appeared to Elijah the prophet, and commanded him to go and meet the messengers that were sent, and to ask them, "Whether the people of Israel had not a God of their own, that they should send to a foreign god to inquire about his recovery?" and bid them return, and tell the king, that he would not escape this disease." And when Elijah had performed what God had commanded him, and the messengers had heard what he said, they returned to the king immediately; and when the king wondered how they could return so soon, and asked them the reason of it, they said, that "a certain man met them, and forbade them to go any further; but to return and tell thee, from the command of the God of Israel, that this disease will have a bad end." And when the king heard what they said, he sent a captain to him, with fifty soldiers, and commanded them to bring Elijah to him; and when he came, and sat on the top of a hill, he sitting on the top of a hill, he commanded him

Concerning this precious balsam, see the note on Assy. viii. ch. vi. sect. 6.

7 What are here Poenae and Thrashe, as the glosses will shew, the names of the chief seats of the basan, from Pisaurum and Turisach, and the place whence it is in them Erryagon, which lay on the Red Sea, whence it was carried in ships for Egypt, to sell to the Egyptians. And it is probably that Josephus's copy differed from our other copies, as far the plainest from his own words, which render it such ships were broke of Egypt, from the smelliness of the same. But so far we may conclude, that

Josephus thought one Opbar to be somewhere in the Mediterranean, and not in the South Sea, though perhaps there might be another Opbar in the South Sea also, and that Josephus might mean the Taurus, or even the Pamisiea, and thus referred the Procurers of the goods from the Red Sea, to fetch the gold of Opbar.

This god of Thus seems to have been so called, as was the like name of the sea of Egypt: But Poenae or Thrashe his name is but a corruption of Perux, or Poushe in the image of Egypt, in driving them away from the flesh of those crocodile, which otherwise would have been very troublesome to them.
to come down, and to come to the king, for so he had enjoined; but that in case he refused, they would carry him by force. Elijah said to him, "That you may have a trial whether I be a true prophet, I will pray that fire may fall from heaven, and destroy both the priests and the temple." So he prayed, and a whirlwind of fire fell [from heaven], and destroyed the captain, and those that were with him. And when the king was informed of the destruction of the temple, he was very angry, and sent another captain with the like number of armed men that were sent before. And when this captain came in, the question was the same: "that unless he came down of his own accord, he would take him and carry him away; upon his prayer against him, the fire [from heaven] slew this captain as well as the other. And when, upon inquiry, the king was informed of what had happened to him, he sent out a third captain. But when this captain, who was a wise man, and of a mild disposition, came to the place where Elijah happened to be, and spake civilly to him; and said, that "he knew that it was without his own consent, and only in submissuion to the king," and that those that came before did not come willingly, but on the same account: he therefore desired him to have pity on those armed men that had been committed to distruction, that it might not be done, that he would send to him, and follow him to the king." So Elijah accepted of his discreet word; and courteous behavior, and came down and followed him. And when he came to the king, he prophesied to him, and told him, that "God said, Since thou hast despised him as not being God, and so unable to forestall the truth about thy dissembler, but hast sent to the god Elijah, inquire of him what will be the end of this thy dissembler, know this, that thou shalt die." Then the king sent his servants unto Elijah; and he said unto them, "Go to the prophet, and enquire of him what will be the end of this thy dissembler, know this, that thou shalt die." And when the captain which was over the host heard that the three kings went to him, at the entreaty of Jeshoshaphat; and when they were come at the prophet's tent, which tent was pitched out of the camp, they asked him, "What would become of the army?" And Joram was particularly very pressing with him about it. And when he replied to him, that "he should not trouble him, but go to his father's and mother's prophecies, for they [to be sure] were true prophecies," he still desired him to prophesy, and to save them. So he swore by God, that he would not answer him unless if were on account of Jeshoshaphat, who was a holy and righteous man; and when, at his desire, they brought him a man that could play on the psaltery, the divine Spirit came upon him, and he commanded him to dig many trenches in the valley; for, said he, "Though there appear neither cloud, nor wind, nor storm of rain, ye shall see this valley full of water; till the army and the cattle be saved for you by drinking of it: nor will this be all the favour that you shall receive from God, but you shall also overcome your enemies, and take the best and strongest cities of the Moabites, and you shall cut down their fruit-trees, and lay waste their country, and stop up their fountains and rivers." When the prophet had said this, the next commanded his guards to slay Ahimelech and the private men that were in Nob, they knew it was an unlawful command, and they would not obey it, 1 Sam. xxvii. 17. From which cases both officers and soldiers may learn, that the commanders must regard the orders of their leaders or masters, as it is the duty of the officers to do what is willed in the sight of God, or in fighting in an unjust cause when they know it to be so.

CHAP. III.

How Joram and Jeshoshaphat made an Expedition against the Moabites; as also concerning the Wonders of Elisha; and the Death of Jeshoshap

§ 1. When Joram had taken upon him the kingdom, he determined to make an expedition against the king of Moab, whose name was Mesasha; for, as we told you before, he was departed from his obedience to his brother [Ahaziah], while he paid to his father Ahab two hundred thousand sheep and a thousand rams, and therefore he had gathered his own army together, he sent also to Jeshoshaphat, and entreated him, that since he had from the beginning been a friend to his father, he would assist him in the war that he was entering into against the Moabites, who had departed from their obedience; who not only himself promised to assist him, but would also oblige the king of Edom, who was under his authority, to make the same expedition also. When Joram had received these assurances of assistance from Jeshoshaphat, he took his army with him, and came to Jerusalem; and when he had been sumptuously entertained by the king of Jerusalem, it was resolved upon by them to take their march against their enemies through the wilderness of Edom; and when they had taken a compass of seven days' journey, they were in distress for want of water for the cattle, and for the army, from the mistake of their roads by the unhappy advice of their guides. The Moabites, in such an ill dispossession, were in so much that they were all in an agony, especially Joram; and cried to God by reason of their sorrow, and [desired to know] what wickedness they had committed and were inflicted upon them, that they were to deliver three kings together without fighting, unto the king of Moab. But Jeshoshaphat, who was a righteous man, encouraged him, and bade him send to the camp, and know whether any prophet of God was come along with them, that we might by him learn from God what we should do. And when one of the servants of Joram said, that he had seen the prophet of Jezreel, the prophet of Jeshoshaphat, the disciple of Elijah, the three kings went to him, at the entreaty of Jeshoshaphat; and when they were come at the prophet's tent, that tent was pitched out of the camp, they asked him, "What would become of the army?" And Joram was particularly very pressing with him about it. And when he replied to him, that "he should not trouble him, but go to his father's and mother's prophecies, for they [to be sure] were true prophecies," he still desired him to prophesy, and to save them. So he swore by God, that he would not answer him unless if were on account of Jeshoshaphat, who was a holy and righteous man; and when, at his desire, they brought him a man that could play on the psaltery, the divine Spirit came upon him, and he commanded him to dig many trenches in the valley; for, said he, "Though there appear neither cloud, nor wind, nor storm of rain, ye shall see this valley full of water; till the army and the cattle be saved for you by drinking of it: nor will this be all the favour that you shall receive from God, but you shall also overcome your enemies, and take the best and strongest cities of the Moabites, and you shall cut down their fruit-trees, and lay waste their country, and stop up their fountains and rivers."
day, before the sunrise, a great torrent ran strongly; for God had caused it to rain very plentifully at the distance of three days' journey into Edom; so that the army and the cattle found water in abundance. But when the Moabites heard that the three kings were coming upon them, and made their approach through the wilderness, the king of Moab gathered his army together, and commanded them to pitch their camp upon the mountains, that when the enemies should attempt to enter their country, they might not be concealed from them. But he saw at the rising of the sun they saw that the water in the torrent, for it was not far from the land of Moab, and that it was of the colour of blood, for at such a time the water especially looks red, by the shining of the sun upon it, they formed a false notion of the state of their enemies, as if they had slain one another for thirst, and that the river ran with their blood. However, supposing that this was the case, they desired their king would send them out to spoil their enemies; whereupon they all went in haste, as to an advantage already gained, and coming near, might be unexpectedly, as supposing the destroyed already. But their hope deceived them, for as their enemies stood round about them, some of them were cut to pieces, and others taken alive, and led to their own country. And when the kings entered the land of Moab, they overthrew the cities that were in it, and spoiled their fields, and marred them, filling them with stones out of the books, and cut down the best of their trees, and stopped up their fountains of water, and overthrew their walls to their foundations.

But the king of Moab, when he was pursued, and seeing his city in danger of being overthrown by force, made a sally, and wet out with seven hundred men, his charger to break through the enemies' camp with his horsemen, on that side where the watch seemed to be kept most negligently; and when, upon trial, he could not get away, for he lit upon a place that was carefully watched, he returned into the city, and did a thing that showed despair and the utmost distress; for he took his eldest son, who was to reign after him, and lifting him upon the wall, 8 Kings viii. 39; Mat. xvii. 26; he stretch'd him out, and fed him with his enemies, for he was afraid of his lying in ambush, he was wroth with his own servants, as if they had betrayed his ambushment to Jerom, and sent for them, and said they were the cause of his death, and he threatened that he would put them to death, since such their practice was evident, because he had intrusted this secret to none but them, and yet it was made known to his enemies. And when one that was present said, that at present, was evident in his Bible, I mean that of the curing of Naaman's leprosy, 2 Kings v. 27, for he plainly sublimates to it, B. iii. ch. xi. sect. 4, where he observes, that there were lepers in many nations who yet have been in honour, and there is nothing free reproach and sneeze, but who have been great captains of armies, and have been great in the assemblies of the people, and have had the privileges of entering into holy places and temples. But what makes me most to regret the want of that ostentatious attention and due regard of that copy of his book is this, that we have here, and as it is commonly understood, one of the greatest difficulties in all the Bible, that is in 2 Kings v. 25, 26, 1 Chronicles vii. 21, the very expression in this prophet of the true God, and had therupon promised, 17, that he would henceforth offer neither burnt-offerings nor sacrifices upon any other altar than on that of his own, 8 Kings iv. 19; but of which we have several omitted in Job.—One of these—
should not mistake himself, nor suspect that they had discovered to his enemy his sending men to kill him, and to know the manner by which Elisha the prophet, who discovered all to him, and laid open all his counsels." So he gave order that they should send some to learn in what city Elisha dwelt. Accordingly, those that were sent brought word, that he was in Dothan: wherefore Benhadad sent to that city a great army, with horses and chariots, to take Elisha; so they encompassed the city round about by night, and kept him therein confined, but when the prophet's servant in the morning perceived this, and that his enemies sought to take Elisha, he came running out, thinking they dis- covered manner to him, and told him of it: but he encouraged him, and bid him not be afraid, and to despise the enemy, and trust in the assistance of God, and was himself without fear; and he besought God to make manifest to his servant his power and presence, so far as was possible, in order to the inspiring him with hope and courage. Accordingly God heard the prayer of the prophet, and made the servant a multitude of chariots and horses encompassing Elisha, till he was laid aside his fear, and his courage revived at the sight of his assistance. After this Elisha did farther treat God that he would dimension the eyes of their enemies, and cast a mist before them, whereby they might not direct, or watch, or wait for him, but he should go to him in the midst of his enemies, and asked them it was that they came to seek; and when they replied, the prophet Elisha, he proceeded to them and said, that they should follow him to the city where he was. So these men were so darkened by God in their sight, and in their mind, that they followed him very diligently. When Elisha came to Samaria, he ordered Joram the king to shut the gates, and to place his own army round about Samaria; and prayed to God to clear the eyes of these their enemies, and take the mist from before them. Accordingly, when they were freed from the obscurity they had been in, they saw themselves in the midst of their enemies, and as the Syrians were strangely amased and distressed, as was but reasonable, at an action so divine and surprising; and as king Joram asked the prophet, if he would give him leave to deck of his army, and, and the prophet said, that "it is just to kill those that are taken in battle, but that these men had done the country so harm, but, without knowing it, were come this time to destroy; that therefore, seeing they were come to do them evil, he would be to them, and that was to treat them in a hospitable manner at his table, and then send them away without hurting them." Wherefore Joram obeyed the prophet: and when he had feared the Syrians in a splendid and magnificent manner, he let them go to Benhadad, their king.

4. Now when these men were come back, and had shown Benhadad how strange an accident had befallen them, and what an appearance and power they had experienced of the God of Israel, he wondered at it, as also at that prophet with whom God was so evidently present: so he determined to make no more secret attempts upon the king of Israel, out of fear of Elisha, but received to make open war with them, as supposing he could be too hard for his enemies by the multitude of his army and power. So he made a expedition with a great army against Joram, who had

* Upon occasion of this stratagem of Elisha's in Josephus, we may take notice, that although Josephus was one of the greatest lovers of truth in the world, yet in a just way, we may believe him when he saith that it was done by such stratagems possible to deceive public enemies. But he also Josephus's account of Jeremiah's imposture on the kings is something somewhat the same, Ant. xvi. 6, 16. &c.

1. This son of a murderer was Joram, the son of Ahaz: which Ahaz slew, or permitted his wife Jezabel to slay the Lord's prophet, and Naboth, 1 Kings xvii. 4; xix. 19; and he is here called by this name, I suppose, because he had now also himself murdered his father, or his father's murderer; yet is Josephus's account of Joram's coming himself at last, as repenting of his intended cruelty, much more probable than that in our epistle, 1 Kings xi. 15, which rather implies the contrary.
ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

some hour in which the king came to him, they should have great plenty of food, and that two
seals of barley should be sold in the market for
a shekel, and a sheaf of fine flour should be sold
for a shekel. This prediction made Joram, and those near him, very joyful, for they did not scruple believing what the prophet said, on account of the experience they had of the truth of his former predictions; and the expecta-
tion of what they wanted they were in that day, with the unexampled that accompanied it, appear a light thing to them: but the captain of the third band, who was a friend of the king, and on whose head the king leaned, said, "This and talkest of incredible things, O prophet! for as it is impossible for God to pour down torrents of
barley, or fine flour, out of heaven, so it is im-
possible that what thou sayest should come to pass." To which the prophet made this reply, "Thou shalt see those things come to pass, but
then shalt not be in the least a partaker of them." 3. Now what Elisha had thus foretold, came to pass in the manner following: there was a law at Samaria, that those that had the leprosy, and whose bodies were not cleansed from it, should be banished from their city, and there were four of them that on this account abode before the gates, while nobody gave them any food, by reason of the extremity of the famine: and as they were pressing on, they came to the city by the law, and they considered that if they were permitted to enter, they should miserably perish by the famine; as also, that if they said where they were, they would suffer in the same manner, they resolved to deliver themselves up to the enemy, that in case they should spare them, they might live, but if they should be killed, that would be better for them. So when they had confirmed this their resolution, they came by night to the enemy's camp. Now God had be-
gun to afflict and disturb the Syrians, and to bring the noise of chariots and armour to their ears, as though an army were coming upon them, and had made them suspect that it was coming nearer and nearer to them. In short, they were in such a dread of this army, that they left their tents, and ran together to Benhadad, and said, that Joram, the king of Israel, had hired for auxiliaries, both the king of Egypt and the king of Syria, to fight against them; and that they, for fear of them, they heard the noise of them as they were coming." And Benhadad believed what they said, (for there came the same noise to his ear, and he was afraid,) so they fell into a mighty disorder and tumult, and left their horses and beasts in their camp, with immense riches also, and betook themselves to flight. And those lepers who had departed from Samari-
a, and were gone to the camp of the Syrians, of whom we made mention a little before, when they were in the camp, saw nothing but great quietness and silence: accordingly they entered into it, and went hastily into one of their tents, and when they saw nobody there, they ate and drank, and carried garments and a great quan-
tity of gold, and hid it out of his camp; after which they went into another tent, and carried off what was in it, as they did at the former, and this did they for several times, without the least interruption from any body. So they gathered thereby that the enemies were departed, where-
upon they reproached themselves that they did not inform Joram and the citizens of it. So they came to the king, and said, O king, send to the watchmen, and told them in what state the enemies were, as did these tell the king's guards, whose means Joram came to know of it; whereupon Benhadad, and the king's min-
tains of his host, and said to them, that he sus-
pected that this departure of the king of Syria was not in any of ambush and treachery, and that out of despair of ruining you by famine, when you imagine them to be fled away, you may come out of the city to spoil their camp, and he may perhaps also live, and may you both kill you, and take the city without fighting; whence it is that I exhort you to guard the city carefully, and by no means to go out of it, or around the city walls, as it is possible you were really gone away." And when a certain person said, that "he did very well and wisely to admit such a suspicion, but that he still was not convinced that they had actually left the land to search all the country, as far as Jordan, that if they were seized by an ambush of the enemy, they might be a security to your army, that they may not go out as if they suspected nothing, not to undergo the like misfortune: and, (said he,) those horsemen may be numbered among those that have died by the famine, supposing them caught and destroyed by the enemy." So the king was pleased with this opinion, and sent such as might search out the truth, who performed their journey over a road that was without any people seen, and found nothing. The lepers, on the other hand, taking the spoils of the camp; which gains of theirs were not of things of small value, but they took a great quantity of gold, and a great quantity of silver, and robes of all sorts of garniture. They also pos-
essed themselves of [so many] ten thousand measures of wheat and barley, as they never in the least dreamed of; and were not only freed from their want, but had much plenty, that two seals of barley were bought for a shekel, and a sheaf of fine flour for a shekel, ac-
cording to the prophecy of Elisha. Now a sheaf is equal to an Italian modius and a half. The captain of the third band was the only man that received no benefit by this plenty; for as he was appointed by the king to oversee the gate, that he might prevent too great a crowd of the multi-
tude, that they might not endanger another and perish, by treading on one another in the press, he suffered himself in that very way, and was thus destroyed upon his bed; and he died such a death, when he alone of them all disbelieved what he said concerning that plenty of provisions which they should soon have. And he likewise had a mighty disorder at his having God so greatly for his enemy, and fell into a distemper. Now it happened that Elisha the prophet, at that time was gone out of his own country to Damascus, of which Benhadad was informed; he sent Hazael, the most faithful of all his servants, to meet him, and to carry him presents, and bid him come to him about his distemper, and whether he should escape the danger that it threatened. So Hazael came to Elisha with forty camels, that carried the best and most pro-
cious fruits that the country of Damascus afford-
ed, as well as those which the king's palace sup-
pplied. He saluted him kindly, and said, that he was sent to him by the king Benhadad, and brought the presents before, and called also his friends, and the king's min-
tains of his host, and said to them, that he sus-
pected that this departure of the king of Syria was not in any of ambush and treachery, and that out of despair of ruining you by famine, when you imagine them to be fled away, you may come out of the city to spoil their camp, and he may perhaps also live, and may you both kill you, and take the city without fighting; whence it is that I exhort you to guard the city carefully, and by no means to go out of it, or around the city walls, as it is possible you were really gone away." And when a certain person said, that "he did very well and wisely to admit such a suspicion, but that he still was not convinced that they had actually left the land to search all the country, as far as Jordan, that if they were seized by an ambush of the enemy, they might be a security to your army, that they may not go out as if they suspected nothing, not to undergo the like misfortune: and, (said he,) those horsemen may be numbered among those that have died by the famine, supposing them caught and destroyed by the enemy." So the king was pleased with this opinion, and sent such as might search out the truth, who performed their journey over a road that was without any people seen, and found nothing. The lepers, on the other hand, taking the spoils of the camp; which gains of theirs were not of things of small value, but they took a great quantity of gold, and a great quantity of silver, and robes of all sorts of garniture. They also pos-
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tains of his host, and said to them, that he sus-
ed him, what was the occasion of this confession he was in it? he said, that he was guilty of commiseration for the multitude of the Israelites, and that terrible miseries they would suffer by his commands, and that the widows and orphans would be destroyed by them, and that they would be left destitute of all relief, and would perish without a friend. And when Hazael said, "How can it be that I should have power enough to do such things?" the prophet replied, "That God hath informed me that he should be king of Syria." So when Hazael was come to Benhadad, he told him good news concerning his distemper; but on the next day he spread a wet cloth in the middle of a net over him, and strangled him, and took his dominion. He was an active man, and had the good-will of the Syrians, and of the people of Damascus, to a great degree; by whom both Benhadad himself, and Hazael, who ruled after him, were honoured to this day as gods by reason of their benefactions, and their building them temples, by which they adorned the city of the Sidonians. They also every day did great pomp to pay their worship to these gods, and value themselves upon their antiquity; nor do they know that these kings are much later than they imagine. Thus Benhadad, and Hazael, had reigned about 100 years old. Now when Jerom, the king of Israel, heard that Benhadad was dead, he recovered out of the terror and dread he had been in on his account, and was very glad to live in peace.

CHAP. V.
Concerning the wickedness of Jehoram King of Jerusalem. His Defeat and Death.

§ 1. Now Jehoram, the king of Jerusalem, for we have said before that he had the same name with the king of Israel, as soon as he had taken the government upon him, betook himself to the slaughter of his brethren, and his father's friends, who were governors under him, and thence made a beginning, and a demonstration of his wickedness; nor was he at all better than those kings of Israel who at first transgressed against the laws of their country, and of the Hebrews, and against God's worship. And it was Athaliah, the daughter of Abiah, whom he had married, who taught him to be a bad man in other respects, and also to worship foreign gods. Now God would not quite root out the people because of the promise he had made to David. However, Jehoram did not leave off the introduction of new sorts of customs, to the propagation of impurity, and to the ruin of the customs of his own country. And when the Edomites about that time had revolted from him, and slain their former king, who was in subjection to his father, and had set up one of their own choosing, Jehoram fell upon the land of Edom, with the horsemen that were about him, and the chariots, by night, and destroyed those that lay near to his own kingdom, but did not proceed farther. However, this expedition did him no service, for they all revolted from him, with those that dwelt in the county of Libnah. He was indeed so mad, as to compel the people to go up to the high places of the mountains, and worship foreign gods. And as he was about to cast his own country laws out of his mind, there was brought him an epistle from Elijah the prophet, which declared that "God would execute great judgments upon him, because he had imitated his own fathers, but had followed the wicked courses of the kings of Israel; and had compelled the tribe of Judah, and the citizens of Jerusalem, to leave the pure worship of their own God, and to worship idols, as Abah had compelled the Israelites to do, and because he had slain his brethren, and the men that were good and righteous." And the prophet gave him notice in this epistle, what punishment he should undergo for these crimes, namely, "The destruction of his people, with the corruption of the king's own wives and children, and that he should himself die of a distemper in his bowels, with long torments, those his bowels falling out by the violence, and the rottenness of the parts, insomuch, that though he see how he is tormented, he shall not be able at all to help himself, but shall die in that manner." This it was which Elijah denounced to him in his epistle.

§ 3. It was not long after this that an army of those Arabians that lived near to Ethiopia, and of the Philistines, fell upon the kingdom of Jehovah, and spoiled the country and the king's house; moreover, they slew his sons and his wives: one only of his sons was left him, who escaped the enemy; his name was Ahaziah: after which calamity, he himself fell into that disease which was foretold by the prophet, and lasted a great while, (for God inflicted this punishment upon him in his belly, out of his wrath against him,) and so he died miserably, and saw his own bowels fall out. The people also abused his dead body: I suppose it was because they thought that such his death came upon him by the wrath of God, and that therefore he was not worthy to partake of such a funeral as became kings. Accordingly, they neither buried him in the sepulchres of his fathers, nor vouchsafed him any honours, but buried him like a private man, and this when he had lived forty years, and reigned eight: and the people of Jerusalem delivered the government to his son Ahaziah.

CHAP. VI.
Now John was anointed King, and slew both Jehoram and Ahaziah; as also what he did for the Punishment of the Wicked.

§ 1. Now Joram the king of Israel, after the death of Benhadad, hoped that he might now take Ramoth, a city of Gilead, from the Syrians. Accordingly, he made an expedition against it, with a great army; but as he was besieging it, an arrow was shot at him by one of the Syrians, records out of which Josephus draws this history, especial- ly when it is likely that they thought Benhadad died of the distemper he laboured under, and not by his own impiety. Besides, the reason that Josephus gives for this ado- ration, that these two kings had been great benefactors to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, is too remote from the political suspicions of Le Clerc, nor ought such weak suspicions to be deemed of so great importance. Authentic to the gospel.

1 This epistle, in some copies of Josephus, is said to come from Joram to Elijah, with this addition, for he was not upon earth, which would be true of Elijah, if all agree, was gone from the earth about four years before, and could only be true of Elijah; nor perhaps is there any more probable than what Josephus says that the name of Elijah has very anciently crept into the text instead of Elia- bab, the copyists, there being nothing in any copy that epistle peculiar to Elijah.
but the wound was not mortal: so he returned to have his wound healed in Jezreel, but left his whole army in Ramoth, and Jehu the son of Nimshi for their general, for he had already taken the city by force; and he proposed, after he was healed of his wound, to have his chariot drawn by his own bands, and his horse by the bands of his servants. And so much was the servant of the king of Syria impressed, that Elisha the prophet sent one of his disciples to Ramoth, and gave him holy oil to anoint Jehu, and told him that God had chosen him to be their king. He also sent him to say other things to him, and bade him take his journey as if he fled, that when he came away he might escape the wrath of his master. So when he was come to the city, he found Jehu sitting in the midst of the captains of the army, as Elisha had foretold he should find him. So he came up to him, and said, that God ordained him to be king, in order to destroy the house of Ahab, and that he might revenge the blood of the prophets, that were unjustly slain by Jezebel. So he had hired forty men; and he sent for those of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and of Baasha, that had perished for their wickedness, and so seed might remain of Ahab's family. So when he had found his way in among the men of the chamber, and endeavoured not to be seen by any of the army.

2. But Jehu came out, and went to the place where he had met with the prophets, and where they asked him, and desired him to tell them, wherefore it was that this young man came to him; and added withal that he was mad; he rebuked him for his words, and, using rough terms, said he was a madman. When they were eager about the matter, and desired he would tell them, he answered, that God had said, "I will put thy head over the remainder of his king's tides," when he had said this, every one of them put off his garment, and stretched it under him, and blew with trumpets, and gave notice that Jehu was king. So when he had gotten the army together, he was preparing to set out immediately against Joram, at the city of Jezreel, as we said before, he was being offered for a sacrifice by Jezebel, and was delivered in the sight of Ramoth. It happened also that Ahaziah, king of Jerusalem, was now come to Joram, for he was his sister's son, as we have said already, to see the king, and this upon account of their kindred; but as Jehu was desirous to fall upon Joram and those with him on the sudden, he desired that none of the soldiers should say a word to Joram what had happened, for that this would be an evident demonstration of their kindred to him, and would show that their real inclinations were to make him king.

3. So they were pleased with what he did, and guarded the roads, lest somebody should privately tell the thing to those that were at Jezreel. Now Jehu took his choice horses, and sat upon his chariot, and went on for Jezreel; and when he was come near, the watchman whom Joram had set there to spy out such as came to the city, saw Jehu marching on, and told Joram that he saw a troop of horsemen marching on. Upon which he immediately gave orders, that one of his horsemen should be sent out to meet them, and to know who it was that was coming. So when the horseman came up to Jehu, he asked him, in what condition the army was; for that the king wanted to know it; but Jehu bade him not at all to meddle with such matters, but to follow him. When the watchman saw this, he told Joram that the horseman had mingled himself among the company, and came along with them without knowledge. And so the king saw without messenger, Jehu commanded him to do as the former did; as soon as the watchman told this also to Joram, he at first got upon his chariot himself, together with Ahaziah, the king of Jerusalem; for, as we said before, he was there to see how Joram did, after he had been wounded, as being well, and to signalise his recovery. So they marched slowly, and in good order; and when Joram met him in the field of Naboth, he asked him if all things were well in the camp? but Jehu reproached him bitterly, and ventured to call his mother a witch and a harlot. Upon this the king, fearing what he intended, and suspecting he had no good meaning, turned his chariot about as soon as he could, and said to Ahaziah, "We are fought against by deceit and treachery:" but Jehu drew his bow, and shot him, the arrow going through his heart; so Joram fell down immediately dead. So Jehu also gave orders to Bidkar, the captain of the third part of his army, to cast the dead body of Joram into the field of Naboth, putting his chariot in the midst of it, and then brought it to Ahab his father, when he had slain Naboth, that both he and his family should perish in that place, for that as they sat behind Ahab's chariot, they heard the prophet say so, and that it now come to pass according to his prophecy. Upon the fall of Joram, Ahaziah was afraid of his own life, and turned his chariot into another road, supposing Jehu was not there, to see Joram; but he followed after him, and overtook him at a certain acclivity, and drew his bow and wounded him, so he left his chariot, and got upon his horse, and hid himself in a ravine, though he was under cure, in a little time he died of that wound, and was carried to Jerusalem, and buried there, after he had reigned one year, and had proved a wicked man, and worse than his father.

4. Now when Jehu was come to Jezreel, Jezebel adorned herself, and stood upon a tower, and peeped out, and spied her chariot, and her horsemen, and said to her servants, "Is this not the chariot of Joram's? and his horsemen?" And when she looked up to her, he asked who she was, and commanded her to come down to him. At last he ordered the eunuchs to throw her down, and they did so, and she was trodden upon by the horses, and so died. When this was done, Jehu came to the palace, and entered in with all the people; and after his journey, both with other things, and by eating a meal. He also bade his servants to take up Jezebel and bury her, because of the nobility of her blood, for she was descended from kings; but those that were appointed to bury her found nothing else remaining but the extreme parts of her body, for all the rest were eaten by dogs. When Jeasu heard this, he admired the prophecy of Elijah, for he foretold that she should perish in this manner at Jezreel.

5. Now Ahab had seventy sons brought up in Samaria. So Jehu sent two spiest, the one to them that brought up the children, the others to the rulers of Samaria, which said, that they should set up the most valiant of Ahab's sons for king, for that they had abundance of chariots, horses, and armour, and a great army, and fenced cities, and that by so doing they might marched slowly, and in good order. Nor can it be doubted, that since there was interval enough for king Joram to send out two horsemen, one after another, to Jeaus, and to lengthen the matter; which, as this after he was come within sight of the watchman, and before he was come to Jezreel, the probability is greatly on the side of Josephus's copy or interpolation.
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avenges the murder of Ahab." Thus he wrote to the managers of those of Sidon, of Nebo, and Jezreel, when the rulers, and those that had brought up the children, had read the letter, they were afraid, and considering that they were not at all able to execute the letter, and were afraid and in danger, two very great kings, they returned him this answer, that "they owned him for their lord, and would do whatsoever he bade them." So he wrote back to them such a reply as enjoined them to obey what he gave order for, and to cut off the heads of Ahab's sons, and send them to him. Accordingly, the rulers sent for those that brought up the children of Ahab, and commanded them to bring them away, to cut off their heads, and send them to Jezreel. So they did whatsoever they were commanded, without omitting any thing at all, and put them up in wicker baskets, and sent them to Jezreel. And when Jezreel, as he was at supper with his friends, was informed that the heads of Ahab's sons were brought, he ordered them to make two heaps of them, one before each of the gates, and in the morning he went out to take a view of them, and when he saw them, he began to say to the people that were present, that he did himself enter upon this expedition against his master [Joram], and slew him, but that it was not that he slew all these: but he desired them to take notice, that as to Ahab's family, all things had gone according to God's prophecy, and his house was perished, according as Elijah had foretold. And when he had further destroyed all the kindred of Ahab that were found in Jezreel, he sent to Samaria; and as he was upon the road, he met the relations of Ahaziah king of Jerusalem, and asked them, whether they were going? They replied, that they came to salute Joram and their own king Ahaziah; for they knew not that he had slain them both: so Jezreel gave orders that the heads should be caught up, and killed them, being in number forty-two persons. 6. After these, there met him a good and a righteous man, whose name was Jehonadab, and who had been his friend of old. He saluted Jezreel, and began to command him, because he had done every thing according to the will of God, in extirpating the house of Ahab. So Jezreel de- 3. rired him to come up into his chariot, and to go with him into Samaria; and told him, that "he would not spare one wicked man, but would punish the false prophets, and false priests, and those that deceived the multitude, and persuaded them to leave the worship of God, and that such had no right to worship foreign gods; and that it was a most excellent and a most pleasing sight to a good and righteous man to see the wicked punished." So Jehonadab was persuaded by these arguments, and came up into Samaria, and Jezreel, and sought out for all Ahab's kindred, and slew them. And being desirous that none of the false prophets, nor the priests of Ahab's god, might escape punishment, he caught them deceptively by this wise: for he gathered all the people together, and said, "he would worship twice as many god[s] as Ahab worshiped, and desired that his priests and prophets should be sent to him to the temple, and when he had appointed a day on which he would offer those sacrifices, he sent messengers through all the country of the Israelites, that they might bring there to the temple, and had they made God's sacrifice, and he, in his turn, should speak, he produced the child that he had brought up of the family of David, and said to them, "this is your king, of that house which you know God hath chosen."

CHAP. VII.

How Athaliah reigned over Jerusalem for six years, when Jehoiada, the High Priest, slew her, and made Jehoshah, the Son of Ahaziah, King.

§ 1. Now, when Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab, heard of the death of her brother Joram, and of her son Ahaziah, and of the royal family, she endeavored that none of the house of David might be left alive, but that the whole family might be exterminated, that no king might arise out of it afterward; and, as she thought, she had actually done it; but one of Ahaziah's sons was preserved, who escaped death after the manner following: Ahaziah had a sister by the same father, whose name was Jehoheba, and she was married to the high priest, Jehoiada. She went into the king's palace, and found Jehoshah, for that was the little child's name, who was not above a year old, among those that were slain, but concealed with her nurse; so she took him with her into a chamber of the king's, and hid him up there, and she and her husband, Jehoiada, brought him up privately in the temple six years, during which time Athaliah reigned over Jerusalem, and the two tribes.

2. Now, on the seventh year, Jehoiada communicated the matter to certain of the captains of hundreds, five in number, and persuaded them to be assisting to what attempts he was making against Athaliah, and to join with him in asser- ting the kingdom to the child. He also received such oaths from them as are proper to secure those that assist one another from the fear of discovery; and he was then of good hope that they should depose Athaliah. Now, those men whom Jehoiada, the priest, had taken to his partners, went into all the country, and gathered together the priests and the Levites, and the heads of the tribes out of it, and came and brought them to Jerusalem, to the high priest. To him he demanded their consent, and the help of all his people, to keep private whatsoever he should discover to them, which required both their silence and their assistance. So when they had taken the oaths, and had told him also of a god's name, he spoke, he produced the child that he had brought up of the family of David, and said to them, "this is your king, of that house which you know God hath chosen."

How he sent for the doors, and kept the watch, and that a fourth part keep watch at all the gates of the temple, and that the third part keep watch at the gate which opens and keeps guard at the gate which opens and...
leads to the king's palace, and let the rest of the multitude gather in the temple, and let none
armed person go into the temple but the priest
only. He also gave them this order besides, that
a part of the priests and the Levites should be
able to bear away the sacred vessels, and be guard
with their drawn swords, and to kill that man
immediately, whoever he be, that should be so
bold as to enter armed into the temple; and bade
the people to guard against nobody, but persons in guard
ning the king." So these men obeyed what the
high priest advised them to, and declared the
reality of their resolution by their actions. Je-
boannah, that armorer, which David had
made in the temple, and distributed to the
captains of hundreds, as also to the priests and
Levites, all the spears and quivers, and what
kind of weapons soever it contained, and set
them armed in a circle round about the temple,
so as to touch one another's hands, and by that
means excluding those from entering that ought
not to enter. So they brought the child into the
midst of them, and put on him the royal crown,
and Jehoiada anointed him with the oil, and
made him king; and the multitude rejoiced, and
made a shout of "God save the king!"
3. When Athaliah unexpectedly heard the
tumult and the acclamations, she was greatly
disturbed in her mind, and suddenly issued out
of her palace with her army; and when she was come to the temple, the priests received her,
but as for those that stood round about the
temple, as they were ordered by the high priest
to do, they hindered the armed men that followed
her from going in. But when Athaliah saw the
child standing upon a pillar, with the royal
crown upon his head, she rent her clothes, and
cried out vehemently, and commanded [her guards]
to kill him that had laid snares for her,
and endeavoured to deprive her of her govern-
ment: but Jehoiada called for the captains of
hundreds, and commanded them to bring Atha-
aliah to the valley of Cidron, and slay her there,
for he would not have the temple defiled with
the punishment of this pernicious woman; and
he gave order, that if any one came near to help
her, he should be slain also; wherewith those that
had the charge of her daughter, took hold of her,
and led her to the gate of the king's maces, and
slew her there.
4. Now as soon as what concerned Athaliah
was by this stratagem, after this manner de-
spatched, they called together the people
and the armed men into the temple, and made
them take an oath that they would be obedient
to the king, and take care of his safety, and of the
security of the government; into which he obliged the king to give security [upon oath] that he
would worship God, and not transgress the
laws of Moses. They then ran to the house of
Barzil, which Athaliah and her husband Jehoram
had built, to the dishonour of the God of their
fathers, and to the honour of Abah, and demol-
dished it, and slew Matan, that had his priest-
hood. But Jehoiada intrusted the care and cus-
tody of the temple to the priests and Levites,
according to the appointment of king David, and
enjoined them to bring their regular burnt-offer-
ings, and no offerings nor sacrifice according to
the law. He also ordained some of the Le-
vites, with the porters, to be a guard to the tem-
ple, that no one that was defiled might come
in.
5. And when Jehoiada had set these things in
order, he with the captains of hundreds, and the
army of the men of Israel, brought Jeho
anth out of the temple into the king's palace, and when he had set him upon the king's throne, the people shouted for joy, and betook themselves to festa-
ting, and for a day and a half; but the city was
quiet upon the death of Athaliah. Now Jeho
anth was seven years old when he took the
kingdom: his mother's name was Zibiah of
the city Beersheba. And all the people of
Jeho
anth that were born of Athaliah, and Jeho
anth was careful that the laws should be kept,
and very zealous in the worship of God; and when
he was of age, he married two wives, who
were both of them Levites, and they bore him
six sons, and seven daughters. And when they
were born to him both sons and daughters. And
thus much shall suffice to have related concern-
ing king Jeho
anth, how he escaped the treach ery of Athaliah, and how he received the kingdom.

CHAP. VIII.

Hazaral makes an Expedition against the People of Israel, and the Inhabitants of Jerusalem, and Jeho
anth, and Jeho
anth succeeds in the Government; Jeho
anth, the King of Jerusalem, at first is careful about the Worship of God, but afterward becomes impious, and commands Ze
kchariah and Hananiah to be executed. In the mean time, Baal (Jeho
anth's son) was dead, Amasiah succeeds him in the Kingdom.

§ 1. Now Hazael, king of Syria, fought against the Israelites and their king Jehu, and spoiled the east part of the country beyond Jordan, which belonged to the Reubenite and the Gadite, and to the [half tribe of] Manassites; as also Gilead and Bashan, burning and spoiling, and offered to sacrifice all that lay bare his hands on; and this without imprisonment from them, who made no haste to defend the country when it was under this distress; nay, he became a contemptor of religion, and a despiser of holiness, and of the laws; and died when he had reigned over the Israelites twenty-seven years.

He was buried in Samaria; and left Jeho
anth, his son, his successor in the government.

§ 2. Now Jeho
anth, king of Jerusalem, had an inclination to repair the temple of God; so he called Jehoiada, and bade him send the Levites and priests to collect for that purpose a half shekel of silver for every head, towards the rebuilding and repairing of the temple, which was brought to decay by Jehoram, and Athaliah, and their sons. But the high priest did not do this, as concluding that no one would willingly pay that money; but on the twenty-third year of Jeho
anth's reign, when the king sent for him and the Levites, and complained that they had not obeyed what he enjoined them, and still com-
manded them to take care of the rebuilding the
temple, he used this stratagem for collecting the money they were unwilling to pay. He made a wooden chest, and closed it up fast on all sides, but opened one hole in it; he then set it in the temple beside the altar, and desired that it should be kept hither or thither, as God pleased, for the repair of the temple. This
contrivance was acceptable to the people, and
they strove one with another, and brought to
jointly large quantities of silver and gold: and
when the scribe and the priest that were over the
treasuries had emptied the chest, and counted the money in the king's presence, they then set it in its former place, and thus did they every
day. But when the multitude appeared to have cast in as much as was wanted, the high priest
Jeho
anth, and king Jeho
anth, sent to hire masons
and carpenters, and to buy large pieces of tim-
ber, and of the most curious sort; and when they
had repaired the temple, they made use of the
remaining gold and silver, which was not a little,
for bowls, and basins, and cups, and other ves-
sets, and they went on to make the altar every
day fat with sacrifices of great value. And these
things were taken suitable care of, as long as
Jeho
anth lived.

3. But as soon as he was dead, which was when he had lived one hundred and thirty years, having given life to a day; but his son was a very good man, he was buried in the king's sepulchre at Jerusalem, (because he had recovered
the kingdom to the family of David,) king Je-
hoaz he betrayed [want of] care about God. The persecuted Stryans and Damascus. But when Jehoahaz was under such unavoidable miseries, he had recourse to prayer and supplication to God, and besought him to deliver him out of his distress. But, not overlooking him, and giving him up into his hands. Accordingly, God accepted of his repentance instead of virtue, and being distressed to him, that he might repent, and not to determine that, they should be utterly destroyed, he granted him deliverance from war and dangers. So the country, having obtained peace, returned again to its former condition, and flourished as before.

6. Now, after the death of Jehoahaz, his son Josiah took the kingdom, in the thirty-seventh year of Josiah, the king of the tribe of Judah. This Josiah then took the kingdom of Israel in Samaria, for he had the same name with the king of Jerusalem, and he reigned the kingdom sixteen years. He was a good man, and in his disposition not at all like his father. Now at this time it was, that when Elisha the prophet, who was already very old, and was now fallen into a consumption of a mortal disease, the king of Israel came to visit him; and when he found him very near death, he began to weep in his sight, and lament, to call his father, and his weapons, because it was by means of his father’s weapons he overcome his own adversaries by his prophecies, without fighting: and that he was now departing this life, and leaving him to the Syrians, who were already armed, and to other enemies of his that were under their power: so he said it was not safe for him to live any longer, but that it would be well for him to depart, and live out of this life with him. As the king was thus bemoaning himself, Elisha comforted him, and bade the king bend a bow that was brought him, and when the king had fitted the bow for shooting, Elisha took hold of his hands and bade him shoot; and when he had shot three arrows, and then left off, Elisha said, “If thou hadst shot more arrows, thou hadst cut the kingdom of Syria up by the roots, but since thou hast been satisfied with shooting three times only, thou shalt fight and beat the Syrians no more times than three, that thou mightst recover thy country which they cut off from thy kingdom in the reign of thy father.” So when the king had heard that, he departed, and a little while after, the strength of the prophet died. He was a man esteemed for righteousness; and in eminent favour with God. He also performed wonderful and surprising works by prophecy, and such as were gloriously preserved in memory among the Hebrews. He also obtained a magnificent funeral, such a one indeed as it was fit a person so beloved of God should have. It also happened, that at that time certain robbers cast a man whom they had slain into Elisha’s grave, and, upon his dead body, coming close to Elisha’s body, it revived again. And thus far have we enlarged about the actions of Elisha the prophet, both such as he did when he was alive, and how he had a divine power after his death also.

7. Now upon the death of Hazacl, the king of Syria, that kingdom came to Adad his son, the prophecy of Elisha, when he foretold that Hazacl should kill his master, and reign the kingdom back from the people of Damascus. But when Jehoahaz was under such unavoidable miseries, he had recourse to prayer and supplication to God, and besought him to deliver him out of his distress. But, not overlooking him, and giving him up into his hands. Accordingly, God accepted of his repentance instead of virtue, and being distressed to him, that he might repent, and not to determine that, they should be utterly destroyed, he granted him deliverance from war and dangers. So the country, having obtained peace, returned again to its former condition, and flourished as before.

4. However, it was not long before the king suffered punishment for his transgression: for when Hazael, king of Syria, made an irruption into Jezreel, and when he had overthrown Gath, and spoilt it, he made an expedition against Jerusalem; upon which Jehoash was afraid, and emptied all the treasures of God, and of the kings (before him) and took down the gifts that had been dedicated, into the temple, and sent them to the king of Syria, and procured as much by them, that he was not besiegéd, nor his kingdom quite endangered, but Hazacl was induced by the greatness of the sum of money not to bring his army against Jerusalem: yet Jehoash fell into a severe distemper, and was set upon to removing from the whole state of Zacharias the son of Jehoiada. These laid snares for the king, and slew him. He was indeed buried in Jerusalem, but not in the royal sepulchre, because of his impiety. He lived forty-seven years, and Amaziah his son succeeded him in the kingdom.

5. In the one-and-twentieth year of the reign of Jehoahaz, Jehoahaz, the son of Jehoahaz, took the government of the Israelites in Samaria, and held it seventeen years. He did not [properly] imitate his father, but was guilty of as wicked practices as those that first had God in contempt: but the king of Syria brought him low, and by an expedition against him did greatly reduce his forces, that there remained no more of so great an army than ten thousand armed men and five hundred. He also took away from him his great cities, and many of them also, and destroyed his army. And these were the things that the people of Israel suffered, according to
ANTIQVITIES OF THE JEWS.

with whom Josiah king of Israel made war, and when he had beaten him in three battles, he took one horseman and his chariot, and all those that were with them, and all the cities and villages which his father Hazael had taken from the kingdom of Israel, which came to pass, however, according to the prophecy of Elisha. But Josiah was for to die; he was buried in Samaria, and the government devolved on his son Jeroboam.

CHAP. IX.

How Amaziah made an Expedition against the Edomites and Amalekites, and conquered them; but afterwards fell in War against Josiah, he was beaten, and not long after was slain, and Uzziah succeeded in the Government.

§ 1. Now in the second year of the reign of Josiah over Israel, Amaziah reigned over the tribe of Judah at Jerusalem. His mother's name was Jehohaddan, who was born at Jerusalem. He was exceedingly careful in doing what was right, and this when he was very young; but when he came to the management of affairs, and to the government, he resolved that he ought first of all to avenge his father Jehoash, and to punish those his friends that had laid violent hands on him and his fathers, and put them to death, yet did he execute no severity upon their children, but acted therein according to the laws of Moses, who did not think it just to make war upon the sins of their fathers. After this he chose him an army out of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin, of such as were in the flower of their age, and about twenty years old; and when he had imitated God, that he had collected about three hundred thousand of them together, he set captains of hundreds over them. He also sent to the king of Israel, and hired a hundred thousand of his soldiers for a hundred talents of silver, for he had resolved to make an expedition against the nations of the Amalekites, and Edomites, and Gebalites; but as he was preparing for his expedition, and ready to go out to the war, a prophet gave him counsel to dismiss the army of the Israelites, because they were bad men, and because God foretold that he should be beaten, if he made use of them as auxiliaries; but that he should overcome his enemies, though he had but a few soldiers, when it so pleased God. And when the king grudged at his having alread
ing exorted him to do what God would have him, because he should thereby obtain much wealth from God. So he dismissed them, and said, that he would send five thousand of his soldiers for him, and with his own army, and made war with the nations before mentioned; and when he had beaten them in battle, he slew of them ten thousand, and took as many prisoners alive, whom he brought to the great rock which is in Arabia, and threw them down from it headlong. He also brought away a great deal of prey, and vast riches, from those nations. But while Amaziah was engaged in this expedition, those Israelites whom he had hired, and then dismissed, were very uneasy at it, and taking their dismissal for an affront, as supposing that he had done them wrong, and had not done to them but out of contempt, they fell upon his kingdom, and proceeded to spoil the country as far as Bethhoron, and took much cattle, and slew three thousand men.

2. Now, upon the victory which Amaziah had gotten, and the great acts he had done, he was puffed up, and began to overlook God, who had given him the victory. He proceeded to worship the gods he had brought out of the country of the Amalekites. So a prophet came to him and said, that he was to consider how he could esteem these gods, who had been of no advantage to their own people, who paid them honours; nor had delivered them from their hand, but had overthrown the destruction of many of them, and had suffered themselves to be carried captive, for that they had been carried to Jerusalem, in the same manner as any one might have taken them. And when God, as is asserted, sent a plague upon the land, he sent another prophet to him, who expostulated with him, and showed him the iniquity of his case, and that he should indeed hold his peace; but foretold, that God would not overlook his attempts for innovation. But Amaziah was not able to contain himself, but that prosperity which God had given him, although he had affronted God thereupon; but in a vein of insolence he wrote to Josiah, the king of Israel, and commanded that he and his people should be obedient, as they had formerly been obedient to his pro
geners, David and Solomon; and he let him know, that if he would not be so wise as to do what he commanded him, he must fight for his dominion. To which message Josiah returned this answer in writing: "King Josiah to king Amaziah. There was a vastly tall cypress-tree in mount Lebanon, as also a thistle; this thistle sent to the cypress-tree, to give the cypress tree's daughter in marriage to the thistle's son; but as the thistle was saying this, there came a very wild bee to him from the mountain down, and may be a lesson to thee not to be so ambitious, and to have a care, lest, upon thy good success in the fight against the Amalekites, thou gavest too great pride as to bring dangers upon thyself and upon thy kingdom." 3. When Amaziah had read this letter, he was more eager upon this expedition, which, I suppose, was by the impulse of God, that he might be punished for his offence against him. But as soon as he led out his army against Josiah, and they were going to join battle with him, there came a military blow upon the army of Amaziah, as God, when he is displeased, sends upon men, and discomfited them, even before they came to a close fight. Now it hap
pened, that as they were scattered about by the terror that was upon them, Amaziah was left alone, and was taken prisoner by the enemy; whereupon Josiah threatened to kill him, unless he would persuade the people of Jerusalem to open their gates to him, and receive him and his army into the city. Accordingly, Amaziah was so distressed, and in such fear of his life, that he made use of this weakness, and exhorted him to do what God would have him, because he should thereby obtain much wealth from God. So he dismissed them, and said, that he would send five thousand of his soldiers for him, and with his own army, and made war with the nations before mentioned; and when he had beaten them in battle, he slew of them ten thousand, and took as many prisoners alive, whom he brought to the great rock which is in Arabia, and threw them down from it headlong. He also brought away a great deal of prey, and vast riches, from those nations. But while Amaziah was engaged in this expedition, those Israelites whom he had hired, and then dismissed, were very uneasy at it, and taking their dismissal for an affront, as supposing that he had done them wrong, and had not done to them but out of contempt, they fell upon his kingdom, and proceeded to spoil the country as far as Bethhoron, and took much cattle, and slew three thousand men.

§ 2. Now, upon the victory which Amaziah had gotten, and the great acts he had done, he was puffed up, and began to overlook God, who had given him the victory. He proceeded to worship the gods he had brought out of the country of the Amalekites. So a prophet came to him and said, that he was to consider how he could esteem these gods, who had been of no advantage to their own people, who paid them honours; nor had delivered them from their hand, but had overthrown the destruction of many of them, and had suffered themselves to be carried captive;
Israel and Samaria forty years. The king was guilty of contumely against God, and became very wicked in worshipping idols, and in many unlawful undertakings that were against the laws of God. He was also the cause of ten thousand misfortunes to the people of Israel. Now one Jonah, a prophet, foretold to him, that he should make war with the Assyrians, and be destroyed. He laid waste the land of the Canaanites, and enlarged the bounds of his kingdom on the northern parts, to the city Hamath, and on the southern, to the lake Asphaltitis, and on the bounds of the Cadeshean. And the general that was sent by him, called Zechariah took the kingdom. After the same manner did Uzziah, the son of Amaziah, begin to reign over the two tribes in Jerusalem, in the forty-fourth year of Jeroboam. He was born of Jecoliah, his mother, who was a citizen of Jerusalem. He was a good man, and by nature righteous and magnanimous, and laborious in taking care of the affairs of his kingdom. He made an expedition also against the Philistines, and overcame them in battle, and took the cities of Gath and Jabneh, and brake down their walls: after which expedition, he assaulted those Arabs that joined to Egypt. He also built a city upon the Red Sea, and put a garrison into it. He afterwards overthrew the Ammonites, and appointed that they should pay tribute. He also overcame all the countries as far as the bounds of Egypt, and then began to take care of his own land, and to build and repair all those parts of the wall which had either fallen down by length of time, or by the carelessness of the kings his predecessors; and made all that was within the city, and covered [in the ships], without imitating any thing that the others did: but as the waves grew greater, and the sea became more violent by the wind, they suspected, as was usual in instances of this kind, that some one of the persons that sailed with them was the occasion of this storm, and agreed to discover by lot which of them it was. When they had cast lots, it fell upon Jonah, and when they asked him, whence he came? and what he had done? he replied, that he was a Hebrew by nation, and a prophet of Almighty God; and he persuaded them to cast him into the sea, if they would escape the danger they were in, for that he was the occasion of the storm which was upon them. Now at the first they durst not so, as esteeming it a wicked thing to cast a man who was a stranger, and who had committed his life to them, into such manifest perdition; but at last, when their misfortunes overtook them, they thought it was better to be drowned, and when they were animated to do it by the prophet himself, and by the fear concerning their own safety, they cast him into the sea; through which same day he was safe, and related, that Jonah was swallowed down by a whale, and that when he had been there three days, and as many nights, he was vomited upon the Euxine Sea, and this alive, and without any hurt upon his body; and there, on his prayers to God, he obtained pardon for his sins, and went to the city Nineveh, where he stood so as to be heard, and preached, that "in a very little time they should lose the dominion of Asia." And what he had published this, he returned. Now, I have given the account about him, as I found it written in our books.

3. When Jeroboam the king had passed his life in great happiness, and had reigned forty years, he died, and was buried in Jerusalem. After his death, Zechariah took the kingdom. After the same manner did Uzziah, the son of Amaziah, begin to reign over the two tribes in Jerusalem, in the fourteenth year of Jeroboam. He was born of Jecoliah, his mother, who was a citizen of Jerusalem. He was a good man, and by nature righteous and magnanimous, and laborious in taking care of the affairs of his kingdom. He made an expedition also against the Philistines, and overcame them in battle, and took the cities of Gath and Jabneh, and brake down their walls: after which expedition, he assaulted those Arabs that joined to Egypt. He also built a city upon the Red Sea, and put a garrison into it. He afterwards overthrew the Ammonites, and appointed that they should pay tribute. He also overcame all the countries as far as the bounds of Egypt, and then began to take care of his own land, and to build and repair all those parts of the wall which had either fallen down by length of time, or by the carelessness of the kings his predecessors; and made all that was within the city, and covered [in the ships], without imitating any thing that the others did: but as the waves grew greater, and the sea became more violent by the wind, they suspected, as was usual in instances of this kind, that some one of the persons that sailed with them was the occasion of this storm, and agreed to discover by lot which of them it was. When they had cast lots, it fell upon Jonah, and when they asked him, whence he came? and what he had done? he replied, that he was a Hebrew by nation, and a prophet of Almighty God; and he persuaded them to cast him into the sea, if they would escape the danger they were in, for that he was the occasion of the storm which was upon them. Now at the first they durst not so, as esteeming it a wicked thing to cast a man who was a stranger, and who had committed his life to them, into such manifest perdition; but at last, when their misfortunes overtook them, they thought it was better to be drowned, and when they were animated to do it by the prophet himself, and by the fear concerning their own safety, they cast him into the sea; through which same day he was safe, and related, that Jonah was swallowed down by a whale, and that when he had been there three days, and as many nights, he was vomited upon the Euxine Sea, and this alive, and without any hurt upon his body; and there, on his prayers to God, he obtained pardon for his sins, and went to the city Nineveh, where he stood so as to be heard, and preached, that "in a very little time they should lose the dominion of Asia." And what he had published this, he returned. Now, I have given the account about him, as I found it written in our books.

4. While Uzziah was in this state, and making preparation for futurity, he was corrupted in his mind by pride, and became insecure, and this on account of that abundance which he had of things that will soon perish, and despised that power which is of eternal duration, (which con

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* West I have above noted concerning Jehoah, seems to have been true also concerning his son Jeroboam II. ver. that although he began wickedly, as then their was no nation in the land with whom they were at war, nor with our other copies, and as he adds, was the cause of a vast number of misfortunes to the Israelites in those his first years of his reign, and that both in Samaria and in the Euxine. But in Josephus and in all our copies, so doth it seem to me that Josephus here, and afterwards referred, wrote of a good king, and so was encouraged by the prophet Jonathan, and with great success afterward, when he "God saved the Israelites from the hand of the Philistines," etc. 2 Sam. 23:7; which encouragement by Josephus, and great successes, are equally observable in Josephus, and in the other copies.

† When Jonah is said in our Bibles to have gone to Tarshish, Jonah 1:3, Josephus understood it that he went to the island of Cyprus, which island he calls Tarshish; lay so that he did not appear to have read the story, 1 Kings xxiv. 48, as our copies do, that ships of Tyre and Sidon, which were in Egypt, went to, etc. But in Eusebius, upon the same place, he affirms, that Josephus' assertion, that Jonah's fish was carried by the strength of the current, upon a storm, as far as the Euxine Sea, is nowy impossible; and since the storms might have driven the ship, while Jonah was in it, nearer than the Euxine Sea, and since in three more days, while he was in the fish's belly, that current might bring him to the Arabian coast, and since both Jonah and Josephus are in both cases is Josephus and in all our copies,) so do it seem to me that Josephus here, and afterwards referred, wrote of a good king, and so was encouraged by the prophet Jonathan, and with great success afterward, when he "God saved the Israelites from the hand of the Philistines," etc. 2 Sam. 23:7; which encouragement by Josephus, and great successes, are equally observable in Josephus, and in the other copies.
Ancient Antiquities of the Jews.

He went thence, and came to the city Typhon, but the citizens that were in it shut their gates, and barred him out, and would not admit him; but in order to be avenged on them, he burnt the country round about it, and took the city by force, upon a siege; and being very much dividually dissimilar to the king, and would not be pardsome with regard to strangers who had been conquered by him. And after this manner he lived, until the year of the post, when Puil, king of Assyria, made an expedition against him, he did not think meet to fight or engage in battle with the Assyrians, but he persuaded them to accept of a thousand talents of silver, and so put an end to the war. This sum the multitude collected for Menahem, by exacting fifty drachmas as poll-money for every head; after which he died, and was buried in Samaria, and left his son Pekahiah his successor in the kingdom, who followed the barbarous custom of the king, and was carried off upon his return from the altar, which he was prohibited to do by Azariah the high priest, who had fourscore priests with him, and who told him it was not lawful for a king to offer sacrifices upon his own altar, and that "none hearkening to the posterity of Aaron were permitted to do." And when they cried out, that he must go out of the temple, and not transgress against God, he was wratb at them, and threatened to kill them, unless they would hold their peace. In the mean time, a great earthquake shook the ground, and a rent was made in the temple, and the bright rays of the sun shone through it, and fell upon the king's face, insomuch that the leprosy seized upon him immediately. And before the city, at a place called Ghoege, half the mountaing brake off from the rest on the west, and rolled itself four furlongs, and stood still at the east mountain, till the roads, as well as the king's palace, were overpowered by the destruction. Now, as soon as the priests saw that the king's face was infected with the leprosy, they told him of the calamity he was under, and commanded that he should go out of the city as a polluted person. Hereupon he was so confounded at the and discombr, and sensible that he was not at liberty to contradict, that he did as he was commanded, and went to Samaria, and was miserable and terrible punisbrment for an intention beyond that bestowed a man to have, and for that impiety against God, which was implied therein. So he abode out of the city for some time, and lived a private life, while his son Jonathan took the government; after which he died with grief and anxiety at what had happened to him, when he had lived sixty-eight years, and reigned of them fifty-two; and was buried by himself in his own gardens.

Chap. XI.

How Zechariah, Shallum, Menahem, Pekahiah, and Pekah, took the Government over the Israelites; and how Puil and Tiglath-Pileser made an Expedition against the Israelites. How Joash, the son of Ozziah, reigned over the Tribe of Judah, and how kings Nahum prophesied against the Assyrians.

§ 1. Now when Zechariah, the son of Jeroboam, had reigned six months over Israel, he was slain by the treachery of a certain friend of his, whose name was Shallum, the son of Jabesh, who took the kingdom afterward, but kept it no longer than thirty days; for Menhein, the general of his army, who was at that time in the city of Tirah, and heard of what had befallen Zechariah, removed thence with all his forces to Samaria, and joining battle with Shallum, slew him; and when he had made himself king,

* This account, of an earthquake at Jerusalem, at the very same time when Uzziah usurped the priest's office, and was going in to burn incense, and of the consequences of that earthquake, is entirely wanting in our other copies, though it be exceeding like to a prophecy of Jerem. xxv. 6, 7. In which prophecy mention is made of a "flying from that earthquake," as they fled from this earthquake in the days of Uzziah, king of Judah; an event that has been of some considerable resemblance between these historical and prophetical earthquakes.

* In his critical notes on 5 Kings xx. 20, observe, "that when this Mehoam is said to have exacted the money of Israel, of all the mighty men of wealth, of each man fifty shekels of silver, to give Puil, the king of Assyria, one thousand talents, this is the first public money raised by any [Israelitish] king by a tax on the people; and therefore it is observed that the loss of this tax, and of the cost of that house of the Lord, or of their own house; that it was a poll-money on the rich men [and them only] to read 555600, of which others count a talent 555600, at the rate of £5 or £7 per head; and that God commanded by Ezekiel, ch. xiv. 8, and xiv. 9, that no such thing should be done (in their restoration,) but the king should have land of his own."
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to make captives out of their kinsmen the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. He also gave them counsel to let them go home without doing them any harm, for that if they did not obey them, in, they should be punished. So the people of Israel came together to their assembly, and considered of these matters, when a man whose name was Hezekiah, and was out of the number of the young lions. God says to thee, Nineveh, that they shall deface thee, and the lion shall no longer go out from thee to give laws to the inhabitants, but the terror which the king of the Assyrians shall possess in the midst of thee, shall be terrible; and all the old things which happened about Nineveh, a hundred and fifteen years afterward; so this may suffice to have spoken of these matters.

CHAP. XII.

How, upon the Death of Jotham, Ahaz reigned in his stead; against whom Rezin, King of Syria, and Pekah, King of Israel, made War; and how Ahaz entered into an Alliance with the King of Assyria, for the Assistance of Rezin, and laid Syria waste, and removing the Damascusites into Media, placed other Nations in their room.

§ 1. Now Jotham died when he had lived forty years, and was buried in the sepulchres of the kings; and the kingdom came to his son Ahaz, who proved most impious towards God, and a transgressor of the laws of his country. He imitated the kings of Israel, and reared altars in Jerusalem, and offered sacrifices upon them to idols; to which also he offered his own son as a burnt-offering, according to the practices of the Canaanites. His other actions were also of the same sort. Now as he was going on in this mad course, Rezin, the king of Syria and Damascus, and Pekah the king of Israel, who were now at amity with one another, made war with him: and when they had driven him into Jerusalem, they besieged that city a long time, making but a small progress, on account of the strength of its walls; and when the king of Syria had taken the city Eshe, upon the Red Sea, and had slain the inhabitants, he populated it with Syrians, and when he had won the city of Damascus, he placed the Jews in their neighbourhood, and had driven away much prey, he returned with his army back to Damascus. Now when the king of Jerusale was informed of this, and he supposed he was going to attack Damascus, he, supposing himself a match for the king of Israel, drew out his army against him, and joining battle with him, was beaten; and the spoils bequeathed to Judah, into captivity. They also carried the women and children of the tribe of Benjamin captives; and when they had gotten a great deal of prey, they returned to Jerusalem.

2. Now there was one Obed, who was a prophet at that time in Samaria: he met the army before the city walls, and with a loud voice told them that the king had not slain them by his own strength, but by reason of the anger of God had against king Ahaz. And he complained that they were not satisfied with the good success they had against him, but were so bold as

the Hebrew original [and not of the Greek version] as also we learn, that his Hebrew copy considerably differed from ours. See all three texts particularly set down, and compared together, in the Essay on the Old Testament, page 187.
against him, and overcame him, (which must have been because he had not God favourable or assistant to him,) and brought him to submission, and ordered him to pay an appointed tribute. Nor that with the tenor of the sign of Hosea, Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, began his reign at Jerusalem; and his mother’s name was Abijah, a citizen of Jerusalem. His nature was good, and righteous, and righteous; when he came to the knowledge of it, thought that nothing was prior, or more necessary, or more advantageous to himself, and to his subjects, than to worship God accordingly, but called the people together, and the priests and the Levites, and made a speech to them, and said, “You are not ignorant, how by the sins of my father, who transgressed that sacred honour which was due to God, you have had experience of many and great miseries, while you were corrupted in your mind by him, and were induced to worship those which he supposed to be gods: I exhort you, therefore, who have learned by sad experience, how dangerous a thing impiety is, to put that immediately out of your memory, and to purify yourselves from your pollutions, and to open the temple to these priests and Levites who are here convened, and to cleanse it with the accustomed sacrifices, and to recover all to the ancient honour and name of God, in this manner, which we mean you render God favourable, and he will remit the anger he hath had to us.”

2. When the king had said this, the priests opened the temple, and when they had set in order the vessels of God, and cast out what was impure, they laid the accustomed sacrifices upon the altar. The king also sent to the country that which was appointed to him, and bid the people to Jerusalem to celebrate the feast of unleavened bread, for it had been intermitted a long time, on account of the wickedness of the forementioned king, and to the Levites, and exhorted them to leave off their present way of living, and return to their ancient practices, and to worship God, for that he gave them leave to come to Jerusalem, and to celebrate, all in one body, the feast of unleavened bread; and this, he said, was by way of invitation only, and to be done of their own good-will, and for their own sake, and for the sake of those who were absent from him, because it would make them happy. But the Israelites, upon the coming of the ambassadors, and upon their laying before them what they had in the country, then the king was so far from complying therewith, that they laughed the ambassadors to scorn, and mocked them as fools: as also they artificially to the prophets who gave them their messages, and presented them with the information that they would suffer; they did not return to the worship of God, insomuch that at length they caught them, and slew them: nor did this degree of transgression suffice them, but they had more wicked contrivances than what have been described: Nor did they leave off, before God, as a punishment for their impiety, brought them under their enemies; but of that more hereafter. However, many there were of the tribe of Manasseh, and of Zebulon, and of Issachar, who were obedient to what the prophets exhorted them to do, and returned to the worship of God. Now all these came running to Jerusalem, to Hezekiah, that they might worship God (there.)

3. When these men were come, king Heze- kiah went up into the temple, with the rulers and all the people, and offered for himself seven bulls, and as many rams, with seven lambs, and as many kids of the goats. The king also himself and the rulers, laid their hands on the heads of the sacrifices, and permitted the priests to complete the sacred offices about them. So they both slew the sacrifices, and burned the burnt-offerings, while the Levites stood round about them with their musical instruments, and sung hymns to God, and played on their psaltie- ries, as they were instructed by David to do, and this while the rest of the priests returned the sound of their music. They had in their hands: and when this was done, the king and the multitude threw themselves down upon their face, and worshipped God. He also sacrificed by the side, one hundred rams, and two hundred lambs. He also granted the multitudes sacrifices to feast upon, six hundred oxen, and three thousand other cattle, and the priests performed all things according to the law. Now the king was so pleased herewith, that he feasted with the people, and returned thanks to God. But as the feast of unleavened bread was now come, when they had offered that sacrifice which is called the Passover, they after that offered other sacrifices for seven days. When the king was informed of it, he was filled with joy, and when they sanctified of themselves, two thousand bulls, and seven thousand other cattle, the same thing was done by the rulers: for they gave them a thousand other cattle, and they offered it as sacrifice. Nor had this festival been so well observed from the days of King Solomon, as it was now first observed with great splendour and magnificence: and when the festival was ended, they went out into the country, and purged it, and cleansed the city of all the pollution of idols. The king also gave order that the daily sacrifice should be offered according to the law; and according to the law; and appointed that the tithe and the first-fruits should be given by the multitude to the priests and Levites, that they might constantly attend upon divine service, and never be taken off from the worship of God. Accordingly, the multitude brought together all sorts of their fruits to the priests and the Levites. The king also made garners and receptacles for these fruits, and distributed them to every one of the priests and Levites, and to their children and wives. And thus did they return to their old form of Divine worship. Now when the king had settled these matters after the manner already described, he made war upon the Philistines, and beat them, and possessed himself of all the land as far as to the borders of Egypt, and the king of Assyria sent to him, and threatened to overturn all his dominions, unless he would pay him the tribute which his father paid him, constantly attending upon divine service, and never at his threatenings, but depended on his piety towards God, and upon Isaiah the prophet, by whom he inquired, and accurately knew all future events. And thus much shall suffice for the present concerning this king Hezekiah.

CHAP. XIV.

How Shalmaneser took Samaria by Fire, and how he transplanted the Ten Tribes into Medes, and brought the Nation of the Canaanites into Egypt (in their Rooms).

§ 1. Woe, Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, had it told him, that [Hosea,] the king of Israel had sent privately to So, the king of Egypt, desiring his assistance against him, he was very angry, and made an expedition against Samaria, in the seventh year of the reign of Hosea; but when he was not admitted [into the city] by the king, he besieged Samaria three years, and
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took it by force in the ninth year of the reign of Hoshea, and in the seventh year of Hezekiah, king of Jerusalem, and quite demolished the government of the Israelites, and transplanted all the people into Media and Persia, among whom he took king Hoshea alive; and he had removed these people out of the land of Egypt, he transplanted other nations out of Cuthah, a place so called, (for there is [still] a river of that name in Persia,) into Samaria, and into the country of the Israelites. So the ten tribes of the Israelites were removed out of Judah nine hundred and forty years after their forefathers were come out of the land of Egypt, and pos-

sessed themselves of this country but eight hundred years after Joshua had been their leader, and, as I have already observed, two hundred and forty years, seven months, and seven days, after they had revolted from Rehoboam, the grandson of David, and had given the kingdom to Jeroboam. And such a conclusion overtook the Israelites, when they had transgressed the laws, and would not hearken to the prophets, who foretold that this calamity would come upon them, and not least least for their evil doings. What gave birth to these evil doings was that sedition which they raised against Re-
hoobam, the grandson of David, when they set up Jeroboam for king, who, by sinning against God, and bringing them to imitate his bad example, made God to be their enemy, while Jeroboam underwent that punish-
ment which he justly deserved.

2. And now the king of Assyria invaded all Syria and Phenicia in a hostile manner. The name of this king is also set down in the archives of Tyre, in the reign of Eluleus; and, Menander attests to it, who, when he wrote his Chronicle, and translated the archives of Tyre into the Greek language, gives us the following history: "One, whose name was Eluleus, reigned thirty-six years: this king, upon the revolt of the Cittans, sailed to them, and reduced them again to submission. Against these did the king of Assyria send an army, and in a hostile manner overran all Phenicia, but soon made peace with them all, and returned back: but Sidon and Ace, and Pa-
lucrius, revolted; and many other cities there were which delivered themselves up to the king of Assyria. Accordingly, when the Tyrians would not submit to him, the king returned, and fell upon them again, while the Phenicians had furnished him with three-score ships, and eight hundred men to row them; and when the Tyrians had come upon them in twelve ships, and the enemies' ships were dispersed, they took five hundred men prisoners, and the reputation of all the citizens of Tyre was thereby grievously impaired. The king of Assyria returned, and placed guards at their river and aqueducts, who should hinder the Tyrians from drawing water. This continued for five years, and the Tyrians bore the siege, and drank of the water they had out of the wells they dug." And this is what is written in the Tyrian archives concerning Shalmanazar the king of Assyria.

3. But now the Cuthians, who removed into Samaria, (for that is the name they have been called by to this time, because they were brought out of the country called Cuthah, which is a country of Persia, and there is a river of the same name in it,) each of them, according to their na-
tions, which were in number five, brought their own gods into Samaria, and by worshipping them, as was the custom of their own countries, they provoked Almighty God to be angry and to be displeased at them, and, being thus afflicted on them, by which they were destroyed; and when they found no cure for their miseries, they learned by the oracle that they ought to worship Al-
mighty God, and they were converted. So they sent ambassadors to the king of Assyria, and desired him to send them some of those priests of the Israelites whom he had taken cap-

cive. And when he thereupon sent them, and the people were by them taught the laws, and the holy worship of God, they worshipped him in a respectful manner, and the plague ceased imme-

diately; and indeed they continue to make use of the same customs to this very time, and are called in the Hebrew tongue Cuthians, but in the Greek tongue Samaritans. And when they see the Jews in prosperity, they pretend that they are changed, and allied to them, and call them kinsmen, as though they were derived from Joseph, and by that means an original alliance with them; but when they see them fall-
ing into a low condition, they say they are no-

way related to them, and that the Jews have no right to expect any kindness or marks of kindness from them, but those that they have from their journiers, that come from other countries. But of these we shall have a more reasonable oppor-
tunity to discourse hereafter.

BOOK X.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-TWO YEARS AND A HALF.

FROM THE CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES TO THE FIRST OF CYRUS.

CHAP. I.

How Sennacherib made an Expedition against Hezekiah; what Threatenings Rabshakeh made to Hezekiah when Sennacherib was gone against the Jews; what Hezekiah said to them; how Isaiah encouraged him; how Sennacherib, having failed of Success in Egypt, returned thence to Jerusalem; and how, upon his finding his Army de-
sperated, he returned home; and what befell him a little afterwards.

§ 1. It was now the fourteenth year of the government of Hezekiah, king of the two tribes, when the king of Assyria, whose name was Sennacherib, made an expedition against him with a great army, and took all the cities of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin by force; and when he was ready to bring his army against Jerusalem, Hezekiah sent servants to him, and said, "I have heard of what offers the ambassadors made, resolved not to proceed in the war, but to accept of the proposals that were made him; and if he might receive three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold, he promised that he would depart in a friendly manner; and he gave security upon oath to the ambassadors that he would then do him no harm, but go away, and not come again. So Hezekiah submitted, and emptied his treasures, and sent the money, as supposing he should be freed from his enemy, and from any further distress about his kingdom. According-
ly, the Assyrian king took it, and yet had no re-
gard to what he had promised; but while he himself went to the king of Egypt, and Ethiopians, he left his general Rabshakeh, and two other commanders, with great forces, to destroy Jerusalem. The names of the two other commanders were Tartan and Rabchabe.

2. Now, as soon as they were come before the walls, they pitched their camp, and sent messen-
gers to Hezekiah, and, desired that they should speak with him; but he did not himself come out to see them, but sent some of his most intimate friends; the name of one was Eliakim, who was over the kingdom, and Shebna, and Joah, the recorder. So these men came out, and started the emmissaries of the Assyrian army; and when Rabbahkav saw them, he bade them go and speak to Hezekiah in the manner following: that “Sennacherib, the great king, king of Assyria, that sent you to my lord, whom it is that he relies and depends in flying from his lord, and will not hear him, nor admit his army into the city! Is it on account of the Egyptians, and in hoping that they would be slain by them? Whereupon he lets him know, that if this be what he expects, he is a foolish man, and like one who leans on a broken reed, while such a one will not only fall down, but will have his hand pierced and hurt by it. That he ought to know he makes this expedition against him by the will of God, who hath granted this favour to him, that he shall overthrow the kingdom of Israel, and that in the very same manner he shall destroy those that are his subjects also.” When Rabbahkav had made this speech in the Hebrew tongue, for he was thinking Eliakim and Joah were afraid lest the multitude that heard him should be disturbed, so he desired him to speak in the Syriac tongue; but the general, understanding what he meant, and partly fearing that he might be taken in, he made his answer with a greater and a louder voice, but in the Hebrew tongue; and said, “since they all heard what were the king’s commands, they would thereby have it in their own advantage in delivering up themselves to us, for it is plain that both you and your king dissuade the people from submitting by vain hopes, and so induce them to resist: yet if you be courageous, and think to drive our forces away, I am ready to deliver to you two thousand of these horses that are with me, for your use, if you can set as many horsemen on their backs, and show your strength; but what you have not, you cannot produce. Why therefore do you delay to deliver up yourselves to a superior force, who can take you without your consent! although it will be safer for you to deliver yourselves up voluntarily, while a forficible capture, when you are beaten, must appear more dangerous, and will bring further calamities upon you.”

3. When the people, as well as the ambassadors, heard what the Assyrian commander said, they went to Hezekiah, and told him that off his royal apparel, and clothed himself with sackcloth, and took the habit of a mourner; and, after the manner of his country, he fell upon his face, and besought God, and entreated him to assist them, now they had no other hope of relief. He also sent some of his friends, and some of the priests, to the prophet Isaiah, and desired that he would pray to God, and offer sacrifices for their common deliverance, and so put up supplications to him, that he would have indignation at the expectations of their enemies, and have mercy upon his people. And when the prophet had done accordingly, an oracle came from God to him, and encouraged the king and his friends that were about him; and foretold, that “their enemies should be beaten without lighting, and should go away in an ignominious manner, and not with that insolence which they now show, for that God would destroy them, and the city also be destroyed.” He also foretold, that “Sennacherib the king of Assyria should fail of his purpose against Egypt, and that when he came home he should be destroyed.”

4. About the same time also the king of Assyria wrote an epistle to Hezekiah, in which he said, “He was a foolish man in supposing that he should not be hurt thereby, which had already brought under many and great nations: and he threatened, that when he took him he would utterly destroy him, unless he now opened the gates, and willingly received his army into Jerusalem.” When he read this epistle, he despised it on account of the trust that he had in God, but he rode up the epistle, and laid it up within the temple. And as he made his further prayers to God for the city, and for the preservation of all the people, the prophet Isaiah said, that “God had heard his prayer, and that he should not be hurt at this time by the king of Assyria; and that for the future he might be secure of not being at all disturbed by him, and that the people might go peaceably, being armed with their sides, and with their other affairs.” But after a little while, the king of Assyria, when he had failed of his treacherous designs against the Egyptians, returned home with his army, over which he had the empress. He spent a long time in the siege of Pslamium; and when the banks that he had raised over against the walls were of a great height, and when he was ready to make an immediate assault upon them, but heard that Tirkaka, king of the Ethiopians, was coming, and bringing great forces to aid the Egyptians, and was resolved to march through the desert, and so fall directly upon the Assyrians, this king Sennacherib was disturbed at the news, and, as I said before, left Pslamium and returned back without success. Now, concerning this Sennacherib, Herodotus also says, in the second book of his histories, “How this king came against the Egyptian king, who was the priest of Vulcan, and that, as he was besieging Pslamium, he broke up the siege on the following occasion: this Egyptian priest prayed to God, and God heard his prayer, and sent a judgment upon the Arabian king.” Herodotus was mistaken, when he called this king, not the king of the Assyrians, but of the Arabians: for he saith, “that a multitude of mice came up, and with them other small beasts, and the rest of the armour of the Assyrians, and that it was on that account that the king, when he had no bows left, drew off his army from Pslamium, and so returned into Egypt.” In this history; nay, and Berosus, who wrote of the affairs of Chaldea, makes mention of this king Sennacherib, and that he made an expedition against all Asia and Egypt; and says thus:—

5. “Now when Sennacherib was returning from his Egyptian war to Jerusalem, he found his army under Tirkaka, the general, in danger [by a plague] for God had sent a pestilential distemper upon his army; and on the very first night of the siege, a hundred fourscore and five thousand, with their captains and generals, were destroyed such as growth of itself; and the second year that which sprangeth of the same; and in the third year now ye and reap, and plant vineyards, and eat the fruit thereof;” 2 Kings xi. 20; Is. xxvii. 30 which seem to me plainly the same year, or the second year of the sabbath year, a year after it, and the succeeding usual labours and fruits of them on the third and following years.

6. “And the slaughter of the 183,000 Assyrians is here delivered in the words of Berosus the Chaldean, and that it was certainly and frequently mentioned as the deliverance of the Kings and their army, and undeniably accomplished, see Autol. Rea. part 8 page 648.”
BOOK X.—CHAP. II.

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1. Now king Hezekiah being thus delivered, after a surprising manner, from the dread he was in, offered thank-offerings to God, with all his heart. And he proclaimed some of their enemies, and made the rest so fearful of undergoing the same fate, that they departed from Jerusalem, but that divine assistance was so precious to him, that he would give none of them up. 2. And he desired that they should send him the heads of his enemies; and besides the distemper itself, there was a very melancholy circumstance which disordered the king, which was the consideration that he was childless, and was going to die, and leave his house and his government without a successor of his own body; so he was troubled at the thoughts of this his condition, and lamented himself, and entreated of God that he would prolong his life for a little while, till he had some children, and not suffer him to depart this life before he had become a father. Hereupon God had mercy upon him, and accepted of his supplication, because the trouble he was under at his supposed death was not because he was soon to leave the advantages he enjoyed in the kingdom, nor was it for the want of a son, but because he might have a longer life afforded him, but in order to have sons, that might receive the government after him. And God sent Isaiah the prophet, and spoke unto him, and said, "Whence those things are came?" To which he replied, "that they came from Babylon, from the king; and that he had showed them all he had, that by the sight of his riches and forces they might thereby get courage, and be able to inform the king of it." But the prophet rejoined, and said, "Know thou, that, after a little while, these riches of thine shall be carried away to Babylon, and thy posterity shall be made eunuchs there, and lose their manhood, and be servants to the king of Babylon, for that God foretold such things would come to pass." Upon which words Hezekiah was troubled, and said, that "he was himself unwilling that his nation should fall into such calamities, yet since it is not possible to alter what God had determined, he prayed that the day might thereby gain courage, and be able to inform the king of it." The tract here ended.

We are here to take notice that these two sons of Sennacherib, that ran away to Armenia, because the heads of two famous families there, the Arzenuni and General, of which see the particular histories in Moses Chronicle, p. 60.

1 Josephus and all our copies place the sickness of Hezekiah after the destruction of Jerusalem's army, because it appears to have been after his first assault, as he was going into Arabia and Egypt, where he pushed his conquests so far as they would go, and in order to despatch his story altogether, yet does no copy but this of Josephus say it was after that destruction, but only that it happened in those days, or about that time of Hezekiah's sickness, and the account of the length of his life after his sickness allow that sickness to have been later than the former part of the 15th year of his reign, which is a very probable, for the first apostasy of 26 years and a few months, whereas the first assault of Sennacherib was in the 14th year of Hezekiah, but the destruction of the Assyrian army, even of all their forces, seems to be much older than that time, and the length of his life is described by 2 Chr. xxxii. 31, where we learn that the baby lions ambassadors were sent to Hezekiah, among other things, to inquire of the matter, which was then in the days of Josho-pear the 3rd. 2 This expression of Josephus, that the Medes, upon this destruction of the Assyrian army, overthrew all the Medes and Babylonians, that was to be in the north of the empire, seems to me so extraordinary, for although they went entirely cast off the Assyrian yoke, and took up Darius, a king of the Persians, as their sovereign, whereas the Medes and Babylonians overthrow the Medes and Persians, under Cyaxares and Cyrus, overthrew the Assyrian or Babylonian empire, and took Babylon.
from the events, by posterity: nor did this prophet do so alone, but the others, which were twelve in number, did the same. And whatever is done among us, whether it be good, or whether it be bad, comes to pass according to the determinate counsel of God, whether of every one of these we shall speak hereafter.

CHAP. III.

How Manasseh reigned after Hezekiah; and how, when he was in Captivity, he returned to God, and was restored to his Kingdom, and left it to [his Son] Amon.

§ 1. When King Hezekiah had survived the interval of time already mentioned, and had dwelt all that time in peace, he died, having completed fifty-four years of his life, and reigned twenty-nine: but when his son Manasseh, whose mother's name was Hephzibah, of Jerusalem, had taken the kingdom, he departed from the conduct of his father, and fell into a course of life quite contrary thereto, and showed himself in his manners most wicked in all respects, and omitted no sort of piety, but imitated those who lived without the ordinances of the Lord, by the commission of which against God they had been destroyed; and for he was so hard as to defile the temple of God, and God, and the land of the people by setting out from a contempt of God, because he barbarously slew all the righteous men who were among the Hebrews; nor would he spare the prophets, for he every day slew some of them, till Jerusalem was overtaken with blood. So God was angry at these proceedings, and sent prophets to the king, and to the multitude, by whom he threatened the very same calamities to them, which their brethren, the Israelites, upon the like affronts offered to God, were now under. But these men would not believe their words, by which belief they might have repented the advantage of escaping all those miseries; yet did they in earnest learn that what the prophets had told them was true.

2. And when they persevered in the same course of life, God raised up war against them from the king of Babylon and Chaldea, who sent an army against Judah, and laid waste the country, and laid the city waste by the Chaldeans. And then they ordered him to be brought to him, and had him under his power to inflict what punishment he pleased upon him. But then it was that Manasseh acknowledged what a miserable condition they were in, and esteeming himself the cause of all, besought God to render his enemy humane and merciful to him. Accordingly God heard his prayers; and when he was brought, he prayed for him. After which, Manasseh was released by the king of Babylon, and escaped the danger he was in; and when he came to Jerusalem, he endeavoured, if it were possible, to cast out of his memory those who had at him, against God, of which he now repented, and to apply himself to a very religious life. He sanctified the temple, and purged the city, and for the remainder of his life lived very nearly experienced what a calamity he was fallen into by a contrary conduct. He also rebuilt the altar, and offered the legal sacrifices, as Moses enjoined. However, he had reformed what concerned the divine worship, as it ought to be, he took care of the security of Jerusalem: he did not only repair the old walls with great diligence, but added another wall to the former. He also built very lofty towers, and the garrisoned places before the city he strengthened, not only in other respects, but with provision of all sorts that they wanted. And indeed when he had changed his former course, he seduced his life, for the time to come, from the time of his return to piety towards God, he was deemed a happy man and a pattern for imitation. When, therefore, he had lived sixty-seven years he died, and was buried in the city of Jerusalem, and the kingdom came to his son Amnon, whose mother's name was Meshullemeth, of the city of Jothath.

CHAP. IV.

How Amon reigned instead of Manasseh; and after Amon reigned Josiah, he was both righteous and religious. As also concerning Huldah the Prophetess.

§ 1. This Amon imitated those works of his father which he insolently did when he was young; so he had a conspiracy made against him by his own servants, and was slain in his own house, when he had lived twenty-four years, and of them he had reigned two: but the multitude punished those that slew Amon, and buried him with his father, and gave the kingdom to his son Josiah, who was twelve years old. His mother was of the city of Boscath; and her name was Jedidah. He was of a most excellent dispositions, and naturally virtuous, and followed the actions of his predecessors, and sedulously corrected what they did wrong, like a very elderly man, and like one abundantly able to understand what was fit to be done; and when he found they had well done, he observed all the consequents, and imitated the same. And thus he acted in following the wisdom and sagacity of his own nature, and in compliance with the advice and instructions of the elders; for by following the laws it was that he succeeded so well in the order of his government, and in piety with regard to the divine worship. And this happened because the transactions of the state were not, any more, but quite vanished away; for the king went about the city, and the whole country, and cut down the groves which were devoted to strange gods, and the idolatry of their forefathers, there were any gift, dedicated to them by his forefathers, he made them ignominious, and plucked them down, and by this means he brought the whole country to the worship of God. He also offered his accustomed sacrifices and burnt-offerings upon the altar. Moreover, he ordained certain judges and overseers, that they might order the matters to them severally belonging, and have regard to justice above all things, and distribute it with the same concern they would have about their own soul. He also sent over all the country, and desired such as pleased to bring gold and silver for the repairs of the temple, according to every one's inclinations and abilities. And when the money was brought in, he made one Manaseh the governor of the city, and Shaphan the scribe, and Josiah the recorder, and Eliakim the high priest, curators of the temple, and of the chassees. He also commanded that no one was to make no delay, nor put off the work at all, but prepared architects, and whatsoever was proper for their work, and repaired the old walls about the work. So the temple was repaired by this means, and he came a public demonstration of the king's piety.

2. But when he was now in the eighteenth year of his reign, he sent to Elisaham, the high priest, and gave order, that out of what money
And when he had done thus in Jerusalem, he came into the country, and utterly destroyed what buildings had been made therein by king Jeroboam, in honour of strange gods; and he burnt the bones of the priests of the high places upon the altar which Jeroboam first built. And as this prophet [Jadon] who came to Jeroboam when he was offering sacrifice, and when all the people heard him, foretold some future event, viz. that "a certain man of the house of David, Josiah by name, should do what is here mentioned," And it happened that those predictions took effect after three hundred and sixty-one years.

5. After these things Josiah went also to such other Israelites as had escaped captivity and slavery under the Assyrians, and persuaded them to desist from their impious practices, and to leave off the honours they paid to strange gods, but to worship rightfully their own Almighty God, and ad- here to him. He also searched the houses, and the villages, and the cities, out of suspicion that somebody might have one idol or other in private; nay, indeed, he took away the chariots of his sun that were set up in his royal palace, which his predecessors had framed, and what thing soever there was besides which they worshipped, Josiah commanded that they should be put into the fire of the wall of Jerusalem. And there being every thing in the country, he called the people to Jerusalem, and there celebrated the feast of unleavened bread, and that called the Passover. He also gave the people for passover sacrifice, the thousands of the kids of the goats and lambs thirty thousand, and three thousand oxen for burnt-offerings. The principal of the priests also gave to the priests, against the passover, two thousand shekels of un- leavened bread; the principal of the Levites also gave to the Levites five thousand lambs and five hundred oxen, by which means there was great plenty of sacrifices: and they offered those sacrifices according to the laws of Moses, while every priest explained the matter, and ministered to the multitude. And indeed there had been no other festival thus celebrated by the Hebrews from the times of Samuel the prophet; and the plenty of sacrifices now was the occasion that all things were performed according to the laws, and according to the custom of their forefathers. So when Josiah had after this lived in peace, nay, in riches and reputation also among all men, he ended his life in the manner following.

CHAP. V.

How Josiah fought with Neco [King of Egypt] and was wounded, and died in a little time after- ward; as also, how Neco carried Jehoiakim, who had been made king of Judah, and delivered the Kingdom to Jehoiachin; and lastly, com- mencing Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

§ 1. Now Neco, king of Egypt, raised an army, and marched to the river Euphrates, in order to fight with the Medes and Babylonians, who had overthrown the dominion of the Assy- rians; for he had a desire to reign over Asia. Now, when he was come to the city Mendes, which belonged to the Medes, he heard that Josiah had brought an army to hinder him from passing through his own country, in his expedition against the Medes. Now Neco sent a herald to Josiah, and told him that he did not expect that expedition against him, but was making haste to Euphrates; and desired that he would not

* It is hard to reconcile the account in the second book of Kings, ch. xxiv. 11, with this account in Josephus, and to reconcile this passage truly in Josephus, whose copies are supposed to have been corrupted, for the word "the son of both seems to be this, that there were certain chariots, with their horses, dedicated to the idol of the sun, that also in making empl.-sion to the processions and worshipped by the people, which chariots now take art, as Josephus says, or, as the book of Haggai says, built with gold by Josiah.

† This is a remarkable passage of chronology in Josephus, that about the latter end of the reign of Josiah, the Medes and Babylonians overthrew the empire of the Assyrians; or, in the words of a late commentator, that "the death of Tobiah, as also severally, Josiah, he heard of the destruction of Niniveh, which was taken by Nebuchadnezzar the Babylonian, and the con- sequence the Medes, 1; see Dean Frewin's Conjectures, at the year 612.
provoke him to fight against him, because he obstructed his march to the place whither he had marched, yet Josiah did not admit of this advice of Neco, but put himself into a posture to hinder him from this intended march. I suppose it was fate that pushed him on, that it might take an occasion against him; for as he was setting his army in array, * and rode about in his chariot, from one wing of his army to another, one of the Egyptians shot an arrow at him, and put an end to his eagerness of fighting; for being sorely wounded, he commanded a retreat to be sounded for his army, and returned to Jerusalem, and died of that wound; and was magnificently buried in the sepulchre of his fathers, when he had lived thirty-nine years, and of them he had reigned thirty-one. But all the people mourned greatly for him, lamenting and grieving on his account many days: and Jeremiah the prophet composed an elegy to lament him, which is extant till this time also. Moreover, this prophet denounced beforehand, the sad calamities that were coming upon the city. He also left behind him in writing a description of that destruction of our nation which had lately happened in our days, and the taking of the holy city, which would be avenged who delivered such predictions beforehand to the multitude, but so did Ezekiel also, who was the first to write, and left behind him in writing, two books, and the one is lost. The two prophets were priests by birth; but of them Jeremiah dwelt in Jerusalem, from the thirteenth year of the reign of Josiah, until the city and temple were utterly destroyed. However, as to what befell this prophet, we will relate it in its proper place.

3. Upon the death of Josiah, which we have already mentioned, his son, Jehoahaz by name, took the kingdom; being about twenty-three years old: he reigned in Jerusalem; and his mother was Hamutal, of the city Libnah. He was an impious man, and impure in his course of life: but as the king of Egypt returned from the battle, he sent for Jehoahaz to come to him to the city called Hamath, which belongs to Syria; and when he was come, he put him in bonds, and delivered the kingdom to a brother of his, by the father's side, whose name was Eliakim, and changed his name to Jehoiakim, and laid an tribute upon the land of a hundred talents of silver, and a talent of gold, and this sum of money Jehoiakim paid by way of tribute: but Neco carried away the gold and silver, where he died, when he had reigned three months and ten days. Now Jehoiakim's mother was called Zebudah, of the city Ramah. He was of a wicked disposition, and abused the tributes which he received; and thus, and by his sins, he provoked the anger of the Lord, and brought the city to ruins, and the temple, and the multitude. And when the rulers heard of it, they made their prepara[tions], and now they were at hand, and now they were at hand, and Baruch, the scribe, to go their ways, lest they should be discovered by one or other; but they carried the book, and gave it to the king; so he gave order, in the presence of his friends, that his scribe should take it, and read it. When the king heard what it contained, he was angry, and tore it, and cast it into the fire, where it was consumed. And so he commanded that they should seek for Jeremiah and Baruch, the scribe, and bring them to him, that they might be punished. However, they escaped his anger.

4. Now in the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, one whose name was Nebuchadnezzar took the government over the Babylonians, who at the same time went up with a great army to the city Carchemish, which was at Ephratah, upon a resolution he had taken to fight with Neco king of Egypt, under whom all Syria then was. And when Neco understood the intention of the king of Babylon, and that this expedition was made against him, he did not despise his at tempt, but he hastened to the borders of Assyria, and passed over Ephratah, and took all Syria, as far as Pelusium, excepting Judaea. But when Nebuchadnezzar had already reigned four years, he made an expedition against the Hebrews, in which he took Judaea, and brought to his triumph over the Hebrews, the king of Babylon made an expedition with mighty forces against the Jews, and required tribute of Jehoiakim, and therefore he was afraid to speak against him. He was afflicted at this threatening, and bought his peace with money, and brought the tribute he was ordered to bring for three years.

2. But on the third year, upon hearing that the king of the Babylonians made an expedition against the Egyptians, he did not pay his tribute, yet was he disappointed of his hope, for the Egyptians durst not fight at this time. And in deed the prophet Jeremiah foretold every day, how vainly they relied on their hopes from Egypt, when the king of Babylon had sent his army against the Jews, and that the city would be avenged. He therefore wished that he would be subdued by him. But what he thus spake proved to be of no advantage to them, because on a day there fell a notable rain, which a firebrand should escape for both the multitude, and the rulers, when they heard him, had no concern about what they had heard; but being dissuaded at what was said, as if the prophet were a diviner against the king, they accused Jeremiah, and bringing him before the court, they required that a sentence and a punishment might be given against him. Now all the rest gave their votes for his condemnation, but the elders refused, who prudently sent away the prophet from the court of the prison and persuaded the rest to do Jeremiah no harm; for they said, that "He was not the only person who foretold what would come to the city, but that Zecchiah signified the same before him, as well as many others, none of which suffered any thing of the kings that then reigned, but were honour ed as the prophets of God." So they mollified the multitude with these words, and delivered Jeremiah and Baruch to the king, and he was condemned. Now when this prophet had written all his prophecies, and the people were settling, and assembled at the temple, on the ninth month, the king entered in, and took out of the book he had composed of his predictions, of what was to befall the city, and the temple, and the multitude. And when the rulers heard of it, they prepared as before, and now they were at hand, and now they were at hand, and Baruch, the scribe, to go their ways, lest they should be discovered by one or other; but they carried the book, and gave it to the king; so he gave order, in the presence of his friends, that his scribe should take it, and read it. When the king heard what it contained, he was angry, and tore it, and cast it into the fire, where it was consumed. And so he commanded that they should seek for Jeremiah and Baruch, the scribe, and bring them to him, that they might be punished. However, they escaped his anger.

3. Now in a little time afterward, the king of Babylon made an expedition against Jehoiakim, whom he received into the city, and this out of fear of the foregoing predictions of this prophet, as supposing that he should suffer nothing that ever poet now lost, but extant in the days of Josephus, concerning Appian to Josiah, cannot now be determined.

* This battle is justly esteemed the very name that Herodotus, B. ii. sect. 156, mentions, whom he says, that "Neco joined battle with the Syrians [or Jews] at Megiddon, in the time of Josiah, whom here observes.

† Whether Josephus, from 2 Chron. xxxv. 23, here means the book of the Lamentations of Jeremiah still existing, or that he zealously believes in the occurrence of the destruction of Jerusalem under Nebuchadnezzar, or to any other like.
was terrible, because he neither shut the gates, nor fought against him; yet when he was come into the city, he did not observe the covenants he had made, but he slew such as were in the field. He held both the highest dignity, together with his king Jehoiakim, whom he commanded to be thrown before the walls, without any burial, and made his son Je-

hochiah king of the captivity, and of the city; he also took the principal persons in dignity for captives, three thousand in number, and led them away to Babylon; among whom was the prophet Ezekiel, who was prophet of the captivity. But Jehoiakim was the king of the captivity, and of the city, he had lived thirty-six years, and of them reigned eleven; but Jehoiachin succeeded him in the kingdom, whose mother's name was Nehushtah; she was a citizen of Jerusalem. He reigned three months and ten days.

CHAP. VII.

That the King of Babylon repeated of making Jehoiachin King, and took him and all the money and delivered the Kingdom to Zedekiah.

This King would not believe what was predicted by Jeremiah and Ezekiel, but joined himself to the Egyptians, who, when he came into Judah, were carried away by the King of Babylon; and so what befell Jeremiah.

§ 1. But a terror seized on the king of Baby-

lon, who had given the kingdom to Jehoiachin, and that immediately: he was afraid that he should bear him a grudge, because his killing his father, and thereupon should make the country revolt from him; wherefore he sent an army, and besieged Jehoiachin in Jerusalem; but because he was of a gentle and just disposition, he did not desire to see the city endangered on his account, but he took his mother, and kindred, and delivered them to the commanders sent by the king of Babylon, and accepted of their oaths, that neither should they suffer any harm, nor the city; which agreement they did not observe for a single year, for the king of Babylon did not keep it, but gave orders to his generals to take all that were in the city captives, both the youth and the handicraftsmen, and bring them bound to him: their number was ten thousand eight hundred and sixty captives, as also Jehoiachin, and his mother and friends: and when these were brought to him, he kept them in custody, and appointed Jehoiachin's uncle Zedekiah to be king, here he knew the want of the kingdom would certainly keep the kingdom for him, and make no innovation, nor have any league of friendship with the Egyptians.

The king was twenty and one years old when he took the government; and had the same mother with his brother Jehoiatam, but was a deeper justice of himself and of his duty, for truly those of the same age with him were wicked about him, and the whole multitude did what unjust and insolent things they pleased; for which reason the prophet Jeremiah came often to him, and protested to him, and insisted that he must leave off his impieties, and transgressions, and take care of what was right, and neither give ear to the rulers, (among whom were wicked men,) nor give credit to their false prophets, who told him the king of Babylon would make no more war against him, and as if the Egyptians would make war against him, and conquer him, since what they said was not contrary to what Jeremiah had revealed to him; [as they expected.] Now, as to Zedekiah himself, while he heard the prophet speak, he believed him, and agreed to every thing as true, and supposed it was for his advantage; but then

his friends pervert ed him, and dissuaded him from what the prophet advised, and obliged him to do what they pleased. Ezekiel also foretold in Babylon what calamities were coming upon the people, who would be his hand, and he would count them into Jerusalem; but Zedekiah did not believe their prophecies, for the reasons following: it happened that the two prophets of greed with one another in what they said, as to all other things, that the city should be taken, and Zedekiah himself should be taken captive, but Ezekiel disagreed with him, and said that Zedekiah should not see Babylon, and remi-
niah said to him, that "the king of Babylon should carry him away thither in bonds." And because they did not both say the same thing as to this circumstance, he disbelieved what they both appeared to agree in, and condemned them as not speaking truth therein, although all the things foretold him did come to pass according to their prophecies, as we shall show upon a fitter opportunity.

3. Now when Zedekiah preserved the league of mutual assistance he had made with the Baby-

lonians, for a while, he brake it; he resolved to revolt the Egyptians, in hopes, by their assistance, of overcoming the Babylonians. When the king of Babylon knew this, he made war against him: he laid the country waste, he laid his fortified towns, and came to the city Jeru-
salem itself to besiege it: but when the king of Egypt heard what circumstances Zedekiah his ally was in, he sent a battle with the Egyptians, and came into Judea, as if he would raise the siege: upon which the king of Babylon departed from Jerusalem, and met the Egyptians, and joined battle with them, and beat them; he had put them to flight, he pursued them, and drove them out of all Syria. Now as soon as the king of Babylon was departed from Jerusalem, the false prophets deceived Zedekiah, and said, that "the king of Babylon would not any more make war against him or his people, nor remove them out of their own country into Babylon, and that those then in captivity would return, with all those vessels of the temple, of which the king of Babylon had despoiled that temple." But Je-

eriah came among them, and prophesied what contradicted those predictions, and what proved to be true, that "they did ill, and deluded the king; that the Egyptians would be of no advan-
tage to them, but that the king of Babylon would come again, and would destroy the people by famine, and carry away those that remained captive, and would take away what they had as spoil, and would carry off those that were in the temple; nay, that, besides this, he would burn it, and utterly overthrow the city, and that they should serve him and his posterity seventy years; that then the Persians and the Medes should put an end to their servitude, and overthrow the Babylonians, and that we shall be dismissed, and return to this land, and rebuild the temple, and restore Jerusalem." When Je-

eriah said this, they all believed him, but the rulers, and those that were wicked, despised him, as one disordered in his senses. Now he had resolved not to go elsewhere, to his own coun-

try, which was near, and was twenty furlongs distant from Jerusalem; and as he was going, one of the rulers met him, and seized upon him, and accused him falsely, as though he were going as a desertor to the Babylonians [as they expected.] Now, as to Zedekiah him-

self, while he heard the prophet speak, he believed him, and agreed to every thing as true, and supposed it was for his advantage; but then...
and laid an accusation against him, under whom he endured all sorts of torments and tortures, and was reserved to be punished; and this was the condition he was in for some time, while he suffered in a manner described unjustly.

4. Now in the ninth year of the reign of Zedekiah, on the tenth day of the tenth month, the king of Babylon made a second expedition against Jerusalem, as that was the midpoint of the year, and besieged it with the utmost application. There came upon them also two of the greatest calamities at the same time that Jerusalem was besieged, a famine and a pestilential distemper, and made great havoc of them: and though the prophet Jeremiah was in prison, he did not rest, but cried out, and proclaimed aloud, and exhorted the midst of his gate, and in his presence, to admit the king of Babylon, for that if they did so, they should be preserved, and their whole families; but if they did not so, they should be destroyed; and he foretold, that if any one stayed in the city, he should certainly perish by one of these ways, either he consumed by the famine, or slain by the enemy's sword, but that if he would fly to the enemy he should escape death: yet the others who heard believe him, even when they were in the midst of their sore calamities, but they came to the king, and, in their anger, informed him what Jeremiah said, and that his heart and counsel of the prophet was as of a madman, and one that disheartened their minds, and by the denunciation of miseries, weakened the acuteness of the multitude, who were otherwise ready to expose themselves to dangers for him, and for their country, while he, in a way of threatening, warned them to fly to the enemy, and told them that the city should certainly be taken, and be utterly destroyed.

5. But the king himself was not at all irritated against Jeremiah, such was his gentle and righteous disposition; yet that he might not be engaged in a quarrel with those rulers at such a time, by opposing what they intended, he let them do with the prophet whatsoever they would: whereupon, when the king had granted them such a permission, they presently came into the prison and took him, and let him down with a cord into a pit full of mire, that he might be suffocated, and die of himself. So he stood up to the third day and the third night, and his friends and his rulers had done evil in putting the prophet into the mire, and by that means contriving against him that he should suffer a death more bitter than natural death; but the prophet did not die thereby. When the king heard this, he repented of his having delivered up the prophet to the rulers, and bade the Ethiopian take thirty men of the king's guards, and conjure with them, and whatsoever else they understood to be necessary for the prophet's preservation, and draw him up immediately. So the Ethiopian took the men he was ordered to take, and drew him out of the mire, and left him at liberty [in the prison].

6. But when the king had sent to call him privately, and inquired what he could say to him from God, which might be suitable to his present circumstances, and desired him to inform him of it, Jeremiah replied, that "he had somewhat to say"; but he said, "he should not be believed, nor, if he admonished them, should be hearkened to; for, (said he,) thy friends have determined to destroy me, as though I had been guilty of some wickedness: and where are now the gods of the Ethiopians who stood as surety that the king of Babylon would not come and fight against us any more; but I am afraid now to speak the truth, lest thou shouldst condemn me to death." And when the king had assured him upon oath, that he would neither himself put him to death, nor deliver him up to the rulers, he became bold upon that assurance that was given him; and gave him this advice, that "he should deliver the city to the Babylonians, lest he should be accused by them to the king of Babylon, and be punished." But the prophet encouraged him, and said, "he had no cause to fear such punishment, for that he should not have the experience of any misfortune, if he would deliver all up to the Babylonians, neither himself, nor his children, nor his wives, and that the present distress was nothing compared to that which would be on the city when Jeremiah had said this, the king let him go, and charged him to betray what they had resolved on to none of the citizens, nor to tell any of the people; that if he had been sent for, what he had said to him; but to pretend to them, that he besought him that he might not be kept in bonds and in prison." And indeed he said no more, for he came to the prophet, and asked him, what advice it was that he came to give the king relating to them! And thus I have finished what concerns this matter.

CHAPTER VIII.

How the King of Babylon took Jerusalem, and burnt the Temple, and removed the People of Jerusalem and Zedekiah to Babylon. As also, who they were that had succeeded in the High Priesthood under the Kings.

1. Now the king of Babylon was very intent and earnest upon the siege of Jerusalem; and he erected towers upon great banks of earth, and from them repelled those that stood upon the walls. He also made a great number of such banks round about the whole city, whose height was equal to those walls. However, those that were set to oppose the siege with engines and art and acuteness, for they were not discouraged, either by the famine, or by the pestilential distemper, but were of cheerful minds in the prosecution of the war, although those miseries within oppressed them also, and they did not suppose themselves to be terrorized, either by the contrivances of the enemy, or by their engines of war, but contrived still different engines to oppose all the other, until indeed there seemed to be an entire struggle between the Babylonians and the people of Jerusalem, which had the greater sagacity and skill; the former party supposing they should be too hard for the other, for the destruction of the city; the latter placing their hopes of deliverance in nothing else but in persevering in such inventions in opposition to the other, as might demonstrate the enemies' engines were useless to them. And this siege they endured for eighteen months, until they were destroyed by the famine, and by the drought which the enemy brought them; should in which the whole people were destroyed. Now the city was taken on the ninth day of the fourth month, in the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah. They were indeed only killed about eight thousand of us, and thus said the scribes that sat on the scaffold of the book; but the northmen and the southmen committed the care of the siege, for he abode himself in the city of Riblah. The names of these generals who ravaged and subdued Jerusalem, if any one desires to know them
were these, Neq'gal Sharezer, Sanagor Nebu, Rabasaar, Sarsechin, and Rahmah. When the city was taken about midnight, and the ene-
mics' generals were entered into the temple, and when Zedekiah was sensible of it, he took his wife, all his sons, and his eunuchs, and six friends, and with them fled out of the city, through the fortified ditch, and through the de-
sert; and when certain of the deserters had in-
formed the Chaldeans that they had found them, they made haste to pursue after Zedekiah, and
overtook him not far from Jericho, and encom-
passed him about; but for those friends and cap-
tains of the city and the city with him, when they saw their enemies near them, they left him, and dispersed themselves some one way and some another, and every one resolved to save himself; so the ene-
took Zedekiah alive, when he was deserted by all but a few, with his children and his wives, and brought him to the king. When he was came, Nebuchadnezzar began to "call him a wicked wretch, and a covenant-breaker, and one that had forgotten his former words, when he had vowed to be true to the covenant; he also reproached him for his ingratitude, that when he had received the kingdom from him, who had taken it from Jehoiachin, and given it him, and the kingdom of the men and seven friends of Zedekiah, and his scribe, and six other rulers; all which, together with the vessels which they had pillaged, he carried to the king of Babylon to Riblah, a city of Syria. So the king commanded the heads of the high priest and of the rulers to be cut off there; but he himself led all the captives, and Zedekiah, to Babylon. He also led Josedek the high priest away bound. He was the son of Se-
rail, the high priest whom the king of Babylon had slain in Riblah, a city of Syria, as we have just now related.

6. And now, because we have enumerated the succession of the kings, and who they were, and
how long they reigned, I think it necessary to set down the names of the high priests, and who they were that succeeded one another in the high
priesthood under the kings. The first high priest then at the temple which Solomon built, was Zadok; after him his son Azarias; after Amazon, was Azarias; his son was Joram, and Joram's son was Issu; after him was Alexan;
and his son was Phideas, and Phideas's son was Sudaen, and Sudaen's son was Julius, and Julius's son was Joahm, and Joahm's son was Urias, and Urias's son was Noeas, and Noeas's son was Odeas, and his son was Sullu-
num, and Sallunum's son was Eleasar, and his son
was Azarias, and his son was Sarea, and his son was Josedek, who was carried captive to Babylon. All these received the high priesthood by succession, the sons from their fathers, and the men of the same tribe with the rest.

And now it was that the king of Babylon sent Nebuzaradan, the general of his army, to Jeru-
salem, to pillage the temple, who had also in other times pillaged Jerusalem, and put the people to the sword, and burnt the temple, and to lay the city even with the ground, and to trans-
plant the people into Babylon. Accordingly he came to Jerusalem in the eleventh year of Zedekiah, the last year of his kingdom, after Titus had carried out the vessels of God, both gold
and silver, and particularly that large lever which Solomon dedicated, as also the pillars of brass, and
their chapiters, with the golden tables and the candlesticks; and when he had carried these off, he set fire to the temple in the fifth month, on the first day of the month, on the fourteenth of the reign of Zedekiah, and on the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar; he also burnt the pa-
lace and overthrew the city. Now the temple was burnt four months and seventeen days, and in six
months, and ten days from the departure out of Egypt; and from the destruction of the city of the tem-
ple, the whole interval was one thousand nine hundred fifty-seven years, six months, and ten days; but for the generation of Adam until this befell the temple, there were three thousand five hundred and thirteen years, six
months, and ten days; so great was the number of years horeto belonging. And what actions were done during those years, we have particularly related. But the general of the Babylonian
king now overthrew the city to the very founda-
tions, and removed all the people, and put them in prison; the high priest Seraia, and Zerubabil
the priest that was next to him, and the ru-
ers that guarded the temple, who were three in number, and the priests, and the Levites, and the men, and seven friends of Zedekiah, and his
scribe, and six other rulers; all which, together
and the vessels which they had pillaged, he
carried to the king of Babylon to Riblah, a

CHAP. IX.

How Nebuzaradan set Gedaliah over the Jews which were left in Judea, which Gedaliah was a little afterward slain by Ishmael. How the ten tribes of Israel were carried into captivity, and how the house of David was foreordained to continue unto the golden candlestick.

This observation of Josephus about the seeming dis-
agreement of Jeremiah, chap. xxvii. 3, and xxviii. 3, and
Ezek. xii. 15, but real agreement at last, concerning the
first vision of the医 leaked, as they are by the same ancient writers; see ch. viii. sect. 2. Nor is it at all unlikely that the coun-
ters and false prophets might make use of this seeming con-
tradiction to cover their designs, as one of these prophets, as Josephus here intimates he was dis-
"missioned thereby.
down into Egypt with the People, which People, Nebuchadnezzar, when he made an Expedition against the Egyptians, took captive, and brought them away to Babylon. § 1. Now the general of the army, Nebuzar- 
dan, when he had carried the people of the Jews into captivity, took the poor, and those that he
deserted, in the country, and made one, whose name was Gedaliah, the son of Abikam, a person of
a noble family, their governor: which Geda-
liah was a man of a good carriage, and well disposed.
He also commanded them that they should culti-
vate the ground, and pay an appointed tribute to
the king. He also took Jeremiah the prophet
out of prison, and would have persuaded him to
go along with him to Babylon, for that he had
been enjoined by the king to supply him with
whatever he wanted: and if he did not like to do
so, he desired him to inform him where he resolu-
ted to dwell, that he might signify the same to
the king; but the prophet had no mind to follow
him, nor to dwell any where else, but would glad-
ly live in the ruins of his country, and in the mis-
erable remains of it. When the general under-
stood what his purpose was, he enjoined Geda-
liah and his men to follow him; but as he was left behind, to take all possible
care of him, and to supply him with whatsoever
he wanted: so when he had given him rich pre-
seats, he dismissed him. Accordingly, Jeremiah abode in his land, which was called
Mispah; and desired of Nebuzaradan, that he
would set at liberty his disciple Baruch, the son
of Neriah, one of a very eminent family, and
exceeding able and learned, in the language of his count-
y. When Nebuzaradan had done thus, he made
haste to Babylon: but as those that fled away
during the siege of Jerusalem, and had been several
years in that country, when they heard that
the Babylonians were gone away, and had left a
remnant in the land of Jerusalem, and those such
as were to cultivate the same, they came togeth-
er from all parts to Gedaliah to Mispah. Now
the rulers that were over them were Johanan, the
son of Karpheus, and Zadok, and Seraiah, and others beside them. Now there was of
the royal family one Ishmael, a wicked man, and
very crafty, who, during the siege of Jerusalem,
saw to Baalz, the king of the Ammonites, and
abode with him during that time: and Gedaliah
perceived that they were there, or near with him, and to have no fear of the Babylonians,
for that if they would cultivate the country, they
would suffer no harm. But if they did not, they
would make him by force their master, and by
force have him for their servant, and if any disturb-
ance should arise, they would find him ready to
defend them. He also advised them to dwell in any
city, as every one of them pleased; and that they
would send men along with his own servants,
and rebuild their houses upon the old founda-
tions, and dwell there, and he admonished them
beforehand, that they should make preparation,
while the season lasted, of corn, and wine, and
oil, that they might have whereon to feed during
the winter. When he had thus discovered to them,
he dismissed them, that every one might
dwell in what place the country he pleased.
3. Now when this report was spread abroad as
far as Judas, the inhabitants of Judas, the Jews,
kindly entertained those that came to
him, after they had fled away, upon this (only)
condition, that they should pay tribute to the
king of Babylon; and they readily agreed to it.
When Gedaliah, and inhabited the country. When
Johanan and the rulers that were with him ob-
served the country, and the humanity of Gedal-
iah, they sent their children in love with him, and
told him that Baalz, the king of the Ammon-
ites, had sent Ishmael to kill him by treachery,
and secretly, that he might have the dominion
over the Israelites, as being of the royal family,
and that he might deliver him by this treacherous
design if he would give them leave to slay Ishmael, and nobody should know it,
for they told him they were afraid that when
he was there, and the entire remnant of the
remaining strength of the Israelites would en-
sue: but he professed, that "he did not believe
what they said, when they told him of such a
treachery; and said that he might deliver himself
and be treated by him; because it was not probable that one who, under such a want of all things, had
failed of nothing that was necessary for him
should be found so wicked and ungrateful to
wards his benefactor, that when it would be an
instance of wickedness in him not to save him,
had he been treacherously assaulted by others
to endeavour, and that earnestly, to kill him with
his own hand: that, however, if he ought to sup-
pose this information to be true, it was better
due for himself to be slain by the other, than to de-
stroy a man who fled to him for refuge, and in-
trusted his own safety to him, and committed
himself to his disposal." 4. So the rulers that were with
him, not being able to persuade Gedaliah, went
away: but after the interval of thirty days was
over, Ishmael came again to Gedaliah, to the city
of Mispah, and eyed and surveyed it. But he had
feasted Ishmael and those that were with
him in a splendid manner, at his table, and had
given them presents, he became disordered in
drink, while he endeavoured to be very merry
with them; and when Ishmael saw him in that
case, and that he was drowned in his cups to the
degree of insensibility, and fallen asleep, he rose
up on one side of the table, and, when Gedaliah
and those that were with him at the feast, and when he had slain them, he went out
by night, and slew all the Jews that were in the
city, and those soldiers also which were left
thither by the Babylonians: but the next day
four score men came out of the country with pres-
ents to Gedaliah, none of them knowing what
had befallen him; when Ishmael saw them, he
invited them to Gedaliah, and when they were
come in, he shut up the court, and slew them,
and cast their dead bodies down into a certain
cistern, and set a guard upon the gate. And these
four score men Ishmael spared those that entreated him not to kill them; till they had de-
clared to him what riches they had assured of,
dealt in the fields, consisting of their furniture, and
garments, and corn: but he took captive the peo-
ple that were in Mispah, with their wives and
children, who were among the fields, and the king
Zedekiah, whom Nebuzaradan, the general of
the army of Babylon, had left with Gedaliah:
and when he had done this, he came to the king
of the Ammonites. 5. But when Johanan and the rulers with him
heard of what was done at Mispah by Ishmael,
and of the death of Gedaliah, they had indigna-
tion at seeing every one of them took his own
armed men, and came suddenly to fight with
Ishmael, and overtook him at the fountain in He-
bron: and when those that were carried away captive
by Ishmael came, and saw him, they were very glad, and looked upon them as
coming to their assistance; so they left him that
carried them captive, and came over to Jo-
hanan, and the people that were with him, as
the king of the Ammonites; but Johanan took
those whom he had rescued out of the hands of
Ishmael, and the enuchs, and their wives and
children, and carried them into the land of Manda,
and there they abode that day, for they
were pleased, and that it is really a canonical book, and an ex-
plicit to Jeremiah, see Anthest. Lec. part 1. page 1—11.
BOOK X—CHAP. X.

had determined to remove them from hence, and go into Egypt; out of fear lest the Egyptians should slay them in case they continued in the country, and that out of anger at the slaughter of Gedaliah, who had been by them set over it for three months. "

Now while they were under this deliberation, Johanan, the son of Kareah, and the rulers that were with him, came to Jeremiah the prophet, and desired that he would go to the king, and say to him, because they were at an utter loss about what they ought to do, he would discover it to them, and say that they would do whatsoever Jeremiah should say to them. And when the prophet said he would be their intercessor with God, it came to pass, that after ten days God appeared to him, and said, "That he should inform Johanan and the other rulers, and all the people, that he would be with them while they continued in that country, and take care of them, and keep them from being hurt by the Babylonians, of whom they were afraid; but that he would desert them if they went into Egypt, and, out of his wrath against them, would inflict the same punishment upon them as they had done to their brethren, whom they had already endured." So when the prophet had informed Johanan and the people that God had foretold these things, he was not believing that they would sufficiently in that country, and would continue in that country, but they imagined that he said so to gratify Baruch, his own disciple, and belie God, and that he persuaded them to stay there, that they might be destroyed by the Babylonians. Accordingly, both the people and Johanan disobeyed the counsel of God, which he gave them by the prophet, and removed into Egypt, and carried Jeremiah and Baruch along with them.

And when they were there, God signified to the prophet, that the king of Babylon was about to make an expedition against the Egyptians, and commanded him to foretell to the people that Egypt should be taken, and the king of Babylon should slay some of them, and should take others captive, and bring them to Babylon; who of things came to pass accordingly: for on the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, which was the twenty-third of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, he set about his design against Egypt, and when he had possessed himself of it, he made war against the Ammonites and Moabites; and when he had brought all those nations under subjection, he then threw off the Egyptians, and then to them, and for that their inclination for that sort of food, and that they despised the other. He replied, that he was ready to serve them in what they desired, but he suspected that they would be discovered by this very thing, for their bodies and the alteration of their countenances, because it could not be avoided but their bodies and colours must be changed with their diet, especially while they would be clearly discovered by the finer appearance of the other children, who would fare better, and thus they should bring him in danger, and occasion him to be punished; yet did they persuade Arioeh, who was thus fearful, to give them what food they desired for ten days, by way of trial, and in case the habit of their bodies were not altered, to go on in the same way, as the prophet had foretold that they would be hurt thereby afterward, but if he saw them

they were removed; but the king of Babylon, who brought out the two tribes, placed another nation in their country, by which means all Judea and Jerusalem, and the temple, continued to be a desert for seventy years: but the entire interval of time passed from the captivity of the Israelites, to the carrying away of the two tribes, proved to be a hundred and thirty years, six months, and ten days.

CHAP. X.

Concerning Daniel, and what befell him at Babylon.

§ 1. But now Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon took some of the most noble of the Jews that were children, and the kinmen of Zedekeiah, their king, such as were remarkable for the beauty of their bodies, and the comeliness of their countenances, and delivered them into the hands of tutors, and to the improvement to be made by them. He also made some of them to be eunuchs, which course he took also with those of other nations, whom he had taken in the flower of their age, and afforded them the benefit of such instruction, and had instructed in the institutes of the country, and taught the learning of the Chaldeans; and they had now exercised themselves sufficiently in that art, that they ought to apply themselves to. Now among these there were four of the family of Zedekeiah, of most excellent dispositions, one of whom was called Daniel, another was called Among, another was In, and the fourth Azarias: and the king of Babylon changed their names, and commanded that they should make use of other names; Daniel he called Baltasar, Ananias, Shadrach, Misael, and the fourth Azarias: and these the king had in esteem, and continued to love, because of the very excellent temper they were of, and because of their application to learning, and the progress they had made in wisdom.

2. Now Daniel and his kinsmen had resolved to use a severe diet, and to abstain from those kinds of food which came from the king's table, and entirely to forbear to eat of all living creatures; so he came to Ashpenaz, who was that eunuch to whom the care of them was committed, and desired him to lead them, and speak to him about what was brought for them from the king, but to give them pulse and dates for their food, and any thing else, besides the flesh of living creatures, that he might not eat; and when they had foretold of this to the king, and he had refused to give them of such food, and so that they despised the other. He replied, that he was ready to serve them in what they desired, but he suspected that they would be discovered by this very thing, for their bodies and colours must be changed with their diet, especially while they would be clearly discovered by the finer appearance of the other children, who would fare better, and thus they should bring him in danger, and occasion him to be punished; yet did they persuade Arioeh, who was thus fearful, to give them what food they desired for ten days, by way of trial, and in case the habit of their bodies were not altered, to go on in the same way, as the prophet had foretold that they would be hurt thereby afterward, but if he saw them
look shaggar and worse than the rest, he should reduce them to their former diet. Now, when it appeared that they were so far from becoming worse, according to what they expected, that they grew in plumper and fuller body than the rest, insomuch that he thought those who fed on what came from the king’s table, seemed less plump and fatter than those who were with Daniel looked as if they had lived in plenty, and in all sorts of luxury; Aidoch, from that time, securely took himself what the king sent every day from his table, according to custom, to the children, but gave them the forementioned diet, while they and their souls in some measure more pure, and less burdened, and so fitter for learning, and had their bodies in better tune for hard labour, for they neither had the former oppressed and heavy with variety of meats, nor were the other effeminate on the same account; so they readily understood all the learning that was among the Hebrews, and among the Chaldeans, as especially did Daniel, who being already sufficiently skilled in wisdom, was very busy about the interpretation of dreams; and God manifested himself to him.

3. Now, two years after the destruction of Egypt, king Nebuchadnezzar saw a wonderful dream, the accomplishment of which God shortly afterward executed in his sleep, but when he awoke out of his bed, he forgot the accomplishment: so he sent for the Chaldeans, and magicians, and the prophets, and told them, that he had seen a dream, and informed them that he had forgotten the accomplishment of what he had seen, and he enjoined them to tell him, both what the dream was, and its signification; and they said that this was a thing impossible to be discovered by men, but they promised him, that if he would explain to them what dream he had seen, they would interpret it for him; he threatened to put them to death, unless they told him his dream: and he gave command to have them all put to death, since they confessed they could not do what they were commanded to do. Now when Daniel heard that the king had given a command, that all the wise men should be put to death, and that among himself and his three kinsmen were in danger, he went to Arioch, who was captain of the king’s guards, and desired to know of him what was the reason, why the king had given command that all the wise men, and the Chaldeans, and magicians, should be put to death. So when he had learned that the king had a dream, and had forgotten it, and that when they were enjoined to inform the king of it, they could not do it, and he had therefore by provoking him to assure Arioch desired of Arioch that he would go in to the king, and desire respite for the magicians for one night, and to put off their slaughter so long, for that he hoped, within that time to obtain, by prayer to God, the knowledge of the dream. Accordingly, Arioch informed the king of what Daniel desired: so the king bade them delay the slaughter of the magicians till he knew what Daniel’s promise would come to; but the young man retired to his own house, with his kinsmen, and besought God that whole night to discover the dream, and thereby deliver the magicians and Chaldeans, with whom they were themselves to perish, from the king’s anger, by enabling him to declare his vision, and to make manifest what the king had seen the night before in his sleep, but had forgotten it. Accordingly, God, out of pity to those that were in danger, and out of regard to the wisdom of Daniel, made known to him the dream and its interpretation, that so the king might understand by him its signification also. When Daniel had obtained this knowledge from God, he anointed his face, and made them glad, and to hope well, that they should now preserve their lives, of which they despaired before, and had their minds full of such thoughts about the king, because he would discover to him his dream which he had seen the night before.

4. When Daniel was come in to the king, he ex- cused himself at first, that he did not pretend to be wiser than the other Chaldeans and magicians when, upon their entire inability to discover his dream, he was undertaking to inform him of it, for this was not by his own skill, or on account of his having better cultivated his understanding than the rest, but he said, “God hath putt upon us, when we were in danger of death, and when I prayed for the life of myself, and of those of my nation, hath made manifest to me both the dream, and the interpretation thereof for I was not less concerned for thy glory than for the sorrow that we were by thee condemned to die, and they were by thy goodness both good and excellent in themselves, to be put to death, when thou enjoinedst them to do what was entirely above the reach of human wisdom and reason, it is therefore fit that the glory and joy of God. Wherefore, as thou in thy sleep wast solicitous concerning those that should succeed thee in the government of the whole world, God was doting for the time of his reign after thee, and to the end exhibited to thee the following dream: Thou seemedst to see a great image standing before thee, the head of which was of gold, the shoulders and arms of silver, and the belly and the thighs or brass, but the legs and the feet of iron; after which thou sawest a stone broken off from a mountain, which fell upon the image, and threw it down, and brake it to pieces, and did not permit any part of it to remain whole; but the gold, the silver, the iron, and the brass, became smaller than that meal, which, upon the blast of a violent wind, was by force carried away, and scattered abroad, but the stone did increase to such a degree, that the whole earth beneath it seemed to be filled with its weight, so that thou sawest, and its interpretation is as follows: The head of gold denotes thee, and the kings of Babylon that have been before thee; but the two hands of iron denote that thy government shall be dissolved by two kingdoms, and another king that shall come from the west, armed with brass, shall destroy that government; and another government that shall be like unto iron shall put an end to the power of the former, and shall have dominion over all the earth, on account of the nature of iron, which is stronger than that of gold, of silver, and of brass.” Daniel did also declare the meaning of the stone to the king, but I do not think proper to relate it, since I have only undertaken to describe things past or things present, but not things that are future: yet if any one be so very desirous of know the truth, as not to waive such points of curiosity, and cannot curb his inclination for understanding the uncertainties of futurity, and whether they will happen or not, let him be diligent in reading the book of Daniel, which he will find among the sacred writings.

3. When Nebuchadnezzar heard this, and read the words of Maccabees, ch. 2. sect. 4. "Now is this the word that was told unto Enoch, concerning the destruction of the angels: therefore, when the Lord will destroy the men of iniquity in the future, for he had no mind to provoke the Romans, by speaking of the destruction of this city, which they called the eternal city."
BOOK XL—CHAP. XI.

selected his dream, he was astonished at the nature of Daniel, and fell upon his face, and saluted Daniel in the manner that men worship God, and that he should be satisfied to a god. And this was the case with him, for he also imposed the name of his own god upon him, [Baal], and made him and his kinsmen rulers of his whole kingdom; but the kinsmen of his happened to fall into great distress by the envy and malice [of their enemies]; for they offended the king upon the occasion following: he made an image of gold, whose height was sixty cubits, and its breadth six cubits, and set it in the great plain of Babylon; and when he was going to dedicate the image, he invited the principal men out of all the earth that was under his dominions, and commanded them in the first place, that when they should hear the sound of the trumpet, they should then fall down and worship the image; and he threatened that those who did not so, should be cast into a fiery furnace. When, therefore, all the rest, upon the hearing of the sound of the trumpet, worshipped the image, they related that Daniel's kinsmen did not do it, because they would not so much as give himself to undergo the laws of their country: so these men were convicted and cast immediately into the fire, but were saved by divine Providence, and after a surprising manner escaped the fire; for the fire did not touch them: and I suppose that it touched them not, as if it reasoned with itself, that they were cast into it without any fault of theirs, and that therefore it was weak to burn the young men when they were in it. This was done by the power of God, who made their bodies so superior to the fire, that it could not consume them. Thus and thus did his kinsmen condemn the king to righteous men, and men beloved of God, on which account they continued a great excommunication with him.

6. A little after this, the king saw in his sleep again another vision; how he should fall from his dominion, and feed among the wild beasts, and that when he had lived in this manner in the desert for seven years, he should recover his dominion again. When he had seen this dream, he called the magicians together again, and inquired of them about it, and desired them to tell him what it signified; and when some of them could find out the meaning of the dream, nor discover it to the king, Daniel was the only person that explained it: and as he foretold, so it came to pass. In those seven years, he was cast as aforesaid into captivity; and then, after the aforementioned interval of time, while one day of the period of his captivity was come, when the captives were to come to their own lands, as colonies, in the most proper places of Babylon, but then he adorned the temple of Belus, and the rest of the temples, in a magnificent manner, with the spoils he had taken of the Jews. He also added another city to that which was there of old, and rebuilt it, that such as would besiege it henceforth might no more turn the course of the river, and thereby attack the city.

* Since Josephus here explains the seven prophetic years which were to pass over Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. iv. 15, to seven years, we thence learn how he must probably have understood those other parallel phrases of seven years, and so of other parts of the whole of Josephus' prophetic years also, though he withal lets us know, by his last at the interpretation of the seventy weeks, as being to the fourth monarch, and the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in the days of Josephus, chap. ii. 67.; that he did not think those years to be bare years, but rather days for years; by which is meant, that so much above, could 70 weeks, or 490 years, reach to the age of Josephus. But as to the truth of those seven years' imprisonment of Nebuchadnezzar, as being so long among the beasts, the very small remains we have say where else of that Nebuchadnezzar, prevent our expectation that this is the case. But in his very oblique, and vulgar style, by Polybius' canons, a contemporary record, as well as Josephus presently, that he reigned in all 43 years, that might be, that in his 7th year he must have been Nebuchadnezzar more than a common name; of the last of which was the 14th year of Tyrus, and the 15th of Rome; which yet to the Old Latin was but three years and six months, yet were his actions before so remarkable, both in sacred and profane authors, that such a variety of eight years at the least, at the latter end of his reign, must be allowed to agree very well with Daniel's account, that after a seven years' brutal life he might return to his reason, and to the kingdom with dignity and authority, for one whole year at least before his death.

These 43 years for the duration of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar are, as I have just now observed, the very same number in Polybius' canons. Moses Chonenuos does also confirm this captivity of the Jews under Nebuchadnezzar; and adds, that of what is very great and terrible. And these Jews that were carried by him into captivity got away into Armenia, and raised the great family of the Is-
itself: he therefore built three walls round about the inner city; and three others about that which was within it, which was built two cubits thick with burnt bricks and lime. And after he had, after a becoming manner, walled the city, and adorned its gates gloriously, he built another palace before his father's palace, which was distant to it; so describes its vast height, and immense riches, it would perhaps be too much for me to attempt; yet as large and lofty as they were, they were completed in fifteen days. He also erected elevated places for walking, of stone, and made it resemble mountains, and built it so that it might be planted with all sorts of trees. He also erected what was called a pleasant paradise, because his wife was desirous to have things like her own country, she having been bred up in the palaces of Media." Megasthenes also, in his fourth book of his accounts of India, makes mention of these things, and thereby endeavour to show that this king [Nebuchadnezzar] exceeded Hercules in fortitude, and in the greatness of his actions; for he saith, that "he conquered a great part of Libya and Iberia." Diodorus also, in the second book of his accounts of Persia, mentions this king; as does Philostratus, in his accounts both of Lydia and of Persia, who saith, that "this king besieged Tyre thirteen years, while at the same time Ethbaus reigned at Tyre." These are all the histories that I have met with concerning this king.

2. But now, after the death of Nebuchadnezzar, Evil-Merodach, his son, succeeded in the kingdom, who immediately set Jecohiam at liberty, and renewed him among his most intimate friends: he also gave him many presents, and made him honourable above the rest of the kings that were in Babylon; for his father had not ever consulted with him, when he voluntarily delivered up himself to him, with his wives and children, and his whole kindred, for the sake of his country, that it might not be taken by siege, and utterly destroyed, as we said before.

When Evil-Merodach was dead, after a reign of eighteen years, Niglisar, his son, took the government, and retained it forty years, and then ended his life: and after him the succession in the kingdom came to his son Labosordacus, who continued in it in all but nine months; and when he was dead it came to Baltazar, who, by the Babylonians, was called Aureanus; against whom did Cyrus, the king of Persia, and Darius, the king of Media, make war; and when he was besieged in Babylon, there happened a wonderful deliverance. He was sat down in a supper in a large room, and there were great many vessels of silver, such as were made for royal entertainments, and he had with him his concubines, and his friends; whereupon he came to a resolution, and commanded that those vessels of gold which Nebuchadnezzar had plundered out of Jerusalem, and had not made use of, but had put them into his own temple, should be brought out of that temple. He also gave an angry test to proceed to use them in the midst of his own temple, as a sacrifice to God. In the mean time, he saw a hand proceed out of the wall, and writing upon the wall certain syllables: at which sight being much troubled, and greatly distressed at it, he saith to his sages and wise men, the wisest and ablest among them, and all sort of men that are among these Barbarians, and were able to interpret visions and dreams, that they might explain the writing for him. But when the magicians did see that he could discover nothing, nor did understand it, the king was in great disorder of mind, and under great trouble at this surprising accident; so he caused it to be proclaimed through all the country, and promised, that to him who could explain the writing, and give the signification couched therein, he would give him a golden chain for his neck, and leave to wear a purple garment, as did the kings of Chaldea, and would bestow on him the third part of his own dominions. When this proclamation was made, the magicians ran together more earnestly, and were very ambitious to find out the import of the writing, but still hesitated about it as much as before. Now when the king's grandson saw him this manner, he said to him: 'Thou hast commanded that to him who can interpret the writing, and give the signification couched therein, thou wouldst bestow on him, in the third part of thy dominions. But when the sages were not able to find out the import of the writing, he would give on him the third part of thy dominions.' The king, hearing these words, was exceeding grieved and troubled at it: and the sages, seeing the king was troubled at it, did all they could to comfort him, and to encourage him, and to say, that 'there was a certain captive who came from Judah, a Jew by birth, but brought away thence by Nebuchadnezzar, when he had destroyed Jerusalem, who was Daniel, a wise man, and one of great sagacity in finding out what was impossible for others to discover, and what was known to God alone; who was accustomed to give answers to such questions as Nebuchadnezzar as no one else was able to answer when they were consulted. She therefore desired that he would send for him, and inquire of him concerning the writing. The king then commanded the unslumbersome of them who could not find their meaning, and this, although what God signified thereby should be of a melancholy nature.'

3. When Baltazar heard this, he called for Daniel; and when he had discoursed to him what he had heard concerning him and his wisdom, and how a Divine Spirit was with him; and that he was fully capable of finding out what others would never have thought of, he desired him to declare to him what this writing meant: that if it did not come clear to him, that he would put a chain of gold about his neck, and would bestow on him the third part of his dominion, as an honorary reward for his wisdom, that thereby he might become illustrious to those who were about him, and who inquired upon all occasion he obtained such honours. But Daniel desired, that he would keep his gifts to himself: for what is the effect of wisdom and of divine revelation, limits of no gifts, and bestows its advantages on petitioners freely, but that still he would explain the writing to him; which denoted that he should soon die, and this because he had citation itself in Ptolemy's canon, Nakosados, for both the places of this king in the same, as the last of the Assyrians, for Belus, and the number of years of his reign, seven, the same in both, demonstrate that it is one and the same king that is meant by them all. It is also indeed appears, that Josephus's copy of Berousa had this small number, but that it is the true number I still doubt. Josephus assures us that the walls of so much a smaller city as Jerusalem were two years and four months in building by Nebuchadnezzar, who yet hasted the work all he could. But sect. 6. I should think 115 days or a year and 15 days, much more proportionable to as great a work.

It has been remarkable, that Josephus, without the knowledge of Ptolemy's canon, should call the same king whom he himself here, Bar. 1. 11, and Dan. v. 1, 9, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, call Persianus, of the Babylonian god Bel, Nakosados also; and in the first book against Apion, sect. 90, from the same citation out of Berourus, sect. 6. Dan. v. 10, 30.) it seems to have been the famous Nimrod, who fortified Babylon against the Medes and Persians, and was called by the Babylonians, and was called Nabonassar. This last is not remote from the original progenit.
not learnt to honour God, and not to admit things above human nature, by what punishment his persecutors brought upon him, for his sakes, who, he supposed, he had offered to God; and because he had quite forgotten how Nebuchadnezzar was removed to feed among wild beasts, for his impieties, and did not recover his former life among men, and life in his kingdom, but upon God's mercy to him, after many supplications and prayers; who did thereby upon his entreaties at the end of his days, as one of an humble and contrite spirit, who takes care of nothing that he may be pleased in this kind. [He also put him in mind] how he had greatly blasphemed against God, and had made use of his vessels amongst his concubines; that therefore Josiah saw no more of him, and declared by this writing beforehand, what a sad conclusion of life he should come to. And he explained the writing thus,—MISERE! This, if it be expounded in the Greek language, may signify a Number, because God hath numbered so long a time for thy life, and for thy government, and that there remains but a small portion. 

This signifies a Number, and means that God hath weighed thy kingdom in a balance, and finds it going down already. PHARIS. This also, in the Greek tongue, denotes a Fragment; God hath broken thy kingdom into pieces, and divide it among the Medes and Persians.

4. When Daniel had told the king that the writing upon the wall signified these events, but the king was not yet reconciled to Daniel, because of his interpretation, because he was to be expected, when the interpretation was so heavy upon him. However, he did not refuse what he had promised Daniel, although he were some time for his name, and for his soul, as was usual; but he bestowed it upon him: as reasoning thus, that what he was to reward was peculiar to himself, and to fate, and did not belong to the prophet; but the king had called it a great matter, just now to give what he had promised, although the events were of a melancholy nature. Accordingly, the king determined so to do. Now after a little while, both himself and the city were taken by Cyrus, the king of Persia, who fought against him; for it was Baltazar under whom Babylon was taken, when he had reigned seventeen years. And this is the end of the posterity of king Nebuchadnezzar, as history informs us; but when Babylon was taken by Darius, and when he, with his grandson Cyrus, had put an end to the dominion of Media, he was ready to shew hospitality to him, but he was so old. He was the son of Astyages, and had another name among the Greeks. Moreover, he took Daniel the prophet, and carried him with him; and he conducted him to him, and kept him with him; for he was one of the three presidents whom he set over his three hundred and sixty provinces, for into so many did he divide his empire.

5. However, while Daniel was in so great a dignity, and in so great favour with Darius, and was alone intrusted with everything in him, as having somewhat divine in him, he was envied by the rest; for those that see others in greater honour than themselves with kings, envy them; and when those that were grieved at the great favour Daniel was in with Darius, sought for an occasion against him, they afforded them no occasion at all, for as he was above all the temptations of money, and despised bribery, and esteemed it a very base thing to take any thing by way of reward, even when it might be justly given him, he afforded those that envied him not the least handle for an accusation. So when they could find nothing for which they might invent a charge against him, to bring him to the king; nothing that was shameful or reproofful, and thereby deprive him of the honour he was in with them, they sought for some other way to bring him to Darius, and told him, that they therefore they saw that Daniel prayed to God three times a day, they thought they had gotten an occasion by which they might ruin him; so therefore they came to Darius, and told him, that the princes and governors had thought proper to allow the multitude a relaxation for thirty days, that no one might offer a petition or prayer either to himself, or to the gods, but that he who should transgress this decree shall be cast into the den of lions, and there perish.

6. Whereupon the king, being not acquainted with their wicked design, nor suspecting that it was a contrivance of theirs against Daniel, said, he was pleased with this decree of theirs, and he promised to confirm what they desired; he also published an edict to promulgate to the people that decree which the princes had made. Accordingly, all the rest took care not to transgress those injunctions, and rested in quiet; but Daniel had no regard to them, but, as he was wont, he stood and prayed to God in the sight of them all; but the princes having met with the occasion they so earnestly sought to find against Daniel, they came presently to the God of Daniel's pieces, that Daniel was the only person that transgressed the decree, while not one of the rest durst pray to their gods. This discovery they made, because Daniel was for a long time watched, and observed him out of envy: for supposing that Darius did thus out of a greater kindness to him than they expected, and that he was ready to profit him in the settlement of his injunctions, and envying this very pardon to Daniel, they did not become very favourable to him, but desired he might be cast into the den of lions, according to the counsel of that God who would deliver him, and that he would undergo nothing that was terrible by the wild beasts, because he bear this account cheerfully: and when he was cast into the den, he put his seal to the stone that lay upon the mouth of the den, and went his way; but he passed all the night without food, and without sleep, being in great distress for Daniel. But when it was day, he got up, and came to the den, and found the seal entire, which he had left the stone sealed with: he also opened the seal, and cried out, and called, and cried out to Daniel, and called to the lions, and asked, whether Daniel was alive? And as soon as he heard the king's voice, and said that he had suffered no harm, the king gave order that he should be drawn out up out of the den alive. Now was the king greatly joyed, and would not own that he was preserved by God, and by his providence; but they said, that the lions had been filled full with food, and that account it was, as they supposed, that the lions would not touch Daniel, nor come to him; and that they alleged to the king: but the king, out of an abhorrence of their wickedness, gave order, that they should throw in a great deal of flesh to the lions; and when they had filled themselves, he gave further order that Daniel's enemies should be cast into the den, that he might learn whether the lions, now they were full, would touch them or not. And it appeared plain to Darius, after the princes had been cast to the wild beasts, that it was God who preserved Daniel, for the lions spared none of them, but tore them all to pieces, as if they had been very hungry, and wanted food. I suppose therefore it was not their hunger, for, as it pleased God, to satisfy him with abundance of flesh, but the wickedness of them to submit to this experiment, in hopes of coming off safe; and that this was the true reason of making so terrible an experiment upon those his enemies, and all their families, Dan. vi. 36, though our other copies do not directly take notice of it.
that when it was broken off, four horns grew up
that were exposed to each of the four winds, and
he wrote that out of them arose another lesser
horns, which, in the same said, waxed great other
God showed to him, that it should fight against
his nation, and take their city by force, and
bring the temple-worship to confusion, and for
bid the sacrifices to be offered for one thousand
two hundred and ninety-six days." Daniel wrote
that he saw these visions in the plain of Susa;
and he bath informed us, that God interpreted
the appearance of this vision after the following
manner: "He said that the ram signified the
kingdoms of the Medes and Persians, and the
horns those kings that were to reign in them;
and that the last horn signified the last king,
and that he should exceed all the kings in riches
and glory; that the goat signified that one should
come and reign and leave them, the Greeks, who
should twice fight with the Persian, and overcome
him in battle, and should receive his entire dominion;
that by the great horn which sprang out of the
forehead of the he-goat was meant the first king;
and that the five heads that fell up, and of which
falling off, and the conversion of every one of
them to the four quarters of the earth, signified
the successors that should arise after the death
of the first king; and that the one crown among
them, and that they should be neither his
children, nor of his kindred, that should reign
over the habitable earth for many years; and that
that one crown should come from among them, and
that the one crown that should overcome our nation
and their laws, and should take away their political
government, and should spoil the temple, and for
bid the abomination of desolation for the time of
"And indeed so it came to pass, that our
nation suffered these things under Antichrist
Epiphanes, according to Daniel's vision, and
what he wrote many years before they came
to pass. In the very same manner Daniel also
wrote concerning the Roman government, and
that our country should be made desolate by
them. All these things did this man leave in
writing, as God had showed them to him, in so
much, that such as read his prophecies, and see
how they have been fulfilled, would wonder at
the honour wherewith God honoured Daniel;
and may thence discover how the Epicureans are
in an error, who cast Providence out of human
life, and do not believe that God takes care of the
affairs of the world, but leaves it to the blind
and of the multitude, and now he is dead, he
retains a remembrance that will never fail, for the
several books that he wrote and left behind him
and that from the time of their accomplishment:
and while pro-
hids used to foretell misfortunes, and on that ac-
count were disagreeable both to the kings and
to the multitude, Daniel was to them a prophet
of good things, and this to such a degree, that,
by the agreeable nature of his predictions, he
procured the good-will of all men, and by the ac-
complishment of them he procured the belief of
the God of the whole world, not only for himself, among the multitude. He also wrote
and left behind him what made manifest the ac-
ccuracy and undeniable veracity of his predic-
tions; for when he was in Susa, the capital of the
metropolis of Persia, and went out into the
field with his companions, there was, on the
sudden, a motion and concussion of the earth,
and that he was left alone by himself, his friends
flying away from him; and that he was disturbed,
and fell on his face, and on his two hands,
and that a certain person touched him, and, at
the same time, bade him rise and see what would
befall his countrymen after many generations.
He also related, that when he stood up, he
was shown a great ram, with many horns growing
out of his head, and that the last was higher than
the rest; that after this he looked to the west,
and saw a he-goat carried through the air from
that quarter, that he rushed upon the ram with
violence, and smote him twice with his horns,
and overthrew him to the ground, and trampled
upon him: that afterward he saw a very great
horns growing out of the head of the he-goat, and

* What Josephus here says that the stones of the
sepulcher of the kings of Persia at this tower, or those
pelophori that are most commonly called the stones of
Persopolis, continued so entire and unmarred in
his days, as if they were lately put there, "I," says Re-
land, "here can show to be true, as to those stones of the
Persian kings' mausoleum which Corn. Brucius broke
off and gave me." He ascribed this to the hardness of the
stones, which is to be considered, and the following
quently too hard for cutting by the chisel, but effectually
breaks it into pieces.
CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-THREE YEARS AND FIVE MONTHS— FROM THE FIRST OF CYRUS, TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER. THE GREAT.

BOOK XI.

CHAP. I.

When Cyrus, King of the Persians, delivered the Jews out of Babylon, and suffered them to return to their own country, and to build their Temple, for which he gave them Money.

§ 1. In the first year of the reign of Cyrus, which was the seventh from the day that our people were removed out of their own land into Babylon, God commiserated the captivity and calamity of those poor people, according as he had foretold to them by Jeremiah the prophet, before the destruction of the city; that after they had served Nebuchadnezzar and his posterity, and after they had undergone that servitude seventy years, he would restore them again to the land of their fathers, and they should build their temple, and enjoy their ancient prosperity. And these things God did afford them: for he stirred up the mind of Cyrus, and made him write this throughout all Asia, "Thus saith Cyrus the king, Since God Almighty hath appointed me to be king of all the people on earth, and to build his Temple, I will do it; even that he is that God which the nation of the Israelites worship, for indeed he foretold my name by the prophets, and that I should build him a house in Jerusalem, in my own land." And it was foretold by Isaiah one hundred and forty years before the temple was demolished. Accordingly, when Cyrus read this, and admired the divine power, an earnest desire and ambition seized upon him, to fulfil what was so written; so he called for the most eminent Jews that were in Babylon, and said to them, "He gave them leave to go back to their own country, and to rebuild the city of Jerusalem, and the temple of God, for that he would be their assistant, and that he would write to the rulers and governors that were in the neighbourhood of their country of all that they should do; and for the gold and silver for the building of the temple, and besides that, the sacrifices for their sacrifices." 3. When Cyrus had said this to the Israelites, the rulers of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, with the Levites, and priests, went in haste to Jerusalem, and did many of them stay at Babylon, as not willing to leave their possessions; and when they were come thither, all the king's friends assisted them, and brought in, for the building of the temple, some gold and some silver, and some a great many cattle and horses. So they performed their vows to God, and offered the sacrifices that had been accustomed of old time: I mean this upon the rebuilding of their city, and the revival of the ancient practices relating to their worship. Cyrus also sent back to them the vessels of gold which king Nebuchadnezzar had carried out of the temple, when he carried Babylon. So he committed these things to Mithridates, the treasurer, to be sent away, with an order to give them to Sanballat, that he might keep them till the temple was built; and when it was finished, he might deliver them to the priests and rulers of the multitude, in order to their being restored to the temple. Cyrus also sent an epistle to the governors that were in Syria, the contents whereof here follow:

"King Cyrus to Shinarrikes and Satharbalakes, sendeth greeting:

"I have given leave, as many of the Jews that dwell in my country as please, to return to their own country, and to rebuild their city, and to build the temple of God at Jerusalem, on the same place where it was before. I have also sent my treasurer Mithridates, and Zorobabel, the governor of the Jews, that they may lay the foundations of the temple, to be made of fine gold and silver, of cubits high, and of the same latitude, making three edifices of polished stones, and one of the wood of the country; and the same order extends to the altar, and to the city of Judah of God. I require also, that the sacrifices for these things may be given out of my revenues. Moreover, I have also sent the vessels which king Nebuchadnezzar took out of the temple, and have delivered them to Mithridates, the treasurer, and to Zorobabel the governor of the Jews, that they may have them carried to Jerusalem, and may restore them to the temple of God. Now their number is as follows: fifty chargers of gold, and five hundred of silver; forty Thirecamel cups of gold, and five hundred of silver, fifty basons of gold, and five hundred of silver; thirty vessels for pouring [the drink-offerings], and three hundred of silver; thirty vins of gold, and two thousand four hundred of silver; with a thousand, other large vessels. I permit them to have the same honour which they were used to have from their forefathers, as also for their small cattle, and for wine and oil, two hundred and five thousand and five hundred drachm; and for whom four, twenty thousand and five hundred artabas; and I give order, that these expenses shall be given them out of the tributes due from Samaria. The priests shall also offer these sacrifices according to the laws of Moses in Jerusalem: and when they offer them, they shall pray to God for the preservation of the king, and of his family, that the kingdom of Persia may continue. But my will is, that those who disobey these injunctions, and make them void, shall be hung upon a cross, and their substance brought into the king's treasury." And such was the import of this epistle. Now the number of those that came out of captivity to Jerusalem, were forty-two thousand four hundred and sixty-two.  

He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure, even saying to Jeremiah. Thus he shall be built, and the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid, could not thither be demonstrated from the sacred history to have been completely fulfilled, I mean as to that part of it which concerned his giving leave or commission for rebuilding the city of Jerusalem as distinct from the temple, whose rebuilding is also mentioned in the decree of Cyrus in all our copies.  

Of the true number of golden and silver vessels, here and elsewhere, see thenia of Solomon, see the Description of the Temple, ch. vl2.
How upon the Death of Cyrus, the Jews were hindered in building the Temple by the Cuthæans, and the neighbouring Governors: and how Cambyses entirely forbade the Jews to do any such thing.

§ 1. When the foundations of the temple were laying, and when the Jews were very zealous about building it, the neighbouring nations, esp. the Cuthæans, when the emperor Cambyses, king of Assyria, had brought out of Persia and Media, and had planted in Samaria, when he carried the people of Israel captives, besought the governor and those that had the care of such affairs, that they would interrupt the Jews, both in the rebuilding of their city, and in the building of their temple. Now as these men were corrupted by them with money, they sold the Cuthæans their interest for rendring this building a slow and a careless work, for Cyrus, who was busy about other wars, knew nothing of all this; and it so happened, that when he had led his army against the Massagetes he ended his life. But when Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, had taken the kingdom, the governors in Syria, and Phenicia, the countries of Arabia, and Media and Samaria, wrote an epistle to Cambyses; whose contents were as follow: "To our lord Cambyses; we thy servants, Rathumus the historian, and Semellus the scribe, and the rest that are thy judges in Syria and Phenicia, send greeting: It is fit, O king, that thou shouldst know that those Jews who were carried to Babylon, are come into our country, and are building that rebellious and wicked city, and its market-places, and setting up its walls, and raising up the temple: know therefore, that when thou also, they will not be willing to pay tribute, nor will they submit to thy commands, put will resist kings, and will choose rather to rule over others, than be ruled over themselves. We therefore thought it proper to write to thee, O king, while the works about the temple are going on so fast, and not to overlook this matter, that thou mayest search into the books of thy fathers, for thou wilt find in them, that the Jews have been rebels, and enemies to kings, as hath their city been also, which, for that reason, hath been till now laid waste. We thought proper also to inform thee of this matter, because thou mayest otherwise perhaps be ignorant of it, that if this city be once inhabited, and be entirely encompassed with walls, thou wilt be able to strip from thy passage to Colossoyria and Phenicia.

2. When Cambyses had read the epistle, being naturally wicked, he was irritated at what they told him; and wrote back to them as follows: "Cambyses the king, to Rathumus the historiographer, to Beelthethmus, to Semellus the scribe, and the rest that are in commission, dwelling in Samaria and Phenicia, after this manner: I have read the epistle that was sent from you; and I gave order that the books of my forefathers should be searched into, and it is there found, that this city hath always been an enemy to kings, and its inhabitants have raised seditions and wars. We also are sensible that their kings have been most cruel and tyrannical, and have exacted tribute of Colossoyria and Phenicia: Wherefore I give order that the Jews shall not be permitted to build that city, lest such mischiefs as they used to bring upon kings be greatly augmented."

When this epistle was read, Rathumus, the Semellus the scribe, and the Cuthæans, got suddenly on horseback, and made haste to Jerusalem; they also brought a great company with them, and forbade the Jews to build the city, and the temple. Accordingly, these works were hindered from going on till the second year of the reign of Darins, for nine years more; for Cambyses reigned six years, and afterwards the Persians and Egyptians, when he was come back, he died at Damascus.

How, after the Death of Cambyses, and the Slaughters of the Magi, but under the Reign of Darins, Zoroabel was superior to the rest in the Solution of Problems, and thereby obtained this Praise of the King, that the Temple should be built.

§ 1. After the slaughter of the Magi, who, upon the death of Cambyses, attained the government of the Persians for a year, those families which were called the seven families of the Persians, appointed Darius, the son of Hystaspes, to be the king. Cambyses was a private man, had made a vow to God, that if he came to be king, he would send all the vessels of God that were in Babylon to the temple at Jerusalem, and to the temple at Samaria, and to the God of Zoroabel, who had been made governor of the Jews that had been in captivity, came to Darius from Jerusalem: for there was an old friendship between him and the king. He was also, with two others, thought worthy to be guards of the king's body; and obtained that honour which he hoped for.

2. Now in the first year of the king's reign, Darius feasted those that were about him, and those born in his house, with the rulers of the Medes, and princes of the Persians, and the temple of the Medes and Persians, the sacred images of the armes of his hundred and twenty-seven provinces: but when they had eaten and drunk to satiety, and abundantly, they every one departed to go to bed at their own houses, and Darius the king went to bed; but after he had rested a little part of the night, he awoke, and not being able to sleep any more, he fell into conversation with his two friends; and he there promised, that to him who should make an oration, about points that he should inquire of, such as should be most agreeable to truth, and to the didactes, who would grant it as a reward of his victory, to put on a purple garment, and to drink in cups of gold, and to have a chariot with bridles of gold, and a head tire of fine linen, and a chain of gold about his neck, and to sit next to himself, on account of his wisdom; and, says he, he shall be called my cousin. Now when he had promised to give them these gifts, he asked the first of them, whether wine was not the strongest? The second, whether kings were not such? And the third, whether women were not such? Or, whether snow was not the snow of all? When he had proposed that they should make their inquiries about these problems, he went to sleep: but in the morning he sent for his great men, his princes, and toparches of Persia and Media, and sat himself down in the place where he used to give audience, and bade each of the

of a war to avenge his father's death upon the Scythians and Massagetae, and to prevent those nations from overrunning his dominions, he marches against them, which Xenophon's account, which appears never to have been seen by Josephus, that Cyrus died in peace in his own country, Geyus the satrap of the province of the affairs of Alexander the Great, when they agree that he found Cy- prus, exclusive of Phœnicia, near Puteoli. This accouting, from the circumstances of Cambyses, upon his succession to Cyrus, who instead

chief as they used to bring upon kings be greatly augmented. When this epistle was read, Rathumus, the Semellus the scribe, and the Cuthæans, got suddenly on horseback, and made haste to Jerusalem; they also brought a great company with them, and forbade the Jews to build the city, and the temple. Accordingly, these works were hindered from going on till the second year of the reign of Darins, for nine years more; for Cambyses reigned six years, and afterwards the Persians and Egyptians, when he was come back, he died at Damascus.
BOOM XI.—CHAP. III.

guards of his body to declare what they thought proper concerning the proposed questions, in the braving of them all." 4

3. Accordingly, the first of them began to speak of the strength of wine, and demonstrated this: "When, (said he) I am to give my opinion of wine, O you men, I find that it exceeds every thing, by the following indications: It deco-
erates the minds of those that drink it, and re-
duces that of the king to the same state with that of the orphan and he who stands in need of a tutor, and that of the slave to the likeness of him that is free, and that of the needy be-
comes like that of the rich man, for it changes and renews the souls of men when it gets into them. I have mentioned a thousand of those that are under calumnies, and makes men forget the debts they owe to others, and makes them think themselves to be of all men the richest; it makes them talk of no small things, but of taken and such other names as become wealthy men only; nay, more, it makes them insensible of their com-
manders, and of their kings, and takes away the remembrance of their friends and benefactions, for it makes men even against those that are dearest to them, and makes them appear the greatest strangers to them; and when they are become sober, and they cannot know the sight of the Fay or the sight of them, they arise without knowing any thing they have done in their cups; I take these for signs of power, and by them discover that which is the strongest and most insuperable of all things." 4

4. As soon as the first had given the foremen-
tioned demonstrations of the strength of wine, he left off, and the next to him began to speak about the strength of a king, and demonstrated that it was the strongest of all, and more powerful than any thing else that appears to have any force. He began his speech, and said: "They are men who govern all things; they force the earth and the sea to become profitable to us in their desire, and over these men do kings rule, and over them they have authority. Now, those men who rule over that animal which is of all the strongest and most powerful, must needs deserve to be esteemed insuperable in power and force: for example, when these kings command their subjects to make war, and undergo dan-
gers, they are heartened to, and when they send their soldiers to the wars, they are so great that they are obeyed. They command men to level mountains, and to pull down walls and towers; nay, when they are commanded to be deserted, they both himself and those that may not appear to transgress the king's com-
mands; and when they have conquered, they bring what they have gained in the war to the king. Those also who are our soldiers, but cul-
tivate the ground, and plough it, and when, after they have endured the labour, and all the incon-
veniences of such works of husbandry, they have reaped and gathered in their fruits, they bring tributes to the king. And whatsoever it is in the king says or commands, it is done of necessity, and that without any delay, while he is in the mean time is satisfied with all sorts of food and pleasures, and sleeps in quiet. He is

4 The reader is to note, that although the speeches or papers of these three of the king's guards are much the same, in our third book of Ennua, chap. iii. and iv. as they are in Josephus, yet that there is a great difference between the whole, that is in the Ennua the whole is entirely different, while in our Ennua the whole is the con-
strainment of the three of the king's guards them-
selves; and even the manner of the composition of the papers is entirely different, and the speeches are related to have been delivered by themselves to the king in writing, where all is contrary to the practice of the most probable, the matters speak for them-

selves; and there can be no doubt but Josephus's history is here to be very much preferred before the other. Nor is it at all unlikely, that the whole was a contrivance of king Darius's own, in order to be de-
cently and insensibly put in mind by Zoroabel of ful-
dilling his old vow for the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the restoration of the Temple, and the restoration of the full honor of God there. Nor does the full meaning of Zoroabel, when he cries out, 1 Esd. iv. 40, 'Blessed be God of truth,' and here, 'God is true, and mighty above all things,' seem to be much different from this. "There is but One True God," and this is the beginning of all. To such doc-
trees, such as Cyprus and Darius, &c. wh. the Jews' great pa-
tons, seem not to have been very severe, though the em-
pire was so far from being governable by them generally com-
natural.
the land of their forefathers to them again. So they bestowed themselves to drinking and eating, and for seven days they continued feasting, and making a noise with songs, and pipes, and harps, and every wise man who knew how to please the Jews, and also besides accompanied them with rejoicing.

10. And thus did these men go, a certain and determinate number out of every family, though I do not think it proper to recite particularly the names of those families, that I may not take off the mind of my readers from the connexion of the historical facts, and make it hard for them to follow the coherence of my narration; but the sum of those that went up, above the age of twelve years, of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, was four hundred sixty-two myriads and eight thousand; the Levites were seventy-four: the number of the women and children mixed together was forty thousand seven hundred and forty, or thirty-two, besides these were left of the Levites one hundred and twenty-eight, and porters one hundred and ten; and of the sacred ministers three hundred and ninety-two: and of the priests above five hundred and twenty-five: the multitude also of servants that followed those that went up to Jerusalem, were seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven; the singing men and singing women were two hundred and forty-five; the camels were four hundred and thirty-five; the beasts used to the yoke were five thousand five hundred and twenty-five; and the governors of all this multitude thus numbered was Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, of the posterity of David, and of the tribe of Judah, and Jesus, the son of Josechiah the high priest; and besides these, and of these the Levites were distinguished from the multitude, and were rulers, who also contributed a hundred pound of gold, and five thousand of silver. By this means, the greater part of the people of the Jews that were in Babylon, came and dwelt in Jerusalem, but the rest of the multitude returned every one to their own countries.

CHAP. IV.

How the Temple was built, while the Ochathem endeavoured to ruin their labours.

§ 1. Now in the seventh month, after they were departed out of Babylon, both Jeshua the high priest, and Zorobabel the governor, went messengers everywhere round about, and gathered those that were in the country together: and Jerusalem universally, who came very gladly thereto. For they had built the altar on the same spot where it had formerly been built, that they might offer ten tribes never returned, but as he believed, continued then beyond Esrathy, ch. v. sect. 5. Of which the multitude of Jews beyond Esrathy he speaks frequently elsewhere, but lets them to be his own, whom he gives as the general men were but about 32,300. It is also very plain, that Josephus thought, that when Ezra afterwards brought up another body of Jews from Babylon and Persia, in the days of Xerxes, they were also, as well as those, out of the two tribes, and out of them only, and were in all no more than a core, and a rammed, while an immense number of the

* This strange reading in Josephus's present copies, of 4,000,000 instead of 40,000, is one of the grossest errors that is in them, and ought to be corrected from Ezra ii. 64. or Zachariah viii. 1. Where all agree the general men was but about 32,300. It is also very plain, that Josephus thought, that when Ezra afterwards brought up another body of Jews from Babylon and Persia, in the days of Xerxes, they were also, as well as those, out of the two tribes, and out of them only, and were in all no more than a core, and a rammed, while an immense number of the
BOOK XI.—CHAP. IV.

223.

the appointed sacrifices upon it to God, according to the laws of Moses. But while they did this, they did not please the neighbouring nations, who all of them bore an ill-will to them. They are said to have been unclean in their sacrifices, and that time, as the legislator had ordained concerning it, and after that they offered sacrifices, and what were called the daily sacrifices, and the oblations proper for the Sabbath and all the holy festivals. Those also that had made vows performed them, and offered their sacrifices, from the first day of the seventh month. They also began to build the temple, and on the day of their festival, to give money to the masons and to the carpenters, and what was necessary for the maintenance of the workmen. The Sidonians also were very willing and ready to bring the cedar-trees from Libanus, to bind them together, and to make a united float of them, and to bring them to the port of Joppa, for that was what Cyrus had commanded them at first, and what was now done at the command of Darius.

2. In the second year of their coming to Jerusalem, as the Jews were there in the second month, the temple was too, about the city, and when they had laid its foundations on the first day of the second month of that second year, they set as overseers of the work, such Levites as were of the old and their sons and brethren, and Cadmiel the brother of Judah, the son of Aminadab, with his sons; and the temple, by the great diligence of those that had the care of it, was finished sooner than any one would have expected. And when the temple was finished, the priests, adorned with their accustomed garments, stood with their trumpets, and Levites, and the sons of Asaph, stood and sung hymns to God, according as David first of all appointed them to bless God. Now the priests and Levites, and the elder part of the families, recollecting with themselves how much greater and more sumptuous the old temple had been, seeing that now made, how much inferior it was, on account of their poverty, to that which had been built of old, considered with themselves how much their happy state was sunk below what it had been of old, as well as their temple. Hereupon they were disconsolate and not only sighed and wept, but were even as so far as to lament and shed tears on those accounts; but the people in general were contented with their present condition, and because they were not compelled by constraint to either but to give no more, and neither regarded nor remembered, nor indeed at all tormented themselves with the comparison of that and the former temple, if their heart was not fatigued with the waiting of the old men, and of the priests, on account of the deficiency of this temple, in their opinion, if compared with that which had been demolished, overcame the sounds of the trumpets and the rejoicing of the people.

3. But when the Samaritans, who were still enemies to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, heard the sound of the trumpets, they came running together, and desired to know what was the occasion of this tumult! and when they perceived that it was from the Jews, who had been carried captive to Babylonia, and were rebuilding their temple, they came to Zorobabel, and to Jeshua, and to the heads of the families, and desired that they would give them leave to build the temple with them, and to be partners with them in building it; for they said, "We worship your God, and especially pray to him, and are desirous of your religious settlement, and this ever since the days of Asa, and we cannot bear to be out of Cuthah and Medin to this place. — When they said thus, Zorobabel and Jeshua the scribes, and the heads of the families of the priests, said to them, 'We call it impossible for us to permit them to be their partners, while they [only] had been appointed to build that temple at first by Cyrus, and now by Darius, although it was indeed lawful for them to come and worship there if they pleased, and that they should allow there to be a temple with them, which was common to them with all other men, to come to their temple, and worship God there.'

4. When the Samaritans heard this, for the Samaritans have that appellation, they had indignation at it, and persuaded the nations of Syria to desire of the governors, in the same manner as they had done formerly, in the days of Cambyses, and again in the days of Cambyses afterward, to put a stop to the building of the temple, and to endeavour to delay and protract the Jews in their zeal about it. Now at this time Sisines, the governor of Syria and Phoenicia, and Satharabuzanes, with certain others, came up to Jerusalem, and asked the rulers of the Jews, 'By whose grant it was that they built the temple in this manner, since it was more like to a citadel than a temple? and for what reason it was that they built cloisters and walls, and those strong ones? 'They said that they had built this temple, so that it might be a citadel, and a refuge from the tempest, etc., and they showed that after Jesus the high priest replied, 'that they were the servants of God Almighty: that this temple was built for him by a king of theirs that lived in great prosperity, and by a people that were in great prosperity and in the midst of other men in virtue, and that it continued a long time, but that because of their fathers' impetuosity toward God, Nebuchadnezzar, the king of the Babylonians, and of the Chaldeans, took their city by force, and destroyed it, and pillaged the temple, and burnt it down, and transplanted the people whom he had made captives, and removed them to Babylonia; that Cyrus, after having reconquered Babylon and Persia, wrote to them to build the temple, and committed the gifts and vessels, and whatsoever Nebuchadnezzar had carried out of it, to Zorobabel and Mithridates the treasurer; and gave order to have them carried to Jerusalem, and to have them restored to their own temple when it was built, for he had sent to them to have it done speedily, and commanded Sasonbasar to go up to Jerusalem, and to take care of the building of the temple; who, upon receiving that epistle from Cyrus, came, and immediately laid its foundations: and although it is recorded that building from that time to this, it hath not yet been finished, by reason of the malignity of our enemies. If therefore you have a mind, and think it proper, write your account in this matter when he hath consulted the records of the kings, he may find that we have told you nothing that is false about this matter.'

5. As Zorobabel and the high priest had made this answer, Sisines, and those that were with him, did not resolve to hinder the building, until they had informed king Darius of all this. So they immediately wrote to him about these affairs; but as the Jews were now under terror, and afraid lest the king should change his resolutions as to the building of Jerusalem and of the temple, there were two prophets at that time among them, Haggai and Zechariah, who encouraged them, and bade them be of good cheer, and to suspect no dissembling from the Samaritans, for that God foretold this to them. So, in dependence on those prophets, they applied themselves earnestly to building, and did not intermit one day.

6. Now Darius, when the Samaritans had written to him, and in their epistle had accused the Jews, how they fortified the city, and built the temple more like a citadel than a temple, it was said that their doings were not expedient for the king's affairs; and besides, they showed the epistle of Cambyses, wherein he forbade them to build the temple; when Darius understood that the restoration of Jerusalem was not expedient for his affairs, and when he had
read the epistle that was brought him from Sis- 
sines, and those that were with him, he gave 
other that what was talked of those matters should 
be sought for among the royal records. Where-
upon a book was found at Ecbatana, in the tower 
that was in Medea, wherein was written as follows: 
"Cyrus the great, in the first year of his reign, com-
manded that the temple should be built in Jeru-
alem; and the altar: in height threescore cubits, 
and its breadth of the same, with three edifices 
of polished stone, and one edifice of stone of their 
own country; and he ordered that the expenses 
of it should be paid out of the king's revenue. 
He also commanded that the vessels which Neb-
uchadnezzar and his father, that is, the king of the 
temple, and had carried to Babylon, should be restored 
to the people of Jerusalem, and that the care of 
these things should belong to Senakhser, the go-
vernour and president of Syria and Phoenicia, and 
to his associates, who might not meddle with 
that place, but may permit the servants of God, 
the Jews and their rulers, to build the temple. 
He also ordained that they should assist them in 
the work; and that they should pay to the Jews 
out of the tribute of the country where they were 
governors, on account of the sacrifices, bulls and 
rams, and fine flour and wine, and oil, and any other 
things that the priests should suggest to them; and that 
they should pray for the preservation of the king, and 
of the kingdom, and that for such as transgresser 
y any of these orders thus sent to them, he com-
manded that they should be caught and hung 
upon a cross, and their substance confiscated to 
the king's use. He also prayed to God to bless 
them, that if any one attempted to hinder the 
building of the temple, God would strike him 
dead, and thereby restrain his wickedness."

"When Darius had found in the book, among 
the records of Cyrus, he wrote an answer to 
Sisines and his associates, whose contents were 
these: 'King Darius to Sisines the governor, 
and to Satharabazes, seuthed greeting: having 
found a copy of this epistle among the records 
of Cyrus, I have sent it you; and I will that all 
things be done as is therein written. Fare ye 
well.' So when Sisines, and those that were 
with him, understood the intention of the king, 
they resolved to follow his directions entirely 
for the time to come. So they forwarded the 
assistant governors, and the elders of the Jews, 
and the princes of the sanhedrin, and the 
structure of the temple was with great diligence 
brought to a conclusion, by the prophecies of 
Haggai and Zechariah, according to God's com-
mands, and by the injunctions of Cyrus and Da-
rus, the kings. Now the temple was built in 
seven years' time: and in the ninth year of the 
reign of Darius, on the twenty-third day of the 
twelfth month, which is by us called Adar, but 
by the Macedonians Dystrus, the priests and 
Le-
vites, and the other multitude of the Israelites, 
offered sacrifices, as the renovation of their 
former prosperity after their captivity, and be-
cause they had now the temple rebuilt, a hun-
dred bulls, two hundred rams, four hundred 
lambs, and twelve kids of the goats, according 
to the number of their tribes, (for so many are 
the tribes of the Israelites,) and this last for the 
sins of every tribe. The priests also and the 
Levites, the porters at every gate, according 
to the laws of Moses. The Jews also built the 
loistres of the inner temple, that were round 
about the temple itself.

So when the words of unleavened bread was 
at hand, in the first month, which, according to 
the Macedonians, is called Xanthicus, but ac-
cording to us, Nisan, all the people ran together 
out of every city, and the city, and celebrated the 
festival, having purified themselves, with their 
wives and children, according to the law of their 
country: and they offered the sacrifice which 
was called the Passover, on the fourteenth day 
of the same month, and feasted seven days, and 
spared no expense. And these matters should 
be sought for among the royal records. Where-
upon a book was found at Ecbatana, in the tower 
that was in Medea, wherein was written as follows: 
"Cyrus the great, in the first year of his reign, com-
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and its breadth of the same, with three edifices 
of polished stone, and one edifice of stone of their 
own country; and he ordered that the expenses 
of it should be paid out of the king's revenue. 
He also commanded that the vessels which Neb-
uchadnezzar and his father, that is, the king of the 
temple, and had carried to Babylon, should be restored 
to the people of Jerusalem, and that the care of 
these things should belong to Senakhser, the go-
vernour and president of Syria and Phoenicia, and 
to his associates, who might not meddle with 
that place, but may permit the servants of God, 
the Jews and their rulers, to build the temple. 
He also ordained that they should assist them in 
the work; and that they should pay to the Jews 
out of the tribute of the country where they were 
governors, on account of the sacrifices, bulls and 
rams, and fine flour and wine, and oil, and any other 
things that the priests should suggest to them; and that 
they should pray for the preservation of the king, and 
of the kingdom, and that for such as transgresser 
y any of these orders thus sent to them, he com-
manded that they should be caught and hung 
upon a cross, and their substance confiscated to 
the king's use. He also prayed to God to bless 
them, that if any one attempted to hinder the 
building of the temple, God would strike him 
dead, and thereby restrain his wickedness."

9. But the Samaritans, being evil and envi-
ey disposèd to the Jews, wrought them many 
wrong and unfair things, both by day and night, 
by their pretense that they were allied to the Per-
sians, on account that thence they came; and 
whatsoever it was that they were enjoined to pay 
the king's order of their tributes, for the sacrifices, they would not pay it. 
They had also the governors favourable to them 
and assisting them for that purpose; nor did 
they spend money but by this book either to the Jews 
or by others, as far as they were able. So the 
Jews determined to send an ambassador to king 
Darius, in favour of the people of Jerusalem, 
and in order to accuse the Samaritans. The 
ambassadors were Zoroabel, and four others of 
the rulers: and as soon as the king knew from 
the ambassadors the accusations and complaint 
they brought against the Samaritans, he gave 
them an epistle to be carried to the governors 
and council of Samaria. The contents of which 
epistle were these: 'King Darius to Tanganas 
and the governors of the Samaritans, to Sdrasces and Bobelo, and the rest of the fel-
low-servants that are in Samaria; Zoroabel, An-
anias, and Mordecan, ambassadors of the Jews, 
and the rest of the governors, according to the 
building of the temple, and do not supply them 
with the expenses which I commanded you to do 
for the offering their sacrifices. My will, therefore, is, that upon the reading of this epil-
istle, you supply them with whatsoever they want 
for their sacrifices, and that out of the royal treas-
ury, of the tributes of Samaria, as the priests 
shall desire, that they may not leave off offering 
their daily sacrifices, nor praying to God for me 
and the Persians.' And these were the contents 
of that epistle.

CHAP. V.

How Xerxes, the Son of Darius, was well dispo-
sed to the Jews: as also concerning Ezra and 
Nehemiah.

§ 1. Upon the death of Darius, Xerxes his son 
took the kingdom, who, as he inherited his fa-
ther's kingdom, so did he inherit his piety to 
God; for he had done many noble things suitably to his father relating to divine 
worship, and he was exceedingly friendly to the Jews. Now about this time, a son of Josua, 
whose name was Josin, was the high priest. 
Moreover, there was now in Babylon a righteous 

* The history contained in this section is entirely warr-

ing in all our other copies, both of Ezra and Necho.
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man, and one that enjoyed a great reputation among the multitude; he was the principal priest of the temple and name of his family. He was very skilful in the law of Moses, and was well acquainted with king Xerxes. He had determined to go up to Jerusalem, and to take with him, if he could, his son, Ezedra, to Babylonia; and he desired that the king would give him an epistle to the governors of Syria, by which they might know who he was. Accordingly, the king wrote the epistle to the governors:

"Xerxes, king of kings, to Ezra the priest, and reader of the divine law, greeting: I think it agreeable to that love which I bear to mankind, to grant such a request to the Jewish nation, as are disposed, as well as those of the priests and Levites that are in our kingdom, to go together to Jerusalem. Accordingly, I have given command for that purpose; and let every one that hath a mind, go, according to what seemed good to me, and to my seven councillors, and this in order to their review of the affairs of Judah, to see whether they be agreeable to the law of God. Let them take also with them those presents which I and my friends have vouch'd with all that silver and gold that is found in the country of the Babylonia, and Persian, and that of the land that is carried to Jerusalem, to God for sacrifices. Let it also be lawful for thee and thy brethren to make as many vessels of silver and gold as thou pleasest, of the destined assize of these hogs, vessels which have been given thee, and as many more as thou hast a mind to make, and shalt take the expenses out of the king's treasury. I have prepared my gift to the temple of Syr and Phoenicia, that they take care of those affairs that Ezra the priest, and reader of the laws of God, is sent about. And that God may make thee a help to him in all his necessities, and as a sign of his favor, I grant all that is necessary for sacrifices to God, according to the law, as far as a hundred cori of wheat. And I enjoin you not to lay any terrors upon them, any tributes, upon their priests or Levites, or sacred singers, or porters, or sacred servants, or scribes of the temple. And do those, O Ezra, appoint judges according to the wisdom [given thee] of God, and those such as understand the law, that they may judge in all Syria and Phoenicia; and do thou instruct those also who are ignorant of it, that if any one offends against the law, before the king, or any officer of the king, he may be punished, as not transgressing it out of ignorance, but as one that knows it indeed, but boldly disobeys and contemns it, he shall be punished by death, or by paying fines. Farewell."

2. When Ezra had received this epistle, he was very joyful, and began to worship God, and confessed that he had been the cause of the king's great favor to him, and that for the same reason he gave all the thanks to God. So he read the epistle at Babylon to those Jews that were there, both he kept the epistle itself, and sent a copy of it to all those of his own nation that were in Medes. And when these Jews had understood what piety the king had towards God, and what kindness he had for Ezra, they were all greatly pleased; nay, many of them took their effects with them, and came to Babylon, as very desirous of going down to Jerusalem, but then the entire body of the people of Israel remained in that country, wherefore there are but two tribes in Asia and Europe subject to the Romans, while the ten tribes are beyond Euphrates till now, and of the twelve, not more than one or two be estimated by numbers. Now there came a great number of priests, and Levites, and porters, and sacred singers, and sacred servants, to Ezra. So he came up into Jerusalem, and said unto them that they had sinned in marrying strange wives; and he was called carpenter, and that this was one of old esteemed, the most precious of all metals.
ANTIOCHIENS

they were instructed to be righteous men for the present and for the future; but as for their past offences, they were dispensed at themselves, and proceeded to shed tears on their account, as considering with themselves, that God had kept the law, but they had sinned tresme of those miseries which they had experienced. But when Esdras saw them in that disposition, he bade them go inside and not weep, for that it was a day of rest, and that they ought not to weep thereon for that it was not lawful so to do. He exhorted them rather to proceed immediately to feasting, and to do whatsoever was agreeable to a day of joy, but to let their repentance and sorrow for their former sins be a security and a guard to them, that they fall no more into the like offences. So upon Esdras’s exhortation they began to feast, and when they had so done for eight days, in their tabernacles, they departed to their own homes, singing hymns to God, and returning thanks to Esdras, for his reformation of what corruptions had been introduced into their settlement. So it came to pass, that after he had obtained this reputation among the people, and was highly esteemed by all the Persians, he heard some strangers that were entering the city after a long journey, speaking to one another in the Hebrew tongue; so he went to them and asked them what language they spake, and when their answer was, that they came from Judea, he began to inquire of them again in what state the multitude was, and in what condition Jerusalem was, and when they replied, that they were in a bad state, for that their walls were thrown down to the ground, and that the neighbouring nations did a great deal of mischief to the Jews; while in the daytime they overran the country, and pillaged it, and in the night did them mischief, inasmuch that not a few were led away captive out of the country, and out of Jerusalem itself, and that the roads were in the daytime full of dead men. Hereupon Nehemiah shed tears, out of compassion for the calamities of his countrymen; and looking up to heaven, and beholding the gold and silver vessels, that had been taken from the temple, and which had been used to overlook our nation, while it suffers so great miseries, and while we are made the prey and spoil of all men!” And while he stayed at the palace two months and ten days, the king was going to sit down to supper; so he made haste, and went as he was, without washing himself, to minister to the king in his office of cup-bearer: but as the king was very pleasant after supper, and more cheerful than usual, he cast his eyes on Nehemiah, and seeing him look sad, he asked him, why he was sad? Whereupon he prayed to God to give him favour, and afforded him the power of persuading by his words, and said, “How can I, O king, appear otherwise than thus, and not be in trouble, while I hear that the

This procedure of Esdras, and of the best part of the Jewish nation, after their return from the Babylonish captivity, of reducing the Jewish marriages, buried. He observed for all, amongst other things, that the strictness of the law of Moses, without any regard to the greatness of those who had broken it, and without regard to the persons affected by their children, by which it was so hard to be respected, it, deserves greatly to be observed and imitated in our times. The former law, enacted among Christians, the contrary condition having ever been the base of divorces, both among Jews and Christians, while political views, or humane discourses, who are suffered to take place instead of the divine laws, and so to undermine the law of God forbidden, and the church still suffers to continue corrupt from one generation to another. See chap. viii. sect. 3.

This Jewish feast of tabernacles was instituted in several heathen solemnities, as Spaulding here observes and subjoins, from which the other Boethus. He observes, for all, amongst other things, that the strictness of the law of Moses, without any regard to the greatness of those who had broken it, and without regard to the persons affected by their children, by which it was so hard to be respected, it, deserves greatly to be observed and imitated in our times. The former law, enacted among Christians, the contrary condition having ever been the base of divorces, both among Jews and Christians, while political views, or humane discourses, who are suffered to take place instead of the divine laws, and so to undermine the law of God forbidden, and the church still suffers to continue corrupt from one generation to another. See chap. viii. sect. 3.
THE walls of Jerusalem, the city where are the sepulchres of my fathers, are thrown down to the ground, and that its gates are consumed by fire; but I am not discouraged, and I build its walls, and to finish the building of the temple." Accordingly, the king gave him a signal, that he freely granted him what he asked; and told him that he should carry an epistle to the governors, that they might pay him due honour, and afford him whatsoever assistance he wanted, and as he pleased. “Leave off thy sorrow then, (said the king) and carry the building of the temple; and I will be thy help thereon.” So Nehemiah worshipped God; and gave the king thanks for his promise, and cleared up his sad and cloudy countenance, by the pleasure he had from the king’s promises. Accordingly, the king called for him the next day, and gave him an epistle to be carried to Adonias, the governor of Syria, and Phoenicia, and Samaria; wherein he sent to him to pay due honour to Nehemiah, and to supply him with what he wanted for his building.

7. Now when he was come to Babylon, and had taken with him many of his countrymen, who voluntarily followed him, he came to Jerusalem in the twenty and fifth year of the reign of Xerxes: and when he had shown the epistles to God, and to Artaxerxes, and to the other governors. He also called together all the people to Jerusalem, and stood in the midst of the temple, and made the following speech to them:—Ye fathers Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in mind continually, and for the sake of their righteousness hath not left off the care of you; indeed, he hath continued the same thing, and made the king to raise up our wall, and finish what is wanting of the temple. I desire you, therefore, who well know the ill-will our neighbouring nations are to us, and that they are made sensible that we are in earnest about building, they will come upon us, and contrive many ways of obstructing our works, that you will, in the first place, put your trust in God, as in him that will assist us against their hatred, and to intermit building neither night nor day, but to use all diligence, and to hasten on the work; now we have this especial opportunity for it.” When he had said this, he gave order that the rulers should measure the wall, and part the work of it among the people according to their villages and cities of habitation. And when he had added this promise, that he himself, with his servants, would assist them, he dissolved the assembly. So the Jews prepared heartily, and the king was called by from the day that they came up from Babylon, which is taken from the tribe of Judah, which came first to these places, and thence both thay and the country gained that appella-

8. But now when the Ammonites, and Moabites, and Samaritans, and that inhabited Coele Syria, heard that the building went on apace, they took it hostilely, and proceeded to lay snares for them, and to hinder their intentions. They also slew many of the Jews, and sought how they might destroy Nehemiah himself, by hiring some of the foreigners to kill him. They also put the Jews in fear, and disturbed them, and spread abroad rumors, as if many nations were ready to make an expedition against them, by which means they were harassed, and feared the building: but none of these things could deter Nehemiah from being diligent about the work; he only set a number of men about him as a guard to his body, and so unremittingly persevered therein, and was insensible of any trouble, or cost of his desire to perfect this work. And thus did he attentively aid with great forecast take care of his own safety, not that he feared death, but lest the persuasion, that if he were dead, the walls for his citizens would never be raised. He also gave orders, that the builders should keep their ranks, and have their armour on while they were building. Accordingly, the mason had his sword on, as well as he that brought the materials for building. He also appointed that their shields should lie very near them; and he placed trumpeters at every five hundred feet, and charged them, if their enemies appeared, they should give notice of it to the people, that they might rise to their arms, and their enemies to fall not upon them asked. He also went about the compass of the city by night, being never discouraged, neither about the work itself, nor about art, and about his own preservation. In a word, he was given over to all those things for his pleasure, but out of necessity. And this trouble he underwent for two years and four months; for in so long time he had the walls kept up to a height equal to the height of the wall of Xerxes, in the ninth month. Now when the walls were finished, Nehemiah and the multitude offered sacrifices to God for the building of them, and rejoiced in fasting eight days. However, when the nations which dwelt in Syria heard that the building of the wall was finished, they had indignation at it: but when Nehemiah saw the city was thin of people, he exhorted the priests and the Levites, that they would leave the country, remove themselves to the city, and there continue; and he built them houses at his own expenses; and he commanded that part of the people which were employed in cultivating the land to bring the tithes of their fruits to Jerusalem, that the priests and Levites having whereof they might live perpetually, might not leave the divine worship; who willingly heartened to the constitutions of Nehemiah, by which means the city of Jerusalem came to be a new inhabited city, and was full of people. But Nehemiah had done many other excellent things, and things worthy of commendation in a glorious manner, he came to a great age, and these things are mentioned many and other days. He was a man of a happy and free dispositions, and very ambitious to make his own nation happy: and he had left the walls of Jerusalem as an eternal monument for himself. Now this was done in the days of Xerxes.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning Ezra, and Mordecai, and Haman, and how, in the Reign of Artaxerxes, the whole Nation of the Jews was in Danger of Perishing.

9. After the death of Xerxes, the great king, he came to be transferred to his son Cyrus, whom the Greeks called Artaxerxes. When this man had obtained the government over the Persians, he in building; and that they were finished in the 29th of Xerxes, sect. 7,8. It may also be remarked farther, that Josephus hardly attributes to him also by Besehiah, 3 Kings xix. 14; 1 Esd. xxvi. 14; although this last was for a memorial to put him in mind of the ceases, and to shew that he was present, and was present as a taken of gratitude for mercies already received, as Ezra or Ezra excellent on this place.

1. The following is a very remarkable where, with what an amount of accuracy Josephus determines these cases of Xerxes, in which the walls of Jerusalem were cast down, and the destruction of the temple by Xerxes, many and other days. See the Supplement to the Lex Anc. comp. of Ptolemy, p. 78.
the whole nation of the Jews," with their wives and children, were in danger of perishing: the avarice of the king and desire in a little time, for it is proper, in the first place, to explain somewhat relating to this king, and how he came to marry a Jewish wife, who was herself also, to the king, is related to what had been decreed about the queen. So the resolution was to put Vashsi away, and to give her dignity to another woman.

2. He was fond of her, did not well bear a separation, and yet by the law he could not admit of a reconciliation, so he was under trouble, as not having it in his power to do what he desired to do. But when his friends saw him so uneasy, they advised him to cast the memory of his wife, and his love for her, out of his mind, but to send abroad over all the habitable earth, and to search out for comely virgins, and to take her whom he should like best for a wife, because his passion for his former wife would be extinguished by introduction of another, and the kindness he had to Vashsi would be withdrawn from her, and be placed on her that was with him. Accordingly, he was persuaded to go and choose certain persons to choose out of the virgins that were in his kingdom those that were esteemed the most comely. So when a great number of them was sent to the king, he found a damsel in Babylon, whose parents were both dead, and she was brought up with her uncle Mordecai, for that was her uncle's name. This uncle was of the tribe of Benjamin, and was one of the principal persons among the Jews. Now it proved that this damsel, whose name was Esther, was the most beautiful of all the rest, and that her grace and countenance drew the eyes of the spectators principally upon her: so she was committed to one of the eunuchs to take care of her: and she was very exactly provided with sweet odours, in great plenty, and with costly ointments, such as her body required to be anointed with: and this was used for six months by the virgins, who were in number four hundred. And when the eunuch thought the virgins had been sufficiently purified, in the forementioned time, and were now fit to go to the king's bed, he sent one to be with the virgins who had been chosen, and he acquainted them with the king's desire; and the chosen one of them, whom the king had sent for, he sent her back to the eunuch: and when Esther had come to him, he was pleased with her, and fell in love with the damsel, and married her, and was so taken with her countenance that she kept a wedding feast for her on the twelfth month of the seventh year of his reign, which was called Adar. He also sent anger, as they were called, to all the virgins in danger of losing their lives, every ill with their wives, if they must be thus despised by them; for that none of their wives would have any reverence for their husbands, if they had such an example of the princes, who rulest over all." Accordingly, he exhorted him to punish her, who had been guilty of so great an affront to him, after a severe manner; and when he saw that he was determined to do what had been decreed about the queen. So the resolution was to put Vashsi away, and to give her dignity to another woman.

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money very willingly, that the kingdom might be freed from such a misfortune.

5. When Haman had made this petition, the king both forgave him the money, and granted him the men, to do what he would with them. So Haman having gained what he desired, sent out immediately a new edict from the king, and ordered them to destroy the Jews, as he had conspired. And the king, to show his consent, wrote the edict, and delivered it to a certain person named Artaxerxes, the son of Darius, who had the regency of the Persian kingdom in Persia and Babylonia. And this new edict, the contents whereof were these: "Artaxerxes, the great king, to the rulers of the hundred twenty and seven provinces, from India to Ethiopia, sends this writing: Whereupon the kings of Persia and Media, who have governed many nations, and obtained the dominion of all the habitable earth, according to my desire, and have not been obliged to do anything that is insolent or cruel to my subjects by such my power, but have showed myself mild and gentle, by taking care of their peace and good order, and have sought how they might enjoy those blessings for all time to come. And whereas I have been kindly informed by Haman, who, on account of his prudence and justice, is the first in my esteem, and in dignity, and only second to myself for his fidelity and constant good-will to me, that there is an ill-natured nation intermixed with all mankind, that is enemies to us, and is of a different conduct of life from others, that hated monarchy, and of a disposition that is pernicious to our affairs, I give order that those of the nation that are not exempt from it be destroyed. And when this was informed us, be destroyed, with their wives and children, and that none of them be spared, and that none prefer pity to them before obedience to this decree. And this I will to be executed on the fourteenth day of the twelfth month of this present year, that so all that have sinned to us are destroyed, and this in one day, we may be appeased that we may be allowed to lend the rest of our lives in peace hereafter." Now when this decree was brought to the cities, and to the country, all were ready for the destruction and entire abolishment of the Jews, against the day before mentioned; and they were very hasty about it at Shushan in particular. Accordingly, the king and Haman spent their time in feasting together with good cheer and wine, but the city was in disorder.

7. Now when Mordecai was informed of the Persians, who were free men, worshipped him, this man, who was no better than a slave, does not vouchsafe to return to him. And when Mordecai was informed that he had been destroyed, he thought it too small a thing to request of the king that he alone might be punished; he rather determined to abolish the whole nation of the Jews, because the nation of the Amalekites, of which he was, had been destroyed by them. Accordingly he came to the king, and accused them, saying: "Now if it is right in the sight of the king, and if it seem good to him, let an edict be given to put them utterly, and not leave the least remains of them, nor preserve any of them either for slaves or for captives." But that the king might not be dissuaded to the ruin of the Jews, and the Jews paid him, Haman promised to give him out of his own estate forty thousand talents whatsoever he pleased; and he said, he would pay this...
the promise of money whereby Haman bought the destruction of their nation. He also gave her his gold and silver vessels at Shushan, to be carried to Esther; and he charged her to petition the king about this matter, and not to think it a dishonourable thing in her to put on an appearance of mourning and fasting before the king, there being no danger to her nation, however she might depurate of the ruin of the Jews, who were in danger of it; for that Haman, whose dignity was only inferior to that of the king, had already done more damage to it than all the Jews against them. When she was informed of this, she sent to Mordecai again, and told him that she was not called by the king, and that he must now go to him without being called, is to be slain, unless, when he is willing to save any one, he holds out his golden sceptre to him; but that to whomsoever he does so, although he go in without being called, that person is so far from being slain, that he obtains pardon, and is entirely preserved. Now when the eunuch carried this message from Esther to Mordecai, he bade him also tell her that she must not only provide for her own preservation, but for the common preservation of her nation, for that if she now neglected this opportunity, there would certainly be no opportunity to prevent the destruction of that, which God had saved some other way, but she and her father's house would be destroyed by those whom she now despised. But Esther sent the very same eunuch back to the king (to desire him to go to Shushan, and to gather the Jews that were together in a congregation, and to fast and abstain from all sorts of food on her account, and tell him that she would now make her Majesty do the same; and then promised that she would go to the king, though it was against the law, and that if she must die for it she would not refuse it.

8. Accordingly, Mordecai did as Esther had enjoined him, and made the people fast; and he besought God, together with them, "not to overlook his nation, particularly at this time, when it was going to be destroyed; but that, as he had often before provided for them, and forgiven when they had sinned, so he would now deliver them from that destruction which was denounced against them; for although it was not all the nation that had offended, yet must they so ingloriously be slain, and that he was himself the occasion of it, because (said he) he did not worship him, nor could I endure to pay that honour to him which I used to pay thee, O Lord; for upon his anger hath he contrived the ruin of the Jews, and the ruin of those that have not transgressed thy laws." The same supplications did the multitude put up; and entreated that God would provide for their deliverance, and free the Jews, who were in all the earth from this calamity which was now coming upon them, for they had it before their eyes, and expected its coming. Accordingly, Esther made supplication to God for the manner of her country, by casting herself down upon the earth, and putting on her mourning garments, and bidding farewell to meat and drink, and all delicacies, for three days, the time, and she entreated God to have mercy upon her, and make her words appear persuasive to the king, and render her countenance more beautiful than it was before, that both by her beauty and beauty she might succeed, for the averting of the king's anger, in case he were at all irritated against her, and for the consolation of those of her own country, now they were in all danger of ruin: as also, that he would excite a hatred in the king against the enemies of the Jews; and those that had contrived their future destruction, if they proved to be friends and adherents of Haman; and that what the event would be, was delighted at it, for that night he took away the king's sleep; and as the king was not willing to lose the time of his lying awake, but to spend it in something that
might be of advantage to his kingdom, he commanded the scribe to bring him the chronicles of the former kings, and the records of his own sojourns, of which he had several volumes. When the scribe was bringing them, he was seized with a fit of melancholy, and said, "It is not enough that I have lived to see the fall of my country; but when I see the destruction of my family, it is too much."

However, Haman was soon consoled by the news that the king had appointed a feast in his honor, and that the queen, Esther, had requested him to attend. The king, on hearing the news, was overjoyed, and commanded that the feast should be prepared at once.

Chapter VI

11. Now while these men were thus talking one to another, Esther's eunuchs hastened Haman away to come to supper; but one of the eunuchs, named B{name withhold}, saw the gold rails that was fixed in Haman's house, and inquired of one of his servants, for what purpose they had prepared it? So he knew that it was for the queen's palace, because Haman was to be petitioned to the king that he might be punished, but not procured to hold his peace. Now when the king, with Haman, were at the banquet, he desired the queen to tell him what he desired of her, and assured her that she should have whatsoever she had a mind to. She then lamented the danger her people were in; and said, "You and all your nation were given unto me; and when she said there was no such addition, he bade him leave off, and he inquired of those that were appointed for that purpose, what hour of the night it was; and when he was informed that it was already day, he gave order, that if they found any one of his friends already come, and standing before the court, they should tell him. Now it happened that Haman was found there, and was come sooner than ordinary to petition the king to have Mordecai put to death; and when the servants said, that Haman was before the court, he became very much out of order, and was at a loss what to do. Now Haman reasoned with himself, that what opinion he should give would be for himself, since it was he alone who was beloved by the king, and not of all the rest; for he said, "If thou wouldst truly honour a man whom thou sayest thou dost love, give order that he may ride on horseback, and let the eunuchs precede him, and with a gold chain about his neck, and let one of thy intimate friends go before him, and proclaim through the whole city, that whoever the king honoureth, obtain this mark of his honour." This was the advice which Haman gave, out of a supposition that such a reward would come to himself. Hereupon the king was pleased with the advice, and said, "Go thou, therefore, for thou hast the horse, the garment, and the chain, ask for Mordecai the Jew, and give him those things, and go before his horse, and be of such a manner to shew him my intimate friend, and hast given me good advice; be thou then the minister of what thou hast advised me to do. This shall be his reward from me, and thou shalt write the same in a book, which was entirely unexpected, he was confounded in his mind, and knew not what to do. However, he went out, and led the horse, and took the purple garment, and the golden chain for the neck, and finding Mordecai before the court, clothed in sackcloth, he bade him put that garment off, and put the purple garment on; but Mordecai not knowing the truth of the matter, but taking that it was done in mockery, said, "O thou wretch, the vilest of all mankind, dost thou thus laugh at our calamities!" But when he was satisfied that the king had showed his honour upon him, for the delverance he had procured him, when he convicted the eunuchs who had conspiried against him, he put on that purple garment which the king always wore, and put the chain about his neck, and got on horseback, and went round the city, while Haman went before, and proclaimed, "This shall be the reward which is given for the hanging out of a man he loves, and esteem worthy of honour." And when they had gone round the city, Mordecai went in to the king, but Haman went home, out of all the king's heart, the sight of his face, and the story of what had happened, and this with tears: who said, that "He would never be able to revenge of Mordecai, for that God was with him."
be commanded the king's scribes to be sent for, and to write to the nations on the Jews' behalf, and to let them know that he had given them, that were over his hundred twenty and seven provinces, from India to Ethiopia. Now the contents of this epistle were these: "The great king Artaxerxes, of our faithful subjects, sendeth greeting: Many men there are, who, on account of the greatness of the benefits bestowed on them, and because of the honour and respect which have obtained from the wondrous and wonderful kind treatment of those that bestowed it, are not only injurious to their inferiors, but do not scruple to do evil to those that have been the objects of their service, as if they would take away the gratitude from among men, and by their insolent abuse of such benefits as they never expected, they turn the abundance they have against those that are the authors of it, and suppose they shall lie concealed from God in that case, and avoid that vengeance which comes from him. Some of these men, when they have had the management of affairs committed to them by their friends, and bearing private malice of their own against some others, by deceiving those that have the power, persuade them to be angry at such as they please, and do them no harm, till they are in danger of perishing, and this by laying accusation and calumnies; nor is this state of things to be discovered by ancient examples, or such as we are acquainted with, report only; but by some examples of such impudent attempts under our own eyes, so that it is not fit to attend any longer to calumnies and accusations, nor to the persuasion of others, but to know true what any one knows of himself to have been really done, and to punish what justly deserves it, and to grant favours to such as are innocent. This hath been the case of Ammedath, born an Amelekite, and alien from the blood of the Persians, who, when he was hospitably entertained by us, and partook of that kindness which we bear to all men, to so great a degree as to be called my father, and to be all along worshipped, and to have honour paid him by all in the second rank after the royal honour due to ourselves, he could not bear his good fortune, nor govern the magnitude of his prosperity with sound reason; nay, he made a conspiracy against me and my life, who gave him his authority and confidence: he determined to take away Mordecai, my benefactor, and my savour, and by basely and treacherously requiring to have Esther, the queen, and of my dominion, brought to destruction; for he was目的地 by this means to deprive me of my faithful friends, and transfer the government to others: but since I perceived that these Jews that were by this perfidious fellow devoted to destruction, were not wicked men, but conducted their lives after the best manner, and were men dedicated to the worship of that God who hath preserved the kingdom to me and to my ancestors, I do not only free them from the punishment which the former epitaph, which was sent by Haman, ordained to be inflicted on them, but, to which you refuse obedience, you shall do well, I will that they have all honour paid to them. Accordingly, I have hanged up the man that contrived this thing against them, with his family, before the gates of Shushan, that punishment may be a nurse to such as shall do wrong things. And I give you in charge, that you publicly propose a copy of this epistle through all my kingdom, that the Jews may be permitted some time, that the king's peace may be granted to them, and that those that assist them: that at the same season where their miserable estate did belong, they may defend themselves the very same day from unjust violence. And therefore I beseech you, that the Jews, which is Adar, for God hath made that day a day of salvation instead of a day of destruction to them; and may it be a good day to those that shall hereafter profit by the conduct of the conspirators against us: and I will that you take notice, that every city, and every nation, that shall disobey any thing that is contained in this epistle, shall be destroyed by fire and sword. However, let this epistle be published through all the country that is under our obedience, and let all the Jews by all means be ready against the day before mentioned, that they may avenge themselves upon their enemies.

13. Accordingly the horsemen who carried the epistle did follow the king's order, and to which they were to go with speed: but as for Mordecai, as soon as he had assumed the royal garment, and the crown of gold, and had put the chain about his neck, and the crown upon his head, and had built the palace of Shushan, when the Jews who were at Shushan, saw him in so great honour with the king, they thought his good fortune was common to themselves also, and that he had a share in the salvation of the Jews, both those that were in the cities, and those that were in the countries, upon the publication of the king's letters, insomuch, that many on every account cried out for joy, and were excited for fear of the Jews, that they might procure safety to themselves thereby; for on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which according to the Hebrews is called Adar, but according to the Macedonians, Dystrus, those that carried the king's epistle gave them notice, that the same day wherein their danger was to have been, on that very day should they destroy their enemies. But now the rulers of the provinces, and the tyrants, and the kings, and the scribes, had the Jews in their eyes; for the fear that they had in case Mordecai forced them to act with discretion. Now when the royal decree was come to all the country that was subject to the king, it fell out that the custom of the Persians was, when they destroyed their enemies: and when the king had told Esther the number of those that were slain in that city, but did not well know what had been done in the provinces, he asked her, whether she would have any thing further done against them? for that it should be done accordingly: upon which she desired that the Jews might be permitted to treat their remaining enemies in the same manner the next day; as also that they might hang the ten sons of Haman upon the gallows. So the king permitted the Jews so to do, as directed to be done to their enemies. And they gathered themselves together again on the fourteenth day of the month Dystrus, and slew about three hundred of their enemies, but touched

* The true reason why king Artaxerxes did not hereby properly revoke his former barbarous decree for the universal extermination of the Jews, but on his own account ordered them to be punished, who was an Aegyptian, Esth. x. 1, 10, or of the posterity of Aegypt, the old king of the Amelekites, 1 Sam. vi. 31, 33, while he was in the hands of the Persian and the Medes, nor was later engaged in this matter, so that whatever decree was signed both by the king and his aids, could not be changed, but remained unalterable. And thus it appears in Esth. 4. 9, 13. 15. 17; 7. 6. And Haman, having engraven the royal favour, might perhaps have himself signed this decree for the Jews' slaughter; and might have quenched the conflagration, and so might have rendered it by their rules irrevocable.

† These words give an evocation as if Artaxerxes sup-
nothing of what riches they had. Now there was slain by the Jews that were in the country, and in the other cities, seventy-five thousand of their enemies, and those were slain on the third day, and the next day, and the next day, they kept as a festival. In like manner the Jews that were in Shushan gathered themselves together, and feasted on the fourteenth day and the fifteenth day of the month Adar, and the seventh day, as the act of that day, because that even on this day, now all the Jews that are in the habitable earth keep these four days of the sabbath, and seasons, and days of their festivals, and to deliver them down to posterity, that this festival might continue for all time to come, and that it might never be buried in oblivion, for since they were about to be destroyed on these days by Haman, they would do a right thing, upon escaping the danger in them, and on them inflicting punishments on their enemies, to observe those days, and give thanks to God on them: for which cause the Jews still keep the forementioned days, and call them days of Purim. It was the Moscophus, the son of Persia, a great and illustrious person with the king, and assisted him in the government of the people. He also lived with the queen; so that the affairs of the Jews were better for their means better. Moreover, he would ever have hoped for. And this was the state of the Jews under the reign of Artaxerxes.†

CHAP. VII.

How John slew his Brother Jesus in the Temple; and how Bagoses offered many Injuries to the Jews; and what Sanballat did.

§ 1. When Eliashib the high priest was dead, his son Judas succeeded in the high priesthood: and when he was dead, his son John took that dignity. He was a man in a body, but it was also that Bagoses, the general of another Artaxerxes's army, polluted the temple, and imposed tributes on the Jews, that out of the public stock, before they offered the daily sacrifices, they should pay for every lamb fifty shekels. Now Jesus was the brother of John, and was a friend of Bagoses, who had promised to procure him the high priesthood. In the confidence of what support Jesus was quarrell'd with John in the temple, and so provoked his brother, that in his anger his brother slew him. Now it was a horrid thing for John, when he was high priest to take so great a crime; and so much the more horrid, that there never was so cruel and impious a thing done among the Greeks nor barbarians. However, God did not neglect its punishment, but the people were on that very account aston- ished, and the temple was polluted by the Persians. Now when Bagoses, the general of Artaxerxes's army, knew that John, the high priest of the Jews, had slain his own brother Jesus in the temple, he came upon the Jews immediately, and began in anger to say to them, "Have you had the impudence to perpetrate a murder in your temple?" And as he was aiming to go into the temple, he forbade him so to do; but he said to them, "And I purper than he that was slain in the temple?" And when he had said these words, he went into the temple. Accord- ingly, Bagoses, who feared of this pretense, and punished the Jews seven years for the murder of Jesus.

2. Now when John had departed this life, his son Jaddua succeeded in the high priesthood. He had a brother, whose name was Manasseh. Now there was one Sanballat, who was sent by Darius, the last king [of Persia] into Samaria. He was a Cuthite by birth; of which stock were the Samaritans also. This man knew that the city Jerusalem was a famous city, and that their kings had given a great deal of trouble to the Assyrians, and the people of Colosyrus, so that he willingly gave his daughter, whose name was Nicaea, in marriage to Manasseh, as thinking this alliance by marriage would be a pledge and a surety of his son's arming, so that the Jews should continue their good-will to him.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning Sanballat and Manasseh, and the Temple which they built on Mount Gerizim, as also how Alexander made his Empire into the City Jerusalem; and what Benefices he bestowed on the Jews.

§ 1. Anno the time it was that Philip, king of Macedon, was treacherously assaulted and slain at Egeus by Pammenes, the son of Orestes, who was derived from the family of Imitue, and his son Alexander succeeded him in the kingdom; who, passing over the Hellespont, overcame the generals that the Persians had sent him, and fought at Granicus. So he marched over Lydia, and subdued Ionia, and overran Caria, and fell upon the places of Pamphylia, as has been related elsewhere.

2. But the elders of Jerusalem being very uneasy that the brother of Jaddua the high priest, though married to a foreigner, should be a partner with him in the high priestly order, were at variance with him; for they esteemed this man's marriage a step to such as should be desirable of transgressing about the marriage of [strange] wives, and that this might be the beginning of a mutual so- ciety with foreigners, although the offence of some about marriages, and their having married wives that were not of the stock of their own nation, has been an occasion of their former captivity, and of the miseries they then underwent; so they commanded Manasseh to divorce his wife, or not to approach the altar. But the high priest himself joining with the people in their indignation against his brother, and driving him away from

† Concerning this other Artaxerxes, called Memnon, and the Persian affliction and captivity of the Jews under him, occasioned by the murder of the high priest's brother in the holy house itself, see the account of Darius II. before Artaxerxes Memnon, till he came to their last king Daric, who was conquered by Alexander the Great. I shall give them Vossius and Dr. Husdon's answer, though in my own words, viz. that Josephus did not need the support of any mention of Darius II. of Persia, to the like end, as the Epistle of the Royalists, and the book of Joh, as not particularly relating to that nation. He justly, therefore, returns to the Jewish affairs after the death of Longinus, without any mention of Darius II. before Artaxerxes Memnon, or of Ochus, or Argoes, as the cause of Philo's writing there; after his brother had been publicly murdered, and had been slain by Bagoses, one of the governors and commandant of him, he commenced the pollution of the Jew and had greatly distressed the Jews upon the
said to him, that he delivered up to him many, seven thousand of his subjects, and did gladly accept of him for their lord, instead of Darius. So when Alexander had received him kindly, Samballath thereupon took courage, and declared he had no cause for fear. He told him, that "he had a son-in-law, Manasseh, who was brother to the high priest Judas; and that there were many others of his nation, who had vowed to him, that they would make him a temple in the places subject to him; that it would be for the king's advantage to have the strength of the Jews divided into two parts, lest, when they met together, they should determine a plan, upon any attempt for innovation, it proves troublesome to kings, as it had formerly proved to the kings of Assyria." Whereupon Alexander gave Samballath leave so to do, who used the utmost diligence, and built the temple, and made Manasseh the priest, and deemed it a great reward, that his daughter's children should have that dignity: but when the seven months of the siege of Tyre were over, and the two months of the siege of Gaza, Samballath died. Now Alexander, when he had taken Gaza, made haste to go over into Phoenicia, and went up to Jerusalem, when he heard that, was in an agony, and under terror, as not knowing how he should meet the Macedonians, since the king was displeased at him for his foresaying that the king would not sustain the temple, and enjoined that the people should make supplications, and should join with him in offering sacrifices to God, whom he besought to protect that nation, and to deliver them from the peril that was coming upon them: whereupon God warned him in a dream, which came upon him after he had offered sacrifice, that "he should take courage, and he should not be afraid, for the rest should appear in white garments, but that he and the priests should meet the king in the habit of proper to their order, without the dread of any ill consequences, which the providence of God would prevent." Upon which, when he rose from his sleep, he greatly rejoice, and declared to all the warning he had received from God. According to which dream he acted entirely, and so waited for the coming of the king.

5. And when he understood that he was not far from the city, he went out in procession, with the priests before him, and the procession was venerable, and the manner of it different from that of other nations. It reached to a place called Sepha, which name, translated into Greek, is Samaratus; and there when he had obtained Sidon he besieged Tyre, when he sent an epistle to the Jewish high priest, "To send him some auxiliaries, and to supply his army with corn, and the like: and that he, who formerly sent to Darius, he would now send to him, and choose the friendship of the Macedonians, and that he should never repent of so doing." But the high priest answered the messengers, that "he had given his oath to Darius not to bear arms against him; and he said, that he would not transgress this while Darius was in the land of the living." Upon hearing this answer Alexander was very angry; and though he determined not to leave Tyre, which was just ready to be taken, yet as soon as he had taken it, he threatened that he would make an expedition against the Jewish high priest, and through him teach all men to whom they must keep their oaths. So when he had, with a good deal of pains during the siege, taken Tyre, and had settled its affairs, he came to the city of Gaza, and besieged both the city and him who was governor of the garrison, whose name was Babemones.

And he held, that he now gotten a proper opportunity to make his attempt, so he denounced Darius, and taking with him seven thousand of his subjects, he came to Alexander; and addressing him beginning the siege of Tyre, he

said to him, that he delivered up to him seven thousand of his subjects, and did gladly accept of him for their lord, instead of Darius. So when Alexander had received him kindly, Samballath thereupon took courage, and declared he had no cause for fear. He told him, that "he had a son-in-law, Manasseh, who was brother to the high priest Judas; and that there were many others of his nation, who had vowed to him, that they would make him a temple in the places subject to him; that it would be for the king's advantage to have the strength of the Jews divided into two parts, lest, when they met together, they should determine a plan, upon any attempt for innovation, it proves troublesome to kings, as it had formerly proved to the kings of Assyria." Whereupon Alexander gave Samballath leave so to do, who used the utmost diligence, and built the temple, and made Manasseh the priest, and deemed it a great reward, that his daughter's children should have that dignity: but when the seven months of the siege of Tyre were over, and the two months of the siege of Gaza, Samballath died. Now Alexander, when he had taken Gaza, made haste to go over into Phoenicia, and went up to Jerusalem, when he heard that, was in an agony, and under terror, as not knowing how he should meet the Macedonians, since the king was displeased at him for his foresaying that the king would not sustain the temple, and enjoined that the people should make supplications, and should join with him in offering sacrifices to God, whom he besought to protect that nation, and to deliver them from the peril that was coming upon them: whereupon God warned him in a dream, which came upon him after he had offered sacrifice, that "he should take courage, and he should not be afraid, for the rest should appear in white garments, but that he and the priests should meet the king in the habit proper to their order, without the dread of any ill consequences, which the providence of God would prevent." Upon which, when he rose from his sleep, he greatly rejoice, and declared to all the warning he had received from God. According to which dream he acted entirely, and so waited for the coming of the king.

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makes no delay, but boldly pass over the seas thereto: for that he would conduct his army, and would give me the dominion over the Persians, whereas he had long since been in that habit, and now seeing this person in it, and remembering that vision, and the extortation which I had in my dream, I believe that I bring this army under the divine conduct, and shall therewith conquer Darius, and destroy the power of the Persians, and that all things will succeed according to what is in my own mind. And whereas it is that there seem no news of the high priest his right hand, the priests ran along by him, and he came into the city. And when he went up into the temple, he offered sacrifice to God, according to the high priest's direction; and magnificently treated both the high priest and the priests. And when the book of Daniel was shown him, wherein Daniel declared that one of the Greeks should destroy the empire of the Persians, he supposed that himself was the person intended: and as he was then glad, he dismissed the multitude for the present, but the next day he called them to him, and bade them ask what favours they pleased of him; whereupon the high priest desired that they might enjoy the laws of their forefathers, and might go on as they pleased. He granted all they desired. And when they addressed him that he would permit the Jews in Babylonia and Media to enjoy their own laws also, he willingly promised them, and ordered that the Jews should have the laws their forefathers desired. And when he said to the multitude, that if any of them would let themselves in his army, on this condition, that they should continue under the laws of their forefathers, and live according to them, he was willing to take them with him; many were ready to accompany him in his wars.

6. So when Alexander had thus settled matters at Jerusalem, he led his army into the neighbouring cities; and when all the inhabitants, to whom he came, received him with great kindness, the Samaritans, who had then the Shechemites for their metropolis, (a city situate at mount Gerizim, and inhabited by apostates of the Jewish nation,) seeing that Alexander had so greatly honoured the Jews, determined to profess themselves Jews, for such is the disposition of the Samaritans, as we have already elsewhere declared, that when the Jews are in adversity they are ready to deny that they are of them in them, and then they confess the truth; but when they perceive that some good fortune hath befallen them, they immediately pretend to have communion with them, saying, that they belong to them, and derive their genealogy from the posterity of Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh. Accordingly, they made their address to the king with splendour, and showed great alacrity in meeting him, and then they promised that he would come to their city, and do honour to their temple also. To whom he promised, that when he returned he would come to them. And when they mentioned that he would remit the tribute of the seventh year to them, because they did not sow thereon, he asked who they were that made such a petition; and when they said that they were the descendants of Sidonians, living at Shechem, he asked them again, whether they were Jews; and when they said they were not Jews, "It was to the Jews," (said he) "that I granted that privilege, when I return, and am thoroughly informed by you of this matter, I will do what I shall think proper." And in this manner he took leave of the Shechemites, but ordered that the young men of the Sanballist should follow him into Egypt, because there he designed to give them lands, which he did a little after in Thesbais, when he ordered them to guard the country.

7. Now when Alexander was dead, the government was parted among his successors, but the temple upon mount Gerizim remained. And if any one were to compare it with that of Jerusalem, or even with having eaten at its meals, or of having broken the Sabbath, or of any other crime of the like nature, he fled away to the Shechemites, and said that he was accused unjustly. About this time it was that Jaddus the high priest died; and Onias his son took the high priesthood. This was the state of the affairs of the people of Jerusalem at this time.

BOOK XII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF A HUNDRED AND SEVENTY YEARS—FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT TO THE DEATH OF JUDAS MACCABEUS.

CHAP. I.

How Ptolemy, the Son of Lagus, took Jerusalem and Judah by Deceit and Treachery, and carried many of the Jews thence, and planted them in Egypt.

§ 1. Now when Alexander, king of Macedon, had put an end to the dominion of the Persians, and had settled the affairs in Judea after the foregoing manner, and as his government fell among many, Antigonus obtained Asia: Scænum, Babylon; and of the other nations which were there, Lysinarchus governed the Hellespont, and Cassander possessed Macedon; as did Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, seize upon Egypt. And while these princes ambitiously strove one against another, every one of them striving to obtain the empire of the whole world, it came to pass that there were continual wars, and those lasting wars too; and the cities were sufferers, and lost a great many of their inhabitants in the course of these wars. Now Ptolemy the son of Lagus, undertook the reverse of that denomination of Saviour which he then had. He also seized upon Jerusalem, and for that end made use of deceit and treachery; for as he came into the city on a Sabbath-day, as if he would offer sacrifices, he without any trouble gained the city, while the Jews did not oppose him, for they did not suspect him to be their enemy; and he gained it thus, because they were free from suspicion of him, and he cause on that day they were at rest and quietness; and when he had gained it, but fled over it in a cruel manner. Nay, Agatharchides of Chios, who wrote the acts of Alexander's successors, reproaches us with superstition, as if we, by it, had lost our liberties; where he says, "There is a nation called the nation of the Jews, who inhabit a city strong and great, named Jerusalem. These men took no care, but let it come into the hands of Ptolemy, as not willing to take arms, and thereby they submitted to be under a hard master, by reason of their unseasonable superstition." This is what Agatharchides relates of our nation. But when Ptolemy had taken a great many captives, both from the mountaneous parts of Judea, and from the places about Jerusalem and Samaria, and the places near mount Gerizim, he led them all into Egypt.
nothing is wanting that is necessary for that purpose, we may have their books also in this library. So the king thought that Demetrius was very zealous for religion, and Alexander, when he sent an embassy to them, after he had beaten Darius in battle; so he distributed many of them into garrisons, and at Alexandria gave them equal privileges of citizens with the Macedonians themselves; and required of them to take their oaths, that they would keep their fidelity to the posterity of those who committed them into their care. Nay, there were not a few other Jews, who, of their own accord, went into Egypt, as invited by the goodness of the soil, and by the liberality of Ptolemy. However, there were disorders among citizens with the Macedonians; a relation to the Samaritans, on account of their resolution to preserve that conduct of life which was delivered to them by their forefathers, and they thereupon contended one with another; while those of Jerusalem said, that their temple was holy, and resolved to send their sacrifices thither; but the Samaritans were resolved that they should be sent to mount Gerizim.

CHAP. II.

How Ptolemy Philadelphus procured the Laws of the Jews to be translated into the Greek tongue; and set many Captives free: and dedicated many Gifts to God.

§ 1. When Alexander had reigned twelve years, and after him Ptolemy Soter forty years, Philadelphus then took the kingdom of Egypt, and held it forty years within one. He procured the twenty thousand, that were come from Jerusalem into Egypt, and were in slavery there, who were a hundred and twenty thousand. The occasion was this: Demetrius Phaleres, who was a库里-keeper to the king, was now endeavouring, if it were possible, to gather together all the books that were in the habitable earth, and buying whatsoever was any where valuable, or agreeable to the king's inclination, (who was very earnestly set upon collecting of books;) to which inclination of his, Demetrius was zealously subservient. And when once Philadelphus asked him how many ten thousands of books he had collected, he replied, that he had already about twenty times ten thousand, but that, in a little time, he should have fifty times ten thousand. But he said, he had been informed that there were many books of laws among the Jews worthy of inquiring after, and worthy of the king's library, but which he knew not what to procure in library in a day or of their own, will cause no small pains in getting them translated into the Greek tongue; that the character in which they are written seems to be like to that which is the proper character of the Syrians; and that its sound, when pronounced, is like theirs also; and that this sound appears to be peculiar to themselves. Wherefore he said, that nothing hindered why they might not get those books to be translated also, for while

The great number of the Jews and Samaritans that were formerly carried into Egypt by Alexander, and now by Ptolemy the son of Lagus, appear afterwards in the vast multitude of ten thousand, were seen by Philadelphus, and by him made free, before he sent for the seventy-two interpreters; in the many garrisons, and other soldiers of that nation in Egypt; in the most convenient settlement of Jews, and of the number of their synagogues at Alexandria, long afterward; and in the vehicle of their library, the Jews and Samaritans under Philadelphus, about the place appointed for the public worship in the law of Moses: whether at the Jewish temple at Jerusalem, the Samaritan temple at Gerizim: of all which our author treats hereafter. And as to the Samaritans carried into Egypt under the same princes, Sca- 

Although this number one hundred and twenty thousand [or Alexandrians, or sixty Jewish shekels] be here three times repeated, because they have been translated to the Greek tongue, and Latin, yet since all the copies of Aristaeus, whence Je- 

1 Of the sacredness of oaths among the Jews in the Old Testament, see Scripture Politics, p. 54, 63.
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publish a magnificent decree, about what they requested, which should confirm the Artius, which was proposed, and especially what God willed should be done; whereby, he said, he would not only set those free who had been led away captive by the Medes and Persians, but the two hundred thousand who were in his kingdom before, and those also, if any such there were, who had been brought away since. And when they said that their redemption money would appear to them above what they had expected, he granted it. A copy of which decree I have determined to preserve, that the magnanimity of this king may be made known. Its contents were as follows: They were to be set free without ransom, under our father, and who, when they overran Syria and Phoenicia, and laid waste Judea, took the Jews captives, and made themselves, and brought them into our cities, and into this country, and then sold them; as also all those that were in my kingdom before them, and if there be any that have been lately brought thither, he made free by those that possess them; and let them accept of a hundred and twenty drachmas for every slave. And let the soldiers receive this redemption money with their pay, but the rest out of the king's coffers. In all these cases I have made captives without our father's consent, and against equity; and that their country was harassed by the insolence of the soldiers, and that, by their iniquitous conduct they have made a great profit by them. Out of regard therefore to justice, and out of pity to those that have been tyrannized over, contrary to equity, I enjoin him and his friends who have received gifts to set them at liberty, upon the receipt of the before-mentioned sum; and that no one use any deceit about them, but obey what is here commanded, and let them do it without their names, within three days after the publication of this edict, to such as are appointed to execute the same, and to produce the slaves before them also, for I think it will be for the advantage of my affairs; and let every one that will, inform against those that do not obey this decree; and I will that their estates be confiscated into the king's treasuries. When this decree was read to the king, it at first contained the rest that is here inserted, and omitted only those Jews that had formerly been brought, and those brought afterward after the order, and that the king hath made ample provision for them; so he added these clauses out of his humanity, and with great generosity. He also gave order that the payment, which was likely to be done in a sum, should be divided into a very numerous number of the talents paid for the captives being above four hundred and sixty, and this because their masters required the [hundred and] twenty drachmas for the children also, the king having in effect commanded that those should be paid for, when he said in his decree that they should receive the aforementioned sum for every slave.

4. Now when this had been done after so magnificent a manner, according to the king's inclinations, he gave order to Demetrius to give him in writing his sentiments concerning the transcribing of the Jewish books, for no part of the administration is done rashly by these kings, but all things are managed with great circumspection. On which account I have subjoined a copy of that letter in which the artificers attached to the vessels sent as gifts to Jerusalem, and the construction of every one, that the exactness of nearly the same in Josephus and Aristobulus, does better agree to twenty than to one hundred and twenty drachmas; and the vessels, as to the number of the great ones, thirty skelets, or sixty drachmas, see Exod. xxi. 36, while in the present circumstance of these Jewish slaves, one may see so numerous. Philadelphia would rather re-

demn them at a cheaper than at a dearer rate, there is great reason to prefer here Aristobulus's copies before Josephus's.

Just, the son of Onias I, in the fifth chapter, to consult that chapter itself upon this consider
those that are thy fellow-citizens, of whom I have set free above a hundred thousand that were slaves, and paid the price of their redemption to the deceased out of my own revenues, and those that are of a fit age, I have admitted into the number of my soldiers. And for such as are capable of being faithful to me, and proper for the service, I shall be pleased to think this kindness done to them to be a very great and an acceptable gift, which I desire and beseech of you, and I am desirous to do what will be grateful to these, and to all the other Jews in the habitable earth, I have determined to procure an interpretation of the holy scriptures and have it translated out of Hebrew into Greek, and to be deposited in my library. Thou wilt therefore do well to choose out and send to me men of a good character, who are now elders in age, and six in number out of every tribe. These, by their age, must be skilful in the law, and of abilities to make an accurate interpretation of them: and when this shall be finished, I shall think that I have done a work glorious to myself. And I have sent to thee Andreas, the captain of my guard, and Aristaeus, men whom I have in very great esteem; by them these first-fruits which have dedicated to the temple, and to the sacrifice, and to other uses, to the value of a hundred talents. And if thou wilt send to us, let us know hereof, and if thou hast any further, thou wilt do a thing acceptable to me."

6. When this epistle of the king was brought to Eleazar, he wrote an answer to it with all the respect possible: "Eleazar, the high priest, to king Ptolemy, sendeth greeting: If thou and thy queen Arsinoe, and thy children, be well, we are entirely satisfied." When we received thy epistle, we read it and were satisfied at the intentions; and when the multitude were gathered together, we read it to them, and thereby made them sensible of the piety thou hast towards God. We also showed them the twenty vials of gold, and thirty of silver, and the five large basins, and the table for the show-bread; as also the hundred talents for the sacrifices, and for the making what shall be needful at the temple. Which things Andreas and Aristaeus, those most honour'd friends of thine, have brought us: and truly they are persons of an excellent character, and of a courtly and worthy of thy virtue. Know then, that we will gratify thee in what is for thy advantage, though we do what we used not to do before, for we ought to make a return for so many acts of kindness which thou hast done to our countrymen. We immediately, therefore, offered sacrifices for thee and thy sister, with thy children, and friends; and the multitude made prayers, that thy affairs may be thy mind, and that thy kingdom may be preserved in peace, and that the translation of our law may come to the conclusion thou desirest, and be for thy advantage. We have also chosen six elders out of every tribe, whom we have sent, and the law with them. It will be thy part, out of thy piety and justice, to send back the law, when it hath been translated; and to return those to us that bring it in safety. Farewell."

7. This was the reply which the high priest made. But it does not seem to me to be necessary to set down the names of the seventy-two elders who were sent by Eleazar and carried the law, which yet were subjoined at the end of the epistle. However, I thought it not improper to mention a few of those very valuable and artificially contrived vessels which the king sent to God, that all may see how great a regard the king had for God; for the king allowed a vast deal of expenses for these vessels, and some often to the workmen, and viewed their works and suffered nothing of exorbitant exorbitant charge in paying to their operations.

8. And now I will describe what belongs to the table. It was indeed in the king's mind to make this table vastly large in its dimensions; but then he gave orders that they should learn what was the real size of it, translated out of the phrase already at Jerusalem, and how long it was, and whether there were a possibility of making one larger than it. And when he was informed how large that was which was already there, and that nothing hindered but a larger might be made, he said, that he was willing to have one made that should be five times as large as the present table, but his fear was that it would be useless in their sacred ministrations, by its too great largeness; for he desired that the gifts he presented them should not only be there for show, but should be used in their sacred ministrations. According to which reasoning, that the former table was made of so moderate a size for use, and not for want of gold, he required that he would not exceed the former table in large, but would make it exceed it in the variety and elegance of its materials. And as he was sagacious in observing the nature of all things, and in having a just notion of what was new and surprising, and where there were no sculptures, he would invent such as were proper, by his own skill, and would show them to the workmen, commanded them and such sculptures should now be made, and that those were delineated, should be most accurately formed by a constant regard to their delineations.

9. When, therefore, the workmen had under taken to make the table, they framed it in length two cubits [and a half] in breadth one cubit, and in height one cubit and a half; and the entire structure of the work was of gold. They withdrew a crown of a hundred round it, with wave-work wrought about it, and with an engraving which imitated a cord, and was admirably turned out; and there were of a triangular figure, every angle had the same disposition of its sculptures, that when you turned them about, the very same form of them was turned out and its inscription. Now that part of the crownwork that was enclosed under the table had its sculptures very beautiful, but that part which went round on the outside was more elaborately adorned with many beauti ful ornaments, because it was exposed to sight, and to the view of the spectators; for which reason it was that both those sides which were extant above the rest, were acute; and some of the angles, which we before told you were there, appeared less than another, when the table was turned about. Now into the crownwork that turned were precious stones inserted in rows parallel one to the other, enclosed in golden buttons, which had ooches in them; but the parts which were on the side of the crown, and were exposed to the sight, were adorned with a row of oval figures obliquely placed, of the most excellent sort of precious stones, which imitated rods laid close, and encompassed the table round about. And within these graven, the workmen had put a crown all round it, where the nature of all sorts of fruit was presented, insomuch that the bunches of grapes of Egypt at this very time; nay, of the Assyrian king of Persia. See Amm. P. xvi. ch. ii. sect. 1, whereas we have upon the bottom of the flower of the name, this bearer inscription, the death brother and sister.
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hung up. And when they had made the stones to represent all the kinds of fruit before mentioned, and that each in its proper colour, they made them fast with gold round the whole table. To every side of the table were sets of the engraved rods, was framed under the crown, that the table might on each side show the same appearance of variety and elegance of its ornaments, so that neither the position of the work nor of the crowns might be different, although the table were turned on the other side, but that the prospect of the same artistic conception might be the same. For, on each side of the table, for there was made a plate of gold of four fingers broad, through the entire breadth of the table, into which they inserted the feet, and then fastened them to the table by buttons and buttonholers, at the place where the crown was situate, that so on what side soever of the table one should stand, it might exhibit the very same view of the exquisite workmanship, and of the vast expenses bestowed upon it: but upon the table itself they engraved a meander, inserting into it very valuable stones in the middle, like stars of very rare colour: first, each of which sent out agreeable rays of light to the spectator; with such stones of other sorts also as were most curious and best esteemed, as before the table; and had before the table a masser of a texture of network ran round it, the middle of which appeared like a rhombus, into which were inserted rock crystal and amber, which, by the like resemblance of the appearance they made, gave wonderful delight to those that saw them. The chapters of the feet imitated the first boulders of lilies, while their leaves were of the most various sorts, and that the chives were seen standing upright within them. Their bases were made of a carbuncle; and the place at the bottom, which rested on the table, was girt with a bright, and in the fingers in breadth. Now they had engravened upon it with a very fine tool, and with a great deal of pains, a branch of ivory, and tendrils of the vine, sending forth clusters of grapes, that you would guess they were nowise different from real t.eu. s. for, they were so very thin, and so very far extended at their extremities, that they were the same, and that one could believe that they were the product of nature, and not the representation of art. They also made the entire workmanship of the table appear to be one, by engraving them concerning one another; so that they were so united together as to be invisible, and the places where they joined could not be distinguished. Now the thickness of the table was not more than in the palm of one's hand. So that one could not judge of the king's great generosity, by the great value of the materials, and the variety of its exquisite structure, and, the artificer's skill in imitating nature with graving tools, was at length brought to perfection, while the king was very desirous that though in largeness it were not to be different from that which was already dedicated to God, yet in exquisite workmanship, and the novelty of the contrivances, and in the splendid of its construction, it should far exceed it, and be more illustrious than that was.

10. Now of the cisterns of gold there were two, whose sculpture was of scalework, from its basis to its belt-like circle, with various sorts of stone inlaid in the spiral circles. Next to these there was upon it a meander of a cubit in height; it was composed of stones of all sorts of colours. And next to this was the rodwork graven; and next to that was a rhombus in a texture of scalework, which was brought out in the base of the basin, while small shields made of stones, beautiful in their kind, and of four fingers' depth, filled up the middle parts. About the top of the basin were engraved the leaves of the four kinds of leaves, the emu-rolubus, and the tendrils of vines, in a circular manner. And this was the construction of the two cisterns of gold, each containing two firtines. But those which were of all these kinds much more bright and splendid than looking-glasses, and you might in them see the images that fell upon them more plainly than in the water. The king ordered thirty of which the parts were of gold, and filled up with precious stones, were shadowed over with leaves of Ivy, and of vines, artificially engraved. And these were the vessels, after an extraordinary manner, brought to this perfection, partly by the skill of the workmen, who were admirable in such fine work, but much more by the diligence and generosity of the king, who not only supplied the artificers abundantly, and with great generosity, with what they wanted, but he forbade public audiences for the time, and came and stood by the workmen, and saw the whole operation. And this was the cause why the workmen were so accurate in their performance, because they had regard to the king, and to his great concern about the vessels, and so the more indefatigably kept close to the work.

11. And these were what gifts were sent by Ptolemy to Jerusalem, and dedicated to God there. But when Eleazar the high priest had devoted them to God, and had paid due respect to the king, and had brought them to the presents to be carried to the king, he dismissed them. And when they were come to Alexandria, and Ptolemy heard that they were come, and that the seventy elders were come also, he privately sent for Andreas and Ariosteus, his ambassadors, who came to him, and delivered him the epistle which they had brought him from the high priest, and made an answer to all the questions he put to them by word of mouth. He then made haste to meet the elders that came from Jerusalem, for the interpretation of the laws; and he gave command that every one of them, and on other occasions, should be sent away, which was a thing surprising, and what he did not use to do, for those that were drawn thither upon such occasions used to come to him on the fifth day, but ambassadors at the month's end. But when he had sent those away, he waited for those that were sent by Eleazar, but as the old men came in with the presents, which the high priest had given them to bring to the king, and with the membranes, upon which they had their laws written in golden letters, he put questions to them, and then, as he saw they had taken off the covers wherein they were wrap up, they showed him the membranes. So the king stood admiring the thinness of those membranes, and the excellency of the writing, and could not be perceived, (so exactly were they connected one with another;) and this he did for a considerable time. He then said that he returned them thanks for coming to him, and still greater thanks to him that sent them; and, above all, to that God whose laws they appeared to be. Then did the elders, and those that were present with them, cry out with one voice, and wished all happiness to the king. Upon which when he fell into fears by the violence of the pleasure he had, it being natural to afford the more to him that discoursed, in the first place, of the errand they were sent about, and then to address himself to themselves. He promised, however, that he would make this day memorable in which they appeared so remarkable and eminent every year through the whole course of his life; for their coming to him, and the victory which he gained over Antigonus by sea, proved to be on the very same day. He

—The Talmudists say that this is not taken from the law in letters of gold, contrary to this certain and very ancient example. See Houbig and Seller's notes here.
the promise of money whereby Haman bought the destruction of their nation. He also gave him a copy of what was proclaimed at Shushan, to be carried to Esther; and he charged her to petition the king about this matter, and act to the effect of saving the Jews; to be in readiness to act at once, as the king's anger was in a humble habit, for the safety of her nation, wherever in she might depreciate the ruin of the Jews, who were in danger of it; for that Haman, whose desires were only for his own profit, who in this calumny, to beseech the king for the Jews, had accused the Jews, and had irritated the king against them. When she was informed of this, she sent to Mordecai again, and told him that she was unwilling to come to the king, and that he who goes in to him without being called, is to be slain, unless when he is willing to save any one, he holds out his golden sceptre to him; but that to whomsoever he does so, although he go in without being called, that person is so far from being slain, that he obtains pardon, and is entirely preserved. Now when he, equally carried this message from Esther to Mordecai, he bade him also tell her that she must not only provide for her own preservation, but for the common preservation of her nation, for that if she now neglected this opportunity, there was no doubt certainly arise help to them from God some other way, but she and her father's house would be destroyed by those whom she now despised. But Esther sent the very same letter, to Mordecai [to desire him] to go to Shushan, and to gather the Jews that were there together to a congregation, and to fast and abstain from all sorts of food on her account, and [to let him know] that she with her maidens would do the same; and then she promised that she would go to the king, though it were against the law, and that if she must die for it she would not refuse it.

8. Accordingly, Mordecai did as Esther had enjoined him, and made the people fast; and he besought God, together with them, "not to overlook his nation, particularly at this time, when it was going to be destroyed; but that, as he had often before provided for them, and forgiven when they had sinned, so would now deliver them from that destruction which was denounced against them; for although it was not all the nation that had offended, yet must they so ingloriously be slain, and that he himself the occasion of the wrath of Haman, because (said he) I did not worship him, nor could I endure to pay that honour to him which I used to pay to thee, 0 Lord; and the very man that he contrived this present mischief against those that have not transgressed thy laws." The same supplications did the multitude put up; and entreated that God would deliver, and save his people, and free the Israelites that were in all the earth from this calamity which was now coming upon them, for they had it before their eyes, and expected its coming. Accordingly, Esther made supplication to God after the manner of her country, by casting herself down upon the earth, and putting on her mourning garments, and bidding farewell to all flesh and all delights, for three days' time; and she entreated God to have mercy upon her, and make her words appear perspicuous to the king, and render her countenance more pleasant than it was before, that both by her words and beauty she might succeed, for the averting of the king's anger, in case he were at all irritated against her, and for the consolation of her own country, now they were in the utmost danger of perishing; as also, that he would excite a hatred in the king against the enemies of the Jews, and those that had contrived their future destruction, if they proved to be concerned by him.

9. When Esther had used this supplication for three days, she put off those garments, changed her dress, and adorned herself as became a queen, and took two of her handmaids with her, the one of which supported her, as she greedily leaned upon her, and the other followed after, and lifted up her large train (which swept along the ground), with the extremities of her fingers: and thus she came to the king; having a blushing face, and red as if she were just come from a warm bath, and a very agreeableness in her behaviour, yet did she go in to him with fear; and as soon as she was come over against him, as he was sitting on his throne; and as he beheld her, he was a great interwoven with gold and precious stones which made him seem to her more terrible, especially when he looked at her so fearfully and vehemely, the fire with anger, her joints failed her immediately, out of the dread she was in, and she fell down sideways in a swoon; but the king changed her heart as it had happened, as I suppose, by the will of God, and was concerned for his wife, lest her fear should bring some very ill thing upon her, and he leaped from his throne and took her in his arms, and recovered her, by embracing her, and speaking comfortably to her, and exhorting her to be of good cheer, and not to suspect any thing that was coming to him was not being called, because the law does not make it void for subjects, but that she, who was a queen, as well as he a king, might be entirely secure: and as she said so, he put the sceptre into her hand, and laid his robe on her neck, on the sudden, to say what hath happened, for as soon as I saw thee to be great, and comely, and terrible, my spirit departed from me, and I declared a soul left me in thee. And what if she must die for it she would not refuse it.

10. Now when the king had promised so to do, Haman went away very glad, because he alone had the honour of supping with the king at Esther's banquet, and because no one else partook of the same honour with kings but himself; but when he saw Mordecai in the court, he was very much displeased, for he paid him no manner of respect when he saw him. So he went home, and called for his wife Zeresh, and his friends, and when they were come, he showed them what honour he enjoyed, not only from the king, but also, for as he alone had that day supped with her, together with the king, so was he also invited again for the next day; yet said he, am I not pleased to see Mordecai the Jew in the court of the king's palace? 0 Lord, be merciful to my soul, and to the soul of my servant Mordecai. So he commended her advice, and gave order to his servants to prepare the gallows, and to place it in the court, for the punishment of Mordecai thereon, which was according to the king's pleasure.
11. Now while these men were thus talking one to another, Esther's eunuchs hastened Haman away to come to supper; but one of the eunuchs, named Sabuchades, saw the gallows that was fixed in Haman's house to hang his executioner, and in the sight of his servants, for what purpose they had prepared it? So he knew that it was for the queen's uncle, because Haman was about to petition the king that he might destroy the Jews, but when he had held his peace. Now when the king, with Haman, were at the banquet, he desired the queen to tell him what gift he desired to obtain, and Haman was not long to speak, but he answered and said, that she had a mind to. Then inamenter the danger her people were in; and said, that "She and her nation were given up to be destroyed, and that she, on that account, made this her petition; that she would not have troubled him if he had only given order that they should be sold into bitter servitude, for such a misfortune would not have been intolerable; but she desired that they might be delivered from such destruction." And when the king inquired of her who was the author of this misery to them? she then openly accused Haman, and accused Haman, and said, that he had been the wicked instrument of this, and had formed this plot against them. When the king was hereupon in disorder, and was going hastily out of the banquet, the eunuchs Haman began to intercede with Esther, and to beseech her to forgive him, as to what he had offended, for he perceived that he was in great danger. And as he had fallen upon the queen's bed, and was making supplication to her, the king came in, and being still more provoked at what he saw, "O thou wretch, (said he) thou villain of all mankind, dost thou aim to force my wife?" And when Haman was astonished at this, and not able to speak one word more, Sabuchades the eunuch came in, and accused Haman, and said, "He found a gallows at his house prepared for Mordecai, for that the servant told him so much upon his inquiry, when he was sent to him to call him to supper." He said farther, "That the gallows was fifty cubits high." Which when the king heard, he determined that Haman should be punished after so other manner than that which had been devised by him against Mordecai: so he gave order immediately that he should be hung upon that gallows, and be put to death after that manner. And from hence I cannot forbear to admire to Haman, and to his wisdom and his justice, not only in punishing the wickedness of Haman, but in so disposing it, that he should undergo the very same punishment which he had contrived for others; because he thereby teaches others this lesson, that what mischief any one prepares against another, he, without knowing of it, first contrives it against himself.

12. Wherefore Haman, who had immoderately abused the honour he had from the king, was destroyed after this manner, and the king granted his estate to the queen. He also called for Mordecai, (for Esther had informed him that she was akin to him,) and gave that ring to Mordecai, which he had before given to Haman. The king also gave to Haman to cast lots for morrow, and prayed the king to deliver the nation of the Jews from the fear of death, and showed him what had been written over all the countries by Haman the son of Amodatha; that not only their country were destroyed, but their countrymen were to perish, she could not hear to live herself any longer. So the king promised her, that he would not disturb the Jews, nor do any thing that should be contrary to the laws, to her, nor contrivest what she desired, he bade her write what she pleased about the Jews, in the king's name, and send it to the king's friends for that those who read epistles whose authority is secured by having the king's seal to them, would noway contradict what was written therein.
be commanded the king's scribes to be sent for, and to write to the nations on the Jews' behalf, and to his lieutenants and governors, that were over his hundred twenties, and seven provinces, from India to Ethiopia. Now the contents of this epistle were these: "The great king Artaxerxes, ruler, and those that are our faithful subjects, sendeth greeting. Many men there are, who, on account of the greatness of the benefits bestowed on them, and because of the honor daraful kind treatment of those that bestowed it, are not only injurious to their inferiors, but do not scruple to do evil to those that have been the means of their welfare, as they would take away the gratitude from among men, and by their insidious abuse of such benefits as they never expected, they turn the abundance they have against those that are the authors of it, and suppose they shall lie concealed from God in that case, and avoid that vengeance which comes from him. Some of these men, when they have had the management of affairs committed to them by their friends, and bearing private malice of their own against some others, by deceiving those that have the power, persuade them to be angry at such men, and cause them no harm in danger of perishing, and this by laying accusations and calumnies: nor is this state of things to be discovered by ancient examples, or such as we see nowadays in our age only; but by some examples of such impudent attempts under our own eyes, so that it is not fit to attend any longer to calumnies and accusations, nor to the persuasion of others, but to determine what any one knows of himself to have been really done, and to punish what justly deserves it, and grant favours to such as are innocent. This hath been the case in the Persians, the son of Ammodatha, head of the city of Amalekite, and alien from the blood of the Persians, who, when he was hospitably entertained by us, and partook of that kindness which we bear to all men, to so great a degree as to be called my father, and to be all along worshipped, and have honour paid him by all in the second rank after the royal honour due to ourselves, he could not bear his good fortune, nor govern the magnitude of his prosperity with sound reason; Nay, he made a conspiracy against me and my life, who gave him his authority, and granted him this benefit; for, my lord, he acts with my benefactor, and my saviour, and by basely and treacherously requiring to have Esther, the prosperity of my life, and of my dominion, brought to destruction, and deprived me of my friends, and to deprive me of my faithful friends, and transfer the government to others: but since I perceived that these were done by this pernicious fellow devoted to destruction, were not wicked men, but conducted their lives after the best manner, and were men dedicated to the worship of that God who had preserved the kingdom to us and to my ancestors. I do not only free them from the punishment which the former epistle, which was sent by Haman, ordained to be inflicted on them, to which if you refuse obedience, you shall do well, but I will that they have all honour paid to them. Accordingly, I have hanged up the man that con-

vived such things against them, with his family, before the gates of Shushan, that punishment be sent upon him by God, which is our God. And you give in charge, that you publicly propose a copy of this epistle through all my kingdom, that the Jews may be permittedpeaceably to kill and destroy the wicked enemy of the Jews, which is Adar, for God hath made that day a day of salvation instead of a day of destruction to them; and may it be a good day to those that have been aggrieved, and to the punishment of the conspirators against us: and I will that you take notice, that every city, and every nation, that shall disobey any thing that is contained in this epistle, shall be destroyed by fire and sword. However, let this epistle be published through all the country that is under our obedience, and let all the Jews by all means be ready against the day before mentioned, that they may avenge themselves upon their ene-

13. Accordingly the horsemen who carried the epistle hastened, and speeded, and went forth with speed: but as for Mordecai, as soon as he had assumed the royal garment, and the crown of gold, and had put the chain about his neck, and the girdle of purple, and when the Jews who were at Shushan, saw him in so great honour with the king, they thought his good fortune was common to themselves also, and in a moment gathered a band, and proceeded to the Jews, both those that were in the cities, and those that were in the countries, upon the publication of the king's letters, insomuch, that many of them, even the young men, were afraid for fear of the Jews, that they might procure safety to themselves thereby; for on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which according to the Hebrews is called Adar, but according to the Macedonians, Dystrus, those that carried the king's epistle gave them notice, that the same day wherein their danger was to have been, as that very day should they destroy their ene-

mies. But now the rulers of the provinces, and the tyrants, and the kings, and the scribes, had the Jews in esteem; for the fear they were in of Mordecai and Haman, the king knew not the number of the ones that were slain in that city, but did not well know what had been done with us well, and a deplorable thing, whether she would have anything further done: but I command for that it should be done accordingly: upon which she desired that the Jews might be permitted to treat their remaining enemies in the same manner the next day; as also that they might hang the ten sons of Haman upon the gallows. So the king permitted the Jews so to do, as deed of kept them together again on the fourth teenth day of the month Dystrus, and slew about three hundred of their enemies, but touched

* The true reason why king Artaxerxes did not here properly revoke his former barbarous decrees for the universal massacre of the Jews, but only committed sacrifices to the gods, and caused them to be burnt at the stake, was that he was an Aegyptian, and the old king of the Amalekites, 1 Sam. iv. 39, 33, while he was in Egypt, and afterwards, not yet left alive, he was destroyed, and after this event, the Amalekites were not heard of in the land of Israel, and the city of Beer-sheba was burnt, and their country destroyed. And Haman, having enraged the royal favour, might perhaps have himself signed this decree for the Jews' satisfaction, in the name of the king, which must be on some great occasion, were Amalekites, their old and hereditary enemies, Exod. καὶ προσέχουν, 14, 15, 16. And so the enemy which was the chief of the Amalekites, or Amalek, as he was called, and was not but amongst the most natural enemies of the Jews, and so might have recov-

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working of what riches they had. Now there was also a famine that was in all the country, and in the other cities, seventy-five years. The people was then "you temple?" And as he was aiming to go into the temple, they forbade him so to; but he went in. And when he saw this, he went into the temple. Accord-

ingly, Baggesse made use of this pretense, and for the seven years the Jews for the murder of Jesus.

2. Now when John had departed this life, his son Jaddua succeeded in the high priesthood. He had a hundred years of residence, and he had a daughter called And he was a man of great wisdom and learning, and assisted him in the government of the people. He also lived with the queen; so that the affairs of the Jews were by their means better than they could ever have been before. And this was the reign of the Jews under the reign of Artaxerxes.

CHAP. VII.

How John slew his Brother Jesus in the Temple: and Bagoes offered many Innocent Sufferings to the Jews: and what Sambhallat did.

§ 1. At Eliahb the high priest was dead, the son of Judas succeeded in the high priesthood; and when he was dead, his son John took that dignity: on whose account it was also that Bagoes, the general of the other Artaxerxes' army, polluted the temple, and imposed tributes on the Jews, that out of the public stock, before they offered the daily sacrifices, they should pay for every lamb fifty shekels. Now Jesus was the brother of John, and was a friend of Bagoes, who had promised to procure him the high priesthood. In confidence of whose support, he laid himself open to the Jews, and so provoked his brother, that in his anger his brother slew him. Now it was a horrid thing for John, when he was high priest, to persevere in the government of his kingdom, and be horrid, that there never was so cruel and impious a thing done neither by the Greeks nor barbarians. However, God did not neglect his punishment, but the people were on that very account enslaved, and the temple was polluted by the Persians. Now when Bagoes, the general of Artaxerxes' army, knew that John, the high priest of the Jews, had slain his own brother Jesus in the temple, he came upon the Jews immediately, and began in anger to say to them, "Have you not the priests' license to come into your temple?" And as he was aiming to go into the temple, they forbade him so to do; but he went in. And when he saw these words, he went into the temple. Accord-

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CHAP. VIII.

Concerning Sambhallat and Manasseh, and the Temple which they built on Mount Gerizim, and the man named Alexander made his Entry into the City Jerusalem; and what Benefice he bestowed on the Jews.

§ 1. About this time it was that Philip, king of Macedon, was treacherously assaulted and slain at Eges by Pausanias, the son of Ceraes, who was dead, and the family of Ceraes, and his son Alexander succeeded him in the kingdom; who, passing over the Hellepont, overcame the generals of Darius' army in a battle fought at Granicus. So he marched over Lydia, and subdued Ionia, and overran Caria, and fell upon the places of Pamphylia, as has been related elsewhere.

2. But the elders of Jerusalem being very uneasy that the brother of Jaddua the high priest, though married to a foreigner, should be a partner with him in the high priesthood, quarreled with him; for they, with John the high priest, took a step to such as should be desirous of transgressing about the marriage of [strange] wives, and that this would be the beginning of a mutual society with foreigners; and the office of giving some about marriages, and their having married wives that were not of their own country, had been an occasion of their former captivity, and of the miseries they then underwent; so they commanded Manasseh to divorce his wife, or not to approach the altar, the high priest himself joining with the people in their indignation against his brother, and driving him away from the temple, he came upon the Jews immediately, and began in anger to say to them, "Have you not the priests' license to come into your temple?" And as he was aiming to go into the temple, they forbade him so to do; but he went in. And when he saw these words, he went into the temple. Accord-

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ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

she ait. Whenceupon Manasseh came to his father-in-law, Senen, to take him, that he, although he loved his daughter Nicaea, yet was he not willing to be deprived of his sanctorial dignity on her account, which was the principal dignity, according to the ancient custom of the same family." And then Sanballat promised him not only to preserve to him the honour of his prie-thoos, but to procure to him the power and dignity of a high priest, and would make him his governor of all the places he himself now ruled, if he would keep his daughter for his wife. He also told him farther, that he would build him a temple on Mount Gerizim, which is the highest of all the mountains that are in Samaria, and he promised that he would do this with the approbation of Darius the king. Manasseh was elevated with these promises, and staid with Sanballat, upon a supposal that he should gain a high priesthood, as bestowed on him by Darius, for it happened that Sanballat was then in years. But there was now a great disturbance among the people of Jerusalem, because many of those priests and Levites were entangled in such matches; for they all resolved, that if Sanballat afforded them money, and divided among them land for tillage, and habitations also, and all this in order every way to gratify his son-in-law. And at this time had Darius heard how Alexander had passed over the Hellespont, and had beaten his lieutenants in the battle of Granioum, and was proceeding farther: whereupon he gathered together an army of horse and foot, and determined that he would meet the Macedonians before they should assault and conquer all Asia. So he passed over the river Euphrates, and came to the banks of the river Euphrates, and at Issus on the coast of Marisia he waited for the enemy, as ready there to give him battle. Upon which Sanballat was glad that Darius was come down; and told Manasseh that he would suddenly perform his promises to him, and this as soon as ever Darius should come back, after he had beaten his enemies; for not he only, but all those that were in Asia also, were persuaded that the Macedonians would not so much as come to battle with the Persians, on account of their multitude. But the event proved otherwise than they expected, for the battle was fought between the Macedonians and the Medes, and Darius was beaten, and lost a great part of his army. His mother also, and his wife and children, were taken captives, and he fled into Persia. So Alexander passed over into Syria, and took up his abode in Sidon, where he had obtained Sidon he besieged Tyre, when he sent an epistle to the Jewish high priest, "To send him some auxiliaries, and to supply his army with all necessaries, and that the priests should have the temple estout of the high priest to Darius, he would now send to him, and choose the friendship of the Macedonians, and that he should never repent of so doing." But the high priest answered the messengers, that "he had given his oath to Darius not to bear arms against him; and he said, that he would not transgress this while Darius was in the land of the living." Upon hearing this answer Alexander was very angry; and though he determined not to leave Tyre, which was just ready to be taken, yet as soon as he had taken it, he threatened that he would make an expedition against the Jewish high priest, and through him teach all men to whom they must keep their oaths. So when he had, with a good deal of pains during the siege, taken Tyre, and had settled its affairs, he came to the city of Gaza, and besieged both the city and him who was governor of the garrison, whose name was Reumesseus. Alexander was by far the highest man that ever came to that place, having a great power and greatness of mind, in his words, and in his actions, and in his eloquence, and in his manners. He now got a proper opportunity to make his attempt, so he reconciled Darius, and taking with him seven thousand of his subjects, he came to Alexander; and finding him beginning the siege of Tyre, he said to him, that he delivered up to him those Jews, who were his adherents, and did gladly accept of him for their lord, instead of Darius. So when Alexander had received him kindly, Sanballat thereupon took courage of him, and did not think the matter fair. He told him, that he "had a son-in-law, Manasseh, who was brother to the high priest Jaddua; and that there were many others of his own nation with him, that were desirous to have a temple in the places subject to him; that it would be for the king's advantage to have the strength of the Jews divided into two parts, lest, when they were dispersed, their minds of a more ample, upon any attempt for innovation, it prove troublesome to kings, as it had formerly proved to the kings of Assyria." Whereupon Alexander gave Sanballat leave so to do, who used the utmost diligence, and built the temple, and made Manasseh the priest, and deemed it a great reward, that his daughter's children should have that dignity; but when the seven months of the siege of Tyre were over, and the two months of the siege of Gaza, Sanballat died. Now Alexander, when he had taken Gaza, made haste to go over into Syria, and not to suffer Jaddua, when he heard that, was in an agony, and under terror, as not knowing how he should meet the Macedonians, since the king was dispersed at the battle of Issus. He was troubled, and thought, that the people should make supplications, and should join with him in offering sacrifices to God, whom he besought to protect that nation, and to deliver them from the perils that were coming upon them: whereinupon God warned him in a dream, which came upon him after he had offered sacrifice, that "he should take courage, and he should not be afraid; and he should rest should appear in white garments, but that he and the priests should meet the king in the habits proper to their order, without the dread of any ill consequences, which the providence of God would prevent." Upon which, when he rose from his sleep, he greatly rejoiced; and declared to all the warning he had received from God. According to which dream he acted entirely, and so waited for the coming of the king. 5. And when he understood that he was not far from the city, he went out in procession, with the priests, to meet the king. And this procession was venerable, and the manner of it different from that of other nations. It reached to a place called Sapha, which name, translated into Hebrew, signifieth a prospect both of Jerusalem and of the temple; and when the Phoenicians and the Chaldeans that followed him, thought they should have a free liberty, and privileges, and the high priest to death, which the king's displeasure fairly promised them, the very reverse of it happened; for Alexander, when he saw the multitude at a distance in white garments, while the priests stood clothed with fine linen, and the high priest in purple and scarlet clothing, with his mitre on his head, having the golden plate whereon the name of God was engraved, he approached by himself, and adored that Name, and first saluted the high priest. The Jews also did altogether, with one voice, salute Alexander, and compass him about: whereupon the king of Syria, and the rest, were surprised at what Alexander had done, and supposed him disordereth in his mind. However, Parmenios alone went up to him, and asked him, "How it came to pass, that when all others adored him, he should adore the high priest of the Jews?" To whom he replied, "I did not adore him, but that God who hath honoured me so highly. And now I saw this very person in a dream, in this very habit, when I was at Dios in Macedonia, who, when I was considering with myself how I might obtain the dominion of Asia, exhibited to me,
BOOK XII.—CHAP. VIII.

makes no delay, but boldly to pass over the sea
thither; for that he would conduct his army, and
would go to the Jews in person; whereas it is, that
having seen no other in that habit, and now seeing
this person in it, and remembering that vision, and
the exhortation which I had in my mind, I believe that I bring
this army under the divine conduct, and shall
therewith conquer Damus, and destroy the power
of the Persians, and that all things will succeed
according to what is in my own mind." And
when he said this to Parmenio, and had given
the high priest his right hand, the priests ran
along by him, and he came into the city. And
when he went up into the temple, he offered
sacrifice to God, according to the high priest's
direction; and magnificently treated both the high
priest and the priests. And when the book
of Daniel was shown him, wherein Daniel declared
that one of the Greeks should destroy the em-
perors of the Persians, he supposed that himself
was the person intended: and as he was then
said, he dismissed the multitude for the present,
but the next day he called them to him, and bade
them ask what favour they pleased of him;
whereupon the high priest desired that they
might pay no tribute on the seventh year. He
granted all they desired. And when they en-
plored him that he would permit the Jews in
his dominion to be liberally set free, he
promised to do hereafter what they desired.
And when he said to the multitude, that
if any of them would list themselves in his army,
on this condition, that they should serve
under the laws of their forefathers, and live according
to them, he was willing to take them with
him, many were ready to accompany him in his
wars.

6. So when Alexander had thus settled matters at Jerusalem, he led his army into the neigh-
boring cities; and when all the inhabitants, to
whom he came, received him with great kind-
ness, the Samaritans, who had then Shechem
for their metropolis, (a city situate at mount Ge-
rizzim, and inhabited by apostates of the Jewish
nation,) seeing that Alexander had so greatly
honored the Jews, determined to profess them-

selves Jews, for such is the disposition of the
Samaritans, as we have already elsewhere de-
clared, that when they are few in number, they
deny that they are of him to them, and then they
confess the truth; but when they perceive that
some good fortune hath befallen them, they im-
mediately pretend to have communion with
them, saying, that they belong to them, and de-
rive their genealogy from the posterity of Joseph,
Ephraim, and Manasseh. Accordingly, they
made their address to the king, and the senate,
that they should send a commission to meet him at a little
distance from Jerusalem. And when Alexander
had commanded them, the Shechemites ap-

do to him, taking with them the troops
that Sanballat had sent them, and they desired
that he would come to their city, and do honour
to their temple also. To whom he promised,
that when he returned he would come to them.
And when they petitioned that he would remit
the tribute of the seventh year to them, because
they did not sow thereon, he asked who they
were that made such a petition; and when they
said that they were Hebrews, but had the name
of Sidonians, living at Shechem, he asked them
again, whether they were Jews; and when they
said they were not Jews, but only Hebrews (said
he) that I granted that privilege; however,
when I return and am thoroughly informed by
you of this matter, I will do what I shall think
meet in this matter also. And thus he dealt with
the Shechemites, but ordered that the troops of
Sanballat should follow him into Egypt, because
there he designed to give them hands, which he
did a little after this, when he ordered them
to guard that country.

7. Now when Alexander was dead, the govern-
ment was parted among his successors, but the
temple upon mount Gerizim remained. And if
any one were accused by those of Jerusalem, of
having eaten together common, or of having bro-
ken the Sabbath, or of any other crime of the
like nature, he fled away to the Shechemites,
and said that he was accused unjustly. About
this time it was that Judas the high priest died;
and Onias his son took the high priesthood.
This was the state of the affairs of the people
of Jerusalem at this time.

BOOK XII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF A HUNDRED AND SEVENTY YEARS—FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT TO THE DEATH OF JUDAS MACCABEUS.

CHAP. I.

How Ptolemy, the Son of Lagus, took Jerusalem and Judea by Deceit and Treachery, and carried away many of the Jews thence, and planted them in Egypt.

§ 1. Now when Alexander, king of Macedon,
had put an end to the dominion of the Persians,
and had settled the affairs in Judea, for four or
five years after the forementioned manner, he ended his life. And as his government fell among many, Antigonus
obtained Asia; Seleucus, Babylon; and of the
other generals, the dominions of the Persians
were divided between Hellespont, and Cassander possessed Macedonia; as did Ptolemy, the son of Lagus,
seize upon Egypt. And while these princes
ambitioned to be in all things greater than any one
for his own principalitv, it came to pass that
there were continual wars, and those lasting wars
too; and the cities were sufferers, and lost a great
many of their inhabitants, in times of distress,
insomuch that all Syria, by the means of
Ptolemy the son of Lagus, underwent the re-
verse of that denomination of Saviour which he
then had. He also seized upon Jerusalem, and
for that end made use of deceit and treachery;
as if he would offer sacrifices, he without any
trouble gained the city, while the Jews did not
oppose him, for they did not suspect him to be
their enemy; and he gained it thus, because
they were free from suspicion of him, and he
caused on that day they were at rest and quiet-
ness; and when he had gained it, he ruled over
it in a cruel manner. Nay, Agatharchides of
Cnidus, who wrote the acts of Alexander's suc-
cessors, reproach us with superstition, by it, had lost our liberty; where he says thus:

"There is a nation called the nation of the Jews,
who inhabit a city strong and great, named Jer-
usalem. Thebes there is no care, but let it
come into the hands of Ptolemy, as not willing
to take arms, and thereby they submitted to be
under a hard master, by reason of their unrea-
sonable superstition. This is what Agathar-
chides relates of our nation. But when Ptolemy
had taken a great many captives, both from the
mountainous parts of Judea, and from the places
about Jerusalem and Samaria, and the Andes
near mount Gerizim, he led them all into Egypt,
nothing is wanting that is necessary for that purpose, we may have their books also in this library. So the king thought that Demetrius was false and a very zelous and mendacious Alexander, when he sent him an embassy to them, after he had beaten Darius in battle; so he distributed many of them into garrisons, and at Alexandria gave them equal privileges of citizens with the Macedonians themselves; and required of them to take their oaths, that they would keep their fidelity to the posterity of those who committed them to his care, and let them be not to be a few other Jews, who, of their own accord, went into Egypt, as invited by the goodness of the soil, and by the liberality of Ptolemy. However, there were discharged many more of their posterity, with relation to the Samaritans, on account of their resolution to preserve that conduct of life which was delivered to them by their forefathers, and they thereupon contended one with another; while those of Jerusalem said, that their temple was holy, and resolved to send their sacrifices thither; but the Samaritans were resolved that they should be sent to mount Gerizim.

CHAPTER II.

How Ptolemy Philadelphus procured the Laws of the Jews to be translated into the Greek tongue, and set many Captives free; and dedicated many Gifts to God.

1. When Alexander had reigned twelve years, and after him Ptolemy Soter forty years, Philadelpus then took the kingdom of Egypt, and held it forty years within one. He procured the law to be instituted of all those that were come from Jerusalem into Egypt, and were in slavery there, who were a hundred and twenty thousand. The occasion of this was: Demetrius Phalaris, who was a famous lawgiver of Athens, wrote to the king, who was now endeavouring, if it were possible, to gather together all the books that were in the habitable earth, and buy whatsoever was anywhere valuable, or agreeable to the king’s inclination, (who was very earnestly set upon collecting of books;) to which inclination of his, Demetrius was zealously subservient. And when once Ptolemy asked him how many ten thousands of books he had collected, he replied, that he had already about twenty times ten thousand, but that, in a little time, he should have fifty times ten thousand. But he said, he had been informed that there were many books of laws among the Jews worthy of inquiring after, and worthy of the king’s library, but which being written in the Greek tongue, and a different language from their own, will cause no small pains in getting them translated into the Greek tongue; that the character in which they are written seems to be like to that which is the proper character of the Syrians; and that its sound, when pronounced, is like theirs also; and that this sound appears to be peculiar to themselves. Wherefore he said, that nothing hindered why they might not get those books to be translated also, for while the great number of the Jews and Samaritans that were formerly carried into Egypt by Alexander, and now by Ptolemy the son of Lagus, appear afterward in the vast multitude of men, which we shall hereafter at some length mention, were taken by Philadelpus, and by him made free, before he sent for the seventy-two interpreters; in the many garrisons, and other soldiers of that nation in Egypt; in the famous settlement of Jews, and the number of their synagogues at Alexandria, long afterward; and in the very next generation; and by the Samaritans under Philisternus, about the place appointed for the public worship in the law of Moses; whether at the Jewish temple at Jerusalem, or at any other temple in the nation; or at the temple at Gerizim, of all which our author testifies hereafter. And as to the Samaritans carried into Egypt under the same princes, Scgna, we also those whom the Arabic geographer speaks of, as having reigned as an island in the Red Sea, are remembrance of this very day, as the note here informs us.

2. Now there was an Aristaeus, who was among the king’s most intimate friends, and on account of his modesty very acceptable to him. This Aristaeus resolved frequently, and that be very willing to persuade the king that he would set all the captive Jews in his kingdom free; and he thought this to be a convenient opportunity for the making that petition. So he discourse, in the first place, with the captains of the king’s guards, Sosiibus of Tarentum, and Andreas, and persuaded them to assist him in what he was going to intercede with the king for. Accordingly, Aristaeus embraced the same opinion with those that have been before mentioned; and went to the king, and made the following speech to him: "It is not fit for us, O king, to overlook things of so great importance, or to deceive ourselves, but to lay the truth open; for since we have determined not only to get the laws of the Jews transcribed, but interpreted also, for thy satisfaction, by what means they have come to this, while so many of our people are now slaves in thy kingdom? Do thou then what will be agreeable to thy magnanimity, and to thy good nature; free them from the miseries they are in, because that thou dost support thy kingdom, was the author of their laws, as I have learned by particular inquiry, for both these people, and we also, worship the same name of God, and set free those to whom the king, that and that, by the name of Zeus, or Life, of Jupiter, because he breathes life into all men. Wherefore do thou restore these men to their own country and houses, and to their property, because these men pay a peculiarly excellent worship to him. And know this farther, that though I be not of kin to them by birth, nor one of the same country with them, yet do I desire these favours to be done them, since all men are the workmanship of God; and I am sensible that he is well pleased with those that do good. I do, therefore, put up this petition to thee, to do good to them."

3. When Aristaeus was saying thus, the king looked upon him with a cheerful and joyous countenance, and said, "And how, dost thou suppose there are of such as want to be made free?" To which Andreas replied, as he stood by, and said, "A few more than ten thousand."

And he said, "And is this a small gift that thou askest, Aristaeus?" But Sosiibus, and the rest that stood by, said, "that he ought to offer such a thank-offering as was worthy of his greatness of soul, to God who had given him his kingdom." With this answer he was much pleased; and gave order, that when they paid the soldiers their wages, they should lay down [a hundred and twenty drachms for every one of the slaves.]

And he promised to

1 Of the sacreens of oaths among the Jews in the Old Testament, see Scripture Politics, p. 54, 65.

2 Of the translation of the other parts of the Old Testament by the seventy interpreters, see the note on the son of Lagus, and Philadelpus; as also the translation of the Pentateuch by seventy-two Jews in the seventh year of Ptolemy Philadelpus at Alexandria, as given us an account of by Aristaeus, and those by Philo and Josephus, with a vindication of Aristaeus’s history, and the same by Ph. and Josephus, p. 54, 65.

3 Although this number one hundred and twenty drachmas (of Alexandria, or sixty Jewish shekels) be here three times repeated, there seems reason to think that a drachma at Gerizim, and later in the 1st century B.C. was not worth half a shekel; and since the sum of the talents, to be set down properly, which is little above four hundred and sixty, for somewhat more than one hundred thousand of slaves, is
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publish a magnificent decree, about what they requested, which should confirm what Aristaeus had proposed, and especially what God willed should be done; whereby, he said, he would not only make copies of the existing books of the law, but would also make copies of the writings of the prophets, from the time of Abraham up to this purpose; " Demetrius to the great king: When thou, O king, gavest me a charge concerning the collection of books that were wanting to fill thy library, and concerning the copying of books for them, for they are written in the Hebrew characters, and being in the language of that nation, are to us unknown; it hath also happened to them, that they have been transcribed more carelessly than they ought to have been, because they have not had hitherto royal care taken about them. Now it is necessary that thou shouldest have accurate copies of them. And indeed this legislation is full of hidden wisdom, and entirely blameless, as being the legislation of God: for which cause it is, as Hececestus of Abdera says, that the poets and historians make no mention of it, nor of those men who lead their lives according to it, since it is a holy law, and ought not to be published by profane mouths. If then it please thee, O king, the man to whom the charge of the Jews, to send six of the elders out of every tribe, and those such as are most skilful in the laws, that by their means we may learn the clear sense and agreeing sense of these books; and may obtain an accurate interpretation of their contents, and so may have such a collection of these as may be suitable to thy desire."

5. When this epistle was sent to the king, he commanded that an epistle should be drawn up for Eleazar, the Jewish high priest, concerning these matters; and that they should inform him of the release of the king's subjects among them. He also sent fifty talents of gold for the making of large basins, and vials, and cups, and an immense quantity of precious stones. He also gave orders to those who had the custody of the chests that contained these stones, to give the artificers leave to choose out what sorts of them they pleased. He withal appointed, that a hundred talents in money should be sent to the temple for sacrifices, and for other uses. Now I will give a description of these vessels, and what each of them contained. In each of the constr"uction, but not till after I have set down a copy of the epistle which was written to Eleazar the high priest, who had obtained that dignity on the occasion of the death of the high priest, he was dead, his son Simon succeeded. He was called Simon the Just, because of both his piety towards God, and his kind dis- position to those of his own nation. When he was dead, and had left a young son, who was called Onias, Simon's brother Eleazar, of whom we are speaking, took the high priesthood; and he was to whom Ptolemy wrote, and in the manner following: "King Ptolemy to Eleazar the high priest, sendeth greeting: There are many Jews who now dwell in my kingdom, whom ye the Persians, when ye had taken them to be captives. These were honoured by my father; some of them he placed in the army, and gave them greater pay than ordinary; to others of them, when they came to me, I committed his garrisons, and the guarding of them, that they might be a terror to the Egyptians. And when I had taken the government, I treated all men with humanity, and especially so them at a cheaper than at a dearer rate, there is great agreement between the artificers to prefer him to another drachma and since the value of a slave of old was, at the utmost, thirty shekels, or sixty drachmas, see Exod. xxi. 32, while in the present circumstances of these Jewish slaves, and their in very numerous, Philadelphia would rather re-
those that are thy fellow-citizens, of whom I have set free above a hundred thousand that were bondservants, and of their redemption to their masters out of my own revenues; and those that are of a fit age, I have admitted into the number of my soldiers. And for such as are the sons of faith, let them receive their wages, and promise for my court. I have put them in such a post, as thinking this kindness done to them, to be a very great and an acceptable gift, which I devote to the providence of my library. Thou wilt therefore do well to choose out and send to me men of a good character, who are now elders in age, and six in number out of every tribe. These, by their age, must be skilful in the laws, and of abilities to make an accurate interpretation of them: and when this shall be finished, I shall think that I have done a work glorious to myself. And I have sent to thee Andreus, the captain of my guard, and Aristaeus, men whom I have in very great esteem; by which means these first fruits which have dedicated to the temple, and to the sacrifices, and to other uses, to the value of a hundred talents. And if thou wilt send to us, to let us know, that thou wouldst have farther, thou wilt do a thing acceptable to me."

6. When this epistle of the king was brought to Eleazar, he wrote an answer to it with all the respect possible to the high priest, to king Ptolemy, sendeth greeting: If thou and thy queen Arsinoe, and thy children, be well, we are entirely satisfied. When we received thy epistle, we endeavoured to satisfy thy intentions; as when the multitude were gathered together, we read it to them, and thereby made them sensible of the piety thou hast towards God. We also showed them the twenty vials of gold, and thirty of silver, and the five large banjos, and the table for the show-bread; as also the hundred talents for the sacrifices, and for the making what shall be needful at the temple. Which things Andreus and Aristaeus, those most honoured friends of thine, have brought us: and truly they are persons of an excellent character, and of good conversation and worthiness of thy king. Know then, that we will gratify thee in what is for thy advantage, though we do what we used not to do before, for we ought to make a return for all the acts of kindness which thou wast so kind as to do to our countrymen. We immediately, therefore, offered sacrifices for thee and thy sister, with thy children, and friends; and the multitude made prayers, that thy affairs may be to thy mind, and that thy kingdom may be preserved in peace, and that the translation of our law may come to the conclusion thou desirest, and for thy advantage. We have also chosen six elders out of every tribe, whom we have sent, and the law with them. It will be thy part, out of thy piety and justice, to send back the law, when it hath been translated, and to return to those to us that bring it in safety. Farewell."

7. This was the reply which the high priest made. But it does not seem to me to be necessary to set down the names of the seventy two elders who were sent by Eleazar and carried the law, which yet were subjoined at the end of the epistle. However, I thought it not improper to insert a table, and artificially contrived vessels which the king sent to God, that all may see how great a regard the king had for God; for the king allowed a vast deal of expenses for these vessels, and came often to the workmen, and viewed their work, and saw the progress of their redemption, and envied to be any damage to their operations. And I will relate how rich they were as well as I am able, although perhaps the nature of this letter is such as will not admit of this. But I imagine I shall thereby recommend the elegant taste and magnanimity of this kung to those that read this history.

8. And first I will describe what belongs to the table. It was indeed in the king's mind to make this table vastly large in its dimensions; but then he gave orders that they should learn what was a just mean of the precious stones in the kingdom of Jerusalem, and how large it was, and whether there were a possibility of making one larger than it. And when he was informed how large that was which was already there, and that nothing hindered but a larger might be made, he said, that "he was willing to have one made that should be five times as large as the present table, but his fear was that it might be then useless in their sacred ministrations, by its too great largeness; for he desired that the gifts he presented them should not only be there for show, but to be observed in their sacred ministrations." According to which reasoning, that the former table was made of so moderate a size for use, and not for want of gold, he required that the said table should not exceed the former in largeness; but would make it exceed it in the variety and elegance of its materials. And as he was sagacious in observing the nature of all things, he had a just notion of what was new and surprising, and where there were no sculptures, he would invent such as were proper, by his own skill, and would show them to the workmen, and the gold should be so fine that it should now be made, and that those which were delineated, should be most accurately formed by a constant regard to their delineations.

9. When, therefore, the workmen had understood to make the table, they framed it in length two cubits (and a half,) in breadth one cubit, and in height one cubit and a half; and the entire structure of the work was of gold. They wrought a crown of a handbreadth round it, with wavework wreathed about it, and with an engravings which imitated a cord, and was admirable in its beauty, for forming a figure of a triangular figure, every angle had the same disposition of its sculptures, that when you turned them about, the same form of them was there. This work was so fine that part of the crownwork that was enclosed under the table had its sculptures very beautiful, but that part which went round on the curbstone was more elaborately adorned with most beautiful ornaments, because it was exposed to sight, and to the view of the spectators; for which reason it was that both those sides which were extant above the rest, were acute; and some of the angles, which we before told you were three, appeared less than another, when the table was turned about. Now into the cordwork that was round it were precious stones inserted in rows parallel one to the other, enclosed in golden buttons, which hadouches in them; but the parts which were on the side of the crown, and were exposed to the sight, were adorned with a row of oval figures obliquely placed, of the most excellent sort of precious stones, which imitated rods laid close, and encompassed the table round about. The workmen were of a very skilful art in stones engraven, the workmen had put a crown all round it, where the nature of all sorts of fruit was presented, insomuch that the bunches of grapes of Egypt at this very time; nay, of the Asyrians long of Egypt. See Antiq. B. xxv. ch. ii. sect. 1, where we have mentioned the work of this crown. King Ptolemy was both his father and his wife, according to the old custom of Persia, and
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brought up. And when they had made the stones to represent all the kinds of fruit before mentioned, and that each in its proper colour, they likewise formed a table.

The disposition of the oval figures, and of the engraved rods, was framed under the crown, that the table might on each side show the same appearance, with the same elegance and ornamentation, so that neither the position of the workmanship nor of the crown might be different, although the table were turned on the other side, but that the effect of the contrivances might be extended as far as the seat; for there was made a plate of gold of four fingers broad, through the entire breadth of the table, into which were fastened, by means of buttons and buttonholes, at the place where the crown was situated, that so on what side soever of the table one should stand, it might exhibit the very same view of the exquisite workmanship, and of the vast and costly expenses bestowed upon it; but upon the table itself they engraved a meander, inserting into it very valuable stones in the middle, like stars of various colours: the carbuncle and the emerald, each of which sent out agreeable rays of light to the eye. And some stones of other sorts also, which were not carbuncles, or emeralds, as being most precious in their kind. Hard by this meander a texture of network ran round it, the meshes of which were filled with carbuncles, which, being set in golden letters, 16 he gave command, that every body, who came on other occasions, should be sent away, which was a thing surprising, and what he did not seem to do, for those that were drawn thither upon such occasions used to come to him on the fifth day, but ambassadours at the month's end. But when he had sent those away, he waited for those that were sent by Ptolemy; but as the old men came in with the presents, which the high priest had given them to bring to the king, and with the membranes, upon which, they were written in golden letters, he put questions to them concerning those books; and when they had taken off the covers wherein they were wrapt up, they showed him the dispositions of all, the king stood admiring the thinness of those membranes, and the exactness of the junctures; which could not be perceived, (so exactly were they connected one with another;) and this he did for a considerable time. He then said that he returned them thanks for coming to him, and still greater thanks to him that sent them; and, above all, to God whose laws they appeared to be. Then did the elders, and those that were present with them, cry out with one voice, and wished all happiness to the king. Upon which he fell into tears by the violence of the pleasure he felt, it being natural to men to afford the same indications of great joy, that they do under sorrow. And when he had bid them deliver the books to those that were given to him, he saluted the men; and said, that it was but just to discourse, in the first place, of the errand they were sent about, and then to address himself to themselves. He proceeded, however, that he would make this day on which they came to him remarkable and eminent every year through the course of his life; for their coming to him, the victory which he had gained upon the seas, proved to be on the very same day. 17

11. And these were what gifts were sent by Ptolemy to Jerusalem, and dedicated to the king. But when Eleazar the high priest had devoted them to God, he sent them to those that brought them, and had given these presents to be carried to the king, he dismissed them. And when they were come to Alexandria, and Ptolemy heard that they were come, that the seventy elders were come also, he presently sent for Andrew and Aristeus, his ambassadors, who came to him, and delivered him the epistle which they had brought him from the high priest, and made answer to all the questions he put to them by word of mouth. He then made haste to meet the elders that came from Jerusalem, for the interpretation of the laws; and he gave command, that every body, who came on other occasions, should be sent away, which was a thing surprising, and what he did not seem to do, for those that were drawn thither upon such occasions used to come to him on the fifth day, but ambassadors at the month's end. But when he had sent those away, he waited for those that were sent by Eleazar; but as the old men came in with the presents, which the high priest had given them to bring to the king, and with the membranes, upon which, they were written in golden letters, he put questions to them concerning those books; and when they had taken off the covers wherein they were wrapt up, they showed him the disposition of all, the king stood admiring the thinness of those membranes, and the exactness of the junctures; which could not be perceived, (so exactly were they connected one with another;) and this he did for a considerable time. He then said that he returned them thanks for coming to him, and still greater thanks to him that sent them; and, above all, to God whose laws they appeared to be. Then did the elders, and those that were present with them, cry out with one voice, and wished all happiness to the king. Upon which he fell into tears by the violence of the pleasure he felt, it being natural to men to afford the same indications of great joy, that they do under sorrow. And when he had bid them deliver the books to those that were given to him, he saluted the men; and said, that it was but just to discourse, in the first place, of the errand they were sent about, and then to address himself to themselves. He proceeded, however, that he would make this day on which they came to him remarkable and eminent every year through the course of his life; for their coming to him, the victory which he had gained upon the seas, proved to be on the very same day. 17

10. Now of the cisterns of gold there were two, whose sculpture was of scalework, from its basis to its height, while the stone was inlaid in the spiral circles. Next to which there was upon it a meander of a cubit in height; it was composed of stones of all sorts of colours. And next to that was a rhombus in a texture of network, drawn out to the trim of the basson, while small shields made of stones, beautiful in the minutest part, were placed on the middle parts. About the top of the basson were wreathed the leaves of lilies, and of the crocuses, and the tendrils of vines, in a circular manner. And this was the construction of the two cisterns of gold, each containing two arkikia. But those which were of silver were much more bright and splendid than looking-glasses, and you might hear them clink. And there fell upon them more plainly than in the other. The king also ordered thirty vials; those of which the parts that were of gold, and filled up with precious stones, and leaves of ivy, and of vines, artificially engraved. And these were the vessels that were, after an extraordinary manner, brought to this perfection, partly by the skill and industry of the men who were admirable in such fine work, but much more by the diligence and generosity of the king, who not only supplied the artificers abundantly, and with great celerity, but also they wanted, but he forbid public audiences for the time, and came and stood by the workmen, and saw the whole operation. And this was the cause why the workmen were so accurate in their performance, because they had regard to the king, and to his great concern about the vessels, and so the more indefatigably kept close to the work.
also gave orders, that they should sup with him; and gave it in charge that they should have excellent lodgings provided for them in the upper part of the city.

13. Now he was appointed to take care of the reception of strangers, Nicason by name, called for Dorotheus, whose duty it was to make provision for them, and give him plenty of every thing that should be requisite for their diet and way of living. Which thing was ordered by the king after this manner: he took care that many tables should be set to eat for them, which did not use the same way of living, that all things should be prepared for them according to the custom of those that came to him, that being feasted according to the usual method of their own way of living, they might be the better pleased, and might not be uneasy at any thing done to them, from which they were naturally averse. And this was now done in the case of these men by Dorotheus, who was put into this office, because of his great skill in such matters belonging to common life; for he took care of such matters as concerned the reception of strangers, and appointed them double seats for them to sit on, according as the king had commanded him to do; for he had commanded that the king should be set on the right hand, and the other half behind his table, and took care that no respect should be omitted that could be shown them. And when they were thus set down, Dorotheus went to minister to all those that came to him from Judea after the manner they used to be ministered to: for which cause he sent away their sacred heralds, and those that used to sacrifice and the rest of what was used to say grace; but called to one of those that were come to him, whose name was Eleazar, who was a priest, and desired him to say grace, who then went before them in the midst of them, and prayed, "That all prosperity might attend the king, and those that were his subjects." Upon which an acclamation was made by the whole company with joy and a great noise: and when that was over, they fell to eating their supper, and to the enjoyment of what was set before them. And at a little interval afterward, when the king thought a sufficient time had been interposed, he began to talk philosophically to them, and he asked every one of them a philosophical question, and such a one as might give light in those inquiries: and he satisfactorily explained all the problems that had been proposed by the king, about every point, he was well pleased with their answers. This took up the twelve days in which they were there, and that he that pleased may learn the particular questions in that book of Arieus, which he wrote on this very occasion.

14. And while not the king only, but the philosopher Menedemus also, admired them, and said, "that all things were governed by Providence; and that it was probable that thence it was that such force or beauty was discovered in these men's words," they then left off asking any more such questions. But the king said that he had gained very great advantages by their coming, for that he had received this profit from them, that he had learned how he ought to rule his subjects. And he gave order that they should have every one three talents given them, and that those that were to conduct them to their lodging should do it. Accordingly, when three days were over, Demetrius took them, and went over the causeway seven furlongs. It was a bank in the sea; when they arrived there, and they had passed over the bridge, he proceeded to the northern parts, and showed them where they should meet, which was in a house that was built near the sea, and were got a place to fit for their discoursing together about their work. When he had brought them thither, he entreated them, (now they had all things about them which they stood in need of for the interpretation of their law,) that they would suffer nothing to interrupt them in their work. Accordingly, they made an accurate interpretation, with great zeal and great pains, and this they continued to do till the ninth hour of the day; after which time they relaxed, and took care of their body, while their food was provided for them in great plenty besides. Dorotheus, at the king's command, brought them a great deal of what was provided for the king himself. But in the morning they came to the court and saluted Poliemy, and then went to the old place of their former place, where, when they had washed their hands, and purified themselves, they betook themselves to the interpretation of the laws. Now when the law was translated, the king invited them to a feast over, which came to its conclusion in seventy-two days, Demetrius gathered all the Jews together to the place where the laws were translated, and then made them a feast over for them. The multitude did also approve of those elders that were the interpreters of the law. They withal commended Demetrius for his kindness to them, and to the ancients of the elders, and the principal men of their commonwealth, made it their request, that since the interpretation was happily finished, it might continue in the state it now was, and might not be altered. And when they all commended that determination of theirs, they enjoined, that if any one observed either any thing superfluous, or any thing omitted, that he would take a view of it again, and have it laid before them, and corrected; which was a wise action of theirs, that when the thing was judged to have been well done, it might continue for ever.
the time that Vespasian and Titus his son governed the habitable earth, pray that those privileges of citizens might be taken away, they did not obtain their request. In which behaviour any one may discern the equity and generosity of the Roman Emperors. For both Vespasian and Titus, who, although they had been at a great deal of pains in the war against the Jews, and were exasperated against them, because they did not deliver up the Jews with the weakest of the world, to the war to the very last, yet they did not take away any of their forementioned privileges belonging to them as citizens, but restrained their enemies to the line of their subjects; and the Med- dians, and Antiochians, who were a very powerful people, insomuch that they did not yield to them, neither out of their favour to those people nor out of their old grudge at those whose wicked opposition they had subdued in the war; nor would they alter any of the ancient favours granted to the Jews, but said, that those who had borne arms against them, and fought them, had suffered punishment already, and that it was not just to deprive those that had not offended of the privileges they before possessed.

2. We also know that Marcus Agrippa was of the like disposition towards the Jews: for when the people of Ionia were very angry at them, and began to provoke the Greeks to run against them, they only, might have those privileges of citizens which Antiochus, the grandson of Seleucus, (by who the Greeks was called the god,) had bestowed on them; and also, if that he had a mind to be joint partakers with them, they might be obliged to worship the gods they themselves worshipped: but when these matters were brought to trial, the Jews prevailed, and obtained leave to make use of their own customs, and this under the patronage of Nicolaus of Damos- cuss; for Agrippa gave sentence, that he could not innovate. And after that he had a mind to know this matter accurately, let him peruse the hundred and twenty-third and hundred and twen- ty-fourth book of the history of this Nicolaus. Now, as to this determination of Agrippa, it is not so much to be adulated, for at this time our nation had not made war against the Romans. But one may well be astonished at the generosity of Vespasian and Titus, that after so severe a war, and contests which they had from us, they should use such moderation. But I will now return to that part of my history whence I made the present digression.

3. Now it happened, in the reign of Antiochus the Great, who ruled over all Asia, that the Jews, as well as the inhabitants of Celsosy- ria, suffered great apprehensions, the king and their land being terrorised: for while he was at war with Ptolemy Philopater, and with his son, who was called Philip, he fell out, that these nations were equal- ly sufferers, both when he was beaten, and when he beat the others: so that they were very like to a ship in a storm, which is tossed by the waves on both sides; and just as they were in their situation in the middle between Antiochus’ impertinence and its change to adversity. But at length, when Antiochus had beaten Ptolemy, he seized upon Judea; and when Philopater was dead, his son sent out a great army, and dispersed several of his forces, against the inhabitants of Celsosyria, who took many of their cities, and in particular our nation, which, when he fell upon them, went over to him, and yet it was not long of Josephus, sect. 13; and Hecato’s note on the place he fore us.

1. This, and the like great and just characters of the justice and equity and generosity of the old Romans, both to the Jews and other nations, may be found in some suppers. Over the War, B. ii. ch. 18 sect. 3; the Life of Josephus, sect. 33; B. avit. ch. ii. sect. 4.
afterward when Antiochus overcame Scopas, in a battle fought at the mountains of Jordan, and destroyed a great part of his army. But afterward those cities of Osmoria which Scopas had gotten into his possession, and Samaria with them, the Jews of their own accord went over to him, and received him, and his army, into that city, that for a time they might get a certain provision to all his army, and to his elephants, and readily assisted him when he besieged the garrison which was in the citadel of Jerusalem. While he was at the bottom, he did demand that just tax. Nor were these the Jews' diligence and zeal in his service: so he wrote to the generals of his armies, and to his friends, and gave testimony to the good behaviour of Jews, which through his life had got him what rewards he had resolved to bestow on them for that their behaviour. I will set down presentely the epistles themselves, which he wrote to the generals concerning them, but will first produce the testimonies of Polybius of Megalopolis, for thus does he speak in the sixteenth book of his history: "Now Scopas, the general of Antiochus' army, went in haste to the superior parts of the country, and in the winter thence overthrew the nation of the Jews. He also saith, in the same book, that when Scopas was come over into that country, he put to death in the cities and villages in Galilee and Samaria, and Abila and Gadara; and that, while afterward, there came in to him those Jews that inhabited near that temple which was overthrown by the temple of the gods with which, although I have more to say, and particularly concerning the presence of God about that temple, yet do I put off that history till another opportunity." This it is which Polybius relates. But we will return to the series of the history, when we have first produced the epistles of king Antiochus to Polybius, we shall send in a second letter to Polybius, saying: Since the Jews, upon our first entrance in their country, demonstrated their friendship towards us; and when we came to their city [Jerusalem,] we received them in a splendid manner, and came to meet us with their senate, and gave abundance of provisions to our soldiers, and to the elephants, and joined us in ejecting the garrison of the Egyptians that were in the citadel, we have thought fit to reward them, and to retrieve the condition of their city, which hath been greatly despised by such accidents as have happened to them, to bring those that have been scattered abroad back to the city. And, in the first place, we have determined, on account of their piety, towards God, to bestow on them a sum of money, in perpetuity, to be used for sacrifices for, wise, and oil, and frankincense, the value of twenty thousand pieces of silver, and [six] sacred arbors of fine flour, with one thousand four hundred and sixty medimnæ of wheat, and three hundred and seventy-five medimnæ of salt. And these payments I would have fully paid them, as I have sent orders to you. I would also have the work about the temple finished, and the cloisters, and if there be any thing else that ought to be rebuilt. And for the materials of wood, let it be brought through the taxes of all the provinces, and of the other which we have mentioned, shall give every one of their families a place for building their houses, and a portion of land for their husbandry, and for the plantations, and for the sowing of their fields, and for the charge of those that are to be employed in all the works. And let all of that nation live according to the laws of their own country; and let the senate and the priests, and the scribes of the temple, and the sacred sacrifices, discharge the charges of the temple, and the crown tax, and other taxes also. And that the city may the sooner recover its inhabitants, I grant a discharge from taxes for three years to those Jews, who shall come to it, until the month Hyperberetes. We also discharge them for the future from a third part of their taxes, that the losses they have sustained may be repaired. And all those citizens that have been carried away, and are become slaves, we grant them and their children their freedom, and give order that their substance be restored to them.

4. And these were the contents of this epistle. He also published a decree, through all his kingdom, in honour of the temple, which contained: "Now that there is in Jerusalem that forerunner to come within the limits of the temple round about; which thing is forbidden also to the Jews, unless to those who, according to their own custom, have no other heathen city, nor any of the species of horses, or of mules, or of asses, be brought into the city, whether they be wild or tame; nor that of leopards, or foxes, or hares, and, in general, that of all other animals that the Jews eat. Nor let their skins be brought into it; nor let any such animal be bred up in the city. Let them only be permitted to use the sacrifices derived from their forefathers, with which they have been obliged to make acceptable atonements to God. And he that transgresseth any of these orders, let him pay to the priests three thousand drachms of silver. Moreover, this Antiochus bare testimony to our piety and fidelity, in an epistle of his, written when he was informed of a sedition in Phrygia and Lydia, at which time he was away in the superior provinces, wherein he commanded Zeuxis, the general of his forces, and his most intimate friend, to send some of our nation out of Babylonia. Thus he wrote to him: 'King Antiochus to Zeuxis, his Father, sendeth greeting: If you are in health it is well. I also am in health. Having thought that matter required great care; and upon advising with my friends what was to be done, it hath been thought proper to remove two thousand families of Jews with their effects, out of Mesopotamia and Babylonia, unto the castles and places that is most convenient; for I am persuaded that they will be well-disposed, guardians of our possessions, because of their piety towards God, and because I know that my predecessors have borne witness to them, that they are faithful, and with alacrity do what they are desired to do. I will, therefore, though it be a laborious work, that those remove these Jews, under a promise, that they shall be permitted to use their own laws. And when they are come, then shall you, as was forementioned, shall give every one of their families a place for building their houses, and a portion of land for their husbandry, and for the plantations, and for the sowing of their fields, and for the charge of those that are to be employed in all the works. And let all of that nation live according to the laws of their own country; and let the senate and the priests, and the scribes of the temple, and the sacred sacrifices, discharge the charges of the temple, and the crown tax, and other taxes also. And that the city may the sooner recover its inhabitants, I grant a discharge from taxes for three years to those Jews, who shall come to it, until the month Hyperberetes. We also discharge them for the future from a third part of their taxes, that the losses they have sustained may be repaired. And all those citizens that have been carried away, and are become slaves, we grant them and their children their freedom, and give order that their substance be restored to them.'"
vision of the taxes: between the two kings, all the principal men formed the taxes of their several revenues, and, distributing the sum that was settled for them, paid the same to the two kings. Now at this time the Samaritans were in a flourishing condition, and much distressed the Jews with the numerous burdens they were carrying off slaves. This happened when Onias was high priest; for after Eleazar's death, his uncle Manasse took the priesthood, and, after he had ended his life, Onias immediately succeeded him. He was the son of Simon, who was called the Just, which Simon was the brother of Eleazar, as I said before, a noble soul, and a great lover of money; and for that reason, because he did not pay the tax of twenty talents of silver, which his forefathers paid to those kings out of their own estates, he provoked King Ptolemy Euergetes to anger, who was the father of Philopater. Euergetes sent an ambassador to Jerusalem, and complained that Onias did not pay his taxes, and threatened, that if he did not receive them, he would seize upon their land, and send soldiers to live upon it. When the Jews heard this message of the king, they were consol'd thereby. And this was the reason why nothing of this nature made him ashamed.

2. There was now one Joseph, young in age, but of great reputation among the people of Jerusalem, in all manner of things. His father's name was Tobias; and his mother was the sister of Onias the high priest, who informed him of the coming of the ambassador; for he was then sitting at his house at Siphon, where he was born. Hereupon he came to the city [Jerusalem,] and reproved Onias for not taking care of the preservation of his countrymen, but allowing them to pay away all the money that was belonging to them. For which preservation of them, he told him he had received the authority over them, and had been made high priest: but that in case he was so great a lover of money, as to endure to see his country in danger on that account, and his countrymen suffer the greatest damage, he advised him to go to the king, and petition him to remit either the whole, or a part of the sum demanded. Onias's answer was this, that he did not care for his authority, and that he was ready, if the thing were practicable, to lay down the priest's prerogative, and not to go to the king, because he troubled not himself at all about such matters. Then Joseph asked him, if he would not give him leave to go ambassador; whereupon, the sum of the taxes was multiplied, that he would give him leave. Upon which Joseph went up into the temple, and called the multitude together to a congregation, and exhorted them not to be disturbed or affrighted because of his uncle Onias's carelessness, but desired them to be at rest, and not terrify themselves with fear about it; for he promised them that he would be their ambassador to the king, and persuade him that they had done him no wrong. And when the multitude heard this, they return'd thanks to Joseph. So he went down from the temple, and treated Ptolemy's ambassador, in a hospitable manner. He also presented him with rich gifts, and feasted him magnificently for many days, and then sent him to the king before him, and told him that he would soon follow him: for he was now more willing to go to the king, by the encouragement of the ambassador, who earnestly persuaded him to come into Egypt; and he told him he would give the name of Ptolemy, that he should obtain every thing that he desired of Ptolemy, for he was highly pleased with his frank and liberal temper, and with the gravity of his behaviour.

3. When Ptolemy's ambassador was come into Egypt, he told the king of the thoughtless temerity of Onias, and informed him of the goodness of the disposition of the people, and of the desire that was coming to him, to excuse the multitude, as not having done him any harm, for that he was their patron. In short, he was so very large in his own account, that even his death continues upon him, as occasioning both the king and his wife Cleopatra to have a kindness for him before he came. So Joseph sent to his friends at Samaria, and borrowed money of them, that he might buy necessaries for his journey, garments, and cups, and beasts for burden, which amounted to about twenty thousand pieces of silver, he sent to Alexandria. Now it happened, that at this time all the principal men and rulers went up out of the cities of Syria and Phoenicia, to bid for their taxes; for every year the king sold them to the men of the greatest power in every city. So these men saw Joseph journeying on the way, and laughed at him for his poverty and meanness. But when he came to Alexandria, and heard that king Ptolemy was at Memphis, he went up thither to meet with him, which happened as the king was sitting in his chariot, with his wife, and with his friends. Also a certain person who had been ambassador at Jerusalem, and been entertained by Joseph. As soon therefore as Athismaw saw him, he presently made known to the king that he was a young man he was. So Ptolemy saluted him first, and desired him to come up into his chariot; and as Joseph sat there, he began to complain of the management of Onias. To which he answered, Forgive him, on account of his age, for thou canst not certainly be unacquainted with this, that old men and infants have their minds exactly the same as we young men. To us, who are young men, every thing thou desir'st, and shalt have no cause to complain. With this good humour and pleasantness of the king the young man the king was so delighted, that he began already, as though he had long experience of him, to have a still greater affection for him, insomuch that he bade him take his diet in the king's palace, and be a guest at his own table every day. But when the king was come to Alexandria, the principal men of Syria saw him sitting with the king, and were much offended at it. 4. And when the king was come to Alexandria, he was not contented to have the taxes of the cities of Egypt, but of Phoenicia, and Judea, with Samaria, [as they were bidden for,] came to eight thousand talents. Hereupon Joseph accused the bidders, as having agreed together to estimate the value of the taxes at too low a rate; and he promised, that he would himself give twice as much for them; but for those who did not pay, he would send the king their whole substance: for this privilege was sold together with the taxes themselves. The king was pleased to hear that offer; and because it augmented his revenues, he said he would confirm the sale of the taxes to him. But when he asked him this question, Whether he had any sureties, that would be bound for the payment of the money; he answered very pleasantly, I will give such security, as is the person good and responsible, and which you shall have no reason to distrust. And when he made him name them, who they were, he replied, as follows: He did give thee no sureties, O king; though the king's father, the chief-captain of Abimelech's host, in the days of Abimelech, Gen. xxx. 32, might possibly be the person who was meant.
from the cities into Egypt, who were utterly dispossessed; and they returned every one to their own country with shame.

3. And he provided for his accounting with him two thousand foot soldiers from the king, for he desired he might have some assistance, in order to force such as were refractory in the cities to pay. And the king's five hundred talents, he made haste back into Syria. And when he was at Askalon, he demanded the taxes of the people of Askalon, that were scattered to the four winds, and assailed them also: upon which he seized upon about twenty of the principal men, and slew them, and gathered what they had together, and sent it all to the king, and informed him what he had done.

Ptolemy admired the prudent conduct of the man, and commanded him for what he had done; and gave him leave to do as he pleased. When the Syrians heard of this, they were astonished. and having before them a sad example in the men of Askalon that were slain, they opened their gates, and willingly admitted Joseph, and paid their taxes. And when the inhabitants of Scythopolis attempted to affront him, and would not pay him those taxes which they formerly used to become disgusting about them, he slew also the principal men of that city, and sent their effects to the king. By this means he gathered great wealth together, and made vast gains in the taxing of the taxes, and he made use of what estate he had thus gotten, in order to support his authority, as thinking it a piece of prudence to keep what had been the occasion and foundation of his present good fortune; and this he did by the assistance of what he was already possessed of, for he privately sent many presents to the king, and to Cleopatra, and to their friends, and the like that were powerful, and mighty, but thereby purchased their good-will to himself.

6. This good fortune he enjoyed for twenty years; and was become the father of seven sons, by one wife; he had also another son, whose name was Hyrcanus, by his brother Solyminus's daughter, whom he married on the following occasion. He once came to Alexandria with his brother, who had along with him a daughter already marriageable, in order to give her in wedlock to some of the Jews of chief dignity there. He then supped with the king, and falling into a discourse, he said that such a great beauty that he beheld in her, he thought would be sufficient to overwhelm him, and came into the room where they feasted, he told his brother of it, and entreated him, because a Jew is forbidden by their law to come near to a foreigner, that he might send his niece to be his wife, and subervient to him, and to give him an opportunity of fulfilling his desires. Upon which his brother willingly entertained the proposal of serving him, and desired his own daughter, and brought her to him by night, and put her into his bed. And Joseph, being disorderly in drink, knew not who she was, and so lay with his brother's daughter; and this did he many times, and loved her exceedingly, and said to his brother, that he loved this actress so well, that he should never part with her. But his brother told him that if he would part with her, and yet probably the king would not give him leave; he said to him that they should deceive him; and his brother his love, and his Walker; and he would have him by whom he was loved without any danger, and might have her for his wife; and opened the truth of the matter to him, and assured him that he chose rather to have his daughter abused, than to revenge him, and see him come to [public] disgrace. So Joseph commended him for this his brotherly love, and married his daughter, and by her had a son, Hyrcanus, as was said before. And when this his youngest son showed, at thirteen years old, a mind that was both courageous and wise, and was greatly endearing himself to being of, the race of his father; he assured him withal, that he

envy, Joseph had once a mind to know which of his sons had the best disposition to virtue, and when he sent them severally to those that had taught them, he returned the rest of his children, by reason of their sloth, and unwillingness to take pains, returned to him foolish and unlearned. After them he sent out his son, and gave him two thousand talents to return, and sent him by oxen, and bade him go two days' journey into the wilderness, and saw the land there, and yet kept back privately the oxen, which advised him to send home to his father, to bring them some yokes; but he, thinking that he ought not to lose his time, while they should be sent to bring him the oxen, he in a manner of a kind of stratagem, and what suited an age elder than his own; for he slew ten yokes of the oxen, and distributed their flesh amongst the laborers, and cut their hides into several pieces, and made him yokes, and yoked the oxen to gather with them; by which means he sowed as much land as his father had appointed him to sow, and returned to him. And when he was brought back, he reported to his father, and to his sagacity, and commended the sharpness of his understanding, and his boldness in what he did. And he still loved him the more, as if he were his only son, and his brethren were much troubled at it.

7. But when one told him that Ptolemy had a son just born, and that all the principal men of Syria and the other countries to whom he was, were to keep a festival, on account of the child's birthday, and went away in haste with great rejoicings to Alexandria, he was himself indeed himself; and was ordered by him to return to his own country, and to gather his boys, whether any of them would be willing to go to the king. And when the elder sons excused themselves from going, and said, they were not couriers good enough for such conversation, and advised him to send their brother Hyrcanus, he gladly heartened to that advice; and called Hyrcanus, and asked him, whether he would go to the king; and whether it was agreeable to him to go or not? And upon his promise that he would go, and his saying that he would not want much money for his journey, because the expense of his dabeinaca would be sufficient, he was pleased with his son's prudence. After a little while, the son advised his father not to send his presents to the king, for he feared what might happen to his steward at Alexandria, that he might furnish him with money, for purchasing what would be most excellent and most precious. So he, thinking that the expense of ten talents would be enough for presents to be made the king, and commending his son as giving him good advice, write to Arion his steward, that managed all his money matters at Alexandria; which money was not less than three thousand talents on his account, for Joseph sent the money he received in Syria to Alexandria. And when the day appointed for the payment of the taxes to the king came, he wrote to Arion to pay them. So when the son had asked his father for a letter to this steward, and had received it, he made haste back to Alexandria. And when he was gone, his brethren wrote to the king, and his friends, that they should destroy him.

8. But when he was come to Alexandria, he delivered to Arion the letter, and revealed to him the many talents he would have (hoping he would ask for no more than ten, or a little more,) he said he wanted a thousand talents. At which the king was vexed at the steward, and to Joseph, who was Hyrcanus, as was said before. And when this his youngest son showed, at thirteen years old, a mind that was both courageous and wise, and was greatly endearing himself to being of the race of his father; he assured him withal, that he
would give him but ten talents, and that for a present to the king also. The son was irritated at this and threw Arion into prison. But when Arion's wife had informed Cleopatra of this, with her consent they gave him two talents for what he had done, (for Arion was in great esteem with her,) Cleopatra informed the king of it. And Ptolemy sent for Hyrcanus, and gave him twenty talents to bring to the present king of the Persians, to set him a crown on his head, and to show him that he was a master little or great: so that unless we punish such as these, thou mayest expect to be despised by thy subjects." Upon hearing this, the king sent to destroy him. Now the young man was small and foolish, and he feared for his life, and for the sake of the king, and for the respect he bare to his father. So he came to the merchants privately, and bought a hundred boys that had learning, and were in the flower of age, and gave them their freedom, and also he bought a hundred maidsens, each at the same price as the other. And when he was invited to feast with the king among the principal men of the country, he sat down the lowest of them all, because he was little regarded, as a child in age still; and this by those who placed every one according to their dignity. Now when all those sat with him had laid the bones of the several parts on a heap before Hyrcanus, (for they had themselves taken away the flesh belonging to them,) till the table where he sat was without any flesh, no flesh remained to him. Then the king asked him what was the art that he had learned. He replied, "I was the king's jester, and was appointed for jokes and laughter at festivals, was now asked by the guests that I should invent such laughter for them." So he stood by the king, and said, "Dost thou not see, my lord, the bones that lie by Hyrcanus? by this similitude thou mayest conjecture that his father made all Syria as bare as he hath made these bones." And the king laughing at what Trypho said, and asking of Hyrcanus, "How he came to have so many bones before him?" he replied, "Very rightfully, my lord: for they are dogs that eat the flesh and the bones together, as these thy guests have done, (looking in the mean time at those guests,) for they enjoy but those bones that are eaten that eat the flesh, and cast away the bones, as I, who am also a man, have done." Upon which the king admired at his answer, which was well spoken, and gave him the highest acclamation, as a mark of their approbation of his jest, which was a truly facetious one. On the next day Hyrcanus went to every one of the king's friends, and of the men powerful at court, and saluted them; but still inquired of the servants what present they would make the king on his son's birthday; and when some said that they would give him two talents, and others of greater dignity would every one give according to the quantity of their riches, he pretended to every one to be grieved that he was not able to do more, for the present. For though he had more than five talents. And when the servants heard what they said, they told their masters, and they rejoiced in the prospect that Joseph would not neglect to carry the king's present by the smallness of his present. When the day came, the others, even those that brought the present, offered the king not above twenty talents but Hyrcanus gave to every one of the hundred boys, and hundred maidsens that he had bought, a talent apiece, for them to carry, and introduced them, the boys to the king, and the maidsens to Cleopatra: every body wondering at the unexpected richness of the presents, even the king and queen themselves. He also presented those of that attended about the king with gifts of the value of a great number of talents, that he might escape the danger he was in from them; for to these it was that Hyrcanus's brethren had written for this present, and the young man's magnanimity, and commanded him to ask what gift he pleased. But he desired nothing else to be done for him by the king than that he should go home to his father and be thrice a talent, and that he should send him away. But when his brethren heard that Hyrcanus had received such favours from the king, and was returning home with great honour, they went out to meet him, and destroyed him, and that with the privy of their father; for he was angry at him for the present to the king, and for the money that he bestowed on presents, and so he took no concern for his preservation. However, Joseph concealed the anger he had at his son, out of fear of the king. And when Hyrcanus's brethren came to fight him, he slew many others of those that were with them; as also two of his brethren themselves, but the rest of them escaped to Jerusalem to their father. But when Hyrcanus came to the city, where he received that present, he was afraid for himself, and retired beyond the river Jordan, and there abode, but obliging the barbarians to pay their taxes. At this time he gave the royal city Bostra, reigned over Asia, being the son of Antiochus the Great. And (now) Hyrcanus's father Joseph died. He was a good man, and of great magnanimity; and brought the Jews out of a state of poverty and meanness, to one that was more splendid. He retained the farm of the taxes of Syria, and Phoenicia, and Samaria, twenty-two years. His uncle also, Onias, died [about this time,] and left the high priesthood to his son Simon. And when he was dead, Onias his son succeeded him in that dignity. To him it was declared that Areus, king of the Lacedemoni, was to have embassy, with an epistle; the copy whereof here follows: "Areus, king of the Lacedemonians, to Onias, sendeth greeting: We have met together with a certain wine, and we have made no acclamation, as a mark of their approbation of his jest, which was a truly facetious one. On the next day Hyrcanus went to every one of the Jews, and of the men powerful at court, and saluted them; but still inquired of the servants what present they would make the king on his son's birthday; and when some said that they would give him two talents, and others of greater dignity would every one give according to the quantity of their riches, he pretended to every one to be grieved that he was not able to do more, for the present. For though he had more than five talents. And when the servants heard what they said, they told their masters, and they rejoiced in the prospect that Joseph would not neglect to carry the king's present by the smallness of his present. 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ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

that you, who are our brethren, should send to us about any of your concerns as you please. We will do also the same thing, and esteem your concerns as our own; and will look upon our concerns as in common with yours. Jeweletes, who brings you this letter, will bring your an-
swer back to us. This letter is foursquare; and the seal is an eagle, with a dragon in its claws.

11. And these were the contents of the epistle which was sent from the king of the Lacedemo-

nians. But upon the death of Joseph, the peo-

dle were divided, on account of his sons; for

whence the elders made war against Hyrcanus, who was the youngest of Joseph's sons, the mul-
titude was divided, but the greater part joined with the elders in this war; as did Simon the

high priest, by reason of his kin to them. How-

ever, Hyrcanus determined not to return to Je-

rusalem any more, but seated himself beyond

Jordan; and was at perpetual war with the Ara-

bians, and slew many of them, and took many of

them captives. He also erected a strong castle, and

built it entirely of white stone to the very roof, and made additional against it a prodigious

magnitude of increase upon it. He also drew round it a great and deep canal of water. He also made caves of masonry in length, by hollowing a rock there against it; and then he made

large rooms in it, some for feeding, and some for sleeping and living in. He introduced also a vast quantity of water, which ran along it, and which was very delicious and ornamented in the court.

But still he made the entrances at the mouth of the caves so narrow, that no more than one person could enter by them at once. And they were such, why he built them, that after that many

was a good one; it was for his own preservation, lest he should be besieged by his brethren, and

run the hazard of being caught by them. More-

over, the vast courts of great magnitude than

ordinary, which he adorned with vast gardens.

And when he had brought the place to this state, he named it Tyr. This place is be-

tween Arabus and Juda, and beyond Jordan, not far from the country of Hebron. And he ruled over those parts for seven years, even the time that Seleucus was king of Syria. But when he was dead, his brother Antiochus, who was

called Epiphanes, took the kingdom. Ptolemy also, the king of Egypt, died, who was besides called Epiphanes. He had two sons, and one young son; the elder of whom was called Phil-

ometer, and the youngest Physconus. As for

Hyrcanus, when he saw that Antiochus had a great deal of trust and feared he should be caught by him, and brought to punishment for what he had done to thearians, he ended his life, by slaying himself with his own hand; while Antio-

chus seized upon all his substance.

CHAP. V.

How, upon the Quarrels of the Jews one against

another about the High Priesthood, Antiochus

made an Expedition against Jerusalem, took the

City and pillaged the Temple, and threatened

makes Jesus, Adore, Abraham, and Israel, kings of Ju-

das, and successors to this Danuscum. It may be in-

proper to observe farther, that Moses Choniomanus, in his

history of the Armenians, informs us, that the nation of the

Armenians was sectioned at Antioch, with fifteen chs. in the

ch. iv. sect. 8, 11; ch. v. sect. 4, 5, and Antic. B. viii. sect. 3.

This word Gymnastium properly denotes a place where

the exercises were performed naked, which, because it

would naturally distinguish cæsareans from others, was

probably made to that edition of the seven books of the

war. See several other examples, besides those in the two

chapters. This section was inserted, the whole, at the

ch. v. sect. 6, 11; ch. vii. sect. 4; and ch.

ch. vii. sect. 5, and Antic. B. viii. sect. 3.

We have hitherto had but a few of those essays con-

cerning the Jewish nation, that he had elsewhere formerly

written about many things, of which yet his present books

are not a syllable. Our commentators have hitherto been

stored with the Gallican translation, which contains,

not only the discrepancies of the latter, but also

far too numerous, and that usually in all his copies,

which, because it has thus been ad

posed, and complicated and later interpolated,

which is almost all that has hitherto been said upon this

occasion. What I have to say farther is this, that we have

beholden them those centuries before, and very many of

and after the history of Antiochus Epiphanes; and that

Jesus's first work, the Hebrew or Chaldee, as well as

ed the Jews; as also how many of the Jews for-

sought the Laws of their Country; and how the

Samaritans followed the Customs of the Greeks, 

and made their Temple at Mount Gerizim, the

Temple of Jupiter Belollandus.

1. Anony this time, upon the death of Onias the

high priest, they gave the high priesthood to

Jesus his brother; for that son which Onias left

for Onias IV. was yet but an infant, and, in its

proper place, we will inform the reader of all the

circumstances that befell this child. But this

Jesus, who was the brother of Onias, was depre-

ved of the high priesthood by the king, with

great anger we are informed; and gave it to his younger-

brother, whose name also was Onias, for Simon had

done three sons, to each of which the priesthood

came, we have already informed the reader.

This Jesus changed his name to Jason; but Onias

was called Menelaus. Now as the former high

priest, Jesus, raised a sedition against Menelaus,

who was ordained after him, the multitude were

divided between them both. And the sons of

Tobias took the part of Menelaus, but the greater

part of the people assisted Jason; and by that

menace to break up the kingdom and the sons of Tobias were distressed, and retired to Antiochus, and asser-

ed him, that they were desirous to leave the laws of their country, and the Jewish way of living

accordance to the Gentile, and to follow the laws of

the Jews, and the Oecumenic way of living. Wherefore they

desired his permission to build them a Gymnas-

sium at Jerusalem. And when he had given them the

cave, they also had the commission of the hos-

bitalis, that even when they were naked they might appear to be Greeks. Accordingly they

left off all the customs that belonged to their own
country, and imitated the practices of the

other nations.

2. Now Antiochus, upon the agreeable situa-

tion of the affairs of his kingdom, resolved to

make an expedition against Egypt, both because he had a desire to gain it, and because he con-

 templated the son of Ptolemy, as now weak, and not yet of abilities to manage affairs of such

consequence; so he came with great forces to Pe-

lusium, and circumvented Ptolemy Philomter

by treachery, and seized upon Egypt. He then
took to the places about Memphis; and when he had

taken them, he made haste to Alexandria, in hopes of taking it by siege, and of subduing

Ptolemy, who reigned there. But he was driven

not only from Alexandria, but out of all Egypt,

by the resistance of the Romans, and sent to him to let that country alone; accordingly as I

have elsewhere formerly declared. I will now

give a particular account of what concerns this

king. And the Jews and Judæa produced Judea, and instead of him, and accordingly now thought it

necessary to go over the history again, and that

with greater accuracy.

3. King Antiochus returning out of Egypt, for

terror of the Romans, made an expedition against

the city Jerusalem; and when he was there, in

the hundred forty and third year of the kingdom

the Greek history of the Jewish War, long since lost, be-

gan with that history, as he is the referrer to the

probability made to that edition of the seven books of the

war. See several other examples, besides those in the two

chapters. This section was inserted, the whole, at the

ch. iv. sect. 6, 11; ch. v. sect. 4, and ch.

ch. vii. sect. 5, and Antic. B. viii. sect. 3.
of the Seleucidae, he took the city without fighting, those of his own party opening the gates to him. And when he had gotten possession of Jerusalem, he slew many of the opposite party; and when he had plundered it of a great deal of money, he returned attouch.

1. Now it came to pass, after two years, in the hundred forty and fifth year, on the twenty-fifth day of that month, which is by us called Casleu, and by them Apulon, and by the Romans and thirty-third Olympiad, that the king came up to Jerusalem, and pretending to be the possessor of the city by treaty, he said he had been spread all over it as those that admitted him into it on account of the riches that lay in the temple; but, led by his covetous inclination, (for he saw there was in it a great deal of gold, and many ornaments that had been dedicated to it, of very great value;) and in order to plunder its wealth, he ventured to break the league he had made. So he left the temple burned; and took away the gold candlesticks, and the golden altar [of incense,] and table [of show-bread,] and the altar [of burnt-offering] and did not abstain from taking away all that was there, with silken and scarlet. He also emplanted it of its secret treasures, and left nothing at all remaining; and by these means cast the Jews into great lamentations; for, to them, the daily sacrifices which they used to offer to God, according to the law. And when he had pillaged the whole city, some of the inhabitants he slew, and some he carried captive, together with their wives and children, so that the multitude of those captives that were taken alive amounted to about ten thousand. He also burnt down the finest buildings; and when he had overthrown the city walls, he built a citadel in the lower part of the city, for the place was high, and overlooked the temple, on which account he fortified it with high walls and towers; and put into it a garrison of Macedonians. However, in that citadel dwelt the innumerable and wicked part of the [Jewish] multitude, from whom it proved that the citizens suffered many and sore calamities. And when the king had built an idol altar upon God's altar, he slew swine upon it, and so offered a sacrifice, neither according to the law, nor the Jewish religious worship in that country. He also compelled them to forsake the worship which they paid their own God, and to adore those whom he took to be gods, and made them build temples, and erected altars and statues of images, and offered swine upon them every day. He also commanded them not to circumcise their sons, and threatened to punish any that should be found circumcised, and also appointed overseers, who should compel them to do what he commanded. And indeed many Jews there were who complied with the king's commands, either voluntarily or out of fear of the penalty that was denounced: but the best men, and those of the noblest souls, did not regard him, but did pay a greater respect to the customs of their country, than concern as to the punishment which he threatened to the disobedient; on which account they every day underwent great miseries, and bitter torments, for they were whipped with rods, and their bodies were torn to pieces, and were crucified, while they were still alive, and breathed: they also strangled those women and their sons whom they had circumcised, as the king had appointed, hanging their sons about their necks as they were upon the crosses. And if there were any sacred book of the law found, it was destroyed, and those with whom they were found, miserably punished also.

5. When the Samaritans saw the Jews under these sufferings, they no longer confessed that they were of their blood, nor that the temple on mount Gerizim belonged to Almighty God. This was according to their nature, as we have already shown. And therefore when they said they were a colony of Medes and Persians; and in deed they were a colony of theirs. So they sent ambassadors to Antiochus, and an epithet; whose contents are these: "To king Antiochus the god, Epiphanes, a memorial from the Sidonians, who live at Shechem. Our forefathers, upon certain frequent plagues, and as following a certain miraculous superstitious, had a custom of observing that day which by the Jews is called the Sabbath. And when they had erected a temple at the mountain called Gerizim, though without a name, they offered sacrifices daily to it. Now, upon the just treatment of these wicked Jews, those that manage their affairs, supposing that we were of kin to them, and practiced as though we were of kin to them, although we be originally Sidonians, as is evident from the public records. We therefore beseech thee, our benefactor and saviour, to give order to Apollonius, the governor of this part of the country, and to Nicane, the procurator of thy affairs, to give us no disturbance, nor to lay to our charge what the Jews are accused for, since we are aliens from the Jews, from their customs; but let our temple, which at present hath no name at all, be named The temple of Jupiter Hellenus. If this were once done, we should be no longer disturbed, but should be more in joint on our own occupation with quietness, and so bring in a greater revenue to thee." When the Samaritans had petitioned for this, the king sent them back the following answer, in an epithet: "King Antiochus to Nicane. The Sidonians, who live at Shechem, have sent me the memorial enclosed. When therefore we were advising with our friends about it, the messengers sent by them to represent us, that they are noway concerned with accusations which belong to the Jews, but choose to live after the customs of the Gentiles, and to be free from such accusations, and order that, agreeable to their petition, their temple be named The temple of Jupiter Hellenus. He also sent the like letter to the governor of that part of the country, in the forty-sixth year, and the eighteenth day of the month Hecateombeion.

CHAP. VI.

How, upon Antiochus's Prohibition to the Jews to make use of the Laws of their Country, Mattathias the Son of Asmoneus alone despised the King, and overcame the Generals of Antiochus's army; on the destruction of Mattathias, and the Succession of Judas.

§ 1. Now at this time there was one whose name was Mattathias, who dwelt at Modin, the son of Joah, the son of Simeon, the son of Asmoneus, this citadel, and fortified it, till a good while afterward the Jews regained it, demolished it, and leveled the hill itself with the common ground, which which, which they never recover it, and might there over look the temple itself, and do them such mischief as they had long under taken from it, Antiochus, B. xxii. ch. vi. sect. 6.

This allegation of the Samaritans is remarkable, that though they were not Jews, yet did they, from ancient times, observe the Sabbath, and did not pretend, the Sababite year also. Antiochus, B. xxii. ch. vii. sect. 6.
sens, a priest of the order of Joarib, and a citizen of Jerusalem. He had five sons, John, who was called Gaddis, and Simon who was called Mattheas, and Judas, who was called Maccabeus, and Eleazar, and Jonathan, who was called Apphus. Now this Mattathias lamented to his children the sad state of their affairs, and the ravage made in the city, and the plundering of the holy temple. The multitude were under; and he told them, that it was for better for them to die for the laws of their country, than to live so ingloriously as they then did.

2. But when those that were appointed by the king were come to Modin, that they might compel the Jews to do what they were commanded; and to enjoin those that were there to offer sacrifice, as the king had commanded, they desired that Mattathias, a person of the greatest character among them, both on other accounts, and particularly on account of such a numerous and so deserving a family of children, would begin the sacrifice, because his fellow-citizens would follow his example, one because such a procedure would make them honoured by the king. But Mattathias said, "he would not do it; and if all the other nations would obey the command, and give up their children to death, or to be slain by fire, yet would not he nor his sons leave the religious worship of their country." But as soon as he had ended his speech, there came one of the king's officers, and cut off the head of Mattathias, and sacrificed it as Antiochus had commanded. At which Mat- tathias had great indignation, and ran upon him violently, with his son, who had swords with them, and slew both the man himself that sacrificed, and Apelles the king's general, who compelled them to sacrifice, with a few of his soldiers. He also overthrew the idol altar; and cried out, "Let every one be anxious for the laws of his country, and for the worship of God, let him follow me." And when he had said this, he made haste into the desert with his sons, and left all his substance in the village. Many others did the same also, and fled with their children and wives into the desert, and dwelt in caves. But when the king's generals heard this, they took all the forces they then had in the citadel at Jerusalem, and pursued the Jews into the desert; and when they had overtaken them, they in the first place endeavoured to persuade them to return, and choose what was most for their advantage, and not put them to the necessity of using them according to the law of war. But when they would not comply with their persuasions, they continued to be of a different mind, and they fought against them on the Sabbath-day, and they burnt them, as they were in the caves, without resistance, and without so much as stopping up the entrances of the caves. And they avoided to defend themselves on that day, because they were not willing to break in upon the honour they owed the Sabbath, in such distresses, for their law prescribed them what we rest upon that day. There were about a thousand, with their wives and children, who were smothered, and died in these caves; but many of those that escaped, joined themselves to Mattathias, and appointed him to be their ruler, who taught them to fight, even on the Sabbath-day; and told them, "that unless they would do so, they would be compelled by the laws, even so rigorously, while their adversaries would still assault them on this day, and they would not defend themselves, and that nothing could then hinder but the law would perish without fighting." This speech persuaded them. And this rule continues among us to this day, that if there be a necessity, we may fight on Sabbath days. So Mattathias got a great army about him, and overthrew their idol altars, and also the altars that broke the laws, even all that he could get under his power, for many of them were dispersed among the nations round about them for fear of him. He also commanded, that those boys who were not yet circumcised should be circumcised now; and he drove those away that were appointed to hinder such their circumcision.

3. But when he had ruled one year, and was fallen into a distemper, he called for his sons, and set them round about him, and said, "O my sons, I am going the way of all the earth, and I recommend to you my resolution, and beseech you not to be negligent in keeping it, but to be mindful of the desires of him who begat you, and brought you up, and to preserve the customs of your country, and to recover your ancient form of government, which is in danger of being overturned, and not to be carried away with those that, either by their own inclination, or others' persuasions, betray it, but to become such sons as are worthy of me; to be above all forces and necessity, and so to dispose your souls, as to be ready, when it shall be necessary, to die for the laws of your country, and to deliver your persons, and your children, and your property, and your goods, and all that you possess, as you have done. And I would have you so in love with this immortality, that you may pursue after glory; and that, when you have undergone the greatest trials, you may return with joy and the satisfaction of doing such things, to lose your lives. I exhort you, especially, to agree with one another; and in what excellency any one of you exceeds another, to yield to him so far, and by that means to reap the advantage of every one's own virtues. Do you then esteem Simon as your father, because he is a man of extraordinary prudence, and be governed by him in what counsels he gives you. Take Maccabeus for the general of your army, because of his courage and strength, for he will avenge your nation, and will bring vengeance upon such as dare attempt any thing against the righteous and religious, and augment their power."  

4. When Mattathias had thus discovered to his sons, and had appointed to be his assistant, and to recover to the people their former constitution, he died a little afterward, and was buried at Modin; all the people making great lamentation for him. Whereupon his son Judas took upon him the administration of public affairs, in the hundred forty and sixth year: and thus by the ready assistance of his brethren, and of others, Judas cast their enemies out of the country, and put those of their own country to death who had transgressed its laws, and purged the land of all the pollutions that were in it.

CHAP. VII.

How Judas overthrew the Forces of Apollonius and Seron, and killed the Generals of their Armies themselves; and how, when a little while after, Apollonius and Gorgias were killed, he went up to Jerusalem, and purged the Temple.

§ 1. When Apollonius, the general of the Samarian forces, heard this, he took his army, and pretended, see Anthon, Rec. part i. 392, 393. Only we may note, by the way, that the original name of those Maccabe- ees, and their posterity, was Jasones; which was de- rived from Jason, the son of Aneas, and great-grandson of Haman's king, or Josephus here speaks of.
made haste to go against Judas, who met him, and joined battle with him, and slew many of his men, and among them Apollonius himself, their general, whose sword, being that which he happened then to wear, he seized upon, and being much more than he slew, and took a great deal of prey from the enemies' camp, and went his way. But when Seron, who was general of the army of Cappadocia, and a great many of his men, had turned themselves to Judas, and that he had about him an army sufficient for fighting, and for making war, he determined to make an expedition against him, and to drive him out of his country. So he set out to punish those that transgressed the king's injunctions. He then got together an army, as large as he was able, and joined it to the runagite and wicked Jews, and came against Judas. He then came as far as Bethoron, a village of Judas, and there pitched his camp; upon which Judas met him; and when he intended to give him battle, he saw that his soldiers were backward to fight, because their number was small, and because they wanted food, for they were fasting; he encouraged them, and said to them, that "victory and conquest are the end of dangers; for if you may fight your battle, and restore liberty, you may recover your liberty, which, as it is a thing of itself agreeable to all men, so it proves to be to us much more desirable, by its affording us the liberty of subserving God, their own laws and their own children, had frequently conquered many ten thousands; for innocence is the strongest army." By this speech he induced his men to follow the example of the enemy, and to fall upon Seron. And upon joining battle with him, he beat the Syrians, and when their general fell among the rest, they all ran away, and speed, as thinking that they had found their best way of escaping. So he pursued them unto the plain, and slew about eight hundred of the enemy, but the rest escaped to the region which lay near to the sea.

3. When king Antiochus heard of these things, he was very angry at what had happened; so he got together all his own army, with many mercenaries, whom he had hired from the islands, and took them with him, and prepared to break into Judea about the beginning of the spring. But when the Gorgias, with five thousand horse, foresaw that his treasures were deficient, and that there was a want of money in them, for all the taxes were not paid, by reason of the editions to keep the king's horse, his name having been so magnanimous and so liberal that what he had was not sufficient for him, therefore resolved first to go into Persia, and collect the tribute, and there left one whose name was Lysias, who was in great repute with him, governor of the kingdom, as far as the bounds of Egypt, and of the lower Asia, and reaching from the river Euphrates, and committed to him a certain part of his forces, and of his elephants, and charged him to bring up his son Antiochus with all possible care, until he came back; and that he should come to Judas, and take its inhabitants for slaves, and utterly destroy Jerusalem, and abolish the whole nation. And when king Antiochus had given these things in charge to Lysias, he went away, and in the hundred and forty-seventh year he passed over Euphrates, and went up to the superior provinces.

Lysias, this Lysias chose Ptolemy, the son of Dorymenes, and Nicamor, and Gorgias, very potent men among the king's friends, and delivered to them forty thousand foot soldiers, and seven thousand horse, he slew the common men that were in the camp, and pitched their camp in the plain country. There came also to them auxiliaries out of Syria, and the country round about them, many of the runagite Jews. And besides these came some merchants to buy those that should be carried captive (having to it their business, and that should be made prisoners,) with that silver and gold which they were to pay for their price. And when Judas saw their camp, and how numerous their enmity was, and how the soldiers of his own soldiers to be of good courage, and exhorted them to place their hopes of victory in God, and to make supplication to him, according to the custom of their country, and others, and to show what their usual habit of supplication in the greatest dangers, and whereby to prevail with God to grant you the victory over your enemies. So he set his men in order of battle used by their forefathers, under their captains of thousands, and other officers; and dismissed such as were newly married, as well as those that had newly gained possessions, that they might not fight in a cowardly manner, out of an inordinate love of life, in order to enjoy those blessings. When he had thus disposed his soldiers, he encouraged them to fight by the following speech, which he made to them: "O my fellow-soldiers, no other time remains more opportune than the present for courage and contempt of danger, for if you now fight for your liberty, you may recover your liberty, which, as it is a thing of itself agreeable to all men, so it proves to be to us much more desirable, by its affording us the liberty of serving God, our own laws and our own children, and frequently conquered many ten thousands; for innocence is the strongest army." By this speech he induced his men to follow the example of the enemy, and to fall upon Seron. And upon joining battle with him, he beat the Syrians, and when their general fell among the rest, they all ran away, and speed, as thinking that they had found their best way of escaping. So he pursued them unto the plain, and slew about eight hundred of the enemy, but the rest escaped to the region which lay near to the sea.

4. And this was the speech which Judas made to encourage them. But when the enemy saw their horse, and that they were in great need of corn, and that the king was very angry at what had happened, he sent a man named Antipater, a man of great power in that country, and his name was Antipater, to the province of Cappadocia, with a great number of horse, that he might fall upon Judas by night, and had for that purpose certain of the runagite Jews as guides, the son of Mattathias perceived it, and sent an order to his friends and enemies that were in their camp, now their forces were divided. When they had therefore supped in good time, and had left many fires in their tent, he marched out of his camp, and marched all night to those enemies that were at Emmonas; so that when Gorgias found no enemy in their camp, but suspected that they were retired and had hidden themselves among the mountains, he resolved to go and seek them whereverover they were. But about break of day, Judas appeared to those enemies that were at Emmonas, with only three thousand men, and those ill armed, by reason of their poverty, and when he saw the enemy very well and utterly fortified in their camp, he encouraged the Jews, and told them, "that they ought to fight, with the fury that they had, though it were against a great number, they were also more than conquerors. So he commanded these men to sound for the battle: and thus falling upon the enemies when they did not expect it, and thereby astonishing and disturbing their numbers, many of the enemy were slain, and went on pursuing the rest as far as Gudora, and the plains of Idumea, and Ashdod, and Jamnia; and of these there fell about three thousand. Yet did Judas know of the multitude of the spoils, for that still they
must have a contest and a battle with Gorgias, and the forces that were with him; but that when they had once overcome them, then they might proceed to the camps, because they were the only enemies remaining, and they expected no others. And just as he was speaking to his soldiers, Gorgias's men looked down into the camp, and, with the wind and smoke, they thought that it was overthrown, and the camp burned; for the smoke that arose from it showed them, even when they were a great way off, what had happened. And, therefore, those that we spoke with Gorgias understood that things were in this posture, and perceived that those that were with Judas were ready to fight them, they also were affrighted, and put to flight; but then Judas, as though he had already beaten Gorgias's soldiers without fighting, returned and seized on the spoils. He took a great quantity of gold and silver, and purple, and blue, and then returned home with joy, and singing hymns to God for their good success; for this victory greatly contributed to the recovery of their liberty.

5. Hereupon Lysias was confounded at the defeat of the army which he had sent, and the next year he got together sixty thousand chosen men. He also took five thousand horsemen, and five thousand archers; and he went up to the hill-country of Bethur, a village of the Jews, and pitched his camp there, where Judas met him with ten thousand men; and when he saw the greatness of his army, he prayed to God that he would assist him, and joined battle with the first of the enemy that appeared, and beat them, and slew about five thousand of them, and then the Jews became terrible to the rest of them. Nay, indeed, Lysias observing the great spirit of the Jews, how they were prepared to die rather than lose their liberty, and being afraid of their dauntless manner of fighting, as if it were real strength, he took the rest of the army back with him, and returned to Antioch, where he listed foreigners into the service, and prepared to fall upon Judas with a greater army.

6. When, therefore, the generals of Antiochus's armies had been beaten so often, Judas assembled the people together, and told them, that after these many victories which God had given them, they ought to go up to Jerusalem, and purify the temple, and offer the appointed sacrifices." But as soon as he, with the whole multitude, was come up to Jerusalem, at a desert, and at a most distant place from Jerusalem, and his camp was burnt down, and plants growing in the temple of their own accord, on account of its desertion, he and those that were with him began to march; and as they went, they drew near to the sight of the temple; so he chose out some of his soldiers, and gave them order to fight against those guards that were in the citadel, until he should have purified the temple. When therefore, he had carefully purged it, and had brought in new vessels, the candlestick, the table [of show-bread], and the altar [of incense], which were made of gold, he hung up the vails at the gates, and added doors to them. He also took down the altar [of burnt-offering] and built a new one on the spot together, and not of such as were hewn with iron tools. So on the five-and-twentieth day of the month Casleu, which the Macedonians call Apelleus, they lighted the first candle of the candlestick, and offered incense upon the altar of incense, and laid the leaves upon the table [of show-bread] and offered burnt-offerings upon the new altar [of burnt-offering]. Now it so fell out, that these things were done on the very same day on which their divine worship had fallen off, and was reduced to a profane and common use, after three years. And the event was, that the temple was made desolate by Antiocbus, and so continued for three years. This desolation happened to the temple in the hundred forty and fifth year, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Apelleus, and on the hundred fifty and third Olympiad; but it was dedicated anew, on the same day, the twenty-fifth of the month Apelleus, on the hundred and fifty-fourth Olympiad. And this declaration came to pass according to the prophecy of Daniel, which was given four hundred and eight years before: for it declared that the Macedonians would dissolve that worship [for some time.]

7. Now Judas celebrated the festival of the restoration of the sacrifices of the temple for two days, and determined to build upon the mount Zion, but he feasted them upon very rich and splendid sacrifices; and he honoured God, and delighted them by hymns and psalms. Nay, they were so very glad at the revival of customs, when, after a long time of intermission they unexpectedly had regained the freedom of their worship, that they made it a law for their posterity, that they should keep a festival on account of the restoration of their temple worship, for eight days. And from this time to this we celebrate this festival, and call it 'Lights,' I suppose that the practice was, because this liberality beyond our hopes appeared to us; and that thence was the name given to that festival. Judas also rebuilt the walls round about the city; and prepared to stand against all the invasions of enemies; and set guards therein. He also fortified the city Bethura, that it might serve as a citadel against any distresses that might come from our enemies.

CHAP. VIII.

How Judas subdued the Nations round about; and how Simon beat the People of Tyre and Ptolemais; and how Judas overthrew the Temple, and forced him to fly away, and did many other things, after Joseph and Aemus had been beaten.

§ 1. When these things were over, the nations round about the Jews were very uneasy at the revival of their power, and rose up together, and destroyed many of them, as gaining advantage over them by laying snares for them, and making secret conspiracies against them. Judas made perpetual expeditions against these men, and endeavoured to restrain them from those incursions, and to prevent the mischief they did to the Jews. So he fell upon the Idumeans, the posterity of Esau, and Aemus, and utterly destroyed many of them, and took their spoils. He also slat up the sons of Boan, that laid wait for the Jews, and he sat down about them, and besieged them, and had destroyed the men [that were in them.] After this he went thence in haste against the Ammonites, who had a great and a numerous army, which Timotheus was the commander. And when he had subdued them, he seized on the city Jazer, and took their wives and their children captive, and burnt the city, and then returned into Judas. But when the neighbouring nations understood that he was returned, they got together in great numbers in the land of Gilead, and came again that went at their borders, who then fled to the graces of Dathena; and sent to Judas to inform him that Timotheus was endeavouring to take the places which were taken by Judas, and which the Idumeans were reading, there came other messengers out of Galilee, who informed him that the inhabitants of Ptolemais, and of Tyre and Sidon, and of those states, were gone to their own assistance.

2. Accordingly, Judas, upon considering what was fit to be done, with relation to the necessity both of these cases required, gave order, that Simon should go with his brother and the remainder of these men, and go to the assistance of the Jews in Galilee, whilst he and another of his brothers, Jona than, made haste into the land of Gilead, with eight thousand soldiers. And he left Joseph, the son
of Zacharias, and Azarias, to be over the rest of the city, and set the watch, and to take care of the city, and to fight no battles with any persons whomsoever until his return. Accordingly, Simon went into Galilee, and fought the enemy, and the river Jordan was going to be fortified to Herod's order, and the very gates of Ptolemais, and slew about three thousand of them; and took the spoils of those that were slain, and those Jews whom they had taken prisoners, with their baggage; and then returned home.

3. Now as for Judas Maccabaeus, and his brother Jonathan, they passed over the river Jordan, and they came to the city of Bethshan, and they lay there, and they met the people of the inhabitants of Bozor, and the city, and besieged it, and the inhabitants of Bethshan, and of all that were against them, and they slew all that were able to fight, and burned the city. Nor did he stop even when night came on, but he journeyed in it to the garrison where the Jews were. Then, when Simon saw where Timotheus lay round the place with his army, and Judas came upon the city in the morning; and when he found that the enemy were making and collecting the spoil from the city, he encouraged his soldiers cheerfully to underrun dangers for the sake of their brethren and kindred; he also parted his army into three bodies, and fell upon the backs of their enemies. But when Timotheus's men perceived that it was Maccabaeus that was upon them, of both whose courage and good success in war they had formerly had sufficient experience, they were put to flight; but Judas followed them with his army, and slew about eight thousand of them. He then turned aside to a city of the foreigners called Azazar. And he armed his army beyond the brook, and burned the city itself. He then removed from thence, and overthrew Gasphom, and Bozor, and many other cities of the land of Gilead.

4. But not long after this, Timotheus prepared a great army, and took many others as auxiliaries, and induced some of the Arabians, by the promise of rewards, to go with him in this expedition, and took his army against the city of Raphon. And he encouraged his soldiers, if it came to a battle with the Jews, to fight courageously, and to hinder their passing over the brook: for he said to them beforehand, that "If they come over, we shall be beaten." And when Judas heard that Timotheus prepared himself to fight, he took all his own army, and went in haste against Timotheus his enemies, and when he had passed over the brook, he fell upon his enemies, and some of them met him, whom he slew, and others of the rest he put to flight; and thus he caused, that he compelled them to throw down their arms, and fly; and some of them escaped, but some of them fled to what was called the temple at Carmem, and hoped thereby to preserve themselves; but Judas took the city, and slew them, and burned the temple, and so used several of the enemies.

5. When he had done this, he gathered his forces together with their children and wives, and the substance that belonged to them, and he was going to bring them to Judea, but as soon as he was come to a certain city, whose name was Ephron, that lay upon the road, and as it was not possible for him to go any other way, so he was not willing to go by that road, and then sent to the inhabitants, and desired that they would open their gates, and permit them to go on their way through the city, for they had stopped up the gates with stones, and would not permit their passage through it. And when the inhabitants of Ephron would not agree to this proposal, he encouraged those that were with him, and encompassed the city round, and besieged it, and lying round it by day and night, took the city, and slew every male in it, and burnt all down, and so obtained a way through it; and the multitude of those that were slain was so great that they went over the dead bodies. So they came over Jordan, and arrived at the great plain, over against which was the city of Bethshan, which is called by the Greats Scythopolis. And being going away hastily from thence, they came into Judea, singing psalms and hymns as they went, and indulging such tokens of mirth as are usual when one triumphs upon the foe, and they offered thank-offerings, both for their good success, and for the preservation of their army, for not one of the Jews was slain in these battles.

6. But as to the rest of Zacharias, and Azarias, whom Judas led generals [of the rest of the forces] at the same time when Simon was in Galilee, fighting against the people of Ptolemais, and Judas himself and his brother Jonathan as inhabitants in the land of Gilead, did these men also affect the glory of being courageous generals in war, in order whereof they took the army that was under their command, and came to Jannah. There Gorgias, the general of the forces of Jamnia, met them; and upon joining battle with him, they lost two thousand of their army, and fled away, and were pursued to the very borders of Judea. And this misfortune befell them by their disobedience to what injunctions Judas had given them. "Not to fight with any one before he turn." For besides the rest of Judas's sagacious counsels, one may well wonder at this concerning the misfortune that befell the forces commanded by Joseph and Azarias, by which he himself would have been saved, if they broke any of the injunctions he had given them. But Judas and his brethren did not leave off fighting with the Idumeans, but pressed upon them on all sides, and took from them the city of Hebron, and demolished all its fortifications, and set all its towers on fire, and burnt the country of the foreigners, and the city of Marias. They came also to Ashdod, and took it, and laid it waste, and took away a great deal of the spoils and prey that were in it, and returned to Judea.

CHAP. IX.


§ 1. About this time it was that king Antiochus, as he was going up over the upper country, heard of four monarchical, which were also providential. See Ptoleum, at the year 110, 109., p. 214, that the Scythians, when they overran Asia, in the days of Josias, named this city, and kept it as long as they remained there; and it was called the cumen of Scythopolis, or the city of the Scythians.

1 This most providential preservation of all the religious and civil laws of God, and the protection of the will of God, is observable often among God's people, the Jews, and somewhat very like it in the changes of the
that there was a very rich city in Persia, called Elymais; and therein a very rich temple of Diana, and that it was full of all sorts of donations to Diana, and was adorned with Albania, and bronze statues, which, upon inquiry, he found had been left there by Alexander, the son of Philip, king of Macedo- nia. And being incited by these motives, he went in haste to Elymais, and assaulted it, and besieged it. But as those that were in it were not terrified at his assault, nor at his siege, but opposed him very courageously, he was beaten off his horse, and put his men away from the city, and went out and pursued after him; insomuch that he fled away as far as Babylonia, and lost a great many of his army. And when he was grieving for this disappointment, some persons told him of the defeat of his commanders whom he had left behind him to fight against Judea, and what strength the Jews bad already gotten. When this concern about these affairs was added to the former, he was confounded, and, by the anxiety he was in, fell into a distemper, which, as it lasted a great while, and as his pains increased upon him, so he at length perceived he should die in a little time; so he called his friends to him, and told them, his distemper was severe upon him; and confessed within, that this calamity had come upon him; and upon his being brought upon the Polybus of Megiddopolis, who, though otherwise a good man, yet saith, that "Antiochus died because he had a purpose to plunder the temple of Diana in Persia; for the business is a lying thing, but not actually done, is not worthy of punishment. But if Polybus could think that Antiochus thus lost his life on that account, it is much more probable that his death was occasioned by his sacrilegious plundering of the temple at Jerusalem. But we will not contend about this matter with those who may think, that the cause assigned by this Polybus of Megiddopolis is nearer the truth than that assigned by us.

2. However, Antiochus, before he died, called for Philip, who was one of his companions, and made him the guardian of his kingdom; and gave him his diadem, and his garments, and his ring, and charged him to carry them, and deliver them to his son Antiochus; and desired him to take care of the affairs of the kingdom; and to preserve the kingdom for him. This Antiochus died in the hundred and forty and ninth year; but it was Lydias that declared his death to the multitude, and ap- pointed his son to be king, (of whom he died before present he had the care,) and called him Eupator.

3. At this time it was that the garrison in the citadel at Jerusalem, with the Jewish runaway's, did a great deal of harm to the Jews; for the soldiers that were in that garrison rushed out upon the sudden, and destroyed such as were going up to the temple in order to offer their sacrifices, for this citadel adjoined to and overlooked the temple. When these misfortunes had often happened to them, Judas resolved to destroy that garrison; whereupon he called all the people together, and vigorously besieged those that were in the citadel. This was in the hundred and fifty year of the dominion of the Seleucids. So he made engines of war, and erected bulwarks, and very zealously pressed on to take the citadel; but there were not a few of the runaway's who were in the place, that went out by night into the country, and got together some other wicked men like themselves, and went to Antiochus, and besieg’d, and besieged him, as those would not suffer them to be neglected, under the great hardships that lay upon them from those of their own nation, and this because their suffer- ings were occasioned on his father's account, while they left the religious worship of their fathers, and preferred that which he had commanded them to follow; that there was danger of the city, and those appointed to garrison it by the king, should be taken by Judas, and those that were with him, unless he would send them succours. When Antiochus, who was but a child, heard this, he was angry, and sent for his captains, and his friends, and gave order, that they should get an army of mercenaries together, with twenty thousand horsemen, and thirty-two elephants.

4. So Antiochus took his army, and marched hastily out of Antioch, with Lysias, who had the command of the whole, and came to Idumæa, and thence went up to the city of Bethsura, a city that was built by David, on high ground, and in great difficulty; he set about this city and besieged it. And while the inhabitants of Bethsura courageously opposed him, and sallied out upon his forces, which were of the number of a great deal of time was spent in the siege. But when Judas heard of the king's coming, he raised the siege of the citadel, and met the king, and pitched his camp in his strong, and, at a battle, by covered Bethzacharai, at the distance of seventy far- stons from the enemy; but the king soon drew his forces from Bethsura, and brought them to those straits. And as soon as it was day, he put his men in battle array; and made his elephants follow one another through the narrow passes, because they could not be set sideways by one another. Now round about every elephant there were a thousand footmen, and five hundred horse- men. The elephants also had high towers [upon their backs,] and archers [in them.] And he also made the rest of his army to go up the moun- tains, and put his friends before the rest; and gave orders for the army to shout aloud, and so he attacked the enemy. He also exposed to sight their great and splendid array, so the host was filled with fear, and so numerous was the soldiers of the king, (of whom he had six hundred of the first rank.) But when his bro- ther Eleazar, whom they called Auran, saw the tallness of the elephants armed with royal breast- plates, and supposed that the king was upon him, he attacked him with great quickness and bravery. He also slew many of those that were about the elephant, and scattered the rest, and then went under the belly of the elephant, and smote him, and slew him; so the elephant fell upon Eleazar, and by his weight crushed him to death. And thus did this man come to his end, when he had first courageously destroyed many of his enemies.

5. But Judas, seeing the strength of the ene- my, retired to Jerusalem, and prepared to endure a siege. As for Antiochus, he went part of his army to Bethsura, to besiege it, and with the rest of his army he came against Jerusalem, but

* Since St. Paul, a Pharisee, confesses, that he had not known Christ, or despised Christ, or that he was a Gentile, Acts 9:1, 2. But so Antiochus, who was one of the same sect, that he had not despised the law of Moses. And yet he was a priest, and had great opportunities of knowing the law, in his youth. And what we have said before is not contrary to this. Rom. vii.

† No wonder that Josephus here describes Antiochus Eupator as young, and wanting tuition, when he came to the crown. For the whole process was, H. R., p. 177, that he was then but nine years old.
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the inhabitants of Bethzura were terrified at his strength; and seeing that their provisions grew scarce, they delivered themselves up on the security of death, that they should suffer no hard treatment from the king. And when Antiochus had thus taken the city, he did them no other harm than sending them out naked. He also placed a garrison there in its stead. But as for the temple of Jerusalem, he lay at its siege a long time, while they were bravely defending it, for what engines soever the king set against them, they set other engines against to oppose them. But then their provisions failed them, what fruits of the ground they had laid up were spent, and the land being not ploughed that year, or consumed by fire, caused it to waste that whole year, on which, by our laws, we were obliged to let it lie uncultivated. And withal so many of the besieged ran away for want of necessaries, that but a few only were left in the temple.

6. And these happened to the circumstances of such as were besieged in the temple. But then, because Lyisias, the general of the army, and Antiochus, the king, were importuned that Philip was coming upon them out of Persia, and was endeavouring to get the management of public affairs to himself, they came into these sentiments. He, therefore, and his friends, having hasted to go against Philip; yet did they resolve not to let this be known to the soldiers, nor to the officers; but the king commanded Lyisias to send one death put to the other soldiers, without saying a word about the business of Philip; and to intimate to them, that the siege should be very long; that the place was very strong; that they were already in want of provisions; that many affairs of the kingdom wanted regulation; and that it was much better to make a league with the besieged, and to become friends to them, than to prevent them from observing the laws of their fathers, while they broke out into this war only because they were deprived of them, and so to depart home. When Lyisias had discoursed thus to them, both the army and the officers were pleased with this resolution.

7. Accordingly, the king sent to Judas, and to those that were besieged with them, and promised to give them peace, and to permit them to make use of, and live according to, the laws of their fathers. And they gladly received his proposals, because they were bound by oath, for their performance, they went out of the temple. But when Antiochus came into it, and saw how strong the place was, he broke his oath, and caused the people to pluck down the walls to the ground, and when he had so done, he returned to Antioch: he also carried with him Onias, the high priest, who was also called Menelaus; for Lyisias advised the king to slay Menelaus, if he would have the Jews be quiet, and cause him no further disturbance, for that this man was the origin of all the mischief the Jews had done them, by persuading his father to compel the Jews to leave the religion of their fathers: so the king sent Menelaus to Be- ren, a city of Syria, and there had put to death, when he had been high priest ten years. He had been a wicked and an impious man; and, in order to get the government to himself, had compelled his nation to transgress their own laws. After the death of Menelaus, Alcimus, who was also called Jasonus, was made high priest. But when king Antiochus found that Philip had already possessed himself of the government, he made up his mind, and went to him, and took him, and slew him. Now, as to Onias, the son of the high priest, who, as we before informed you, was left a child when his father died, when he saw that the king had slain his uncle Menelaus, and given the high priesthood to Alcimus, who was not of the high priest stock, but as induced by his great wealth, and by the intimacy from his family to another house, he fled to Ptolemy, king of Egypt; and when he found he was in great esteem with him, and with his wife, Cleopatra, he desired, and obtained, by offering to found a temple in the Nomus of Heliopolis, wherein he built a temple like to that of Jerusalem, of which, therefore, we shall hereafter give an account, in a place more proper for it.

CHAP. X.

How Bacchides, the General of Demetrius's Army, made an Expedition against Judea, and returned without Success; and how Nicaius was sent a Little Time after Bacchides, and persisted, together with his Army: as also concerning the Death of Alcimus, and the Succession of Judeas.

§ 1. About the same time, Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, fled away from Rome, and took Tripoli, a city of Syria, and set the diadem upon his own head. He also gathered certain mercenary soldiers together, and entered into his kingdom, and was joyfully received by all who delivered themselves up to him. And when he took Antiochus the king, and Lyisias, they brought them to him alive; both who were immediately put to death by Demetrius, without saying a word about the command of Demetrius, when Antiochus had reigned two years; as we have already elsewhere related. But there were now many of the wicked Jewish runagates that came together to him, and with them Alcimus the high priest, who accused the whole nation, and particularly Judas and his brethren; and said that "they had slain all his friends; and that those in his kingdom that were of his party, and waited for his return, were by them put to death; that these men had ejected them out of their own country, and caused them to be sufferers, in a foreign land; and they did desire that he would send some one of his own friends, and know from him what mischief Judas's party had done."

§ 2. At this time Demetrius was very angry, and sent Bacchides, a friend of Antiochus Epiphanes, a good man, and one that had been instructed with all Mosopotamia, and gave him an army, and committed Alcimus the high priest to him; and gave him charge to slay Judas, and those that were with him. So Bacchides made haste, and went out of Antioch with his army; and when he was come to Jerusalem, he sent to his friends, and his brethren, to discourse with him about a league of friendship and peace, for he had a mind to take him by treachery. But Judas did not give credit to him, for he saw that he came with such a great an army as men do not bring, when they come to make peace, but to make war. However, some of the people acquainted in what Bacchides caused to be proclaimed; and supposing they should undergo no considerable harm from Alcimus, who was their countryman, they went over to them; and when they had received oaths from both of them, that neither they themselves, nor those of the same sentiments, should come to any harm, they intrusted themselves with them; but Bacchides troubled himself not about the oaths he had taken, and slew three of them, although by not keeping his faith with those that first went over, he deterred all the rest, who had intentions to go over to him, and did not come. But as he was at Jerusalem, and was at the village called Bethzatho, he sent out and caught many of the deserters, as is now probably that Josephus would call Bacchides, that bitter and bloody enemy of the Jews, as our present copies have it, a good man, or kind and gentle. We have met with part of the first book of Maccabees, whom Jo-
and some of the people also, and slew them all; and enjoined all that lived in the country to submit to Alcimus. So he left him there, with some part of the army, that he might have wherewith to keep the country in obedience, and returned to Antioch. The king resolved to keep the priests fall into the city, and to grief at what he had said, and besought God to deliver them from their enemies. But now for Nicanor, when he was gone out of Jerusalem, and was at a certain village named Athlurion, there pitched his camp, another army out of Syria having joined him: and Judas pitched his camp at Adaas, another village, which was thirty furlongs from Berenice, and answered about him, although the greater part of them were of the wicked, and the deserters. With these, whom he used as his servants and soldiers, he went all over the country and slew all that he could find of Judas's party. But when Judas saw that Alcimus was already become great, and had destroyed many of the good and holy men of the country; he also went all over the country, and destroyed those that were of the other party. But when Alcimus saw that he was not able to oppose Judas, nor was equal to him in strength, he resolved to apply himself to king Demetrius for his assistance; so he came to Antioch, and irritated him against Judas, and accused him, alleging that he had undergone a great number of losses by his means, and that he would do more mischief unless he were prevented, and brought to punishment, which must be done by sending a powerful force against him.

4. Demetrius being already of opinion that it would be a thing pernicious to his own affairs to overlook Judas, now he was becoming so great, sent against him Nicanor, the most kind and most faithful of his captains; for he was whirled away with him from the city of Rome. He also gave him as many forces as he thought sufficient for him to conquer Judas withal, and bade him not to spare the nation at all. When Nicanor was come to Jerusalem, he did not resolve to fight Judas immediately, but judged it better to get him into his power by treachery; so he sent him a message of peace, and said, "There was no manner of necessity for them to fight and hazard themselves; and that he would give him his oath that he would do him no harm, for that he only came to him, and let him know what king Demetrius's intentions were, and what opinion he had of their nation." When Nicanor had delivered this message, Judas and his brethren went with him, and suspecting no deceit, they gave him assurances of friendship, and received Nicanor and his army; but while he was relating Judas, and they were talking together, he gave a certain signal to his own soldiers, upon which they were to seize upon Judas; but he perceived the treachery, and ran back to his own soldiers, and fled away with them. So upon this discovery of his purpose, and of the snares laid for Judas, Nicanor determined to make open war with him, and gathered his army together, and prepared for fighting him; and upon joining battle with him at a certain village called Caphar-salama, he beat Judas, and forced him to fly to that citadel which was at Jerusalem.

5. And when Nicanor came down from the citadel unto the temple, some of the priests and elders met him, and saluted him; and showed him the sacrifices which they said they offered to the God for the king; upon which he blasphemed, and threatened them, that unless the people would deliver up Judas to him, upon his return he would pull down their temple. And when he had thus threatened them, he departed from Jerusalem, and was at a certain village named Athlurion, there pitched his camp, another army out of Syria having joined him: and Judas pitched his camp at Adaas, another village, which was thirty furlongs from Berenice, and answered about him, although the greater part of them were of the wicked, and the deserters. With these, whom he used as his servants and soldiers, he went all over the country and slew all that he could find of Judas's party. But when Judas saw that Alcimus was already become great, and had destroyed many of the good and holy men of the country; he also went all over the country, and destroyed those that were of the other party. But when Alcimus saw that he was not able to oppose Judas, nor was equal to him in strength, he resolved to apply himself to king Demetrius for his assistance; so he came to Antioch, and irritated him against Judas, and accused him, alleging that he had undergone a great number of losses by his means, and that he would do more mischief unless he were prevented, and brought to punishment, which must be done by sending a powerful force against him.

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BOOK XII.—CHAP. XI.

It was also laid up in the capitol, and engraven in brass. The decree itself was: "The decree of the senate concerning a league of assistance and friendship with the nation of the Jews. It shall not be lawful for any that are subject to the Romans to make war with the nation of the Jews, nor to assist those that do so, either by sending them corn, or ships, or money, and if any attack be made upon the Jews, the Romans shall assist them, as far as they are able: and again, if any attack be made upon the Romans, the Jews shall assist them. And if the Jews have a mind to add to, or to take any thing from the Romans, they shall do so only with the common consent of the Romans. And whatsoever addition shall be made, it shall be of force. This decree was written by Eupolemus, the son of John, and by Jason, the son of Eleazar," when Judas was high priest of the nation, and Simon, his brother, was general of the army.

This was the first league that the Romans made with the Jews, and was managed after this manner.

CHAP. XI.

That Baccidzes was again sent against Judas; and how Judas fell as he was courageously fighting.

§ 1. But when Demetrius was informed of the death of Nicamcon, and of the destruction of the army, he despatched Baccidzes again with an army into Judea, who marched out of Antioch, and came into Judea, and joined his camp at Autolus. And when he had learned that Judas pitched his camp at a certain village whose name was Bethzetho, he led his army against him: they were twenty thousand footmen and two thousand horsemen. Now Judas had no more soldiers than one thousand. When these saw the multitude of Baccidzes' men, they were afraid, and left their camp, and fled all away, excepting eight hundred. Now when Judas was deserted by his own soldiers, and the enemy pressed upon him, and gave him no time to gather his army together, he was disposed to fight with Baccidzes. And though he had but eight hundred men with him; so he exhorted these men to undergo the danger courageously, and encouraged them to attack the enemy. And when they said they were not able to fight so great an army, and advised that they should retire now, and save themselves, and that when he had gathered his own men together, then he should fall upon the enemy afterward, his answer was this: "Let not the sun ever see such a thing that I should show my back to the enemy; and although this be the time that will bring me to my end, and I must die in this battle, I will rather stand to it courageous, and bear whatsoever comes upon me, than by now running away, bring reproach upon my former great actions, or tarnish their glory." This was the speech the said to those that remained with him, where by he encouraged them to attack the enemy.

2. But Baccidzes drew his army out of their camp, and put them in array for the battle. He set the horsemen on both the wings, and the light soldiers and the archers he placed before the whole army, but he was himself on the right wing. And when he had them in order of battle, and was going to join battle with the enemy, he commanded the trumpeter to give a signal of battle, and the army to make a shout and to fall on the enemy. And when Judas had done the same, he joined battle with them; and as both sides fought valiantly, and the battle continued till sunset, Judas saw that Baccidzes and the strongest part of the army was in the right wing, and thereupon took the most courageous men with him, and ran upon that part of the army, and fell upon those that were there, and broke their ranks, and drove them into the middle, and forced them to run away, and pursued them as far as to a mountain called Azar; but when those of the left wing saw that the right wing was put to flight, they encompassed Judas, and pursued him, and came behind him, and took him into the middle of their army; so being not able to fly, but encompassed round about with enemies, he stood still, and was taken, and was with him fought; and when he had slain a great many of those that came against him, he at last was himself wounded, and fell, and gave up the ghost, and died in the performance of his famous actions. When Judas was dead, those that were with him had no one whom they could regard [as their commander] but when they saw themselves deprived of such a general, they fled. But Simon and Jonathan, Judas's brethren, received his dead body by a treaty from the enemy, and carried it to the village of Modin, where their father had been buried, and there buried him; while the multitude lamented him many days, and performed the usual solemn rites of a funeral to him. And this was the end that Judas came to. He had been a man of war, a great warrior, and mindful of the commands of his father Mattithias; and had undergone all difficulties, both in doing and suffering, for the liberty of his country. And his memory was so excellent [while he was alive], he left behind him a glorious reputation and memorial, by gaining freedom for his nation, and delivering them from slavery under the Macedonians. And when he had retained the high priesthood three years, he died.

BOOK XIII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF EIGHTY-TWO YEARS—FROM THE DEATH OF JUDAS MACCABaeUS TO THE DEATH OF QUINTUS ALEXANDER.

CHAP. I.

How Jonathan took the Government after his brother Judas, and how he, together with his brother Simon, waged War against Baccidzes.

§ 1. By what means the nation of the Jews recovered their freedom, brought into slavery the Macedonians, and struggled, and how many great battles Judas the general of their army ran through, till he was slain as he was fighting for them, hath been related in the foregoing history; but when he was dead, all the wicked, and those that transgressed the laws of their forefathers, sprang up again in Judea, and grew upon them, and distressed them on every side. The remembrance of their wickedness, and afflicted the country, till not a few, who by reason of their want of acces-
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ratho, and Tekoa, and Gazara, and built towers in every city, and fortified them with strong walls, that were very large also, and put garrisons into them, that they might issue out of them, and do mischief to the Jews, and keep the land more than all the rest. Moreover he took the sons of the principal Jews as pledges, and shut them up in the citadel, and in that manner guarded them.

4. About the same time one came to Jonathan, and to his brother Simon, and told them that the sons of Ambri were celebrating a marriage, and that these powerful men among the Egyptians, who was the daughter of one of the illustrious men among the Egyptians, and that the damsel was to be conducted with pomp and splendor, and much riches; so Jonathan and Simon, thinking this appeared to be the fittest time for them to avenge the death of their brother, and that they had forces sufficient for receiving satisfaction from them for his death, they made haste to Medeba, and lay in wait among the mountains for the coming of their enemies; and as soon as they saw them conducting the virgin and her bride, they came out of their homes, and followed them, and then followed them, and received satisfaction for their brother John from the sons of Ambri; for as well those sons themselves, as their friends, and wives, and children, that followed them, perished, being in number about four hundred.

5. However, Simon and Jonathan returned to the lakes of the river, and abode there. But when Bacchides, with his garrisons, returned to the king; and then it was that the affairs of Judea were quiet for two years. But when the deserters and the wicked saw that Jonathan and those that were with him lived in the country very quietly, by reason of the peace, they sent to king Demeutrius, and excused him to send Bacchides to seize upon Jonathan, which they said was to be done without any trouble, and in one night's time; and that if they fell upon them before they were aware, they might slay them all. So the king sent Bacchides, when he came to Judah, wrote to all his friends, both Jews and auxiliaries, that they should seize upon Jonathan, and bring him to them; and when, upon all their endeavours, they could not shew it, then they sent Bacchides a message to the king, that he was sensible of the suares they laid for him, and very carefully guarded against them, Bacchides, as a rusty and forsaken deserter, as having delivered himself into the hands of the most of their leaders. Whereupon Jonathan, with his brother, and those that were with him, retired to Bethagh, a village that lay in the wilderness, out of his fear of Bacchides. He also built towers on it, and encompassed it with walls, and took care that it should be safely guarded.

3. But when Bacchides knew that Jonathan had pitched his camp among the lakes of Jordan, he observed when their Sabbath-day came, and then assaulted him, as supposing that he would not fight because of the law [for resting on that day:] but he exhorted his companions to fight; and told them that their lives were at stake, since they were encompassed by the river, and by their enemies, and had no way to escape, for that their enemies pressed upon them, and the river was behind them. So after he had put his forces in order, that both the victory, he joined battle with the enemy, of whom he overthrew many; and as he saw Bacchides coming up boldly to him, he stretched out his right hand the stroke, Jonathan with his companions leaped into the river, and swam over it, and by that means escaped beyond Jordan, while the enemies pursued him over that river: but Bacchides returned presently to the citadel at Jerusalem, having lost about two thousand of his army. He also fortified many cities of Judæa, whose walls were also demolished, Jericho, Emmaus, Bethoron, and Bethel, and Timnæ, and Pha-
himself encompassed with enemies, and some of them before and some behind him, he fell into despair and trouble of mind, as confounded at the unexpected ill success of this siege. However, he ventured his displeasure at these misfortunes upon those who were far from the king, as having delayed him. So he had a mind to finish this siege after a decent manner, if it were possible for him so to do, and thus secure himself for the future.

6. When Jonathan understood these his intentions, he sent ambassadors to him, about a league of friendship and mutual assistance, that they might restore those who had taken captive on both sides. So Baccidas thought this a pretty decent way of retiring home, and made a league of friendship with Jonathan, when they were aware that they would not any more make war one against another. Accordingly, he restored the captives, and took his own men with him, and returned to the king to Antioch; and after this his departure, he never came into Judea again. Then did Jonathan take the opportunity of this quiet state of things, and went and lived in his own land, one there had escaped the enemy in the multitude, and punished the wicked and ungodly, and by that means purged the nation of them.

CHAP. II.

How Alexander [Bala] in his War with Demetrius, granted Jonathan many Advantages, and appointed him to be High Priest, and persuaded him to assist him, although Demetrius promised him greater Advantages on the other Side.

Concerning the Death of Demetrius.

§ 1. Now in the hundred and sixtieth year, it fell out that Alexander, the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, came up into Syria, and took Ptolemais, the soldiers within having betrayed it to him. He also went in with him there, to the king, on account of his insolence and difficulty of access; for he had shut himself up in a palace of his that had four towers, which he had built himself, not far from Antioch, and admitted nobody. He was withal slothful and negligent about the public affairs, whereby the hatred of his subjects was the more kindled against him, as we have elsewhere already spoken. Wherefore Alexander heard that Alexander was in Ptolemais, he took his whole army and led it against him: he also sent ambassadors to Jonathan, about a league of mutual assistance and help, for he resolved to be beforehand with Alexander, lest the other would treat with him first, and gain assistance from him: and this he did out of the fear he had, lest Jonathan should remember how ill Demetrius had formerly treated him, and should join with him in this war against him. He therefore gave orders that Jonathan should be allowed to raise an army, and should get armour made, and should receive back those hostages of the Jewish nation whom Baccidas had put up in the citadel of Jerusalem. When this good fortune had befallen Jonathan, by the concession of Demetrius, he came to Jerusalem, and read the king's letter in the audience of the people, and of those that kept the citadel. When these were read, those wicked men and deserters, who were in the citadel, were greatly afraid, upon the king's permission to Jonathan to raise an army, and to receive back the hostages: so he delivered every one of them to his own parents. And thus did Jonathan make his abode at Jerusalem, renew the city to a better state and repair the buildings as he pleased; for he gave orders that the walls of the city should be rebuilt with square stones, that it might be more secure from their enemies. And when those that kept the citadel that were in Judea saw this, they all left them, and fled to Antioch, excepting those that were in the city of Jerusalem, and resolved that the citadel of Jerusalem, for the greatest part of these was of the wicked Jews and deserters, and on that account these did not deliver up their garrisons.

2. When Alexander knew what promises Demetrius had made Jonathan, and withal knew his courage, and what great things he had done when he fought the Macedonians, and besides what hardships he had undergone by the means of Demetrius, and of Baccidas, the general of Demetrius's army, he told his friends, that "he could not at present do anything that might afford him better assistance than Jonathan, who was both courageous against his enemies, and had a particular hatred against Demetrius, as having both suffered many hard things himself, and acted many hard things against him. If therefore they were of opinion that they should make him their friend against Demetrius, it was more for their advantage to invite him to assist them now than at another time." It being therefore determined by him and his friends to send to Jonathan, he wrote to him this epistle: "King Alexander to his brother Jonathan, sendeth greeting: We have long ago heard of thy courage and thy fidelity, and for that reason have sent to thee, to make with thee a league of friendship and mutual assistance. We therefore do ordain thee this day high priest of the Jews, and that thou beest called my friend. I have also sent thee, as presents, a purple robe and a golden crown, and desire, that now thou art by us honoured, thou wilt in like manner respect us also."

3. When Jonathan had received this letter, he put on the pontifical robe at the time of the feast of Tabernacles, and four years after the death of his brother Judas, for at that time no high priest had been made. So he raised great forces, and had abundance of armour got ready. This greatly delighted Demetrius of Macedonia, for he heard of this, and blamed himself for his slowness, that he had not prevented Alexander, and got the good-will of Jonathan, but had given him time so to do. However, he also himself sent Demetrius to him, and to the people; the contents whereof are these: "King Demetrius to Jonathan, and to the nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting: Since you have preserved your friendship for us; and when you have been tempted by our enemies, you have not joined yourselves to them, I both commend you for this your fidelity, and exhort you to continue in the same disposition, for which you shall be repaid, and receive rewards from us: for I will free you from the greatest part of the tributes and taxes which you formerly paid to the kings my predecessors, and to myself; and hardly have done had he believed him to be a2 another, and so very much to your service, for such things as the Jews and Romans, and many others, and yet it is by several historians deemed to be a2 a counterfeit, and of no Boanerges appointed. Wherefore I have here been the real son of that Antiochus, and by him always spoken accordingly. And truly, since the original con- tinuance is very and another epistle of that of Mac- cubens, chap. x. 11, calls him by his father's name Epiphanes, and says he was the son of Antiochus, I suppose the other writers, who have written with all the people, and against such evidence, though perhaps Epiphanes might have been a3 woman of no family. The king of Egypt, A., "demeter- anes gave his daughter in marriage, which he would
I do now set you free from those tributes which you have ever paid; and besides, I forgive you 
the right wing, where Demetrius happened to be, 
was beaten; and as for all the rest, they ran away. 
But Demetrius fought courageously, and 
saw a great many of the enemy; but as Jesus was 
in the pursuit of the rest, his horse carried him 
into a deep bog, where it was hard to get out, and 
there it happened, that upon his horse's falling down 
and being unable to escape being killed, his 
enemies saw what had befallen him, they 
retumed back, and encompassed Demetrius round, 
from above they all threw their darts at him; but he 
being in great danger, fought bravely, but as Jesus 
he received so many wounds, that he was not 
able to bear up any longer, but fell, and this is 
the end that Demetrius came to when he had 
reigned eleven years, as we have elsewhere 
related.

CHAP. III.

The Friendship that was between Onias and Ptolemy Philometer; and how Onias built a Temple 
§ 1. But then the son of Onias the high priest, 
who was of the same name with his father, and 
who fled to king Ptolemy, who was called Philometer, 
lived now at Alexandria, as we have said 
already. When this Onias saw that Judas was 
Oppressed by the Macedonians and their kings, 
out of a desire to purchase to himself a memorial 
and eternal fame, he resolved to send to king Ptole-
my and say, that he might build a temple in Egypt like to 
that at Jerusalem, and might ordain Levites 
and priests out of their own stock. The chief reason 
why he was desirous so to do was, that he relied 
upon the prophet Isaiah, who lived above six 
hundred years before, and foretold that there 
certainly was to be a temple built to Almighty 
God in Egypt by a son that was a Jew. Onias 
was elevated with this prediction; and wrote 
the following epistle to Ptolemy and Cleopatra:

HAVING done many and great things for you in 
the affairs of the war, by the assistance of God, 
and that in Cælorus and Phoenicia, I came at 
length with the Jews to Leontopolis, and to other 
places of your nation, where I found that the 
greatest part of your people had temples in 
unproper manner, and that on this account they 
bare ill-will one against another, which happens 
to the Egyptians by reason of the multitude of 
temples, and their continous and extravagant 
expenses about divine worship. Now I found a very fit 
place in a castle that hath its name from the 
country Dion; this place is full of materials of 
several sorts, and all will be done at my 
expenses: I desire therefore that you will grant me 
leave to purghe this holy place, which belongs 
unto no master, and is fallen down, and to build there 
a temple to Almighty God, after the pattern of 
that in Jerusalem, and of the same dimensions, 
that may be for the benefit of thyself, and thy 
wife and children, that those Jews who dwell in 
Egypt may have a place whithere they may come 
and meet together in mutual harmony one with 
another, and be subservient to thy advantages, 
for the prophet Isaiah foretold, that there should 
be an altar to the Lord God: and many other 
such things did he prophesy relating 
to that place.

2. And this was what Onias wrote to king Pto-
lemys relation to the Jews, by this letter. But king 
Alexander raised a great army of mercenary 
soldiers, and of those that deserted to him out of 
Syria, and made an expedition against Demet-
rius. And when it was come to a battle, the left 
wing of Demetrius put those who opposed them 
off from the city, and to erect high towers, and that 
be erected at my charge. And if there be any 
fortified town that would be convenient for the 
Jewish country to have very strong, let it be so
built at my expenses."

4. This was what Demetrius promised, and
granted to the Jews, by this letter. But king 
Alexander, the friend of the Jews, he made an 
expedition against Demetrius, and when it was come 
to a battle, the left wing of Demetrius put those who opposed them 
off from the city, and to erect high towers, and that 
be erected at my charge. And if there be any 
fortified town that would be convenient for the 
Jewish country to have very strong, let it be so
built at my expenses."

* Take Grotius's note here: "The Jews," says he, 
were wont to present crowns to the kings of Syria; as
without their consent, they are not to be deemed God's 
people. The crown of Gudes, or which was expended in 
making them, was called the crown gold and the crown ivy."

On 1 Maccl. x. 39.

1. And so the note from Josephus, that those 
aventures before taken by Demetrius thirteen years, and Josephus only eleven years, 

2. In the note on chap. x. sect. 7. And truly the marks of Jew-
ish corruption, or interpolation in this text, in order to 
save the sect and name of the enemy; but as Jews 
God here, are very strong, and highly deserve our con-
temnation and correction. The foregoing verse in the 
Apocalypse, where it is said that the deep caves shall 
be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, ver.
BOOK XIII.—CHAP. IV.

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The temple, which was so ancient, and so celebrated all over the habitable earth. Now when Sabbas and Theodosius had given leave to Andronicus to speak first, he began to demonstrate out of the law, and of the teaching of the prophets, and the priests, how they every one in succession from his father had received that dignity, and ruled over the temple; and how all the kings of Asia had forgotten the temple, and were driven out of it. But if that be the case, as was said, that the temple was in a place so unclean, and so full of sacred animals: but since thou sayest that Isaiah the prophet foretold this long ago, we give thee leave to do it, if it may be done according to thy law, and so that we may not appear to have at all offended God herein."

3. So Onias took the place, and built a temple, and an altar to God, like indeed to that in Jerusalem, but smaller and poorer. I do not think it proper for me now to describe its dimensions, or its vessels, which have been already described in my several books of the wars of the Jews. However, Onias found other Jews like to himself, together with priests and Levites, that there performed divine service. But we have said enough about the temple.

4. Now it came to pass that the Alexandrian Jews, and those Samaritans who paid their worship to the temple that was built in the days of Asa, and that on which the priests made atonement one against another, and disputed about their temples before Ptolemy himself, the Jews saying, that, according to the law of Moses, the temple was to be built at Jerusalem; and the Samaritans saying, that it was to be built at Gerizim. They desired therefore the king to sit with his four sons, and hear these matters, and punish those with death who were baffled. Now Nabbes and Theodosius managed the argument for the Samaritans, and Andronicus, the son of Messalamus, for the people of Jerusalem; and they took an oath by God and the king, to make their demonstrations according to the law; and they desired of Ptolemy, that whosoever he should find that transgressed what they had sworn to, he would put him to death. Accordingly, the king took several of his friends into the council, and sat down, in order to hear what they said. Now it was that those who were at Alexandria were in great concern for those men whose lot it was to contend for the temple at Jerusalem; for they took it very ill that any should take away the reputation of that temple, which was so ancient, and so celebrated all over the habitable earth. Now when Sabbas and Theodosius had given leave to Andronicus to speak first, he began to demonstrate out of the law, and of the teaching of the prophets, and the priests, how they every one in succession from his father had received that dignity, and ruled over the temple; and how all the kings of Asia had forgotten the temple, and were driven out of it. But if that be the case, as was said, that the temple was in a place so unclean, and so full of sacred animals: but since thou sayest that Isaiah the prophet foretold this long ago, we give thee leave to do it, if it may be done according to thy law, and so that we may not appear to have at all offended God herein.

CHAP. IV.

How Alexander honoured Jonathan after an extraordinary Manner, and how Demetrius, the Son of Demetrius, overcame Alexander, and made a League of Friendship with Jonathan.

§ 1. Demetrius being thus slain in battle, as we have above related, Alexander took the kingdom of Syria; and he wrote to Ptolemy Philomelus, and desired his daughter in marriage; and said, it was but just that he should be joined in affinity to one that had now received the piety and majesty of his former king, and that God had delivered to it by God's providence, and had conquered Demetrius, and that was on other accounts not unworthy of being related to him. Ptolemy received this proposal of marriage gladly; and wrote to him an answer, saluting him on account of his having received the principality of his father-in-law; and promising him that he would give him his daughter in marriage, and assured him that he was coming to meet him at Ptolemais, and desired that he would there meet him, for that he would accompany her from Egypt so far, and would there marry his child to hers. When Ptolemy had written thus, he came and drank to Ptolemais, and brought his daughter Cleopatra along with him; and as he found Alexander there before him, as he desired him to come, he gave him his child in marriage, and for her portion gave her as much silver and gold as became such a king to give. 2. When the wedding was over, Alexander wrote to Jonathan the high priest, and desired him to come to Ptolemais. So when he came to these kings, and had made them magnificent presents, he reason here in the most weak and most inauspicious manner possible. See him at the year 149. * A very unfair disputation this! while the Jewish disputant, knowing that he could not possibly prove out at the Pentateuch, that the place which the Lord their God should choose to place his name there, so often referred to in the book of Deuteronomy, was Jerusalem any more than Gerizim, that being not determined till the days of David, Antiq. B. vii. chap. xiii. sect. 6, proves only what the Samaritans did not doubt, that the temple at Jerusalem was much more ancient, and much more celebrated; discredited that at Gerizim, which was nothing to the present purpose. The whole evidence, by the very ostentation of both parties, be it said, that is to be produced, is given in the book of Moses, or to the Pentateuch alone. However worldly policy and interest, and the multitude, prevailing, the court gave sentence, as usual, on the stronger side, and poor Nabbes and Theodosius, the Samaritan disputants, were martyred, and this, so far as appears, without any direct bearing on the point, which was like the sum of such political courts about matters of religion. Our copies say, that the body of the Jews were in a great concourse, and that there was a great discussion about those things; the temple, which is to be built for their temple at Jerusalem: whereas it seems here they had but one disputant, Andronicus by name; perhaps more accurately meant. And these were prepared to speak on the same side, and as soon as the king had having answered to his name, and overcome the Samaritans, there was no necessity for any other defender of the Jerusalem temple.
sants, he was honoured by them both. Alexander compelled him also to put off his own garments, and made him sit with him in his throne; and commanded his captains that they should go with him into the middle of the city, and proclaim, that it was not for himself to accuse one to speak against him, or to give him any disturbance. And when the captains had thus done, those that were prepared to accuse Jonathan, and who bore him ill-will, when they heard that the king had done by that for his exaltation, and that by the king's order, run away, and were afraid lest some mischief should befall them. Nay, king Alexander was very kind to Jonathan, for he set him down as the principal of his friends.

3. But then, upon the hundred and sixty-fifth year Demetrius, the son of Demetrius, came from Crete, with a great number of mercenary soldiers, which Lachthanes, the Cretan, brought him, and sailed to Cilicia. This thing cast Alexander into great concern and disorder when he heard it; so he made haste immediately out of Phoenicia, and came to Antioch, that he might put matters in a safe posture there, before Demetrias should come. He also left Apollonius Dass, governor of Cilicia, who was going to Jamaica with a great army, sent to Jonathan the high priest, and told him, that "It was not right that he should act thus, and with authority, and not be subject to the king; and this thing had made him a reproach among all men, that he had not yet made him subject to the king. Do not thou therefore desert thyself, and sit still among the mountains, and pretend to have forces with these: but if thou hast any dependence on thy strength, come down into the plain, and let our armies be compared together, and the event of the battle will demonstrate which of us is the most courageous. However, take notice, that the most valiant men of every city are in my army, and that these are the very men who have always beaten thy predecessors; but let us have the battle in such a place of the country where we may fight with weapons, and not with stones, and where there may be no place whither those that are beaten may fly."

4. With this, Jonathan was irritated; and choosing himself out ten thousand of his soldiers of Jerusalem in haste with his brother Simon, and came to Joppa, and pitched his camp on the outside of the city, because the people of Joppa had shut their gates against him. And the garrison in the city put themselves by Apollonius; but when Jonathan was preparing to besiege them, they were afraid he would take them by force, and so they opened the gates to him. Apollonius, when he heard that Joppa was taken by Jonathan, took three thousand horsemen, and eight thousand footmen, and came to Ashdod, and removing thence, he made his journey silently and slowly, and going up to Joppa, he made as if he was retiring from the place, and so drew Jonathan into the plain, as valuing himself highly upon his horsemen, and having his hopes of victory principally in them. However, Jonathan called out, and pursued Apollonius to Ashdod; but as soon as Apollonius perceived that his enemy was in the plain, he cast about him at his own peril, and Apollonius had laid a thousand horsemen in ambush in a valley, that they might not be seen by their enemies as behind them; which when Jonathan perceived, he gave the command to his army to keep their order, and not to make any confusion, but ordering his army to stand in a square battle array, they gave them a charge to fall on the enemy on both sides, and set them to these things that attacked them both before and behind; and when they had pressed them with force, they did part of his forces to his brother Simon, and ordered him to attack the enemies; but for himself he charged those that were with him to cover themselves, and to look against him, while the darts of the horsemen, who did as they were commanded; so that the enemy's horsemen, while they threw their darts till they had no more left, the darts that were thrown did not enter into their bodies, being thrown upon the shields, that were united and conjoined together, the closeness of which easily overcame the force of the darts, and they flew about without any effect. But when the enemy grew remiss in throwing their darts from morning till late at night, Simon perceived their weakness, and fell upon the body of men before him; and because his soldiers showed great alacrity, he put the enemy to flight, and when the horsemen saw that the footmen ran away, neither did they stay themselves, but they being very weary, by the duration of the fight till the evening, and their hope from the footmen being quite gone, they did not stay, but in great confusion also, till they were separated one from another, and scattered over all the plain. Upon which Jonathan pursued them as far as Ashdod, and there he pitched his camp in the rest, in despair of escaping, to fly to the temple of Dagon, which was at Ashdod; but Jonathan took the city on the first onset, and burnt it, and the villages about it, nor did he abstain from the temple of Dagon itself, but burnt it also, and destroyed those that had fled to it. Now the entire multitude of the enemies that fell in the battle, and were consumed in the temple, were eight thousand. When Jonathan, therefore, had overcome so great an army, he removed from Ashdod, and came to Askelon; and when he had pitched his camp without the city, the people of Askelon came out and met him, bringing him hospitable presents, and honouring him; so he accepted of their kind intibutions, and returned hence to Jerusalem with a great deal of joy, which he brought thence when he conquered his enemies; but when Alexander heard that Apollonius, the general of his army, was beaten, he was discontented, and said that he had fought with Jonathan, his friend and ally, against his directions. Accordingly, he sent to Jonathan, and gave testimony to his worth; and Jonathan gave him a great present, in which it is the custom to give the king's kinsmen; and allowed him Eknor, and its toparchay, for his own inheritance.

5. At this time it was that king Ptolemy, who was called Philometor, led an army, part by the sea, and part by the land, and came to Syria, to the assistance of Alexander, who was his son-in-law; and accordingly all the cities received him willingly, as Alexander had commanded them to do, and conducted him as far as Ashdod, where they all made loud complaints about the temple of Dagon, which was burnt, and accused Jonathan of having laid it waste, and destroyed the country adjoining with fire, and slain a great number of them. Ptolemy heard these accusations, but sent to Jonathan, to meet Ptolemy as far as Joppa, and obtained from him hospitable presents, and those glorious in their kinds, with all the marks of honour and consideration, but when this was done, and conducted him as far as the river called Eleutherus, he returned again to Jerusalem.

* Of the several Apollonius about these ages, see Dean Prideaux at the year 170. This Apollonius Dass was, by his master; and was himself a friend of Alexander, and was a son of that Apollonius who had been made governor of Corcyra and Phoenicia by Seleucus Philopater, and was himself a confidant of his son Demetrius the Philosopher, and restored to his father's government by him, but
6. But at Ptolemais, he was very near to a most unexpected destruction, for a treacherous design was laid for his life by Alexander, the means of Ammonius, who was his friend, and as a person of high rank; and when Ptolemy wrote to Alexander, and required of him that he should bring Ammonius to condign punishment, informing him what shame had been made of him, for his giving the價值 to the death of Alexander, and that he might be accordingly punished for it. But when Alexander did not comply with his demands, he perceived that it was he himself who laid the design, and that he was justly accused; for he had heard also formerly been on very ill terms with the people of Antioch, for they had suffered very much by his means: yet did Ammonius at length undergo the punishment his insolent crimes had deserved; for he was killed in an opprobrious manner, like a woman, while he endeavoured to conceal himself in a feminine habit, as we have elsewhere related.

7. Hereupon Ptolemy blamed himself for having given his daughter in marriage to Alexander, and for the league he had made with him to assist him against Demetrius; he was displeased with the disproportion of his father to his son-in-law, and immediately sent to Demetrius, and offered him a league of mutual alliance and friendship with him, and agreed with him of his daughter in marriage, and to restore him to the principalities of his fathers. Demetrius was not averse to his alliance, which he accepted of his assistance, and of the marriage of his daughter. But Ptolemy had still one more hard task to do, and that was, to persuade the people of Antioch to receive Demetrius, because they were greatly displeased at him on account of the injuries his father Demetrius had done them; yet did he bring about this, for as the people of Antioch hated Alexander, Ammonius's account, as we have shown already, they were easily prevailed with to cast him out of Antioch: who, thus expelled out of Antioch, came into Cilicia. Ptolemy came then to Antioch, and was made king by its inhabitants, and by the army; so that he was forced to put on two diadems, the one of Asia, the other of Egypt; but being naturally a good and a righteous man, and not desirous of what belonged to others, and besides these dispositions, being also a wise man in reasoning about futurities, he determined to avoid the dispute of the Galatians and the people of Antioch together to an assembly, and persuade them to receive Demetrius; and assured them that he would not be mindful of what they did to him, and he would pardon them; and he undertook that he would himself be a good monitor and governor to him; and promised that he would not permit him to attempt any bad actions; but that, for his own part, he was contented with the kingdom of Egypt. By which discourse he persuaded the people of Antioch to receive Demetrius.

8. But now Alexander made haste with a numerous and great army, and came out of Cilicia into Syria, and burnt the country belonging to Ptolemy, and pillaged it; whereupon Ptolemy, and his son Leptolis, brother to his amity against him, (for he had already given him his daughter in marriage, and beat Alexander, and put him to flight, and accordingly he fled into Armenia. Now it happened in the time of the battle, that Ptolemy's horse, upon hearing the noise of an elephant, cast him off his back, and threw him on the ground; upon the sight of which his guards ran to his assistance, and brought him to danger of death; for when his guards sought him up, he was so very ill, that for four days' time, he was not able either to understand or to speak. However, Zabdiel, a prince among the Aramians, cut off Alexander's head, and sent it to Ptolemy, who recovering of his wounds, and retuming to his usual tranquillity, and being heard at once a most agreeable hearing, and saw a most agreeable sight, which were, the death and the head of Alexander; yet a little after this, for his joy for the death of Alexander, with which he was so greatly satisfied, he also departed this life. Now Alexander, who was called Balas, reigned over Asia five years: as we have elsewhere related.

9. But when Demetrius, who was styled Nicator, had taken the kingdom, he was so wicked as to treat Ptolemy's soldiers very hardly, neither remembering the league of mutual assistance that was between them, nor that he was his son-in-law and kinsman, by Cleopatra's marriage to him; so the soldiers fled from his wicked treatment to Alexander, but Demetrius kept his elephants. But Jonathan the high priest levied an army out of all the Jews, and attacked the citadel at Jerusalem, and besieged it; it was held by a garrison of Maccabees and by some of those men who had deserted the customs of their forefathers. These men at first despaired the attempts of Jonathan for taking the place, as depending too much on its strength; but those of those who went out by night and came to Demetrius, and informed him that the citadel was besieged, who was irritated with what he had seen, and came from Antioch against Jonathan. And when he was at Antioch, he wrote to him, and commanded him to come to him quickly to Ptolemais; upon which Jonathan did not intend to cut off the siege of the city, but took with him the elders of the people, and the priests, and car ried with him gold and silver, and garments, and a great number of presents of friends, and came to Demetrius, and presented him with them, and thereby pacified the king's anger. So he was honoured by him, and received from him the confirmation of his high priesthood, as he had possessed it by the grants of the kings of his predecessors. And when the Jewish des-
fear of war, he amassed the greatest part of his army, and diminished their pay, and even retained in pay no others but such foreigners as name up with him from Crete, and from the other parts of the island. He also concealed him ill will and hatred from the soldiers, on whom he bestowed nothing from this time, while the kings before him used to pay them in time of peace, as they did before, that they might have their good will, and that they might be very ready to undergo the difficulties of war, if any occasion should require it.

CHAP. V.
How Trypho, after he had beaten Demetrius, de
livered the Kingdom to Antiochus, the Son of
Alexander, and gained Jonathan for his Assis
tant; and concerning the Actions and Embas-
sies of Jonathan.

§ 1. Now there was a certain commander of Alexander's forces, an Amanian by birth, whose name was Diódotos, and was also called Trypho, who took notice of the ill-will the soldiers bare to Demetrius, and went to Malchus, the Arabian, with Aulon, the brother of Alexander, and told him what ill-will the army bare Demetrius, and persuaded him to give him Antiochus, because he would make him king, and rule the kingdom of his father. Malchus at the first opposed him in this attempt, because he could not believe him, but when Trypho lay hard at him for a long time, he over
persuaded him to comply with Trypho's inten
tions and entreaties. And this was the state Trypho was now in.

2. But Jonathan the high priest, being desirous to gain the good will of both, went to the city of Jerusalem, and to the Jewish deserters, and wicked men, as well as of those in all the garri
sons in the country, sent presents and ambassa
dors to Demetrius, and entreated him to take away his soldiers out of the strong holds of Judea. Demetrius made answer, that after the war, which he was now deeply engaged in, was over, he would not only grant him that, but greater things than that also, and he desired he would send him some assistance; and informed him that his army had deserted him. So Joh
athan took the thousand of his soldiers, and sent them to Demetrius.

3. Now the people of Antioch hated Demetrius, both on account of what mischief he had himself done to them, and the famine sent to him by his enem
er also on account of his father Demetrius, who had greatly abused them; so they watched some op
portunity which they might lay hold on, to fall upon them; for they were afraid that often he was in assistance that was coming to Demetrius from Jonathan, and considered at the same time that he would raise a numerous army, unless they prevented him, and seized upon him, they took their weapons immediately, and encompassed his palace in the way of a siege, and seizing upon all the ways of getting out, they sought to sub
due their king. And when he saw that the peo
ple of Antioch were become his bitter enemies, and that they were thus in arms, he took the mercenary soldiers, which he had with him, and those Jews who were sent by Jonathan, and as
sembled the Antiochians; but he was overpowered by them, for they were many ten thousands, and was beaten. But when the Jews saw that the Antiochians were superior, they went up to the top of the palace, and shot at them from thence; and because they were so remote from them by their height, that they suffered nothing on their side; and because of their great expectation on the others, as fighting from such an elevation, they drove them out of the adjoining houses, and immediately set the fire to the palace, and could not be quenched over the whole city, and burnt it all down. This happened by reason of the closeness of the houses, and because they were generally built of wood; so the Antiochians, when they were not able to help themselves, nor to stop the fire, were put to flight. And as the Jews leaped from the towers, they killed or pursued them after that manner, thence hap
pened that the pursuit was so very surprising. But when the king saw that the Antiochians were put to flight, he envied their good luck, and the men, wives, and so did not fight any longer, he fell upon them in the narrow passages, and fought them, and slew a great number of them, till at last they forced to throw down their arms, and to deliver themselves up to Demetrius. So he forgave them this their insolent behaviour, and put an end to the sedition; and when he had given rewards to the Jews out of the rich spoils he had gotten, and had returned them thanks, as the cause of his victory, he sent them away to Jerusalem to Jonathan, with an ampler testimony of the assistance they had afforded him. Yet did he prove an ill man to Jonathan afterward, and broke the promises he had made; and he threaten
ed that he would make war upon him, unless he would be what he was, and place his nation owed to the first kings of Syria. And this he had done, if Trypho had not hindered him, and diverted his preparations against Jonathan, thus, he would now turn the whole forces that had left Demetrius, because they had no pay, came to his assistance, he made war upon Demetrius, and joining battle with him, overcame him in the fight, and took from him the several cities which he had.

4. Demetrius upon his defeat retired into Cis
icia: but the child Antiochus sent ambassadors and an epistle to Jonathan, and made him his friend and confederate, and confirmed to him the high priesthood, and yielded up to him the four prefectures which had been added to Judea. Moreover, he sent him vessels and cups of gold, and a purple garment; and gave him leave to use them. He also presented him with a golden button, and styled him one of his principal friends, and appointed his brother Simon to be the general over the forces, which he sent him to avert unto Egypt. So Jonathan was so well pleased with these grants made him by Antiochus, that he sent ambassadors to him, and to Trypho, and professed his friendship to both of them, and to his enem
er federate, and said he would join with him in a war against Demetrius, informing him that he had made no proper return for the kindness he had received of him; and that he was become a great possessor of many marks of kindness from him, when he stood in great need of them, he, for such good turns, had required him with further injuries. 3. So Antiochus gave Jonathan leave to raise himself a numerous army out of Syria and Pho
nia, and to make war against Demetrius's generals; whereupon he went in haste to the several cities, which received him splendidly indeed, but put no forces into his hands. And when he was come from thence to Askelon, the inhabitants of Askelon came and brought him presents, and made him a splendid mausoleum. He exorted them, and every one of the cities of Coloosyria, to forsake Demetrius, and to join with Antiochus; and as also assisting him, to punish Demetrius for what offence he had been guilty of against themselves; and told them there were many reasons for that their proced
ures. And when he had persuaded those cities to promote their assistance to Antiochus, he came to Gaza, in order to induce them also to be friends to An-
tiochus. And the Gaza, being much more alienated from him than he expected, for they shut their gates against him, and of-
though they had deserted Demetrius, they had not resolved to join themselves to Antiochus. This provoked Jonathan to besiege them, and to have them starved to, and they hid their* army round about Gata itself, so that with the rest he overran their land, and spoiled it, and burnt what was in it. When the inhabitants of Gata saw that they were in the Kedesh, where the enemy was at the same time, no assistance came to them from Demetrius, that what distressed them was at hand, but what should profit them was still at a great distance, and that what was needed to be done all or not, they thought it would be prudent conduct to leave off any longer continuance with him, and to cultivate friendship with the other; so they sent to Jonathan, and professed they would be his friends, and afford him assistance; for such is the temper of men, that before they have had the trial of great afflictions, they do not understand what is for their advantage; but when they find themselves under such afflictions, they then change their minds; and what it had been better for them to have done before they had been at all dammed, they chose to do, but not till after they have suffered such damages. However, he made a league of friendship with them, and took from them hostages for their performance, and then sent them his affairs proposed to be hangeth up on the providence of God, he sent ambassadors to the Romans, being desirous of renewing that friendship which their nation had with them formerly. He enjoined the same ambassadors, that as they came back, they should go to the Spartans, and put them in mind of their friendship and kindness. So when the ambassadors came to Rome, they went into their senate, and said what they were commanded by Jonathan the high priest to say, how he had sent them to confirm their friendship. The senate then confirmed what had been formerly decreed concerning their friendship with the Jews; and gave them letters to carry to all the kings of Asia and Europe, and to the governors of the cities, that they might safely conduct them to their own country. Accordingly, as they returned, they came to Sparta, and delivered the epistle which they had received of Jonathan to them; a copy of which here follows: "Jonathan, the high priest, the chief of the Jewish nation, and the senate, and body of the people of the Jews, to the ephors and senators, and people of the Lacedemonians, send greeting; If you be well, and hold your public and private affairs be agreeable to your minds, it is according to our wishes. We are well also. When in former times an epistle was brought to Oline, who was then our high priest, from Aruna, who sat at that time was your king, by Demoteias, concerning the kindness that was between us and you, a copy of which is here subjoined, we both joyfully received the epistle, and were well pleased with Demoteias and Aruna, although we did not need such a demonstration, because we were well satisfied about it from the sacred writings, yet not we think fit, first to begin the claim of this relation to you, lest we should seem too early in taking to ourselves the glory which is now given us by you. It is only signified to us by this of ours to you hath been renewed; and when we, upon holy and festival days, offer sacrifices to God, we pray to him for your preservation and victory. As to our other affairs, although there have been many wars that have compassed us around, by reason of the covetousness of our neighbours, yet did we not determine to be troublesome either to you, or to others that were related to us; but since we have now overcome our enemies, and have occasion to send Numerius, the son of Antiochus, and Antipater the son of Jason, who are both honourable men belonging to our senate, to the Romans, we gave them this epistle to you also, that they might renew that friendship which is between us. You will therefore do well yourselves to write to us and inform us of what you stand in need of from us, since we are in all things disposed to act according to your desires." So the Lacedemonians received the epistles, and ambassadors kindly sent, and mutual assistance, and sent it to the rest. 9. At this time there were three sects among the Jews, who had different opinions concerning human actions; the one was called the sect of the Pharisees, another the sect of the Sadducees, and the other the sect of the Essenes. Now for

* The clause 'otherwise rendered to the first book of the Maccabees, x. 9. For that we have the holy books of Scripture on our hands to comfort us.'
the Pharisees," they say that some actions, but not all, are the work of fate, and some of them are lawful, and that they are liable to fate, but are not caused by fate. But the sect of the Essenes affirm, that fate governs all things, and that nothing befalls man but what is according to it. And for this reason the Sadducees, for the Pharisees, take away fate, and say there is no such thing, and that the events of human affairs are not at its disposal, but they suppose that all our actions and our misfortunes, and our security, so that we are not excused for the causes of what is good, and receive what is evil from our own folly. However, I have given a more exact account of these opinions in the second book of the Jewish War.

10. But now the generals of Demetrius, being willing to recover the defeat they had had, gathered a greater army together than they had before, and came against Jonathan; but as soon as he was informed of their coming, he went suddenly to meet them, to the country of Hamoth, for he resolved to give them the opportunity of coming into Judaea, so he pitched his camp at fifty stadia distant from the enemy, and sent out spies to take a view of their camp, and after what way they were going. When these spies had given him full information, and had seized upon some of them by night, who told him the enemy would soon attack him, he, thus apprised, placed sentinels provided for his security, and placed watchmen beyond his camp, and kept all his forces armed all night; and he gave them a charge to be of good courage, and to have their minds prepared to fight in the night-time, if they should be obliged to do so, lest their enemies' designs should seem concealed from them. But when Demetrius's commanders were informed that Jonathan knew what they intended, they changed their counsels, and alarmed them to find that the enemy had discovered those their intentions, nor did they expect to over come them any other way, now they had failed in the snare they had laid for them; for should they hazard an open battle, they did not think they should be a match for Jonathan's army, so they resolved to fly; and having lighted many fires, that when the enemy saw them they might suppose they were there still, they retired. But when Jonathan came to give them battle in the morning in their camp, and found it deserted, and understood they were fled, he pursued them, yet he could not overtake them, for they had already passed over the river Eleuthers, and were out of his sight. So when Jonathan returned thence, he went into Arabia, and fought against the Nabateans, and drove away a great deal of their prey, and took many captives, and came to Damascus, and there sold off what he had taken.

About the same time it was, that Simon, his brother went over all Judaea and Palestine, as far as Askelon, and fortified the strong holds; and when he had made them very strong, both in the edifices erected, and in the garrisons placed in them, he came to Joppa, and when he had taken it, he brought a great garrison into it.

Those that suppose Josephus to contradict himself in his three several accounts of the notion of the Pharisees, this here, and that earlier one, which is the largest, Of the War, B. ii. ch. vii. sect. 14; and the latter, Antiq. B. xii. ch. i. sect. 3; as if he sometimes should have introduced an absolute fate, and denied all freedom of human choice, and at other times wholly groundless; he ever, as the very Blemius Cossianus here truly observes, misled, by introducing, that the Pharisees were the sect of the Essenes and Sadducees, and did only so far ascribe all to fate or Divine Providence, as was common among all the sects of human actions. However, theology was perplexed way of talking about fate or providence or overruling all things, made it commonly thought they were both, and some, both by taking them to be both according to the Apostolical Constitutions, B. vi. ch. vii. Perhaps under the same general name some difference of opinion in Christianity, and he supposed, as he very common is, as a matter of metaphysical subject:

for he heard that the people of Joppa were disposed to deliver up the city to Demetrius's general, and to become his allies. 11. When Simon and Jonathan had finished these affairs, they returned to Jerusalem, where Jonathan gathered all the people together, and took counsel to restore the walls of Jerusalem, and to rebuild the wall that encompassed the temple, which had been thrown down, and to make the places adjoining stronger by very high towers; and besides that, to build another wall in the midst of the city, in order to exclude the market-place from the garrison, which was in the citadel, and by that means to hinder them from any plenty of provisions; and moreover, to make the fortresses that were in the country much stronger, and more defensible, than they were before. And when these things were approved of by the multitude, as rightly proposed, Jonathan himself took care of the building that belonged to the city, and sent Simon away to make the fortresses in the country more secure than formerly. But Demetrius passed over [Euphrates], and came into Mesopotamia, as desirous to retain that country still, as well as Babylon; and when he was at the upper provinces, to lay a foundation for receiving his entire kingdom; for those Greeks and Macedonians who dwelt there, frequently sent envoys to him from their affairs, to enquire if they would come to him, they would deliver themselves up to him, and assist him in fighting against Arses, the king of the Parthians. So he was elevated with these hopes, and came hastily to them, as having resolved that, if he had once overthrown the Parthians, and gotten an army of his own, he would make war against Tryphon, who, he knew, was hated by a great part of that country received him with great alacrity. So he raised forces, with which he fought against Arses, and lost all his army, and was himself taken alive, as we have elsewhere related.

CHAP. VI.

How Jonathan was slain by Treachery; and how thereupon the Jews made Simon Dictor General and High Priest; what courage they also performed, especially against Tryphon.

§ 1. Now when Tryphon knew what had befallen Demetrius, he was no longer firm to Antiochus, but contrived by subtilty to kill him, and then take possession of his kingdom. For the arrival of Jonathan was an obstacle to this his design, for Jonathan was a friend to Antiochus, for which cause he resolved first to take Jonathan out of the way, and of his death about his design relating to Antiochus: but he judged it best to take him off by deceit and treachery, came from Antioch to Bethshan, which by the Greeks is called Bethphage, at which place Jonathan met him with forty thou and chose men, for he thought that he came to fight him; but when he perceived that Jonathan was ready to fight, he attempted to gain him by

however, our Josephus, who in his heart was great admeyer of the deeds of the Essenes, was yet in practice a Pharisee, as he himself informs us, in his own Life, sect. 2. And his account of this doctrine of the Pharisees, is for certain untenable to us now. As he who fully allowed the freedom of human actions, and yet strongly believed the powerful interposition of Divine Providence. Simon in his own Life makes a masterly charge against B. xvii. ch. xi. sect. 7. Perhaps under the same general name some difference of opinion in Christianity, and he supposed, as he very common is, as a

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will therefore give such proper demonstrations as will show that I am their own brother; and I am so bold as to expect that I shall averge their blood upon our enemies, and deliver you all, with your wives and children, from the injuries they intend against you, and with God's help preserve your temple from destruction by them, for I see that these nations have you in contempt, as being without a governor, and that they therefore are encouraged to make war against you.”

4. By this speech of Simon he inspired the multitude with courage, so that they, before they had been thrust out of the city of Jerusalem, and in view of their homes, once more began to attack the Tyrophi, and to encamp about them and enclose them. So that they were once more in fear, they were now raised to a great hope of better things, insomuch that the whole multitude of the people cried out all at once, that Simon should be their leader, and that instead of Judas and Jonathan his brethren, he should have the government over them; and they promised that they would readily obey him in whatsoever he should command them. So he got together immediately all his own soldiers that were fit for war, and made haste in rebuilding the walls of the city, and strengthening them by very high towers. And when he had taken a friend of his, one Jonathan, the Friend of Absalom, to Joppa, and gave him orders to eject the inhabitants out of the city, for he was afraid lest they should deliver up the city to Tyrophi, but himself stayed to secure Jerusalem.

5. But Tyrophi removed from Ptolemas with a great army, and came into Judas, and brought him Jonathan with him in bonds. Simon also met him with his army, at the city Adida, which is upon a hill, and beneath it lies the plains of Judas. And when Tyrophi knew that Simon was about to come to the city he sent to all his friends and allies, and would have imposed upon him by deceit and treachery; and desired, if he would have his brother Jonathan released, that he would send him a hundred talents of silver, and two of Jonathan’s sons as hostages, that when he shall be released, he may not make Judas revolt from the king, for that at present he was kept in bonds on account of the money he had borrowed of the king, and now owed it to him. But Simon was aware of the craft of Tyrophi, and although he knew that if he gave him the money he should lose it, and that Tyrophi would never give the hostages withal, should deliver the sons of Jonathan to the enemy, yet because he was afraid that he should have a calamity similar to that which befell the multitude of the mountains of Judas, and that the Jews as now destitute of a governor; and Tyrophi himself got an army together, and had an intention to go up to Judea, and make war against them. But Simon said to him: “I know that the people of Jerusalem were terrified at the circumstances they were in, he desired to make a speech to them, and thereby to render them more resolute in opposing Tyrophi when he should come against them. He then called the people together into the temple, and thence began thus to encourage them: “O my countrymen, you are not ignorant that our father, myself, and my brethren, have ventured to hazard our lives, and that willingly, for the recovery of your liberty; since I have, therefore, such pietas of God as will enable me to determine with myself to die for our laws, and our divine worship, there shall no terrour be so great as to bannish this resolution from our hearts, nor fear so great as to fetter the dignity of our life, and a contempt of glory. Do you therefore follow me with alacrity whithersoever I shall lead you, as not destitute of such a captain as will lead you like men; for I have propos’d a war for you; for neither am I better than my brethren that I should be sparing of my own life, nor so far worse than they as to avoid and refuse what they thought they were to undergo for the sake of God, that worship of God which is peculiar to you; for the
ANCIENTS OF THE JEWS.

Antioch. However, Simon sent some to the city Seleucia to bring away his brother's bones, and buried them in their own city Lydda; and the people made great lamentation over him. Simon also erected a very large monument for his father and his brethren, of white and polished stones, and raised it to a great height, and so as to be seen a long way off, and made colonnades about it, and set up pillars, which were of one stoe apiece; a work which was wonderful to see. Moreover over this whole city were set up seven pyramids also for his parents and his brethren, one for each of them, which were made very surprising, both for their large- ness, and for the cost, and which have been preserved to this day; and we know that it was Simon who bestowed so much zeal about the burial of Jonathan, and the building of these monuments for his relations. Now Jonathan died when he had been high priest four years, and had been also the governor of his nation. And these were the circumstances that concerned his death.

7. But Simon, who was made high priest by the multitude, on the very first year of his high priesthood set his people free from their slavery under the Macedonians, and permitted them to pay no tribute any longer; which liberty and freedom from tribute they obtained after a hundred and seventy years of the kingdom of the Assyrians, which was after Seleucus, who was a son of Nimrod, got the dominion over Syria. Now the affection of the multitude towards Simon was so great, that in their contracts one with another, and in the public records, they wrote the name of Simon the governor, and the protector and high-priest of the Jews: for under him they were very happy, and overcame the enemies that were round about them, for Simon overthrew the cities of the city of Gerasa, and Jericho, and Jamnia. He also took the citadel of Jerusalem by siege, and cast it down to the ground, that it might not be any more a place of refuge to their enemies when they took it, to do them a mischief, as it had been till now. And when he had done this, he thought it their best way, and most for their advantage, to level the very mountain itself upon which the citadel happened to stand, that so the temple might be higher than it. And, in

deed, when he had called the multitude to an assembly, he persuaded them to have it so done, and thanked this, and by putting these in mind what miseries they had suffered by its garrison, and the Jewish deserters, and what miseries they might hereafter suffer in case any foreigner should have the king's power into that citadel. This speech induced the multitude to a compliance, because he exhorted them to do what was necessary for their own good, so they all set themselves to the work, and leveled the mountain, and in that work spent both day and night without any intermission, which work was finished, and the mountain was moved, and brought to an entire level with the plain of the rest of the city. After which the temple was the highest of all the buildings, now the citadel, as well as the mountain whereon it stood, were demolished. And these actions were thus performed under Simon.

CHAP. VII.

How Simon confederated himself with Antiochus Pius, and made war with Trypho; and a little afterward against Cendebeus, the General of Antiochus's Army; as also how Simon was murdered by his son-in-law Ptolemy, and that by Treaich.

§ 1. Now a little while after Demetrius had been carried into captivity, Trypho his governor destroyed Antiochus the son of Alexander, j who was also called the god, and this when he had retired from Greece, and then Simon the governor and protector of the Jews, died under the hands of the surgeons. He then sent his friends, and those that were most intimate with him, to the soldiers: and promised that he would give them a great deal of money if they would make him king; he intimated to them that Demetrius was made a captive by the Parthians; and that Demetrius's brother Antiochus, if he came to be king, would do them a great deal of mischief, in way of revenge for their revolting from his brother. So the soldiers, in expectation of the wealth they should get by bestowing the kingdom on Trypho, made him their ruler. However, when Trypho had gained

...
the management of affairs, he demonstrated his disposition to be wicked; for while he was a private person, he cultivated a familiarity with the multitude, and pretended to great moderation, and to do all things right from his father, he was to the misfortune pleased; but when he had once taken the kingdom, he laid aside any farther dissimulation, and was the true Trypho, which behaviour made his enemies hate him, for they detested him, and revolted from him to Cleopatra the wife of Demetrius, who was then shut up in Seleucia with her children. But as Antiochus, the brother of Demetrius, was not only not admitted by any of the cities on account of Trypho, Cleopatra sent to him, and invited him to marry her, and to take the kingdom. The reasons why she made this invitation were these: that her friends persuaded her to it, and that she was afraid of herself, in case some of the people of Seleucia should deliver up the city to Trypho.

2. As Antiochus was now come to Seleucia, and his forces increased every day, he marched to fight Trypho; and having beaten him in the battle, he ejected him out of his kingdom by force of arms, and besieged him in Dora, which was a fortress hard to be taken, whither he had fled. He also sent ambassadors to Simon, the Jews, in high prices, and brought a league of friendship with them at his降临; who readily accepted of the invitation, and sent to Antiochus great sums of money, and provisions; for he thought that besieging Trypho, and thereby supplied them very plentifully, so that for a little while he was looked upon as one of his most intimate friends: but still Trypho fled from Dora to Apamia, where he was taken during the summer heat, and put to death, when he had reigned three years.

3. However, Antiochus forgot the kind assistance the Jews had afforded him; and the necessity, by reason of his covetous and wicked disposition, and committed an army of soldiers to his friend Cendebeus, and sent him at once to ravage Judea, and to seize Simon. When Simon heard of Antiochus's breaking his league with him, although he were now in years, yet, provoked with the unjust treatment he had met with from Antiochus, and taking a resolution brasher than his age could well bear, he went like a young man to act as general of his army. He also sent his sons before among the most hardy, and he himself was on horseback with his army another way, and laid many of his men in ambushes, in the narrow valleys between the mountains; nor did he fail of success in the case of his enemies, but he was never found for his enemies in every one of them. So he led the rest of his life in peace, and did also himself make a league with the Romans.

4. Now he was the ruler of the Jews in all eight years; but at a feast came to his end. It was caused by the treachery of his son-in-law, Ptolemy, who caught also his wife, and two of his sons, and kept them in bonds. He also sent some to kill John, the third son, whose name was Hycranus; but the young man perceiving them coming, he avoided the danger he was in from them, and made haste into the city (Jerusalem,) as relying on the good-will of the multitude, because of the benefits they had received from him, and that from his father, he was not afraid of the multitude bare to Ptolemy; so that when Ptolemy was endeavouring to enter the city by another gate, they drove him away, as having already admitted Hycranus.

CHAP. VIII.

Hycranus receives the High Priesthood, and ejects Ptolemy out of the Country. Antiochus makes War against Hycranus, and afterward makes a League with a King.

§ 1. So Ptolemy retired to one of the fortresses that was above Jericho, which was called Dagon: but Hycranus having taken the priesthood that had been his father's before, and in the first place propitiated God by sacrifices, he then made an expedition against Ptolemy; and when he made his attacks upon the place, in other points he was too hard for him, but was rendered weaker than he was by the insurrection he made for his mother and brethren, and by that only, for Ptolemy brought them upon the wall, and tormented them in the sight of all, and threatened that he would burn them alive, unless Hycranus would leave off the siege. And as he thought, that as far as he relaxed as to the siege and taking of the place, so much favour did he show to those that were dearest to him, by preventing their misery, his zeal about it was cooled. However, his mother spread out her hands, and begged of him that he would not now remiss on her account, and in the meantime disignation so much the more, and that he would do his utmost to take the place quickly, in order to get their enemy under his power, and then to avenge upon him what he had done to those that were dearest to himself; for that death would be to her sweet, though with torment, if that enemy of theirs might be brought to punishment for his wicked dealings to them. Now, when his mother said so, he resolved to take the fortress immediately; but when he saw her better, and took to pieces, his courage failed him, and he could not but sympathize with what his mother suffered, and was thereby overcome. And as the siege was drawn out into length by this means, that the Jews might on which the Jews observe this rest every seventh year, as they do every seventh day; so that Ptolemy being for this cause released from the war, he slew the brethren of Antiochus, and being put to death, and when he had done so, he fled to Zeno, who was called Cotteles, who was then the tyrant of the city of Philadelphia.

2. But Antiochus being very uneasy at the miseries that Simon had brought upon him, he invaded Judea in the fourth year of his reign, and the first year of the priesthood of Hycranus, in the hundred and sixty-second Olympiad. And when he had burnt the country, he shut up Hycranus in the city, which he encompassed they then allowed defensive fighting to be lawful even on the Sabbath-day, as we see in several places of Josephus, Ant. B. xii. chap. ii. sect. 2: B. xiii. ch. i. sect. 3: Of the War, B. i. chap. vii. sect. 3. But because it is not evident that this rest from war now appears in the first book of Maccabees, chap. xvi. but the direct contrary; though indeed it is not evident that the Jews, in the day neither ventured upon fighting on the Sabbath-day, even in the defence of their own lives, till the Axumites or Macæans decreased so to do in the 61st Olympiad, B. i. chap. vi. sect. 2. Josephus's copious, both Greek and Latin, have here been supposed, required a rest from war, as did that of the weekly Sabbath from work: I mean this, which was the day of success, the Jews were marked by their custom, in which case indeed, and in which some
round with seven encampments, but did nothing at the first, because of the strength of the walls, and also for the valor of the besiegers; all though they were once in want of water, which yet they were delivered from by a large shower of rain, which fell at the setting of the Paladines. However, they accepted the offer of the wall, where upon it happened the city was upon a level with the outward ground, the king raised a hundred towers of three stories high, and placed bodies of soldiers in them, and as he made his attack every day, he cut a double ditch, deep and broad, and confined the inhabitants within it as within a wall; but the besieged contrived to make frequent excursions; and if the enemy were not any where upon their guard, they fell upon them, and did them a great deal of mischief; and if they perceived them, they then retired into the city with ease. But because Hyrcanus discerned the in-convenience of so great a number of men in the city, while the provisions were the sooner spent by them, and yet, as is natural to suppose, those great numbers did nothing, he separated the use less part, and excluded them out of the city, and retained that part only who were in the flower of their age, and fit for war. However, Antiochus was within his threescore of years, and he had therefore wandered about between the walls, and comming away by famine, died miserably; but when the feast of tabernacles was at hand, he sent his officers, that were with him, to examine their condition, and received them in again. And when Hircanus sent to Antiochus, and desired there might be a truce for seven days, because of his age, he gave him another; and in those days, he sent a great feast towards God, and made that truce accordingly: and besides that, he sent in a magnificent sacrifice, bulls with their horns guided, with all sorts of victuals wrought with cups of gold and silver of great price. So those that were at the gates received the sacrifices from those that brought them, and led them to the temple, Antiochus in the mean while feasting his army; which was a quite different conduct from Antiochus Epiphanes, who, when he had taken the city, offered swine upon the altar, and sprinkled the temple with the blood of their flesh, in order to violate the laws of the Jews, and the religion they derived from their forefathers; for which reason our nation made war with him, and would never be reconciled to him; but this Antiochus, all men called him, and Antiochus the Pious, for the great zeal he had about religion.

But now, Hyrcanus took this moderation of his kindly; and when he understood how religious he was towards the Deity, he sent an embassy to him, and desired that he would restore the settlements they received from their forefathers. So he rejected the counsel of those that would have him utterly destroy the nation by reason of their way of living, which was to others unaccusable, and did not regard what they said. But being persuaded that all they said was out of a religious mind, he answered the ambassadors, that if the besieged would deliver up their arms, and pay tribute to Cyzicus, and the other cities which bordered upon Judea, and admit a garrison of his; on those terms he would make war against them no longer. But the Jews, and those of the other cities, did not agree to the conditions, did not agree to admit the garrison, because they could not associate with other people, nor converse with them; yet were they willing, in case they should have garrisons housing, to pay him hostages, and five hundred talents of silver, of which they paid down three hundred, and sent the hostages immediately, which king Antiochus received: and now the brother; but still he broke down the fortifications that encompassed the city; and upon these conditions Antiochus broke up the siege and departed. And in this manner the city of Jerusalem was rid of its foreigner, who excelled all other kings in riches, and took out of it three thousand talents. He was also the first of the Jews that, relying on this wealth, maintained foreign troops. There was also a league of friendship and mutual assistance made between them; upon which Hyrcanus admitted him into the city, and furnished him with whatsoever his army wanted its great plenty, and with great generosity, and marched along with him when he made an expedition against the Parthians; of which Nicolaus, of Damascus, is a witness for us; who in his history writes thus: "When Antiochus had erected a trophy at the river Lycus, upon his conquest of Indates, the general of the Parthians, he stayed there two days. It was at the sight of Hyrcanus the Jew, because it was such a festival derived to them from their forefathers, whereon the law of the Jews did not allow them to travel." And truly he gave them the same sort of excuse, when he made an expedition against the Persians in the festival, which we call Pentecost, did then fall out to be the next day to the Sabbath; nor is it lawful for us to journey, either on the Sabbath-day, or on a festival day. But when Antiochus joined battle with Arsaces, the king of Parthia, he lost a great part of his army, and was himself slain; and his brother Demetrius succeeded in the kingdom of Syria by the permission of Arsaces, who freed him from his captivity, at the same time that Antiochus attacked Parthia, as we have formerly related elsewhere.

CHAP. IX.

How, after the Death of Antiochus, Hyrcanus made an Expedition against Syria, and made a League with the Romans. Concerning the Death of King Demetrius and Alexander.

§ 1. But when Hyrcanus heard of the death of Antiochus, he presently made an expedition against the cities of Syria, hoping to find them destitute of fighting men, and of such as were unable to resist him. However, it was not so; in the sixth month that he took Medeba, and that not without the great distress of his army. After this he took Samega, and the neighbouring places; and besides these, Shechem and Gerizim, and the nation of the Cutheans, who dwelt at the temple which Alexander permitted Sabballat, the general of his army, to build for the sake of Mannaasah, who was son-in-law to Jen-dus, the high priest, as we have formerly related, which temple was now deserted two hundred years after it was built. Hyrcanus took also Tyrus, and Marias, cities of Idumea, and subdued all the Idumeans, and permitted them to stay in that country, if they would cleanse their gentiles, and make use of the laws of the Jews, and treated the other cities of Syria, and the country of their forefathers, that they submitted the house of those men that were to be sacrificed, it is a known thing both to the poets and orators. 1 This account in Josephus, that the present Antiochus Demetrius, was the son of one Antiochus the Pious, remains, in the main, not to change the essential character of the story, besides one or two small errors in the reign of Herod, that we meet with in all Josephus, that the king reigned a little more than twenty years, and the astronomical observations, any farther than for the use of their calendar, and utterly forbidden by those astrological rules which the heathens were not allowed to use, are generally of such great and cubious. See the note on Asia, R xx. ch. v. sect. 4.

1 Mr. Median tells us here, that this custom of giving
to the use of circumcision, and of the rest of the Jewish ways of living; at which time, therefore, this befell them, that they were hereafter no longer permitted to do so.

2. But Hyrcanus, the high priest, was desirous to renew that league of friendship they had with the Romans. Accordingly, he sent an embassy to the king, when the senate had referred the request of the epistle, they made a league of friendship with them, after the manner following: "Flavius, the son of Marcus the praetor, gathered the senate together on the eighth day before the Kalends of February, in the senate-house, when Lucius Manilius, the son of Lucius, of the Mentine tribe, and Caius Sempronius, the son of Caius, of the Faliscus tribe, were present. The occasion was, that the ambassadors sent by the people of the Jews, Simon, the son of Dositheus, and Apollonius, the son of Alexander, and Dioscorus, the son of Jason, who were good and virtuous men, had somewhat to propose about that league of friendship and mutual assistance which subsisted between them and the Romans, and about other public matters, who desired that they might send the havens, and Gazarra, and the springs [of Jordan], and the several other cities and countries of theirs, which Antiochus had taken from them in the war, contrary to the decree of the senate, might be restored to them; and that it might not be lawful for the king's troops to pass through their country, and the countries through that are subject to them. And that what attempts Antiochus had made during that war, without the decree of the senate, might be made void; and that they would send ambassadors, who should make a league of what Antiochus had taken from them, and that they should make an estimate of the country that had been laid waste in the war; and that the senate should send them twelve thousand talents to the kings, and free people, in order to their quiet return home. It was, therefore, decreed, as to those points, to renew their league of friendship and mutual assistance with these good men, and who were sent by a good and friendly people." But that as to the letters desired, their answer was, that the senate would consult about that matter, when their own affairs would give them leave, and that they would endeavour, for the time to come, that no like injury should be done them; and that the protector, Tiberius, should give them money out of the public treasury to bear their expenses home. And thus did Flavius dismiss the Jewish ambassadors, and gave them money out of the public treasury, and the duties of the senate to those that were to conduct them, and take care that they should return home in safety.

3. And thus stood the affairs of Hyrcanus the high priest. But as for king Demetrius, who had a mind to make war against Hyrcanus, there was no opportunity nor room for it, while both the Syrians and the soldiers bare ill-will to him, because he was an ill-man. But when they had sent ambassadors to Ptolemy, who was called Physcon, that they might send the son of Seleucus, in order to take the kingdom, and he had sent them Alexander, who was called Zebina with an army, and there had been a battle between them, the son of Seleucus was killed in the fight, and fled to Cleopatra his wife, to Tolemais, but his wife would not receive him. He went thence to Tyre, and was there caught; and it was told to him that his idea from the hour before his death, he was slain by them. So Alexander took the kingdom, and made a league with Hyrcanus, who yet, when he afterward fought with Antiochus the son of Demetrius, who was called Grypus, was also beaten in the fight, and slain.

CHAP. X.

How, upon the Quares between Antiochus Grypus and Antiochus Cyzicenus, about the Kingdom, Hyrcanus took Samaria, and utterly destroyed it; and how Hyrcanus joined himself to the Sect of the Sadducees, and left that of the Pharisees.

§ 1. When Antiochus had taken the kingdom, he was afraid to make war against Judas, because he heard that his brother, by the same mother, who was also called Antiochus, was raising an army against him out of Cyzicus; so he repaired in his own land, and resolved to prepare for the attack he expected from his brother, who was called Cyzicus, because he had been brought up in that city. He was the son of Antiochus that was called Soter, who died in Parthia. He was the brother of Demetrius, the father of Grypus, for it had so happened, that one and the same Cleopatra was married to two, who were brothers, as we have already related elsewhere. But Antiochus Cyzicus coming into Syria, continued many years at war with his brother. Now Hyrcanus lived all this while in peace; for after the death of Antiochus, he revolted from the Macedonians; nay, did he any longer pay them the least regard, either as their subject or their friend, but his affairs were in a very improving and flourishing condition in the times of Alexander Zebina, and especially under these brethren, for the war which they had with another one out of Judaea, and the rest of the nations of enjoying himself in Judaea quietly, insomuch that he got an immense quantity of money. However, when Antiochus Cyzicus distressed his land, he then opened a new war. And when he saw that Antiochus was destitute of Egyptian auxiliaries, and that both he and his brother were in an ill condition in the struggles they had with one another, he despised them both. 2. So he made an expedition against Samaria, which was a very strong city; of whose present name Sebaste, and its rebuilding by Herod, we others as embrace their religion, though of other nations."

But then upon what foundation so good a governor as Antiochus took upon him to compel those Idumeans either to become Jews, or to leave their country, deserves great consideration. I suppose it was because they had long ago been driven out of the land of the Jews, and had been in possession of the tribe of Simeon, and all the southern parts of the tribe of Judah, which was the peculiar inheritance of the worshippers of the true God without idolatry, so the reader may learn from Randle, Palestine, part 1. p. 154, 305; and from Prideaux, at the years 140 and 165.

1 In this decre of the Roman senate, it seems that those ambassadors were sent from the people of the Jews, as well as from the people of the Samaritans, from their prince Job, as Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. p. 99, c. 9, sect. 15. Job Prideaux takes notice at the year 130, that Justin, in agreement with Josephus, says, "The power of the Jews was now grown very great; so that when they would not bear any Macedonian king over them, and that they set up a government of their own, and independed Syria with great wars";
shall speak at a proper time: but he made his attack against it, and besieged it with a great deal of pains, for he was greatly displeased with the Samaritans for the injuries they had done to the people of Merissa, a colony of the Jews, and confederate with them, and this in compliance to the king of Syria. When he had therefore defeated the Syracusans in the wall round the city, which was four score furlongs long, he set his sons Antigonus and Aristobulus over the siege, which brought the Samaritans to that great distress that they were forced to eat what was not to be eaten, and to call for Antiochus Cyzicenus to help them, who came readily to their assistance, but was beaten by Aristobulus, and when he was pursued as far as Scythopolis by the two brethren, he got away. So they returned to Samaria, and shut them again within the wall, till they were forced to send for the same Antiochus a second time to help them, who procured about six thousand men from Ptolemy Lathyrus, which were sent them without his mother's consent, who had therewith a manner turned him out of his government. With these Egyptians Antiochus did at first overrun and ravage the country of Hycanus after the manner of a conqueror, if he does not meet him in the face to fight with him, as not having an army sufficient for that purpose, but only from this supposal, that by thus harassing his land he would raise Hycanus to raise the siege of Samaria; but because he fell into snare, and lost many of his soldiers therein, he went away to Tripoli, and committed the prosecution of the war against the Jews to Callimachus and Epiphanes.

3. But as to Callimachus, he attacked the enemy too rashly, and was put to flight and destroyed immediately; and as to Epiphanes, he was put to flight by the body of Scythopolis, and other places near it, to the Jews, but was not able to make them raise the siege of Samaria. And when Hycanus had taken the city, which was not done till after a year's siege, he was not contented with doing that, but he demolished it entirely, and brought rivialites to it to drown it, for he dug such hollows as might let the water run under it; say, he took away the very marks that had ever been such a city there. Now a very surprising thing is related of this high priest Hycanus, how he was discoursed with him, for they say, that on the very same day on which his sons fought with Antiochus Cyzicenus, he was alone in the temple, as high priest, offering incense, and that then "his sons had just then overcome Antiochus." And this he openly declared before all the multitude upon his coming out of the temple; and it accordingly proved true: and in this posture were the affairs of Hycanus.

4. Now it happened at this time, that not only those Jews who were at Jerusalem and in Judaea were in prosperity, but also those of them that were at Alexandria, and in Egypt, and Cyprus, for Cleopatra the queen was at variance with her son Ptolemy, who was called Lathyrus, and opposed for her generals Choisarion, and Ariston, and the sons of that Onias who built the temple in the prefecture of Heliopolis, like to that of Jerusalem, as we have elsewhere related. Cleopatra intrusted these men with her army; and did nothing without their advice, as Strabo of Cappodocia attests, when he said thus. "Now the greatest part, both those that were Capryans weep, and those that were sent afterward thither, revolted to Ptolemy immediately; only those that were called Onias's party, being Jews, continued fidelity, and in a general council of the chief priests of Anania were in chief favour with the queen." These are the words of Strabo.

5. However, this prosperous state of affairs more immediately affected Hycanus, but they that were the worst disposed to him were the Pharisees, who were one of the sects of the Jews; as we have informed you already. These have so great a power over the multitude, that when they say anything against the king, or against the high priest, they are presently believed. Now Hycanus was a disciple of theirs, and greatly beloved by them. And when he once invited them to a feast, and entertained them very kindly, when he saw them in a good humour, he began to say to them, that "They knew he was desirous to be a righteous man, and to do all things whereby he might please God, which was the profession of the Pharisees also. However, he proposed to himself, and for their benefit, not depending in any point, and going out of the right way, they would call him back and correct him." On which occasion they attested to his being exceedingly disposed to be just, and also called him wise, and was well pleased. But still there was one of his guests there, whose name was Eleazar, a man of an ill temper, and delighting in seditions practices. This man said, that he would not know the truth, if thou wilt be righteous in earnest, lay down the high priesthood, and content thyself with the civil government of the people." And when Hycanus was about to be persuaded to lay down the high priesthood, the other replied, "We have heard it from old men, that thy mother had been a captive under the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes." This story was false, and Hycanus was provoked against him; and all the Pharisees had a very great indignation against him.

6. Now there was one Jonathan, a very great friend of Hycanus, but of the sect of the Sadducees, whose notions are quite contrary to those of the Pharisees. He told Hycanus, that "Eleazar had imposed upon him, and had given him to understand, that the common sentiments of all the Pharisees, and that this would be made manifest, if he would but ask them the question, what punishment he thought a man might deserve, for he might depend upon it, that the reproach was not laid on him with their approbation, if they were for punishing him as his crime deserved." So the Pharisees made answer, that "He deserved stripes and bonds, but that it did not seem right to punish reproaches with death." And indeed the Pharisees, even upon other occasions, are not apt to be severe in punishments. At this gentle sentence, Hycanus was very angry, and thought that this man reproached him by their approbation. It was this Jonathan who could not bear this, and inflamed him so far, that he made him leave the party of the Pharisees, and abolish the decrees they had imposed on the people, and punish those that observed
so did not give heed to what was said against him, and partly because he thought the refer- ence of the reproaches were for the most part directed against the Pharisees. But when Antigonus was once returned from the army, and that feast was then at hand when they made tabernacles to [the honour of] the tabernacles of Jehovah, and that Antigonus was once sick, and that Antigonus went up most splendidly adorned, and with his soldiers about him in their armour, to the temple, to celebrate the feast, and to put up for his king, it was thought that of his brother, when some wicked persons, who had a great mind to raise a difference between the brethren, made use of this opportunity of the company, as appeared to him out of his own mind, and that Antigonus, who had done, went and to the king, and spitefully aggravated the pompous show of his at the feast, and pretended that all these circumstances were not like those of a private person; that these actions were indications of an affection of royal authority; and that his coming with a strong body of men must be with an intention to kill him; and that his way of reasoning was this, that it was a silly thing in him, while it was in his power to reign himself, to be thus first a king and then later a private person who was honoured with a lower dignity by his brother.

2. Aristobulus yielded to these imputations, but took care both that his brother should not suspect him, and that he should not incur the hazard of his own safety; so he ordered his guards to lie in a certain place that was under ground, and dark, (he himself then lying sick in the tower which was called Antonia,) and he commanded them that, in case Antigonus came to him unarmed, they should not touch any body, but if armed, they should kill him: yet did he send to Antigonus, and desired that he would come unarmed; but the queen, and those that joined with her in the plot against Antigonus, persuaded the messenger to tell him the direct contrary: how his brother had heard that he had made himself a fine suit of armour for war, and desired him to come to him in that armour, that he might see how fine it was. So Antigonus, suspecting no treachery, but depending on the good-will of his brother, came to Aristobulus armed, as he used to be, with the entire armour, in order to show it to him; but when he was come to a place which was called Strato's Tower, where the siege happened to be exceeding dark, the guards slew him; which death of his demonstrates that nothing is stronger than envy and calumny, and that nothing does so much to destroy kings as the will and natural affections of men than those passions. But here one may take occasion to wonder at one Judas, who was one of those that killed Aristobulus, and who never missed the truth in his predictions for this man, when he saw Antigonus passing by the temple, cried out to his companions and friends, who were with him, and said, in order to learn the art of foretelling things to come, "That it was good for him to die now, since he had spoken falsely about Antigonus, the first king Aristobulus, whose reign being but a single year, seems hardly to have come to his knowledge. Nor in deed does Aristobulus appear to have regarded the name of king was taken before his father Alexander took it himself. Antioch. B. 18. ch. il. sect. 9. See also ch. xii. sect. 1, which favour Strabo's account. And indeed the judgment from the very different characters of the Egyptian Jews under high priests, and of the Palestine Jews under kings, in the two next centuries, seems to be, that the divine Sheshach was removed into Egypt, and that the worshipers at the temple of Omus were better men than those at the temple of Jerusalem.

19 Hence we learn that the Essenes pretended to have rules whereby men might foretell things to come, and that this Judas the Essene had the highest rules, but whether the previsions were of an astrological or medical nature, which in such religions, were utterly forbidden such arts, is now very probable, or, as some Rash Col, spoke of by the latter Rabbins, or otherwise, I cannot tell. See of the War, B. 18. ch. viii. sect. 12.
who is still alive, and I see him passing by, although he had foretold that he would die at the place called Strato's Tower, that very day, while yet the place is six hundred furlongs off, where he had foretold he should be slain; and still he is not less a part of the story which is the part of the story of his death, for he was also Strato's Tower, or of the same name with that Caesarea which is seated at the sea. This event put the propitious into a great disorder. The news repeated the prospect into a great disorder. The news repeated the shouting of his brother, on whom account this disease increased upon him, and he was disturbed in his mind, upon the guilt of such wickedness, insomuch that his entrails were corrupted by his intolerable pain, and he vomited blood; at which time one of the servants that attended upon him, and was carrying his blood away, did, by Divine Providence, as I cannot but suppose, slip down and shed part of his blood at the very place where there were spots of Antigonus's blood there slain, still remaining; and when there was a crowd of spectators, if the servant had on purpose shed the blood on that place, Aristobulus heard it, and inquired what the matter was? And as they did not answer him, he was the more anxious to know what was, being natural to men to suspect that what is thus concealed is very bad; so upon his threatening, and forcing them by threats, to speak, they let him know that he, having thrown away, in the impious and horrid crimes I have been guilty of, but a sudden punishment is coming upon me for the shedding of the blood of my relations. And now, O those most impudent body of mine, how long wilt thou retain a soul that ought to die, in order to appease the ghosts of my brother and my mother? Why dost thou not give it all up at once? And why do I deliver up my blood drop by drop: to those whom I have so wickedly murdered? In saying which last words, he died, having reigned a year. He was called a lover of war, and had conquered many enemies on his own country, and made war against Iturea, and added a great part of it to Judea, and compelled the inhabitants, if they would continue to come under his dominion, to give to him, in the name of Tima- ganes; who says thus: "This man was a person of candour, and of moderate, as Strabo bears witness, in the name of Timaganes; who says thus: "This man was a person of candour, and very serviceable to the Jews, for he added a country to them, and obtained a part of the nation of the Itureans for them, and bound them to them by the bond of the circumcision of their genitals." 

CHAP. XII.

How Alexander, when he had taken the Government, made an Expedition against Ptolemais, and obtained the Sieg of that City, and of Ptolemy Lathyrus; and how Ptolemy made War against him, because he had sent to Cleopatra to persuade her to make War against Ptolemy, and persuaded him to be his Friend with him, when he went to beat the Jews in Battle.

§ 1. When Aristobulus was dead, his wife Salome, who by the Greeks was called Alexander, let his brethren out of prison, for Aristobulus had not kept his name, as he was said already, and made Alexander James, king, who was su-

* The reason why Hyrcanus suffered not this son of his whom he did not love to come into Judea, but ordered him to be brought up in Galilee, is suggested by Dr. Hudson, that Galilee was not esteemed so happy and well culti-

perior in age and in moderation. This child happened to be brought up and his father as soon as he was born, and could never be permitted to come into his father's sight till he died. The occasion of which sufferance is thus reported: When Hyrcanus, having overthrown the two chief men of the kingdom, and Aristobulus, God appeared to him in his sleep, of whom he inquired, which of his sons should be his successor? Upon God's representa-

tion to him, he was immediately shriven, and the kingdom, and one of his brethren, who affected the kingdom, he slew, and the other, who chose to live a private and a quiet life, he had in esteem.

2. When Alexander Janneus had settled the government in the manner that he judged best, he made an expedition against Ptolemais; and having overcome the men in battle, he shut them up in the city, and sat round about it, and besieged it; for of the maritime cities there remained only Ptolemais and Gaza to be conquered, besides SIDE under Sarracens, if the senate had on purpose shed the blood on that place, Aristobulus heard it, and inquired what the matter was? And as they did not answer him, he was the more anxious to know what was, being natural to men to suspect that what is thus concealed is very bad; so upon his threatening, and forcing them by threats, to speak, they let him know that he, having thrown away, in the impious and horrid crimes I have been guilty of, but a sudden punishment is coming upon me for the shedding of the blood of my relations. And now, O those most impudent body of mine, how long wilt thou retain a soul that ought to die, in order to appease the ghosts of my brother and my mother? Why dost thou not give it all up at once? And why do I deliver up my blood drop by drop: to those whom I have so wickedly murdered? In saying which last words, he died, having reigned a year. He was called a lover of war, and had conquered many enemies on his own country, and made war against Iturea, and added a great part of it to Judea, and compelled the inhabitants, if they would continue to come under his dominion, to give to him, in the name of Timagenes; who says thus: "This man was a person of candour, and of moderate, as Strabo bears witness, in the name of Timagenes: who says thus: "This man was a person of candour, and very serviceable to the Jews, for he added a country to them, and obtained a part of the nation of the Itureans for them, and bound them to them by the bond of the circumcision of their genitals."

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stituted a country as Judea, Matt. xxvi. 7; John viii. 29; Acts ii. 7; although another obvious reason may be given, that he was further out of his sight in Galilee than he would have been in Judea.
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to the country called Eucamnic, and there set his army on shore. This army of his in the whole, horse and foot together, were about thirty thousand; and of these were his native Tro- lemais, and there pitched his camp: but when the people of Tolemais neither received his ambassadors, nor would hear what they had to say, he was under great concern.

4. But when Zoilus and the people of Gaia came to him, and desired his assistance, because their country was laid waste by the Jews, and by them nearly all their goods and cattle destroyed, and for the fear of Tolemy; and when he had drawn off his army into his own country, he used a stratagem afterward, by privately inviting Cleopatra to come against Tolemy, but publicly pretending to desire a league of friendship and mutual assistance with him; and promising to give him four hundred talents of silver, he desired that, by way of requisition, he would take off Zoilus, the tyrant, and give his country to the Jews. And thus indeed Tolemy, with pleasure, made such a league of friendship with Alexander, and subdued Zoilus: but when he afterward heard that he had privately sent to Cleopatra, his mother, he broke the league of friendship with him, and besieged Tolemais, because it would not receive his army. However, leaving his generals, and some part of his forces, to go on with the siege, he went himself immediately with the rest to lay waste Judea; and when Alexander understood that Tolemy's intention, he met, together about fifty thousand soldiers out of his own country; nay, as some writers have said, eighty thousand. He then took his army, and went to meet Tolemy: but Tolemy fell upon Antiochus, a city of Galilee, and took it by force on the Sabbath-day, and there he took about ten thousand vessels, and a great deal of other prey.

5. He then tried to take Saphoth, which was a city not far from that which was destroyed, but lost many of his men; yet did he then go to fight with Alexander, which Alexander met him at the river Jordan, near a certain place called Saphoth [not far from the river Jordan] and pitched his camp near to the enemy. He had, however, eight thousand in the first rank, which he styled Hecatomstomi, having shields of brass. Those in the first rank of Tolemy's soldiers also had shields covered with brass; but Tolemy's soldiers did not exceed them. But Alexander did not look upon Tolemy's army, and therefore were more fearful of running hazards; but Philostephanus, the camp master, put great courage into them, and ordered them to make haste to pass through their camps: nor did Alexander think fit to hinder their passage over it, for he thought that if the enemy had once gotten the river on their back, that he should the easier take them prisoners, when they could not fly out of the battle; in the beginning of which the acts on both sides, with their hands, and with their slaying, were alike, and a great slaughter was made by both the armies; but Alexander was superior, till Philostephanus opportunely brought up the auxiliaries, to help those that were giving way; but as far as he could, he followed them, and made part of the Jews that gave way, fall out so that they fled, and those near them did not assist them, but fled along with them. However, Tolemy, when he saw that the Jews were all fled, they followed the Jews, and killed them, till at length those that slew them pursued after them, when they had made them all run away, and slew them so long, that their weapons of iron were blunted, and their hands quite tired with the slaughter, that the rest of the soldiers came up, and were then slain. Timagenes says, they were fifty thousand. As for the rest, they were part of them taken captives, and the other part ran away to their own country.

6. After this victory, Tolemy overran all the country; and when night came on, he abode in certain villages of Judea, which when he found full of women and children, commanded all his soldiers to strangle them and cut them in pieces, and then to cast them into boiling caldrons, and then to devour their limbs as sacrifices. This commandment was given, that such as fled from the battle, and came to them, might suppose their enemies were cannibals, and ate men's flesh, and might on that account be still more terrified at them upon such a sight. And both Strabo and Nicolaus of Damascus affirm, that they used these people after this manner, as I have already related. Tolemy also took Tolemais by force, as we have declared elsewhere.

CHAP. XIII.

How Alexander, upon the League of mutual De- fence which Cleopatra had agreed with him, made an Expedition against Cos, and utterly overthrew the City of Gaza; and how he slew many ten thousands of Jews that rebelled against him: also concerning Antiochus Gyr- pus, Seleucus, Antiochus Cyzicenus, and Anti- ochus Pius, and others.

§ 1. When Cleopatra saw that her son was grown great, and laid Judea waste without disturbance, and had gotten the city of Gaza under his power, she resolved no longer to overlook what he did, when he was almost at her gates; and she concluded, that now he was so much stronger than before, he would be very destructive of the dominion over the Egyptians; but she immediately marched against him with a fleet at sea, and an army of foot on land, and made Chel- cias and Ananias the Jews, generals of her whole army, while she sent the greatest part of her riches, her grandchildren, and her testament, to the people of Cos.1 Cleopatra also ordered her son Alexander to sail with a great fleet to Phœmisia: and when that fleet was come, she sailed, came to Tolemais; and because the people of Tolemais did not receive her, she besieged the city; but Tolemy went out of Syria, and made haste into Egypt, supposing that she should find it destitute of an army, and therefore take it, though he failed of his hopes. At this time Chelcias, one of Cleopatra's generals, happened to die in Cal- iostria, as he was in pursuit of Tolemy.

2. When Cleopatra heard of her son's attempt, and that his Egyptian expedition did not succeed according to his expectations, she sent thither part of her army, and drove him out of that country; so when he was returned out of Egypt again, and abode during the winter at Gaza, in which time Cleopatra took the garrison that was in Tolemais by siege, as well as the city; and when Alexander came to her, he gave her presentiments, and such marks of respect as were more proper, since under the miseries he endured before, there were none of her friends who persuaded her not to seize Alexander, and to overrun and take

1 This city or island of Cos is not that remote island the Egean sea, famous for the birth of the great Hippo- crates, but a city or island of the same name adjoining to Egypt, mentioned by Herodotus, and called by him Cos, and by Hecataeus in the time of Iorides. When Cleopatra first advanced (A.D. 62) to besiege this city, Herodotus informs us. Of which Cos, and the treasures there lay up by Cleopatra and the Jews, see Antiq. B. iv. ch. vii. sect. 5.

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* From these and other occasional expressions dropped by Josephus, we may learn, that where the sacred books of the Jews were deficient, he had several other histories the Hellenic and the Har Mochol. He followed in his own history: nor indeed have we any other records of those times, relating to Judeas, that can be compared to those accounts of Josephus, though, when we do meet with authentic fragments of such original records, they do always confirm his history.
ANTIOCHUS OF THE JEWS.

possession of the country, and not to sit still and see such a multitude of brave Jews subject to one man, but to attack those that opposed him; the consternation of his enemies having procured the city to his arms, who, said, that she "would do an unjust act, if she deprived a man that was her ally, of that authority which belonged to him, and this a man who was, indeed, lord of all Asia, I mean Antiochus," who have thee ignorant of this, that what injustice thou dost to him, will make all of us that are Jews to be thy enemies." This desire of Ananias, Cornelius, Phineas, and Seleucus, was no in vain in his kingdom; and made war with Antiochus, his father's brother, who was called Antiochus Cyzicenus, and when and where, and took him prisoner, and set up a while after a while Antiochus, the son of Cyzicenus, who was called Pius, came to Aradas, and put the diadem on his own head, and made war with Seleucus, and beat him, and drove him out of all Syria. But when he fled out of Syria, he came to Mopsuestia again, and levied money upon them, but the people of Mopsuestia had indignation at what he did, and burnt down his palace, and slew him, together with his friends. But when Antiochus, the son of Cyzicenus, was king of Syria, Antiochus, the brother of Seleucus made war upon him, and was not overcome, and did not conquer the king of Syria. After him, his brother Philip put on the diadem, and reigned over some part of Syria; but Ptolemy Lagus reigned for his fourth brother Demetrius, who was called Ptolemy Lagus, from Cyprus, and made him king of Damascus. Both these brothers did Antiochus vehemently oppose, but presently died; for when he was born as an auxiliary to Leciscu, queen of the Ilissadicius, when she was making war against the Parthians, and he was fighting courageously, he fell, while Demetrius and Philip governed Syria, as hath been elsewhere said.

5. As to Alexander, his own people were indigent against him; for at a festival which was then celebrated, when he stood upon the altar, and was going to sacrifice, the nation rose upon him and held him with citrons, (which they then had in their hands,) by the law of the Jews required, that at the feast of tabernacles every one should have branches of the palm-tree and citron-tree: which thing we have elsewhere related. They also reviled him, as derived from a captive, and so unworthy of his dignity, and such a prince, of sacred descent, encouraged them to go on with alacrity, and promised them that he would come to their assistance, but it happened, that before he came, Apollodorus was slain, from his arms, leaving him for the great reputation he had gained among the citizens, slew him, and got the army together, and delivered up the city to Alexander, who, when he was set in the same manner, and afterward set his army upon the inhabitants of Gaza, and gave them leave to punish them; some went one way, and some went another, and slew the inhabitants of Gaza; yet were not they of cowardly hearts, but opposed those that came to slay them, and slew as many of the Jews; and some of them, when they saw themselves deserted, burnt their own houses, that the enemy might get none of their spoils; nay, some of them, with their own hands slew their children and their wives, having no other way but this of avoiding captivity.

6. This account of the death of Antiochus Grypus is confirmed by Appian, Syrac., p. 132, here cited by Spanheim.  1

1 Porphyr says, that this Antiochus Grypus reigned last 26 years, as Dr. Hudson observes.

2 The copies of Josephus, both Greek and Latin, have here, after the word Antiochus, and Antiochus Pius, for Antiochus Pius, that the editors are forced to correct the text from the other historians, who are in general right.

3 The Lecedicius was a city of Gilead beyond Jordan.

However, Porphyr says that this Antiochus Pius did not die in this battle, but running away, was drowned in the river Orontes. Appian says, that he went to the kingdom of Syria by Tigranes; but Porphyr makes this Leciscu queen of the Calernan; all which is noted by Spanheim. However, that the Jews have no reason to prefer any of them before Josephus, who had more original sources before him.

7. This account, upon Alexander, that he was exorcised from a captive, seems only the repetition of the old Pahor- redheaded calumny upon his father, ch. 2, sect. 5.

8. This Antiochus Pius, was king of Damascus; both which are the observations of Spanheim.

9. The Lacedemonians were in possession of Amathus, as we learn from sect. 3, following.
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after ill success, the nation insulted him, and he found at such times for six years or more no fewer than fifty thousand of them. And when they said that they would desist from their ill-will to them, they hated him so much the more, on finding that Philip, having already been there, and when he had asked them what he ought to do, they still cried out, "that he ought to kill himself." They also sent to Demetrius Eucerus, and desired him to make a league of mutual defence with them.

CHAP. XIV.

How Demetrius Eucerus overcame Alexander, and yet in a little time retired out of the Country for the Safety of the Jews. Also how he slew many of the Jews, and thereby got clear of his Troubles Concerning the Death of Demetrius.

§ 1. So Demetrius came with an army, and took those that invited him, and pitched his camp near the city Bechem; upon which Alexander, with his six thousand two hundred mercenaries, and about twenty thousand Jews, who were of his party, went against Demetrius, who had three thousand horsemen, and forty thousand footmen. No where were greater endeavours used on both sides, Demetrius trying to bring off the mercenaries that were with Alexander, because they were Greeks, and Alexander trying to bring off the Jews that were with Demetrius; however, when neither of them could persuade them so to do, they came to a battle, and Demetrius was the conqueror, in which all Alexander's mercenaries were killed, when they had given demonstration of their fidelity and courage. A great number of Demetrius's soldiers were slain also.

2. Now as Alexander fled to the mountains, six thousand continued with him, and he joined together [from Demetrius] to him, out of pity at the change of his fortune; upon which Demetrius was afraid, and retired out of the country; after which the Jews fought against Alexander, and being beaten, were slain in great numbers in the several battles which they had; and when he had shut up the most powerful of them in the city Bethome, he besieged them therein; and when he had taken the city, and gotten the men into his power, he brought them to Jerusalem, and did one of the most barbarous actions that the world hath ever seen. Fasting seven days with the concurrence of all the city, he ordered about eight hundred of them to be crucified, and while they were living, he ordered them to hold their hands as hard as they could to be cut before their eyes. This was indeed by way of revenge for the injuries they had done him; which punishment yet was of an inhuman nature, that ever so much distressed, as indeed he had been, by his wars with them; for he had by their means come to the last degree of hazard, both of his life and of his kingdom, while they were not satisfied by themselves only to fight against him, but introduced foreigners also for the same purpose; nay, at length they reduced him to that degree of necessity, that he was constrained to deliver back to the king of Arabia the land of Moab and Gilead, which he had subdued, and the places that were in them, that they might not join with him in the war against him, as they had done ten thousand other things that tended to afflict and reproach him. However, this barbarity seems to have been without any necessity, on which account it is disapproved by the Jews;"whereupon the soldiers that had fought against him, being about eight thousand in number, ran away by night, and continued fugitives all the time that Alexander lived; who being now freed from any further disturbance from them, reigned the rest of his time in the utmost tranquillity.

3. But when Demetrius was departed out of Judea, he went to Berea, and besieged his brother Philip, having sent them Philip, having sent them, and a thousand horsemen. However, Strato, the tyrant of Berea, the confederate of Philip, called in Zixon, the ruler of the Arabian tribes, and Mithridates Sinax, the ruler of the Parthians, who coming with a great number of forces and besieging Demetrius in his encampment, into which they had driven him with their arrows, they compelled those that were within to thirst to deliver up themselves. So they took a great many spoils out of that country, and Demetrius himself, whom they sent to Mithridates, who was then king of Parthia; but as to those whom they took captives of the people of Antioch, they restored them to the Antiochians without any reward. Now Mithridates, the king of Parthia, had Demetrius in great honour, till Demetrius ended his life by sickness. So Philip, presently after the fight was over, came to Antioch, and took it, and reigned over Syria.

CHAP. XV.

How Antiochus, who was called Dionyus, and after him Aretas, made Expeditions to the Jews; as also, how Alexander took many Cities, and then returned to Jerusalem, and, after a Sickness of Three Years, died; and what Counsel he gave to Alexander.

§ 1. After this, Antiochus, who was called Dionyus, and was Philip's brother, aspired to the dominion, and came to Damascus, and got the power into his hands, and there he reigned: and in the same year, as he was walking against Jerusalem, his brother Philip heard of it, and came to Damascus, where Miliesius, who had been left governor of the citadel, and the Damascusers themselves, delivered up the city to him, because Philip was become ungrateful to him, and had bestowed upon him nothing of that in hopes whereof he had received him into the city, but had a mind to have it believed that it was rather delivered up out of fear than by the kindness of Miliesius, and because he had not rewarded him as he ought to have done, he became suspected by him, and so he was obliged to leave Damascus again; for Miliesius caught him marching out into the Hippodrome, and shut him up in it, and made an expedition against Marcus, who had restored Damascus to Eucerus, who, hearing how Philip's affairs stood, came out of Arabia. He also came immediately, and made an expedition against Judas, with eight thousand armed footmen, and four thousand horsemen, and took Alexander, out of fear of his coming, dug a great ditch, beginning at Chabarzaba, which is now called Antipatris, to the sea of Joppa, on which part only his army could be brought against him. He also raised a wall, and erected wooden towers, and intermediate redoubts, for one hundred and fifty furths in length, and there expected the coming of Antiochus, but he soon burned them all, and made his army pass by that way into Arabia. The Arabian king [Aretas] at first retreated, but afterward appeared on the sudden to the congress, and with ten thousand men came to the meeting, and fought desperately; and indeed when he had gotten the victory, and was bringing some auxiliaries to that part of his army that was in distress on the front of the plains, Antiochus was fallen, his army fled to the village Cana, where the greatest part of them perished by famine.

2. After him Aretas reigned over Coelosyria, and two others was the fifth son of Antiochus Grypus; and he was called Antiochus Euphrates, and was called Antiochus Epiphanes Dionyus. But this Aretas was the first king of the Arabs who took Damascus and reigned there; which same Aretas was afterward commonly made the Arabians king, both at Paro
being called to the government by those that held Damascus, by reason of the hatred they bare to Ptolemy Menennes. He also made thence an expedition against Judea, and beat Alexander in battle, near a place called Addin, yet did he, upon certain conditions agreed on between them, retire out of Judea.

The Jews strength marched again to the city Dios, and took it; and they made an expedition against Eesa, where was the best part of Zeno's treasures, and there he encompassed the place with three walls; and when he had taken the city by fighting, to Gule and Seleucia; and when he had taken those cities, he, besides them, took a valley which is called the valley of Anthochus, also the fortress of Gamala. He also accused Demetria, who was governor of those places, of many crimes, and turned him out: and after he had spent three years in this war, he returned to his own country, when the Jews joyfully received him upon this his good success.

4. Now at this time the Jews were in possession of the following cities that had belonged to the city Dios, and Antiochus: as the sea-side, Strato's Tower, Apollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Ashod, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, and Rhinocoura; in the middle of the country, near to lake Galilee, and near the country of Samaria, Mount Carmel, and Mount Tabor, Scythopolis, and Gadara; of the country of Galassonitis, Seleucia, and Gabaala; in the country of Lania, and Madaba, Lampa, viz. he took Oronas, Galithara, Zara, the valley of the Celices, and Pella; which last they utterly destroyed, because its inhabitants would not bear to change their religious rites for those peculiar to the Jews. The Jews also possessed others of the principal cities in Syria, which had been destroyed.

5. After this, king Alexander, although he fell into a detemper by hard drinking, and had a quarant ague, which held him three years, yet would not leave off going out with his army, till he was quite spent with the labours he had undergone, and died in the bounds of Regaba, a fortress beyond Jordan. But when his queen saw that he was ready to die, and had no longer any hopes of surviving, she came to him weeping, and lamenting, and bewailing herself and her sons, on the desolate condition they should be left in; and said to him, "To whom dost thou leave thy kingdom, and thy children, who are destitute of all other supports, and this when thou knowest how much ill-will thy nation bears thee?" But he gave her the following advice, and so left it to her, in order to retain the kingdom sedately, with her children; that she should conceal his death from the soldiers till she should have taken that place; after this, she should go in triumph, as upon a victory, to Jerusalem, and put some of her authority into the hands of the Pharisees, for that they would commend her to the people, and said she had, by example, reduced the nation to her: for he told her, they had great authority among the Jews, both to do hurt as they hated, and to bring such to those to whom they were friendly disposed, for that they are then believed best of all by the multitude when they speak any severe thing against others, though it be only under colour of the law. And he added, that it was by their means that he had incurred the displeasure of the nation; and that he had injure; of. Do thou, therefore, Jasminus, when his father art come to Jerusalem, send for the leading men among them, and show them thy body, and with great appearance of sincerity, give them leave to use it as they themselves please, whether they will dishonour the dead body by refusing it burial, as having severely suffered by my means, or whether in their anger they will offer any other injury. Thus he dismissed them, and that they will do nothing without them in the affairs of the kingdom. If thou dost but say this to them, I shall have the honour of a more glorious funeral than any king of the Jews ever had; and when it is in their power to abuse my dead body, they will do it no injury at all, and then will rule in safety." So when he had given his wife this advice, he departed and reigned twenty-seven years, and lived fifty years within one.

CHAP. XVI.

How Alexander, by gaining the good-will of the Pharisees, retained the kingdom nine years, and then, having done many great and glorious Actions, died.

§ 1. So Alexander, when she had taken the fortress, acted as her husband had suggested to her, and spake to the Pharisees, and put all things into their power, as both to the dead body and as to the affairs of the kingdom, and thereby pacified their anger against Alexander, and made them bear good-will and friendship to him; who then came among the multitude, and made speeches to them, and laid before them the actions of Alexander, and told them that they had lost a righteous king; and by the consent of the Pharisees he brought them to grieve, and to be in heaviness for him, so that he had a funeral more splendid than had any of the kings before him. Alexander left behind him two sons, Antiochus and Seleucus, and entrusted the kingdom to Alexander. Now, as to these two sons, Hyrcanus was indeed unable to manage public affairs, and delighted rather in a quiet and natural life, being a philosopher, than in a glorious reign; and brought them into such a state that the presence of God came upon them to their utter excision.

Thus just did Calpurnus politically advise the Jewish hundred, John 30: 5, 6. But men were not of faith, so I have noticed of Jesus, chap. ix. sect. 1, already, who lived then in the promised land, and this I suppose justified; but by what right the rest died in Christ, we are not certain of it, but that they were not of faith. I think, if I should be able to shew, I do not at all know. This looks too like unjust perdition for the Jewish nation: yet supported, were last in a great measure the ruin of the religion, government, and nation of the Jews, and brought them into so wicked a state that the presence of God came upon them to their utter excision. Thus just did Calpurnus politically advise the Jewish hundred, John 30: 5, 6. But men were not of faith, so I have noticed of Jesus, chap. ix. sect. 1, already, who lived then in the promised land, and this I suppose justified; but by what right the rest died in Christ, we are not certain of it, but that they were not of faith. I think, if I should be able to shew, I do not at all know. This looks too like unjust perdition for the Jewish nation.
BOOK XIII.—CHAP. XVI.

Life: but the younger, Aristobulus, was an active and a bold man; and for this woman herself, Alexandra, she was loved by the multitude, because she seemed displeased at the offences her husband had done. 2. So she made Hyrcanus high priest, because he was the elder, but much more because he cared not to meddle with politics, and permitted the Pharisees to do everything to whom also he ordered the multitude to be obedient. She restored again those practices which the Pharisees had introduced, according to the tradition of their fathers, and which her husband the law, Hyrcanus, had abrogated. So she had given the same of the Regent, but the Pharisees had the authority; for it was they who ruled such as had been banished, and set such were prisoners at liberty, and, to say all at once, they differed in nothing from lords. However, the queen also took care of the affairs of kingdom, and got together a great body of necessary soldiers, and increased her own army such a degree, that she became terrible to neighboring tyrants, and took hostages of; and, being at peace, the Pharisees; for they disturbed the 3. And desired that she should kill those erred Sadat Alexander to slay the eight hundred papae of the Jews. 4. Demeas; and after them they did me to several, one after another, till the hat were the most potent came into the and do nothing that was severe against them. He displeased at what was done, and it appeared, that if he had an opportunity, he would not permit his mother to go on as "These queen in Italy and among the Thracians through, and great things they had hereby they had demonstrated the firmness of their fidelity to their master, insomuch, that they had eaten the most munificent things from him; and they begged of her, that did not utterly blast their hopes, as it now did, that when they had escaped the hate at once from their (open) enemies, to be cut off at home, by their private, like brute beasts, without any soever. They said also, that if their were answered by them, that slann already, they would take what done patiently, on account of their to their governors; but if they must answer also, then, they would have to hear her from her service, for not bear to think of attempting any of their deliverance without her, but even before the face of the queen she would not forgive them. And great shame both for themselves, queen, that when they were neg- or, they should come under the hands of the enemies: for that Aretas, the, and the monarchs, would give any key could get such men as foreign o whom their very names, before he heard, may perhaps be terrible: could not obtain this their second re- she had determined to prefer the more of the Jews, they still insisted that them every one in her fortresses; atalm demon had a constant spite to vicious houses, they would be willing, and to live in a private station.

men said thus, and called upon host for commiseration of those 500,000, or even 300,000, as one Greek in one copy, have it for Tigranes' army, his enemies. He addressed the king, and said, "We have been already almost every single man in Josephus' present copy, which is seen by the table. Accordingly I incline to Dr. Scarce, who supports this view.

1 The fortress, castle, or tower, whether the wife and children of Aristobulus were now sent, and which once occupied the temple, could be in ruins when It. I. 22, 18, p. 233, sect. 3, and Herod the Great rebuilt, and called the Tower of Antonia. Antiq. B. ev. oh. xi. sect. 22.
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to Aristobulus from all parts, insomuch that he had a kind of royal attendance about him; for in little
more than fifteen years he got twenty-two strong
places, which gave him the opportunity of raising
an army from Libanus and Trachonitis, and the
monarchs; for men are easily led by the greater
number, and easily submit to them. And being this
that by affording him their assistance when
he could not expect it, they, as well as he, should
have the advantages that would come by his heing
king, because they had been the occasion of
his gaining the kingdom. Now the elders of the
Jews, and Hyrcanus with them, went in unto
them, and desired, "that she would give them
her sentiments about the present state of
affairs, for that Aristobulus was in effect lord
of almost all the kingdom, by possessing of
so many strong holds, and that it was absurd for
them to take any counsel by themselves, how ill
soever she were, whilst she was alive, and that
the danger would be upon them in no long time."
But she "bade them do what they thought pro-
per to be done; that they had made many mistakes
in their favour still remaining; a nation in
good heart, an army, and money in their several
treasuries, for that she had small concern for
public affairs now when the strength of her body
already failed her.

6. Now a little while after she had said this to
them, she died, when she had reigned nine years,
and had in all lived seventy-three. A woman
she was who showed no signs of weakness;
of a most admirable degree in her ambition of govern- ing, and demon-
strated by her doing at once, that her mind was
fit for action, and that sometimes men because
she was so little understanding they have by the
frequent mistakes they make in point of govern-
ment; for she always preferred the present to
future, and preferred the power of an impious
dominion above all things, and in comparison of
that had no regard to what was good, or what
was right. However, she brought the affairs of
her house to such an unfortunate condition, that
she was the occasion of the turning away that
authority from it, and that in no long time after-
ward, which she had obtained—by a vast number
of hazards and misfortunes, and this she had
not only been to a woman, and all
by a compliance in her sentiments with those
that bare ill-will to their family, and by leaving
the administration destitute of a proper support
of great men; and indeed her management de-
sirous her administration, while she was alive,
was such, as filled the palace after her death
with calamities and disturbances, so that it
though she had been the way of governing
she preserved the nation in peace. And this
is the conclusion of the affairs of
Alexandria.

BOOK XIV.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-TWO YEARS—FROM THE DEATH OF QUEEN ALEXANDRA TO THE DEATH OF ANTONY.

CHAP. I.

The War between Aristobulus and Hyrcanus
about the Kingdom; and how they made an
Agreement that Aristobulus should be King,
and Hyrcanus live a private Life: as also, how
Hyrcanus, a little afterward, was persuaded by
Antipater to fly to Arcasus.

§ 1. We have related the affairs of queen
Alexandra, and her death, in the foregoing book,
and will now speak of that which is more
connected with those histories; declaring, before
we proceed, that we have nothing so much at
heart, as this, that we may omit no facts," either
through ignorance or negligence, for we are upon
the history and explication of such things as the
greatest part are unacquainted withal, because of
their distance from our times; and we aim to
do it with a proper beauty of style, so far as that
is derived from proper words harmoniously dis-
posed, and from such ornaments of speech also
as may contribute to the pleasure of our readers,
that we may entertain the knowledge of what we
write with some agreeable satisfaction and
pleasure. But the principal scope that authors
ought to aim at above all the rest, is to speak ac-
curately, and to speak truly, for the satisfaction
of those that are otherwise unacquainted with
such transactions, and obliged to believe what
those writers inform them of.

2. But this is the hour he began his high priesthoth on
the third year of the hundred and seventy-se-
venth Olympiad, when Quintus Hortensius and
Quintus Metellus, who was called Metellus of
Consul, was consul at Rome; when presently
Aristobulus began to make war against him, and as
it came to a battle with Hyrcanus at Jericho,
many of the soldiers deserted him, and went over

to his brother; upon which Hyrcanus fled into
the citadel, where Aristobulus's wife and chil-
dren were imprisoned by that very emperor, as we
have said already, and attacked and overcame
those his adversaries that had fled thither, and
lay within the walls of the temple. So when he
had sent the message to his brother against agree-
ting the matters between them, he laid aside
his enmity to him on these conditions, that Aristobulus
should be king; that he should live without
interference; that he should have the estate of
which he was lord, and that he should have the
administration of it; and that he should
be free to go on his journey through the
world, without any control. And so, for the rest,
he made peace with Hyrcanus, and as a private man,
to the former house of Aristobulus.

3. But there was a certain friend of Hyrcanus,
an Idumean, called Antipater, who was very rich,
and in his nature an active and a sedulous man,
who was at enmity with Aristobulus, and had dif-
ferences with him on account of his good-will to
Idumea. It is true that Nicolaus of Damas-
cus says, that Antipater was of the stock of the
principal Jews who came out of Babylon into
Judah; but that assertion of his was to gratify
Herod, who was his son, and who, by certain
volutions of fortune, came afterward to be king
of the Jews, whose history we shall give to you in
its proper place hereafter. However, this Anti-
pater was at first called Antipas;1 and that was
his father's name also; of whom they relate this,
that king Alexander and his wife made him su-
perior of Idumea, and that he made a league of
friendship with those Arabians, and Gaalites, and
Ascalonites, that were of his own party, and had,

1 That the famous Antipater's or Antipas's father was
also Antipater or Antipas, which two may perhaps be
understood for Antipater, son of Nicolaus of
Gentile, the latter with a Hebraic or Jewish termi-
nation, Josephus here assures us, though Eusebius indeed
says it was Bithuel.
by many and large presents, made them his fast friends. But now, this younger Antipater was more anxious of the power of Aristobulus, and was desirous of making much of him, in order to hate him, so he stirred up the most of the Jews, and talked against him, both publicly and privately; and said, that it was unjust to allow the license of Aristobulus, and the conduct of the government unrighteously, and eject his brother out of it, who was a member of the elder, and to retain what belonged to him by prerogative of his birth. And the same specious pretense was most effectually made to Hyrcanus; and told him, his own life would be in danger, unless he retired himself, and glutted Aristobulus; and that if the friends of Aristobulus, who had no opportunity of advising him to kill him, and then, and not before, sure to retain his dignity. Hyrcanus gave no credit to these, as being of a gentle disposition, and that did not easily admit of calumnies and other men. This temerity of his, not disdaining to meddle with public affairs, and of spirit, occasioned him to persuade the people to be degenerate and unmannerly; while Aristobulus was of a contrary temper, an active and one of a great and generous soul. Since, therefore, Antipater saw that Hyrcanus did not attend to what he said, he never, day by day, to charge feigned crimes to Aristobulus, and to calumniate him before the king, and, at the same time, hindered the king in his purposes, advised him, and so to fly him at the king of Arabia, promised that if he would comply with him, he would assist him with his men. When Hyrcanus heard this, he was so much affected by the appeal to God, his ancestor, that he undertook to receive from him, and be a companion of a supplicant to him, as was Hyrcanus also, and left them to his enemies. So Antipater received such assurances, and returned to Jerusalem. Awhile afterward he returned to his own city, and stole out of the city by night, at a great journey, and came and brought his army to a place called Petra, where the palace was; and as he was a very familiar friend of him, he persuaded him to bring back Hyrcanus, and his persuasion he continued with him in the palace. Also he made him presents on that account, a word prevailed with Aretas in his suit, and promised him, that when he had taken Thither, and had received his promise, he would restore that country, and cities which his father Alexander the Great the Romans, which were these, left there. And the king of Arabia, which is Orone, Mares, Ruda, and Lusa, Cn. Hyrcanus made an expedition against Aristobulus, and surprised Jerusalem; and, the Roman General, raised Concerning the Death of Onias. these promises had been given to an expedition against Aristobulus of fifty thousand horse, and his in the battle. And when after they went over to Hyrcanus as de- puties was left desolate, and fled to mount Sion, and hid himself, and took an assault upon the temple Aristobulus therein, the peepings Hyrcanus, and assisting him in his siege vigorously. As this happened at the time the feast of unleavened bread was celebrated, which we call the passover, the principal men among the Jews left the country and fled into Egypt. Now there was one whose name was called Manassek, he was noble of God, who, in a certain drought, had prayed to God to put an end to the intense heat, and whose prayers God had heard, and had sent them rain. He was a man of himself, because he saw that this sedition would last a great while. However, they brought him to the Jewish camp, and desired, that he should pray to God, that he would remove the drought, so that he would be in like manner make imprecations on Aristobulus, and those of his faction. And when, upon his refusal, and the excuses that he made, he was offered the multitude compelled to speak, he stood up in the midst of them, and said, "O God, the King of the whole world: since those that stand now with me are thy people, and those that are besieged are thy friends, I beseech thee, that thou wilt neither hearken to the prayers of those against these nor bring to effect what these pray against those." Whereupon such wicked Jews as stood about him, as soon as he had made this prayer, stoned him to death. 2. But God punished them immediately for this their barbarity, and took vengeance of them for the murder of Onias. And the manner following: while the priests and Aristobulus were besieged, it happened that the feast called the passover was come, at which time the custom was to offer a great number of sacrifices to God; but those that were with Aristobulus wanted sacrifices, and desired that their countrymen without would furnish them with such sacrifices, and assuured them they should give them such money for them as they should desire; and when they required them to pay a thousand drachmas for each head of cattle, Aristobulus and the priests undertook to pay it; accordingly, and those within let down the money over the walls, and gave it them. But when the others received it, they did not deliver the sacrifices, but arrived at that height of wickedness, as to break the assurances they had given, and to be guilty of impiety towards God, by not furnishing those that wanted them with sacrifices. And when the priests found they had been cheated, and that the agreements they had made were violated, they prayed to God that he would avenge them on their countrymen. Nor did he delay that their punishment, but sent a strong and vehement storm of wind, that destroyed the fruits of the whole country, till a modius of wheat was then brought for eleven drachms. 3. In the meantime Pompey sent Scæurus into Syria, while he was himself in Armenia, and making war with Tigranes: but when Scæurus was come to Damascus, and found that Lollius and Metellus had newly taken the city, he came himself hastily into Judea. And when he was come thither, ambassadors came to him, both from Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, and both desired he would assist them. And when both of them promised to give him money, Aristobulus four hundred talents, and Hyrcanus no less, he accepted of Aristobulus's present; for he was rich, and had a great soul, and desired to obtain nothing but what was moderate; whereas the other was poor, and tenacious, and made incredible promises in hopes of great raise; for he was not the same thing to take a city that was exceeding strong and powerful, as it was to eject out of the country some fugitives, with a great number of Nabataeans, with little money, and very weak people. He, therefore, made an agreement with Aristobulus, for the reasons before mentioned, and took his money, and raised the siege, and the he showed him, that he declared an enemy to the Romans. So Scæurus returned to Damascus again; and Aristobulus, with a great army, made war with Aretas, and
ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

Hyrcaeus, and fought them at a place called Paprym, and beat them in the battle, and slew about a thousand of the enemy; with whose fall Phalicon also, the brother of Antipater.

CHAP. III.

How Aristobulus and Hyrcanus came to Pompey, to ordain a law which ought to have been the King-Jew: and how, upon the Flight of Aristobulus o the Fortress Alexandriam, Pompey led his Army against him, and ordered him to deliver up the treasure possessed by the Jews.

§ 1. A little afterwards Pompey came to Damascus, and marched over Colosseia, by which time there came ambassadors to him from all Syria, and Egypt, and out of Judea also, for Aristobulus had sent him a great present, which was a golden vine.\textsuperscript{4} of the value of five hundred talents. Now Strabo of Cappadocia mentions this present in these words: "There came also an embassy out of Egypt, and a crown of the value of four thousand pieces of gold, and out of Judea there came another, whether you call it a vine or a garden: they called the thing XEIROPOLIS. The king himself, we ourselves saw him present reposed at Rome in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, with this inscription, The gift of Alexander the king of the Jews. It was valued at five hundred talents; and the report is, that Aristobulus, the governor of the Jews, sent it."\textsuperscript{5}

2. In a little time afterwards came ambassadors again to him, Antipater from Hyrcanus, and Nicodemus from Aristobulus; which last also accused such as had taken bribes, first Gabinius, and then Scaurus, the one three hundred talents, and the other four hundred; by which procedures he removed those of his enemies, besides those he had before. And when Pompey had ordered those that had controversies one with another to come to him in the beginning of the spring, he brought his army out of their winter quarters, and marched into the country of Damascus; and as he went along he demolished the citadel that was at Apamia, which Antiochus Cyzicenus had built, and took cognizance of the country of Ptolemny Mennaeus, a wicked man, and not less so than Dionysius of Tripoli, who had been beheaded, who was also his relation by marriage; yet did he buy off the punishment of his crimes for a thousand talents, with which money Pompey paid the soldiers their wages. He also conquered the place called Lysis, of which Silus, a Jew, was governor. And when he had passed over to the cities of Heliopolis and Chalcis, and got over the mountain which is on the limit of Colesyria, he came from Phila to Damascus; and there it was that Pompey divided the laws, and of their governors Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who were at difference one with another, as also of the nation against them both, which did not desire to be under kingly government, because the form of government they received from their forefathers was that of subscription to the priests of that God whom they worshipped, and [they complained.] that though these two were the posterity of priests, yet did they seek to change the government of their nation to another form, in order to enslave them. Hyrcanus complained, that although he were the elder brother, he was deprived of the prerogative of his birth by Aristobulus, and that he hath but a small part of the country under him; Aristobulus having taken away from him by force. He accused him, that the incursions which had been made into their neighbours' countries, and the rapines that had been at sea, were owing to him; and that such action would not have been made unless Aristobulus had been a man given to violence and disorder; and there were no fewer than a thousand Jews, of the best esteem among them, who condemned this accusation; which confirmation was procured by Antipater. But Aristobulus alleged against him, that it was Hyrcanus' own temper, which was insatiate, and on that account intolerable, which caused him to be deprived of the government; and that for himself he was necessitated to take it upon him, for fear lest it should be transferred to others. And that as to his title [of king], it was no other than what his father had taken [before him.] He also called for witnesses of what he said, some persons who were both young and insolent; whose purple garments, fine heads of hair, and other ornaments, were detested [by the court, and] which they appeared in, not as though they were to plead their cause in a court of justice, but as if the cause were not theirs; and also if the case were not theirs, he himself, with all the persons present, went to the city of Delius, and thence marched into Judea.

4. At this behaviour Pompey was angry; and, taking with him that army which he was leading against the Nabataeans, and the auxiliaries that came from Damascus, and the other parts of Syria, with the other Roman legions which he had with him, he made an expedition against Aristobulus; but as he passed by Pella, and Seytopolis, he came to Corea, which is the first entrance into Judea when one passes over the midland countries, where he came to a most beautiful fortress that was built on the top of a mountain, called Alexandriam, whither Aristobulus had fled, and thence Pompey sent his commands to him, saying, that the Romans and their governors were all committed to him, and that he should accordingly, at the persuasions of many, that he would not make war with the Romans, he came down, and when he had disputed with his brother about the right of the succession, he went up again to the citadel, as Pompey gave him leave to do; and this he did two or three times, as flattering himself with the hopes of having the kingdom granted him; so that he still pretended he would obey Pompey in whatsoever he commanded, although, at the same time, he retired to his fortress, that he might not depress himself too low, and that he might be prepared for a war, in case it should prove, as he feared, that Pompey should transfer the government to Hyrcanus. But when Pompey enjoined Aristobulus to deliver up the fortresses he held, and to send an injunction to their governors under his own hand, for that purpose, for they had been forbidden to deliver them me the most probable: for so to Archbishop Usher's conjectures, that Alexander made it, and dedicated it to God in the temple, and that thence Aristobulus took it, and sent it to Pompey, and that it was both very improbable, and altogether disagreeable to Josephus, who would hardly have avoided the repetition of the same copies; and the original reading seems to have been either Aristobulus, instead of alexan- der, in one Greek copy, or else Aristobulus, the son of Alexander, with the Latin copies; which last seems to...
BOOK XIV.—CHAP. IV.

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ap upon any other commands, he submitted indeed to do so, but still he was in displeasure to Jerusalem, and made preparation for war. A little after this, certain persons came out of Pompey, and begirt it round about, and conducted his army against Aristobulus, but Mithridates was dead, and was slain by his own Pharmacists.

CHAP. IV.

1. Now when Pompey had pitched his camp Jericho, where the palm-tree grew, and he was on the north part of the temple, where it was most practicable; but even on that side there were great towers, and a ditch had been dug, and a deep valley was opened, and the city were precipices, and the bridge on which Pompey had gotten in was broken down; however, a bank was raised day by day, with a great deal of labour, while Maccabeus cut down materials from it for the places round about: and when this bank was sufficiently raised, and the ditch filled up, though but poorly, by reason of its immense depth, by bringing in mechanical engines and battering rams from Tyre, and placing them on the bank, he battered the temple with the stones that were thrown against it, and had it not been our practice, from the days of our forefathers, to rest on the seventh day, this bank could never have been perfected, by reason of the opposition the Jews would have made; for though our laws give us leave than to defend ourselves against those that begin to fight with us, and assault us, yet it does not permit us to meddle with our enemies while they do anything else.

3. Which thing when the Roman understood, on those days which we call Sabbaths, they threw nothing at the Jews, nor came to any pitched battle with them, but retired to their earthen banks, and brought their engines into such forwardness that they might do execution the following days. And any one may heu learn how very great plenty we exercise towards God, and the observance of his laws, since the priests were not at all hindered from their sacred ministrations, by their fear during this siege, but did still twice a day and at the morning, and at the ninth hour, offer their sacrifices on the altar; nor did they omit those sacrifices, if any melancholy accident happened by the stones that were thrown among them; for although the city was taken on the third month, on the day of the fast, upon the hundred and seventy-ninth Olympiad; when Calus Antonius and Marcus Tuflus Cicero were consuls, and the enemy then fell upon them, and cut the throats of those that were in the temple, yet could not those that of fered the sacrifice be compelled to run away, neither by the fear they were m of their own lives, nor by the number that were already slain, as thinking it better to suffer whatever came upon them, at their very altars, than to omit any thing that их laws required of them. And that this is not a mere brag, or an encomium to manifest a degree of our pietas that was false, but is the real truth, I show that there were written of the acts of Pompey; and among them, to Strabo and Nicolaus [of Damascus;] and besides these, to Titus Livius, the writer of the Roman history, who will bear witness to this thing.

4. But when the battering engine was brought near, the greatest of the towers was shaken by mesive, which exactly agrees to Strabo's description, and which numbers in Strabo are a strong confirmation of the truth of Josephus's description also.

1 That is, on the 32nd of Tivs, the memorial fast for the deflection and idolatry of Jeroboam, who made Israel to sin; or probably some other fast that fell into that month, before and in the days of Josephus.

1 It deserves here to be noted, that this Physiological superstitious notion, that offensive fighting was unlawful to Jews, even unto the day of the Sabbath, which we hear nothing before the times of the Maccabeus, was the proper occasion of Jerusalem's being taken by Pompey, and Titus, as appears from the places already quoted in the note on Antioch, B. xiv. ch. viii. sect. 1. which scriptura superstitionis, as it is said, was very serious: for such a resolute rest upon the Sabbath-day, our Saviour always opposed, when the Physiological Israel insisted on it, as is evident in many places of the New Testament, though he still intimates that prudence that superstitious notion might prove to them in their flight from the Romans, Matt. xiv. 35.
Antiquities of the Jews
it, and fell down, and brake down a part of the
Jewish wall, and set fire amongst the people, and
Carlius Faustus, the son of Sylla, with his
soldiers, first of all ascended the wall, and next
to him Furius the centurion, with those that fol-
lowed of the other part, and so likewise Fabius, who was
also a centurion, ascended it in the middle, with
a great body of men after him. But now all was
full of slaughter; some of the Jews being slain
by the Romans, and some by another; say
some there were who threw themselves down the
precipices, or put fire to their houses, and
burnt them, as not able to bear the miseries they
were in. Of the Jews there fell twelve thousand, but of the Romans very few. Absalom,
who was at once both uncle and father-in-law to
Aristobulus, was taken captive. And no small
anomalies were committed about the temple
itself, which, in former ages, had been inaccessi-
able and seen by none; for Pompey went into it,
and not a few of those that were with him also,
and saw all that it was unlawful for any other men to see but only for the high priests.
There were in that temple the golden table, the
candlestick, and the pouring vessels, and a great
store of other vessels, besides these three, and
were among the treasures two thousand talents
of sacred money; yet did Pompey touch nothing
of all this, on account of his regard to religion;
and the other he also he acted in a manner that
was worthy of his virtue. The next day he gave
order to those that had the charge of the temple
to cleanse it, and to bring what offerings the law
required to God; and restored the high priest-
hood to Hyrcanus, both because he had been
useful to him in other respects, and because he
hindered the Jews in the country from giving
Aristobulus money. And thus he began his war against
him. He also cut off those that had been
authors of that war, and bestowed proper re-
wards on Faustus, and those others that mounted
the wall with such alacrity: and he made Jeru-
usalem tributary to the Romans, and took away
those cities of Cæsarea which the inhabitants of Judea had subdued, and put under them the
government of the Roman president, and con-
formed the whole nation, which had elevated itself
so high before, within its own bounds. More-
over, he rebuilt Gadara, which had been demo-
lished by Domitian; and granted to Valerius
Demetrius of Gadara, who was his freed-man, and restored
the rest of the cities, Hippus, and Scythopolis, and
Pella, and Dios, and Samaria, as also Marias,
and Cyrene, and Scythopolis, and Arabas, to their
own inhabitants: these were in the inland parts;
besides those that had been demolished; and
also of the maritime cities, Gaza, and Joppa, and
Herodium, and Phasaelus, and Malchus, and Herod's Tower; which last Herod re-
built after a glorious manner, and adorned with
havens, and temples, and changed its name to
Caesarea. All these Pompey left in a state of free-
dom, and joined them to the province of Syria.
5. Now the occasions of this misery which came
upon Jerusalem, were Hyrcanus and Aristobulus,
by raising a sedition one against the other; for
not only did they run against the liberty, and become subject to the
Romans, and were deprived of that country which
we had gained by our arms from the Syrians.
Moreover, the Romans exacted of us, in a little
time, above ten thousand talents. And the royal
authority, which was a dignity formerly bestow-
ed on those that were high priests, by the right
of their family, became the property of private
men. But of these matters we shall treat in their
proper places. Now Pompey committed Cæsarea,
as far as the river Euphrates and Egypt, to
Ben-Hadad, with two Roman legions, and then went
away to Cilicia, and came haste to Rome. He
also carried bound along with him Aristobulus
and his sons, and the baronial land of Cæsarea,
as many sons, the one of whom ran away, but
the younger, Antigonus, was carried to Rome,
together with his sisters.

CHAP. V.
How Scæaurus made a League of mutual Assis-
tance with Aretas. And what Gabinius did in
Judea, after he had conquered Alexander the Son
of Aristobulus.

6. Scæaurus made now an expedition against
Petreus and Aretas, and set on all the people
about it, because of the great difficulty of access
to it. And as his army was pitched by famous
Anti-pater furnished him with corn out of Judea,
and with whatever else he wanted, and this at
the command of Hyrcanus. And when he was
sent to Aretas, as an ambassador by Scæaurus,
because he had lived with him formerly he per-
suaded Aretas to give Scæaurus a sum of money,
to prevent the burning of his country; and
undertook to be his surety for three hundred
Talents. So Scæaurus, upon these terms, ceased to
make war, and was possessed at Aretas' desire
at Scæaurus' desire, as at the desire of Aretas.

2. Some time after this, when Alexander, the
son of Aristobulus, made an incursion into Judea,
and fell upon Gabinius, he came up to Syria, as command-
er of the Roman forces. He did many consider-
able actions: and particularly made war with Alexander, since Hyrcanus was not yet able
to oppose his power, but was already attempting
to build the walls of Jerusalem, which Pompey had
overthrown, although the Romans, who were there,
restrained him from that his design. How-
ever, Alexander, being in all the country abroad
about, and armed many of the Jews, and sudden-
ly got together ten thousand armed footmen, and
fifteen hundred horsemen, and fortified Alexan-
drium, a fortress near to Corem and Machcerus,
near the mountains of Arabia. Gabinius there-
fore came upon him, having sent Marcus Anto-
nius, with other commanders, before. These
armed such Romans as followed them; and, to-
gether with them, such Jews as were subject to
them, whose lenders were Ptolemaus and Mili-
chas, and they took with them also their friends
that were in the country. While Gabinius was thus
about, while Gabinius himself followed with his legion.
Hereupon Alexander retired to Jerusalem, where
they fell upon one another, and it came to a pitch-
ted battle, in which Gabinius broke the enemy about three thousand, and took a like
number alive.

3. At which time Gabinius came to Alexan-
drium, he spread those that were in it to deliver
it up on certain conditions, and promised that
then their former offences should be forgiven:
but as a great number of the enemy had pitched
their camp before the fortress, whereas the Ro-
mans attacked, Marcus Antonius fought bravely,
and slew a great number, and seemed to come
off with the greatest honour. So Gabinius left
part of the army there, in order to take the place,
and he himself went into other parts of Judea,
and gave order to rebuild all the cities that he
met with that had been demolished; at which
time were rebuilt Samaria, Ashdod, Scythopolis,
Anthemus, Raphia, and Dora; Marias also, and
Gaza, and not a few others besides. And as the
men acted according to Gabinius' command, it
came to pass that at this time those cities were
securely inhabited, which had been desolate for a long
time.

4. When Gabinius had done thus in the country
he returned to Alexandria; and when he urged
1 Of this destruction of Gadara here presupposed, and its restoration by Pompey, see the note on the War 8, c.
1, v. sect. 7.
been related elsewhere. However, Antipater supplied his army, which he sent against Archelaus, with corn, and weapons, and money. He also made those Jews who were above Pelusium, his friends and confederates, and had been the guardians of the Great Egypt, join him. But when he came back out of Egypt, he heard Syria in disorder, with seditions and troubles; for Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, having seized on the government by force, made many of the Jews revolt to him, so he marched over the country with a great army, and slew all the Romans he could light upon, and proceeded to besiege the mountains called Gerizim, whither they had retreated.

3. But when Gabinius found Syria in such a state, he sent Antipater, who was a prudent man, to those that were seditious, to try whether he could cure them of their madness, and persuade them to return to a better mind, and when he came to them, he brought many of them to a sound mind, and induced them to do what they ought to do; but he could not restrain Alexander, for he had an army of thirty thousand Jews, and met Gabinius, and joining battle with him, was beaten, and lost ten thousand of his men about mount Tabor.

4. So Gabinius settled the affairs which he longed to the city Jerusalem, as was agreeable to Antipater’s inclination, and went against the Nabateans, and overcame them in battle. He also sent away in a friendly manner Mithridates and Oranes, who were Parthian deserters, and came to him, though the report went abroad that they had run away from him. And when Gabinius had performed great and glorious actions, in his management of the affairs of war, he returned to Rome, and delivered the government to Crassus. Now, Nicolaus of Damascus, and Strabo of Cappadocia, both describe the expedition of Pompey and Gabinius against the Jews, while neither of them say anything new which is not in the other.

CHAP. VII.

How Crassus came into Judea, and pillaged the Temple, and marched against the Parthians, and perished with his Army. Also how Cassius obtained Syria, and put a Stop to the Parthians, and then went up to Judea.

§ 1. Now Crassus, as he was going upon his expedition against the Parthians, came into Judea, and carried off the gold that was in the temple, which Pompey had left, being two thousand talents; and was disposed to spoil it of all the gold belonging to it, which was eight thousand talents. He also took a beam which was made of solid beaten gold, of the weight of three hundred minas; each of which weighed two pounds and a half. It was the priest who was guardian of the sacred treasures, and whose name was Eleazar, that gave him this beam; not out of a wicked design, for he was a good and a righteous man; but being intrusted with the custody of the veil belonging to the temple, which was of admirable beauty, and of very costly workmanship, and hung down from this beam, when he saw that Crassus was busy in gathering money, and was in fear for the entire ornaments of the temple, he gave him this beam of gold, as a ransom for the whole; but this not till he had given his oath that he would remove nothing else from the temple, but he was satisfied with this only which he should give him, being worth many ten thousand shekels. Now, this beam was contained in a wooden beam...
that was hollow; but was known to no others, but Eleazar alone knew it; yet did Cassius take away this beam, upon the condition of touching nothing, except the beam, to do the tempe, &c., and then brake his oath, and carried away all the gold that was in the temple.

2. Let no one wonder that there was so much wealth in the temple, with all the Jews throughout the habitable earth, and those that worshipped God, nay, even those of Asia and Europe, sent their contributions to it, and this from very ancient times. Nor is the largeness of these sums without its attestation; nor is that greatness owing to our vanity, as raising it without ground to so great a height; but there are many witnesses to it, and particularly Strabo of Capadocia, who says thus: "Mithridates sent to Cos, and took the money which queen Cleopatra had deposited there, as also eight hundred talents belonging to the Jews. No one knew what pertained to God; and it is evident that the Asiatic Jews removed this money out of fear of Mithridates, for it is not probable that those of Judea, who had a strong city and temple, should send their money to Cos; nor is it likely that the Jews, who are inhabitants of Alexandria, should do so either, since they were in no fear of Mithridates. It is said that Strabo himself had witnessed to the same thing in another place, that at the same time that Sulla passed over into Greece, in order to fight against Mithridates, he sent Lucullus, and he added to Strabo himself, that the number of whom the habitable earth is full, had raised in Cyrene: where he speaks thus: "There were four classes of men among those of Alexandria, that is, of Orientals, the third of strangers, and the fourth of Jews. Now these Jews are already gotten into all cities, and it is hard to find a place in the habitable earth that hath more of them, this tribe of men, and is not astonished by it: and it hath come to pass that Egypt and Cyrene, as having the same governours, and a great number of other nations, imitate their way of living, and maintain great body of these Jews as peculiar manner, and grow up to greater prosperity with them, and make use of the same laws with that nation also. Accordingly, the Jews have places assigned them in every city wherein they inhabit; besides what is peculiarly allotted to this nation at Alexandria, which is a large part of that city. There is also an ethnarch allowed them, who governs the nation; no man is to be feared who take care of their contracts, and of the laws to them belonging, as if he were the ruler of a free republic. In Egypt, therefore, this nation is powerful; it is said that the Jews are there, Egyptians, and because the land wherein they inhabit, since they went thence, is near to Egypt. They also removed into Cyrene, because that land adjoined to the government of Egypt, as well as does Judaea, or rather was formerly under the same government." And this is what Strabo says.

3. So when Cassius had settled all things as he himself pleased, he marched into Parthia, where both he himself and all his army perish-ed, as hath been related elsewhere. But Cassius, as he fled from Syria to Egypt, took possession of it, and was an impediment to the Parthians, who, by reason of their victory over Cassius, made incursions upon it; and as he came back to Tyre, he went up into Judea also, and fell upon Tarichea, and presently took it, and carried about thirty thousand Jews captives; and slew Philotimus, who succeeded Aristobulus in his kingdom, and Apollonius and Sophilus, and the son of Sophilus, Antipater, who proved to have great interest in him, and was at that time in great repute with the Idumeans also; out of which nation he married a wife, who was the daughter of one of their eminent men, and her name was Cypris, by whom he had four sons, Phassel, and Herod, who was call'd the Tetrarch, and Antipater, and Herod; and Pheroras; and a daughter named Salome. This Antipater cultivated also a friendship and mutual kindness with other potentates, but especially with the king of Bithynia, and fought for the sake of his children, while he fought against Aristobulus. So Cassius removed his camp, and marched to Euphrates, to meet those that were coming to attack him, and was joined by others.

4. But some time afterward, Cesar, when he had taken Rome, and after Pompey and the senate were fled beyond the Ionian sea, freed Aristobulus from his bonds, and resolved to send him into Syria, and delivered two legions to him, that he might set matters right, as being a potentate in that country; but Aristobulus had no equal joyment of what he hoped for from the power that was given him by Cesar, for those of Pompey's party prevented it, and destroyed him by poison, and those of Cesar's party buried him. His dead body he laid, for a good while, in unburied in honey, till Antony afterward sent it to Judea, and caused him to be buried in the royal sepulchre. But Scipio, upon Pompey's sending to him for the body of Aristobulus, said, that the body was burnt, and that the ashes were sent; because the young man was accused of what of fences he had been guilty of at first against the Romans, cut off his head; and thus did he die at Antioch. But Antony, who was the resort of Chalcis, under mount Libanus, took his brother to him, and sent his son Philippon to Askelon to Aristobulus's wife, and desired her to send him his body, her brother, and her daughters, the one of which, whose name was Alexander, Philippon fell in love with and married her, though afterward his father, Ptolemy, slew him, and married Alexand- er, and continued to take care of his brethren.

CHAP. VIII.

The Jews became Confederates with Cesar when he fought against Egypt. The glorious Actions of Antipater, and his Friendship with Cesar. The Honours which the Jews received from the Romana and Athenians.

§ 1. Now after Pompey was dead, and after that victory Cesar had gained over him, Antipater, who managed the Jewish affairs, became king of the Jews, and the government of Judea, and the kingdom of Egypt, and that by the order of Hyrcanus: for when Mithridates of Pergamus was bringing his auxiliaries, and was not able to continue his march, because he did not expect the Jews would come to his assistance; and on his account it was that all the Syrians assisted him also, as not willing to appear behindhand in their alacrity for Cesar, viz. Jamblicus the ruler, and Ptolemy his son, and Tholomy the son of Sophilus, who dwelt at mount Libanus, and almost all the cities. So Mithridates marched out of Syria, and came to Pseleum; and when the inhabit ants would not admit him, he besieged the city. Now Antipater signalled himself here, and was the first who plucked down a part of the wall, and so opened a way to the rest, whereby they fought the city, and by this means Pseleum was taken; but it happened that the Egyptian Jews, who dwelt in the country called Onias, would not let Antipater and Mithridates, with their forces, to besiege the city, but they persuaded them to come over to their party, because he was of the same people with them, and that chiefly by showing them the epistles of Hyrcan but not Cypris, the Greek name for Venus, as some ancients were ready to correct it.
BOOK XIV.—CHAP. VIII.

The high priest, wherein he exhorcted them to pursue friendship with Caesar, and to supply as many sorts of promises as they desired: and accordingly, when he saw Antipater and the high priest of the same nation, they did as they were desired. And when the Jews had come over to Caesar, they also invited Mithridates to come to them; so he came, and received them also into his army.

2. When he determined to leave the place of his residence, and go over all Asia, as is said, he came to a pitched battle with the enemy, near the place called Jewish camp. Now Mithridates had the advantage, and Antipater was near to being slain; so he fled to the town where Mithridates was, and was likewise to suffer extremely, unless he could come running to him with news of the escape of the shore, when he had suilvly beaten the enemy that opposed him; so he delivered Mithridates, and put those Egyptians, who had been too hard for him, to flight. He gained their camp, and continued in the pursuit of them. He also recalled Mithridates, who had been worsted, and was retired a great way, whereof those soldiers eight hundred fell, but of pater's fifty. So Mithridates sent an account of the battle to Caesar, that he was the author of this victory, and of his preservation, insomuch that Caesar com- mend Antipater then, and made use of him all the rest of his affairs; and, he was also the instigator of the peace; he also added to be wounded in one of his engagements.

However, when Caesar, after some time, kindled that war, and was sailed away for his honours Antipater greatly, and conti- nued Hyrcanus in the high priesthood, and be- d on Antipater the privilege of a citizen of and in the same city. This information is reported by many, that Hyrcanus went with Antipater in this expedition, and himself into Egypt. And Strabo, of Cap- t, beheld not he himself witnessed this, when he says thus: the name of Asinus: "After Mithridates had been in Egypt, and with him Hyrcanus, the high priest and ethnarch, in the month Panemus." Hyrcanus also received honours from the people of Athens, as having been useful to them on many occasions. And when they wrote to him, they sent him this decree, as it here follows: "Under the Fratensia and priesthood of Dionysius, the son of Eusebius, on the fifth day of the latter part of the month Panemus, this de- cree of the Athenians was given to their com- manders, when Agathocles was archon, and Agy- ries, the son of Menander, of Alimius, was the scribe. In the month Munychion, on the eleventh day of the Fratensia, a council of the presidents was held in the theatre. Therefore they, the high priest, and the fellow-presidents with him, put it to the vote of the people. Dionysius, the son of Dionysius, gave the sentence: Since Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, continues to bear good-will to our people in general, and to every one of our citizens in particular, and treats them with all sorts of kindness; and when any of the Athe- nians come to him, either as ambassador, or on any occasion of their own, he receives them in an obliging manner, and sees that they are con- ducted back in safety, of which we have had several former testimonies, it is now also de- creed, at the report of Theodosia, the son of Theodosia, and upon his putting the people in mind of the virtue of this man, and that his pur- pose is to do us all the good that is in his power, to honour him with a crown of gold, the usual reward according to the law, and to erect his

3. Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came to Caesar, and "lamented his father's mis- for, as is said, that it was by Antipater's at Aristobulus was taken off by poison, other was beheaded by Scipio, and de- the would take pity of him, who had led out of that principality which was his. He also accused Hyrcanus as governing the nation by violence, inju- nes to him. Antipater was pre- nade his defence as to the accusations laid against him. He demonstrated nos; and his party were given to innov- were seditious persons. He also put him in what different services he had un- him in his wars, and about what he was a witness of him- self, that Aristobulus was unjustly car-

Hudson's note upon this place, which I sup- place, which I suppose to be: 'Here is some mistake in Josaphia; this is a name appropriate to one that lived in the times of the Maccabees, the son of Alexander Janneus.' However, the decree which he proposes to set down follows a little lower, in the collection of Caesar, decrees, that concerning the Jews, and the times when Caesar was consul the fifth time. See ch. 8.
status in bras in the temple of Demus, and of the Graces; and that this present of a crown be made publick in the theatre, in the Dionysian shows, while the new tragedies are acting; and in the Panathenean, Eleusinian, and Gymnical shows also; and that the commanders shall take care, while he continues in his friendship, and preserves his good-will to us, to return all possible honour and favour to the man for his affection and generosity; that by this treatment it may appear how our people receive the good kindly, and repay them a suitable reward; and he may be induced to proceed in his affection towards us, by the honours we have alre-
dy done him. That ambassadors be also chosen out of all the Athenians, who shall carry this decree to him, and desire him to accept of the honours we do him, and to endeavour always to be doing some good to our city.' And this shall suffice us to have spoken as to the honours that were paid by the Romans and the people of Athens to Hyrcanus.

CHAP. IX.

How Antipater committed the Care of Galilee to Herod, and that of Jerusalem to Phasaelus; as also, how Herod, upon the Jews' enmity at Antipa-
ter, was accused before Hyrcanus.

§ 1. Now when Cæsar had settled the affairs of Syria, and set him to, and as soon as Antipater had conducted Cæsar out of Syria, he returned to Judea. He then immediately raised up the wall, which had been thrown down by Pompey; and dismissing the Romans, he pacified that tumult which had been in the country; and this by both threatening and advising them to be quiet: for that if they would be of Hyrcanus's side, they would live happily, and lead their lives without disturbance, in the enjoyment of their own possessions; but if they were addicted to the hopes of what may come by innovation, and aimed to get wealthily, they should have him a se-
vere master, instead of a gentle governor; and Hyrcanus a tyrant, instead of a king; and the Romans, together with Cæsar, their bitter ene-

emies, instead of rulers; for that they would never bear him to be set aside, whom they had appointed to govern.' And when Antipater had said this to them, he himself settled the affairs of the Galileans in Judea.

§ 2. And seeing that Hyrcanus was of a slow and slothful temper, he made Phasaelus, his eldest son, governor of Jerusalem, and of the principal parts of Judea; and being assured that it, but continuing his Galilean to Herod, his next son, who was then a very young man, for he was but fifteen years of age: but that youth of his was so impediment to him; but as he was a youth of great mind, he presently met with an opportunity of signifying his cou-

rage; for finding that there was one Hæzekias, a captain of a band of robbers, who overran the neighbouring parts of Syria with a great troop of them, he seized him, and slew him, as well as a great number of the other robbers that were with him; for which action he was greatly be-


Sextus Cæsar, who was a relation of the great
Cæsar, and was now president of Syria. Now
Phasaelus, whom Cæsar had left in his absence, in
 emulation at his actions, and envied the fame he
had thereby gotten, and became ambitious not to
be behind him in observing it: so he made great
efforts to be well with Hyrcanus, to acquire the
greatest good-while, while he held the city him-
self, but did neither manage his affairs improperly,
or abuse his authority therein. This conduct procured from the king to Antipater such re-

spect as is due to kings, and such honours as he
might partake of, if he were an absolute lord of
the country. Yet did not this splendour of his,
which frequently happens, in the least diminish
in him that kindness and fidelity which he owed to
Hyrcanus.

3. But now the principal men among the Jews,
when they saw Antipater and his sons to grow so
much in the good-while the nation bare to them,
and in the revenues which they received out of
Judea, and out of Hyrcanus's own wealth, they
became ill disposed to him: for indeed Antipat-
ner had contracted a friendship with the Roman
emperors: and when he had prevailed with Hyr-
canus to send them money, he took it to himself and menaced the present intended, and the
kingdom, as if it were his own, and not Hyrcanus's gift to them. Hyrcanus heard of this his management,
but took no care about it: nay, he rather was very angry, and menaced the present intended, and
said to him, 'How long wilt thou be quiet under such actions as are now done? Or dost thou not see that Antipater and his sons have already become tyrants among them, and that it is only the name of a king which is given thee? But do not thou suffer these things to be hidden from thee; nor do thou think to escape danger, by being so careless of thyself and of thy king-
dom; for Antipater and his sons are not now steerers of thee: do not thou deceivethyself with such a notion; they are evidently absolute lords, for Herod, Antipater's son, hath slain Hæzekias and those that were with him, and hath thereby transgressed our law, which hath forbidden to slay any man, even though he were a wretch; and besides he had been disapproved to suffer death by the sanhedrim; yet hath he been so insolent as to do this, and that without any authority from thee.'

§ 3. In hearing this, he complied with them. The mothers also of those that had been slain by Herod raised this indignation; for those women continued every day in the temple, persuading the king, and the people, that Herod might undergo a trial before the sanhedrim for what he had done. Hyrcanus was so moved by these complaints, that he summoned Herod to come to his trial, for what was charged upon him. Accordingly he came: but his father had persuaded him to come not like a private man, but with a guard, for the security of his person and that when he had settled the affairs of Galilee in the best manner he could for his own advan-
tage, he should come to his trial, but still with a body of men sufficient for his security, on his journey, yet so that he should not come with so great a force as might look like terrifying Hyr-
canus, but still such a one as might not expose

be put to death in Judea but by the approbation of
the Jewish sanhedrim, there being an excellent provision in that country for these things.' And of his children, as it was noted, will see, that twenty-five years, and not fifteen, must for certain have been Josephus's own number for the age of the child Cassius, son of Cæsar, as expressly


It is here worth our while to remark, that some could
fore the sbanahdrim; but his father Antipater, and his brother [Phasaelus,] met him, and hindered him from assaulting Jerusalem. They also persuaded him not only not to do any overt action, but only to affright him with threatening, and to proceed no further against one who had given him the dignity he desired, but they also desired him not only not to be angry that he was summoned, and obliged to come to the trial, but to remember withal, how he was dismissed without condemnation, and how he ought to give the Jews the same, and that he was not to regard only what was disagreeable to him, and be unthankful for his deliverance. So they desired him to consider, that since it is God that turns the scales of war, there is great uncertainty in the issues of battles, and that therefore he ought not to expect the victory, when he should fight with his king, and him that had supported him, and bestowed many benefits upon him, and had done nothing of itself very severe to him; for that his accusation, which was derived from evil counsellors, and not from himself, had rather the stamp of some severity, than any thing really severe in it. Herod was persuaded by these arguments, and believed that it was sufficient for his future hopes to have made a show of this, before the nation, and done no more to it: and in this state were the affairs of Judea at this time.

CHAP. X.

The Honours that were paid the Jews; and the Leagues that were made by the Romans, and other Nations, with them.

§ 1. Now when Caesar was come to Rome, he was ready to sail into Africa to fight against Scipio and Caton, when Herod sent ambassadors to him, and by them said, that he would not fail to ratify that league of friendship and mutual alliance which was between them. And it seems to me to be necessary here to give an account of all the honours that the Romans and their emperors paid to our nation, and of the leagues of mutual assistance they have made with it, that all the rest of mankind may know what regard the kings of Asia and of Europe be to the Jews, and that they have been abundantly satisfied of our courage and fidelity; for whereas many will not believe what hath been written about us by the Persians and Macedonians, because those historians are not everywhere where to be met with, nor do lie in public places, but among us ourselves; and certain other barbarous nations, while there is no contradiction to be made against the decrees of the Romans, for they are laid in the public places of the cities, and are extant still in the capitols, and engraved upon pillars of brass; nay, besides this, Julius Caesar made a pillar of brass for the Jews of Alexandria, and declared publicly that they were citizens of Alexandria. Out of these evidences will I demonstrate what I say; and will now set down the decrees made both by the senate, and by Julius Caesar, which relate to Herod, and to our nation.

2. "Caius Julius Caesar, imperator and high priest, and dictator the second time, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Sidon, sendeth greeting: If you be in health, it is well. I also and the army are well. I have sent you a copy of that decree, registered on the tables, which concerns Herod, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, that it may be laid up among the public records; and I will that it be openly proposed in a table of brass, both in Greek and in Latin: It is as follows: I Julius Caesar, imperator the second time, and high priest, have made this, with the approbation of the senate: Whereas Herod, the son of Alexander the Jew, hath demonstrated..."
tad his fidelity and diligence about our affairs, and this both now and in former times, both in peace and in war, as many of our generals have borne witness before thee, in that siege in the last Alexandrian war* with fifteen hundred soldiers; and when he was sent by me to Mithridates, showed himself superior in valour to all the others, and that for this reason I will believe that Hyrcanus the son of Alexander, and his children, be ethnarchs of the Jews, and have the high priesthood of the Jews for ever, according to the will of the Lord, and let all know that he and his sons be our confederates, and that besides this, every one of them be reckoned among our particular friends. I also ordain, that he and his children retain whatever privileges belong to the office of high priest, or whatsoever favours have been hitherto granted them. And if at any time thereafter there arise any questions about the Jewish customs, I will that he determine the same. And I think it not proper that they should be obliged to find us winter quarters, or that any men they could be required of them. 3. *The decrees of Caius Cæsar, consul containing what hath been granted and determined, are as follows: That Hyrcanus and his children be ethnarchs of the nation of the Jews, and have the profits of the same, and to them be enfeoffed, and that he, as himself the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, defend those that are injured. And that the ambassadors from Judæa be sent to Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest of the Jews, that may discourse with him about a league of friendship and mutual assistance, and that a table of peace containing the promises, be openly proposed in the capitol, and at Sidon, in Tyre, and Askelon, and in the temple, engraved in Roman and Greek letters: that this decree may also be commended to the governors and provincials of several cities, and to the friends of the Jews; and that the ambassadors may have presents made them, and that these decrees be sent every where." 4. "Caius Cæsar, imperator, dictator, consul, hath granted, That out of regard to the honour, and virtue, and kindness of the man, and for the advantage of the senate, and of the people of Rome, Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, both he and his children, be high priests and priests of Jerusalem, and of the Jewish nation, by the same right, and according to the same laws, by which the ancients held the priesthood." 5. "Caius Cæsar, consul the fifth time, hath decreed, That the Jews shall possess Jerusalem, and may encompass that city with walls; and that the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, retain it, in the manner he himself pleases; and that the Jews be allowed to deduct out of their tribute every second year the land is let (in the sabbatical period) a tenth of that tribute, and that the tribute they pay be not let to farm, nor that they pay always the same tribute." 6. "Caius Cæsar, imperator the second time, hath ordained, That all the country of the Jews, excepting Joppa, do pay a tribute yearly for the city of Jerusalem, excepting the seventh; which they shall the sabbatical year, because thereon, they neither receive the fruits of their trees, nor do they sow their land; and that they pay their tribute in Sidon on the second year of that sabbatical period, the fourth part of what was sown: and besides this, they are to pay the same tithes to Hyrcanus and his sons, which they paid to their forefathers. And that no one, neither the emperor, nor lieutenant, nor ambassador, raise auxiliaries within the bounds of Judæa, nor may soldiers exact money of them for winter quarters, or under any other pretence, but that they may be free from all sorts of injuries: and that all hereafter, that be there, and are in possession of, or have bought, they shall retain them all. It is also our pleasure, that the city of Joppa, which the Jews had formerly in friendship with the Romans, shall belong to them, as it formerly did, and that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and his sons, have as tribute, the city of Joppa from those betrayers of land for the country, and for what they export every year to Sidon, twenty thousand, six hundred, and seventy-five modii every year, the seventh years, which belongs to the sabbatical year, excepted, whereas they neither plough nor receive the product of their trees. It is also the pleasure of the senate, that as to the villages which are in the great plain, which Hyrcanus and his forefathers formerly possessed, Hyrcanus and the Jews have them with the same privileges with which they formerly had them also, and that the same original ordinariness still in force, which concerned the Jews, with regard to their high priests; and that they enjoy the same benefits which they had formerly by the concession of the ancient decreses, and let them enjoy the like privileges in Lydda. It is the pleasure also of the senate, that Hyrcanus the ethnarch, and the Jews, retain those pleasant countries, which belonged to the kings of Syria and Phœnicia, the confederates of the Romans, and which they had bestowed on them as their free gifts. It is also granted to Hyrcanus and his sons, and to the ambassadors by them sent to us, that in the fights between single gladiators, and in those with beasts, they shall sit among the senators, and to the other amusements of the public; and that, when they desire an audience, they shall be introduced into the senate by the dictator, or by the general of the horse; and when they have introduced them, their answers shall be returned to them in ten days at the farthest, after the decrees of the senate be made about their affairs." 7. "Caius Cæsar, imperator, dictator the fourth time, and consul the fifth time, declared to be perpetual dictator, made this speech concerning the rights and privileges of Hyrcanus the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews; the preceding imperial decree concerning the same, did in the previous before I have borne witness to Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews, and to the Jews themselves, and this before the senate and the people of Rome, which people had returned their thanks to them, it is good that we now also remember the same, and provide that a requital be made to Hyrcanus, to the nation of the Jews, and to the sons of Hyrcanus, by the senate and people of Rome, and that suitably to what good-will they have shown us, and to the benefits they have bestowed upon us." 8. "Julius Cæsus, praetor (consul) of Rome, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Parians, sendeth greeting. The Jews of Delos, and some other Jews that sojourn there, in the presence of the people of Delos, who are awards, we are firmly assured by the testimony of Strabo, already produced by Josephus, ch. viii. sect. 2. 9. Dr Wiedeus justly supposes, that these Roman impo...
Cæsar, our imperator and consul, in that decree wherein he forbade the Bæcanalians to meet in the city did yet permit these Jews, such as he had praebut already, hurried and religiously, to come to him, and to make their common suppers. Accordingly, when I forbid other Bæcanalians, I permit these Jews to gather themselves together, according to the customs and laws of their forefathers, and to persist therein. It will be therefore good for you, that if you have made my decree against these our friends and confederates, to abrogate the same, by reason of their virtue, and kind disposition towards us.

9. Now after Cæsus was slain, when Marcus Antonius, and Publius Dolabella, were consuls, they both assembled the senate, and introduced Iulianus' ambassadors into it, and discussed what they desired, and made a league of friendship with them. The senate also decreed to run them all they desired. I add the decree itself, that those who read the present work may see ready by them a demonstration of the truth what we say: the decree was this:

10. "The decree of the senate, concerning the treasury, from the public tables belonging to the questores, when Quintus Rutilus and Caius Metellus were questores, and taken out of the one public table, and the other called the after the ides of April, in the temple of Concord. There were present at the writing of this decree, Lucius Calpurnius Piso of the Menenian, Marcus Valerius of the Sabæsan tribe, Caius Qatus of the Tarentine tribe, Caius Caninius Rubellus of the Tarentine tribe, Publius Tidestus, Lucius Aquilus, the son of the Sergian tribe, Flavius, the son of the Sergian tribe, the son of Publius of the Papyrian tribe, Caius Aciicus, the son of Marcus, of the Metriam, Lucius Erucius, the son of Lucius, of the Sergian tribe, Quintus Scaurus, the son of Marcus, of the Pollian tribe, and Publius Dolabella, and Marcus Annius, the consuls, made this reference to the senate, that as to those things which, by the death of the senate, Cæsus Cæsar had adjudged to the Jews, and yet had not hitherto that been brought into the treasury, it is our will, it is also the desire of Publius Dolabella, and us Antonius, our consuls, to have these deposited into the public tables, and brought to the senators, that they may take care to this degree of this done before the fifth of the ides of February, in the temple of Concord. Now the ambassador from Hyrcanus the high priest were these, and the ambassadors of the Samaritans, the Theoderus, Ptolemaeus the son of Ceres, and the son of Oiwaus."

Hyrcanus sent also one of these ambassadors, Dolabella, who was then the prefect of the city and desired him to dismiss the Jews from their services, and to preserve to them the services of their forefathers, and to permit them according to the laws. And when Dolabella sent Hyrcanus' letter, without any further permission, he sent an epistle to all the in us, the metropolis of Asia, about the city of which epi all serves, and particularly to the city of the Jews, which is the law of Asia, about the area of which epi all serves. When Artemon was prytaneus on the first month Leneon, Dolabella imperator, met, and magistrates, and people of the people's was only prytaneus Alexander, the emperor of Hyrcanus, the ambassador of Hyrcanus, the exarch the high priest and etharch of Apollonius. He appeared before me, to show that his city of the temple, they are not to bear arms, or to the Sabbath-days, nor they procure these sort of food which they have on the Sabbath, therefore they grant them a freedom from going into the army, as the former prefects have done, and permit them to use the customs of their forefathers, in assembling together for the religious rites, and in other matters, as they require it, and for collective oblations necessary for sacrifices; and my will is, that you write this to the several cities under your jurisdiction.”

13. And these were the conditions that Dolabella made to our nation when Hyrcanus sent an embassy to him. But Lucius the consul's decree ran thus: "I have at my tribunal set these Jews, who are citizens of Rome, and follow the Jewish religious rites, and yet live at Ephesus, free from going into the army, on account of the superstition they are under. This was done before the twelfth of the calends of October, when Lucius Lentulus, and Caius Marcellus, were consuls, in the presence of Titus Appius Balbus, the son of Titus, and lieutenant of the Iulian tribe; of Titus Tongus, the son of Titus, of the Crastumine tribe; of Quintus Ruscus, the son of Quintus, of Titus Pompeius Longinus, the son of Titus; of Caius Servilus, the son of Caius, of the Tarventine tribe; of Braccius the sacred tribune; of Publius Lucius Gallus, the son of Publius, of the Veturian tribe; of Caius Servilus, the son of Caius, of the Sabæsan tribe; of Titus Attius Bulbus, the son of Titus, the vice-pretor, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting: Lucius Lentulus the consul freed the Jews that are in the province of Ephesus, at my command; therefore, and when I understood the same petition sometime afterward to Pharnaces the emperor, and to Lucius Antonius the vice- pretor, I obtained that privilege of the Jews not to be taken away, and my will is, that you take care that no one give them any disturbance.”

14. The decree of the Delians. "The answer of the praetors, when Ptolemaeus was archon, on the twentieth day of the month Thargelion. While Marcus Piso the lieutenant lived in our city, who was also appointed over the choice of the soldiers, he called us, and many other of the citizens, and gave order, that if there be here my Jews, who are Roman citizens, no one is to give them any disturbance about going into the army, because Cornelius Lentulus, the consul, freed the Jews from going into the army, on account of the superstition they are under; you are therefore obliged to submit to the praetor. And the like decree was made by the Sardians about the Tiberina."

15. "Caius Phanias, the son of Caius, imperator and consul, to the magistrates of Cos, sendeth greeting: I would have you know that the Jews that are in the province of Cos, Alexander, and desired they might have those decrees which the senate had made about them; which decrees are here subjoined. My will is, that you have a regard to, and take care of these men, according to the senate's decree, that they may be safely conveyed home through your country.”

16. The declaration of Lucius Lentulus to the consul: "I have dismissed those Jews who are Roman citizens, and who appear to me to have their religious rites, and to observe the laws of the Jews at Ephesus, on account of the superstition they are under. This act was done before the thirteenth of the calends of October.”

17. "Lucius Antonius, the son of Marcus, vice- pretor, and vice-prætor, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Sardians, sendeth greeting: Those Jews, who are our fellow-citizens of Rome, came to me, and demonstrated that they had an assembly of their own, according to the laws of their forefathers, and this from the beginning as all the Jews did, in which they determined their suits and controversies with one another; upon their petition therefore to me, that these might be lawful for them, I gave order that these things he procured, and they be permitted to do accordingly.”
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18. The declaration of Marcus Publius, the son of Marius, the son of Marcus, the son of Caesar, hearing the news, declared, "We had nothing to do with the Romans, and informed him of what Poetithus, the son of Cleopatra, of Alexandria desired, that if he thought good, he would dismiss the property of citizens, and free the people from the seditious measures of the Jews."

19. "In the month Quintilis, when Lucius Lutatius and Caius Marcellus were consul; and the sons of Considius, Tiberius and thae son of Titus, lieutenant of the Horatian tribe, Titus Flavius, of the Crustumine tribe, Quintus Resius, the son of Quintus, Titus Pompeius the son of Titus, Caius, the son of Publius, the son of Caesar, Publius, the son of Caius, a military tribune, of the Tanetinus tribe, Publius Claudia Gallus, the son of Publius, of the Veterian tribe, Caius Tertius, the son of Lutatius, of the Etruscan tribe, Sextus Atilius Sarranus, the son of Sextus, of the Equeiline tribe, Caius Pompeius, the son of Caius, of the Sabattine tribe, Titus Appius, the son of Marcus, the son of Titus, Publius Sorus, the son of Titus, the son of Lutatius, Strabo, the son of Publius, Lucius Pacius Capito, the son of Lucius, of the Colline tribe, Annius Furius Tertius, the son of Annius, and Appius, nephew of Annius, of these it was reported that Lutatius pronounced this decree: I have before the tribunal dismissed those Jews that use Roman citizens, and are accustomed to observe the habits of the Jews at Rome."

20. "The magistrates of the Lacidean to Caius Rublius, the son of Caius, the consul, salute: Having been the ambassador of the Senate of Caesar, high priest, had delivered us an epistle, which, in the words:"...

21. "Publius Servilius, the son of Publius, of the Galban tribe, the proconsul to the magistrates, salute: Friends of the City, the words:"

22. The decree of those of Pergamus. When the month of December, the decree of the pretor was this: This was the opinion of the people of the Jews:

23. The decree of those of Halicarnassus. When Menon, the son of Oristides by descent, and, by adoption, of Eumonoia, was priest, and, in the year of the 64th day of the senatorium, the people of the Jews, under the representation of Marcus Alexander, this was the expression of the people: "We have ever had a great regard to piety towards God, and hospitality, and since we aim to follow the people, the Romans, who are the benefactors of all men, both the posterity of Abraham, by a public espousal of those people to the Jews, preserved in the book of the Maccabees, xii. 16-23, and thence by Josephus, Antiq. B. m. i. 7. ch. ii. sect. 10, Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. i. ch. xi. sect. 6, it was found that at that time the Jews were not considered as the preferable people. It is also well worthy of observation, what Ptolemy, the principal Armenian historian, informs us of, that the people of the Jews were to be accounted in the book of Abraham by Katara; and that thereby was accomplished that prediction which said "many shall proceed from that Gez. av. 6."

We have here a most remarkable and authentic testimony of the citizens of Pergamus, that Abraham was the father of all the Hebrews; that their own ancestors were, and of Lutatius, and of those Jews that had the public acts of their city, they esteem, confirmed the same; which evidence is too strong to be resisted. It is also remarkable, that the Galban tribe, of particular sects, and of sects of sects, and of sects of sects, and of sects of sects, is the perfect evidence of the kindred of the Jews and the Jews, that because they were
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1. The decree of the Sarmatians. This decree made by the senate and people, under the sanction of the praetors: "Whereas those who are our fellow-citizens, and live with the city, have ever had great benefits upon them by the people, and have come into the senate, and desired of the people that upon the restitution of their law and liberty, by the Senate and people of Rome, may assemble together, according to their own legal customs, and that we will not bring suit against them about it; and that a place be given them where they may hold their meetings, chair, and settle affairs, as did their forefathers, their prayers sacrifice to God; now the senate and people decreed to permit them to assemble together in the Forum Romanum, and set to their own laws; and that such a be set apart for them by the praetors, for sitting and inhabiting the same, as they esteem for the city's good; and then take care of the provisions for the city, and to care that such sorts of food as they fit for their eating, may be imported into it."

The decree of the Ephesians. When Mæs was prytaneia, on the first day of the Artemision, this decree was made by the: "Nicanor, the son of Ephorbus, proposed it, upon the representation of the province the Jews which dwell in this city have sold Marcus Julius Pompeia, the son of the prescoom, that they might be allowed to observe their Sabbath, and to act in all according to the customs of their forefathers, without impediment from any body, the habit of the city, but Antipater, when he was at the state to be vested by the Senate, decreed the same, and allowed to do all things according to their custom."

And there are many such decrees of the id imperialators of the Romans, and those from before us, which have been favourable to Hyrcania, and of our nation; there have been more decrees of the city, types of the praetors, to such epistyles as do our rights and privileges; and certain are not ill disposed to what we write, that they are to this purpose, and to specimens which we have inserted; we have produced evident marks that we are, of the friendship we have had Romans, and decreed the same on our gravened upon columns and tables of the capitol, that are still in being, and to this day, we have omitted to set

them all down, as needless and disgraceful; for I cannot suppose any or so perverse as not to believe the friendship we have had with the Romans, while they have had the same dealt by such a great number of their decrees relating to us; nor will they doubt of our fidelity as to the rest of those decrees, since we have showed the same in those we have past. And thus we sufficiently explained that confidence we at those times had with the Romans.

CHAP. XI.

1. How Marcellus succeeded Sextus, when he had been slain by Bassus's treachery; and how, after the Death of Cæsar, Cassius came into Syria, and distressed Judea; as also, how Malichus slew Antipater, and was himself slain by Herod.

§ 1. Now it so fell out, that about this very time the affairs of Syria were in great disorder, and this on the occasion following: Cecilius Bassus, one of Pompey's party, laid a treacherous design against Sextus Cæsars, and slew him, and them took his army, and got the management of public affairs into his own hand; so there arose a great war about Apamia, while Cæsar's generals came against him with an army of horsemen and footmen, chief Antipater also sent succours, and his sons with them, as calling to mind the kindnesses they had received from Cæsar, and on that account thought it best not to require punishment. Nay, and as to take vengeance on the man that had murdered him. And as the war was drawn out into a great length, Marcus came from Rome to take Sextus's government upon him; but Cæsar was slain by Cassius and Brutus in the senate-house, after he had retained the government three years and six months. This fact, however, is related elsewhere.

2. As the war that arose upon the death of Cæsar was now begun, and the principal men were all gone, some one way, and some another, to raise armies, Cassius came from Rome into Syria, in order to receive the [army that lay in the] camp at Apamia; and having raised the siege, he brought over both Bassus and Marcus to his party. He then went over the cities, and got together weapons and soldiers, and laid great taxes upon those cities; and he chiefly oppressed Judea, and exacted of it seven hundred talents; but Antipater, when he was at the state to be vested, decreed great consternation and disorder, divided the collection of that sum, and appointed his two sons to gather it, and so that part of it was to be exacted by Malichus, who was ill disposed to him, and part by others. And because Herod did exact what was required of him from Galilee before others, he was in the greatest favour with Cassius; for he thought it a part of prudence to cultivate a friendship with the Romans, and to gain their good-will at the expense of others; whereas the curators of the other cities, with their citizens, were sold for slaves; and Cassius reduced four cities into slavery, the two most potent of which were Gophna and Emmaus; and, besides these, Lydda and Acco, the one was very so angry at Malichus, that he had killed him, (for he assaulted him,) had not Hyrcania, by the means of Antipater, sent him a hundred talents of his own, and thereby pacified his anger against him.

3. But after Cassius was gone out of Judea, Malichus laid snares for Antipater, as thinking such great light to even the Roman antiquities themselves, that I believe the serious are not a little sorry for such an error against reminiscences; 1 For Marcus, the president of the year of Cæsars, the Roman historians require us to read Marcus in Josephus, and not the other, he was the first that wrote Antipater, and in the history of the war, as the learned generally agree.
that his death would be the preservation of Hyrcanus's government; but his design was not unknown to Antipater, which, when he perceived, he determined to set aside, and get together his army, partly of Arabs, and partly of his own countrymen. However, Malichus, being one of great cunning, denied that he had laid any snare for his defence with an oath, both to himself and his sons; and said, that while Phassaelus had a garrison in Jerusalem, and Herod had the weapons of war in his custody, he had no thought of any such thing. So Antipater, perceiving the distress that Malichus was in, was reconciled to him, and made an agreement with him; this was when Marcus was president of the Senate, who yet perceiving that little Malichus was making a disturbance in Judea, proceeded so far that he had almost killed him, but still, at the intercession of Antipater, he saved him.

4. However, Antipater little thought that by saving Malichus, he had saved his own murderer; for now Cassius and Marcus had got together their army, and intrusted the entire care of it to Herod, and made him general of the forces of Cæsarea, and gave him a fleet of ships, and an army of horsemen and footmen, and promised him that if he was over, they would make him king of Judea, for a war was already begun between Antony and the younger Cæsar, but as Malichus was most afraid of Antipater, he took another way; and by the offer of money, persuaded the butcher of Hyrcanus, with whom they were both at feast, to kill him by poison. This being done, and he being armed and seized with him, settled the affairs of the city. But when Antipater's sons, Herod and Phassaeus, were acquainted with this conspiracy against their father, and had indignation at it, Malichus declared to his gatherer the manner of the murder. And thus died Antipater, a man that had distinguished himself for piety and justice, and love to his country. And whereas one of his sons, Herod, resolved immediately to revenge their father's death, and was coming upon Malichus with an army for that purpose, the elder of his sons, Phassaeus, thought it best rather to get this man into their hands by policy, lest they should appear to begin a civil war in the country; so he accepted of Malichus's defence for himself, and pretended to believe him, till he was not his enemy, nor of the death of Antipater, his father, but erected a fine monument for him. Herod also went to Samaria, and when he found them in great arms, he revived their spirit, and conciliated their dissensions.

5. However, a little after this, Herod, upon the approach of a festival, came with his soldiers into the city; whereasupon Malichus was affrighted, and persuaded Hyrcanus not to permit him to come into the city. Hyrcanus complied; and, for a pretext of excluding him, alleged, that a rout of strangers ought not to be admitted, when the multitude were purifying themselves. But Herod had little regard to the messengers that were sent to him, and entered the city in the night, and affrighted Malichus; yet did he remit nothing of his former dissimulation, but went for Antipater, and bewailed him as a friend of his, with a loud voice: but Herod and his friends sought it proper not openly to contest Hyrcanus's hypocrisy, but to give him tokens of mutual friendship, in order to prevent his suspicion of them.

6. Antipater sent to Cassius, and informed him of the murder of his father; who

knowing that sort of man Malichus was as to his morals, sent him back word, that he should revenge his father's death; and also sent privately to Antipater, a galley to assist him with orders to assist Herod in the execution of a very just design of his. Now when Cassius had taken Laodicea, they all went together to him and carried him garlands and money; and he thought that Malichus might be punished while he was there; but he was somewhat apprehensive of the thing, and designed to make some great show, and have his son was then a hostage at Tyre, he went to that city, and resolved to steal him away privately, and to march thence into Judæa; and as Cassius was in haste to march against Antony, he thought to bring the country to revolt, and to procure the government for himself. But Providence opposed his counsels; and Herod being a shrewd man, and perceiving what his intention was, he sent his brother beforehand a servant, in appearance indeed to get a supper ready, for he had said before, that he would feast them all there, but in reality to the commons of the army, whom he persuaded to go out against Malichus, with their daggers. So they went out and met the mass near the city, upon the seashore, and there stabbed him dead, and his horse ran by, and Galba, who had seen what had happened, that his speech failed him; and when, after some difficulty, he had recovered himself, he asked Herod, what the matter was. Herod, without covering his face, said that all was right, and when he said that it was done by the command of Cassius, he commenced the action; for that Malichus was a very wicked man, and one that could not be confided in, and his was the punishment that was inflicted on Malichus for what he wickedly did to Antipater.

7. But when Cassius was marched out of Syria, dispersed any knowledge: Felix, who was left at Jerusalem with an army, made a sudden attempt against Phassaeus, and the people themselves rose in arms; but Herod went to Feibus the prefect of Damascus, and was desired to run to his brother's assistance, but was hindered by a disturber that seized upon him, till Phassaeus by himself had been too hard for Felix, and had shut him up in the tower, and there, on certain conditions, dismissed him. Phassaeus also complained of Hyrcanus, that although he had restrained them from getting many benefactors of them, yet did he support them and in so doing; for Malichus, his brother made many places to revolt, and kept garrisons in them, and particularly Massada, the strongest of them all. In this Herod was recovered of his disease, and came and took from Felix all the places he had gotten: and, upon certain conditions, dismissed him also.

CHAP. XII.

Herod ejects Antigonus, the Son of Aristobulus, out of Judea, and gains the Friendship of Antony, who was now come into Syria, by sending him much Money: on which Account he would not receive those that would relate his Friends Herod: and what it was that Antony wrote to the Tyrnians in behalf of the Jews.

§ 1. Now Ptolemy, the son of Mannaeus, brought back into Judea Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, cruelly murdered by his brother, and sent, and had, by money, made Fabius to be his friend, and this because he was of kin to him. Marcus also gave him assistance. He had been left by his father to oppress, and which Cassius was a man that seized on Syria, and Jews taken particular notice of on the several occasions in these notes. Accordingly the chief captain consulted in St. Paul that with a great sum he had obtained his freedom, Acco. And to the Jews the purchase of their freedom he offered the like freedom for their family by money, in the same manner justly concludes also.
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kept it under in the way of a tyrant. Marcus also marched into Galilee, which lay in his neighbourhood, and took three of his fortresses, and put his subjects into great consternation, which threatened to break out into open rebellion. But when Herod came, he took all from him; but the Tyrian partisans dismissed in a very civil manner; say: to some of the soldiers he made presents, out of his liberality, till he came to that city. When he had desparched these affairs, and was gone to meet Antigonus, he joined battle with him, and best him, and drove him out of the city without present harm, when he was just come to its borders. But when he was come to Jerusalem, Hyrcanus and the people put garments about his neck, and then he was reconciled with the family of Hyrcanus by having espoused the descendant of his, and for that reason Herod took the greater care of him, as being to marry his daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, and the granddaughter of Hyrcanus, by whom he was the father of three male and two female children. He had also married this other wife, out of a lower family of his own nation, whose name was Doria, by whom he had his eldest son Antipater.

2. Now Antony and Caesar had beaten Cassius, and the other rebels; and therefore, in mind both of the former victory, and of the famous saying of Heraclitus, that it is the shortest way to bring a horse to water, and also of what he said to Herod, to accuse Phasaelus Herod, and that they had given him the appearance of reigning, but that these head men of the nation, who were not such men as they were, should take care to manage the affairs of the Jews and to make defence against his accusers, on which act his adversaries could not so much as obtain ransoms for themselves, or defend their own cause by money; but still, when Antony was sent to Ephesus, Hyrcanus the high priest, and his nation, sent an embassage to him, who carried crown of gold with them, and desired that he, writing to the governors of the provinces, those Jews free who had been carried captive by Cassius, and this without their having anything against him, and to restore them that which, in the days of Cassius, had been from them. Antony thought the Jews of this sort should have been written immediately to, and the order given to the Jew to deliver those persons at the same time, a decree to the Tyrians; the contents of which were to the same purpose.

3. A year after this, he went to Hyrcanus, a priest and etharch of the Jews, sending: If you be in health, it is well; if you be in health, with the army, Lysimachus, of Andromachus, and Josephus, the son of A., and Alexander, the son of Theodorus, the sons of Euphrasius, met me at Ephesus, and have sent an embassage which they had for many years upon Rome: and have in general themselves of the present embassage and thy nation have intrusted to us, and fully declared the good-will thou us. I am therefore satisfied by reason of thy nation, and thy good words, that you are well to us: and I understand that your com- monwealth is constant and religious; so I reckon on your manner, and that it is to you, and to the Roman people, neither from cities nor temples, and did the agreement they had confirmed with the several nations of the world, except a few, but on account of all mankind in that we have taken vengeance on those been the authors of great injustice in the name and wicked words for the sake of which we suppose it was that the sun turned away his light from us," as unwilling to view the horrid crime they were guilty of in the case of Cassius. We have also overcome their spirit, which threaten- ed the gods themselves, which Macedonia received, as it is a climate peculiarly proper for impious and insolent attempts: and we are the gods themselves, which Macedonia received, as it is a climate peculiarly proper for impious and insolent attempts: and we are for the present out of this sort, as it were, walled them round with mountains to the very sea, and where the passage was only through a single gate. This victory we gained, because the gods had condensed these men for their wicked enterprises. Now Brutus, when he had fled as far as Philippi, was shot up by us, and became a partner of the same perdition with Cassius; and now these have received their punishment, we suppose that we may enjoy peace for the time to come, and that Asia may be at rest from war. We, therefore, make that peace which God hath given us common to our confederates also; insomuch that the body of Asia is now recovered out of that discontent which was under it by the means of our victory. I, therefore, in the name of the sword of the nation, shall take care of what may be of service for your advantage. I have also sent epistles in writing to the several cities, that if any persons, whether free or bound, have hateful things under the spear of Cassius, or his subordinate officers, they may be set free. And I will that you kindly make use of the favours which I have granted you. I also wish for the Tyrians to use any violence with you; and for what places of the Jews they now possess, order them to restore them. I have withal accepted of the crown of gold, which Cassius sent me.

4. "Marcus Antonius, imperator, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Tyre, sendeth greeting: The ambassadors of Hyrcanus the high priest and etharch [of the Jews] appeared before me at Ephesus, and told me, that you are in possession of part of their country, which you entered upon under the government of our adversaries. Since, therefore, we have undertaken a war for the obtaining the government, and have taken care to do what was agreeable to piety and justice, and have brought to punishment that had neither any remembrance of the kindness they had received, nor have kept their oaths, I will that you be at peace with those that are our confederates; and that you, whom we have taken by the means of our adversaries shall not be reckoned your own, but be returned to those from whom you took them; for none of them took their provinces or their armies by the gift of the senate, but they seized them by force, and bestowed them by violence upon such as became useful to them in their unjust proceedings. Since, therefore, those men have received the punishment due to them, we desire that our confederates may retain whatsoever it was that they formerly possessed without disturbance, and that you restore all the places which belong to Hyrcanus the etharch of the Jews, which you have had, though it were but one day before Cassius began an unjustifiable war against us, and entered into our wars without doing any force against him, in order to weaken him, that he may not be able to dispose of that which is his own, but if you have any concern about your respective rights, it shall be for you to plead your cause when we come upon the places concerned, for we shall inflict the pains of the sword, and bear all the causes of our confederates."
and wounded more of them, and the rest fled away and went home, and lay still in great consternation, and the people made a change against Herod, Antony was so provoked at it that he slew the prisoners.

3. Now, in the second year, Ptolemaus, the king of Ptolemais, assisted them, and his commander of the Parthians, possessed themselves of Syria. Ptolemy, the son of Mennana, also was now dead, and Lysanias his son took his government, and was surrounded by garrisons here encamped, while they were our confederates, and hath spoiled that nation of the Jews that was in friendship with the Roman people, as in war; and since we have overcome his madness by arms, we now correct by our decrees and judicial determinations what he hath laid waste, that those things may be restored to our confederates. And as for what hath been sold of the Jewish possessions, whether they be bodies or possessiess, let them be released, the bodies into that state of freedom they were originally in, and the possessions to their former owners. I also will, that he who shall not comply with this decree of mine, shall be punished for his disobedience: and if such a one be caught, I will take care that the offender suffereth justice.

6. The same thing did Antony write to the Sidonians, and the Antiochians, and the Arabians. We have produced these decrees, therefore it will be seen how justly it was that we have said, that the Romans had a great concern about our nation.

CHAP. XIII.

How Antony made Herod and Phasaelus Tetrarch after they had been accused to no purpose; and how the Parthians, when they brought Antigonus into Judea, took Hyrcanus and Phasaelus, and put them in prison; and how Antigonus, Herod, and Phasaelus endured.

§ 1. When, after this, Antony came into Syria, Cleopatra met him in Cilicia, and brought him to fall in love with her. And there came now also a hundred and most of the Jews to accuse Herod and those about him, and set the men of the greatest eloquence among them to speak. But Messala contradicted them, on behalf of the young men, and all this in the presence of the people, who were Herod's father-in-law already. When Antony had heard both sides at Daphne, he asked Hyrcanus who they were that governed the nation best? he replied, his council of friends. Antony, the reason of the old hospitable friendship he had made with his father [Antipater] at that time when he was with Gabinius, he made both Herod and Phasaelus tetrarchs, and committed the public affairs of the Jews to them, and wrote letters to that purpose. He also bound fifteen of their adversaries, and was going to kill them, but that Herod obtained their pardon.

2. Yet did not these men continue quiet when they were come back, but a thousand of the Jews sent to Tyre to meet him there, whether the report was that he would come. But Antony was corrupted by the money which Herod and his brother had given him, and so he gave order to the government, that all the Jews were to be ambassadors, who were for making innovations, and to settle the government upon Herod; but Herod went out hastily to them, and Hyrcanus was not there, but they asked him before the city, and he charged them to go their ways, because great mischief would befall them if they went on with their accusation. But they did not turn away, whereupon the Romans took upon them their daggers, and slew some.

* We may here take notice, that appeasals alone were of old esteemed a sufficient foundation for amnesty, Hyrcanus being here called father-in-law to Herod, because his
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under great disturbance of mind; and rather inclining to believe the reports he had heard about his brother and the Parthians, than to give heed to what was said on the other side, he determined that when the evening came on, he would make use of it for his flight, and not make any longer delay, as if the dangers from the enemy were not yet certain. He therefore removed with the armed men whom he had with him; and set his wives upon the beasts as also his mother and sister, and her whom he was about to marry, Mariamne. The daughter of Aristobulus, with her mother, the daughter of Hyrcanus, and his youngest brother, and all their servants, and the rest of the multitude that was with him, and without the enemies' privy, pursued his way to Idumæa: nor could any enemy of his, who then saw him in this case, be so hardened, but would have commiserated his fortune, while the women drew along their infant children, and left their own country, and their friends in prison, with tears in their eyes, and sad lamentations, and in expectation of nothing but what was of a melancholy nature.

8. But for Herod himself, he raised his mind above the miserable state he was in, and was of good courage in the midst of his misfortunes; and as he passed along, he heard and saw good cheer, and not to give themselves up to sorrow, because that would hinder them in their flight, which was now the only hope of safety that they had. Accordingly, they tried to comfort one another with patience the calamities they were under, as he exhorted them to do; yet was he once almost going to kill himself, upon the overthrow of a wagon, and the danger he was in of being killed, and this on two accounts, because of his great concern for her, and because he was afraid, lest by this delay, the enemy should overtake him; for he was going to take his sword, and going to kill himself there- with, those that were present restrained him, and being so many in number, were too hard for him: and told him, that he ought not to desert them, and leave them a prey to their enemies, for that it was not the part of a brave man to free himself from the distresses he was in, and to overlook his friends that were in the same distresses also. So he was compelled to let that horrid attempt alone, partly out of shame at what they said to him, and partly out of regard to the great guilt that would not permit him to do what he intended. So he encouraged his mother, and took all the care of her the time would allow, and proceeded on the way he proposed to go with his utmost haste, and that was to the fortress of Masada. And as he had many skirmishes with such of the Parthians as attacked him, and pursued him, he was conqueror in them all.

9. Nor indeed was he freed from the Jews all along as he was in his flight; for by the time he had gotten sixty furlongs out of the city, and was upon the road, they fell upon him, and fought hand to hand with him, whom he also put to flight, and overcame, not like one that was in distress and in necessity, but like one that was excellently prepared for war, and had what he wanted in great plenty. And in this very place where he overcame the Jews it was that he some time afterward built a most excellent palace and a city round about it, and called it Herodium. And when he was come to Idumesa, at a place called Thessa, his brother Joseph met him, and then he held a council to take advice about all his affairs, and what was fit to be done in his circumstances, since he had such vast multitude that followed him, besides his mercenary soldiers, and the place Masada, whither he proposed to fly, was too small to contain so great a multitude; so he sent away the greater part of his army, above nine thousand, and bade them go some one way, and some another, and to save
ANTIOCHITIES OF THE JEWS.

themselves iudæas, and gave them what would buy them provisions on their journey; but he took with him those that were the least encumbered, and were most intimate with him, and carried his eldest son, and put there his wives, and his followers, being eight hundred in number, there being in the place a sufficient quantity of corn and water, and other necessaries, and went directly for Petra, in Arabia. But when it was day, the Parthians plundered all Jerusalem, and the palace, and abstained from nothing but Hyrcanus's money, which was three hundred tetrarchees. A vast deal of Aretas's monopoly escaped, and principally all that the man had been so provident as to send into Idumea beforehand: nor indeed did what was in the city suffice the Parthians, but they went out into the country, and plundered it, and demolished the city of Marissa.

10. And thus was Antigonus brought back into Judea by the king of the Parthians, and received Hyrcanus and Phasaelus for his prisoners; but he was greatly cast down because the women had escaped, whom he intended to have given the enemy, having promised they should have them, with the money, for their reward; but being afraid that Hyrcanus, who was under the guard of the Parthians, might have his kingdom restored to him by the multitude, he cut off his ears, and thereby took care that the high priesthood should never come to him any more, because he was maimed, while the law required that one should belong to none but such as had all their members entire. But now one cannot but here admire the fortitude of Phasaelus, who, perceiving that he was to be put to death, did not desire to live at all; but to die thus by the means of his enemy, this he thought a most pitiable and dishonourable thing, and therefore, since he had not his hands at liberty, for the bonds he was in prevented him from killing himself, he dashed his head against a great stone, and thereby took away his own life, which he thought to be the best thing he could do in such a distress as he was in; and thereby put out of the power of the enemy to bring him to any death he pleased. It is also reported, that when he had made a great wound in his head, Antigonus sent physicians to ease him, but not to/engine not to inflame the poison into the wound, killed him. However, Phasaelus hearing, before he was quite dead, by a certain woman, that his brother, Herod, had escaped the Parthians, he put an end to his death cheerfully, since he now left behind him one who would revenge his death, and who was able to inflict punishment on his enemies.

CHAP. XIV.

How Herod got away from the King of Arabia, and made Haste to go into Egypt, and thence went away in Haste also to Rome; and how, by promising a great deal of Money to Antony, he obtained the Senate and of Caesar to be made King of the Jews.

§ 1. As for Herod, the great miseries he was in did not discourage him, but made him sharper in discovering surprising undertakings; for he went to Malchus, king of Arabia, whom he had formerly been very kind to, in order to receive somewhat by way of requital, now he was in more than ordinary want of it, and desired he would lend him some money, either by way of loan, or as his free gift, on account of the many benefits he had received from him; for not knowing what was become of his brother, he was in haste to redeem him out of the hands of his enemies, as willing to give three hundred talents for the price of his redemption. He also took with him the son of Phasaelus, who was a child of but seven years of age, for this very reason, that he might not be obliged to repay him what he owed him; and this he was further induced to do, because he had learned, that they might cheat him of what sums they had received from his father Antipater, and which he had committed to their fidelity. He made the Parthians did not trouble to come to him, for he desired only to discourse with them about certain affairs that were to him of the greatest importance: he sent them a MESSENGER, and informed them of the matter of his return, and of the persons he had brought with him; and when they agreed that he should come to them, he went over to them, in the same manner as the former, and of the same success; for he was given a very great way off, and made haste into the road to Pelusium; and when the stationary ships that lay there hindered him from sailing to Alexandria, he went to their captains, by whose assistance, and that of the means of convoy, and of that of the ships, he was conducted into the city of Alexandria, and was detained there by Cleopatra; yet was he not able to prevail with her to stay there, because he was making haste to Rome, even though the weather was stormy, and he was informed that the affairs of Italy were in a very unsettled condition, and that of Rome; and how Hyrcanus was detained captive by them, and how they made Antigonus king, who had promised them a sum of money, no less than a thousand talents, with five hundred women, who were to be of the principal families of the Jews, and that being paid off the women by night, and that by some great many of them, he had escaped the hands of his enemies; as also, that his own relations were in danger of being besieged and taken, and that he had sailed through a storm, and consumed all these terrible dangers, in order to come as soon as possible to him, who was his hope and only succour at this time.

4. This account made Antony commiserate the change that had happened in Herod's condition; and reasoning with himself that this was a common case among those that are placed in such great dignities, and that they are liable to the mutations that come from fortune, he was time when he began his second reign, without a rival, upon the overthrow of the son of Antigonus, daughter of Antigonus, which was derived from this and the next chapter in Josephus, see the note on sect. 5, ch. iv. sect. 10.
camp very near to Jerusalem, and stripped Antigonus of a great deal of money, and then retired himself with the greater part of the army; but, that the wickedness he had been guilty of might not be found out, he left Silo there, with a certain part of his soldiers. 11. In which time Antigonus cultivated an acquaintance, that he might cause him no disturbance, and was still in hopes that the Parthians would come again and defend him.

CHAP. XV.

How Herod sailed out of Italy to Judea, and fought with Antigonus; and what other things happened in Judea about that Time.

§ 1. By this time Herod had sailed out of Italy to Ptolemais, and had gotten together no small army, both of strangers and of his own countrymen, and marched through Galilee against Antigonus. Silo also, and Ventidius, came and assisted him, being persuaded by Delius, who was sent by Antony to assist in bringing back Herod. Now, for Ventidius, he was employed in composing the disturbances that had been made by the Parthians in the cities by the Parthians, and Antony informed them further, that it was for their advantage in the Parthian war that Herod should be king. This seemed good to all the senators and to some small exiles, who desired the Parthians to go over to Antony's side, and to march to those that were at Massada, for he was obliged to endeavour to save those that were in that fortress, now they were besieged, because they were his relations, Joseph was a hindrance to him, for it was necessary for him to take that place first, it being a city at variance with him, that no strong hold might be left in his enemies' hands behind, who, when peace should go to Jerusalem: and when Silo made this a pretence for rising up from Jerusalem, and was thereupon pursued by the Jews, Herod sent forces against them and fell upon them that day with the body of men, Joseph and both put the Jews to flight and saved Silo, when he was very poorly able to defend himself; but when Herod had taken Joppa, he made haste to set free those of his family that were in Massada. Now of the people of the country, some joined him because of the friendship they had had with his father, and some because of the splendid appearance he made, and others because of the benefits they had received from both of them, but the greatest number came to him in hopes of getting somewhat from him afterward, if he were once king. All these had been gathered in Massada to consult the second time, and Caius Asinius Pollio [the first time.]

9. All this while Antigonus besieged those that were in the city, and those who had plenty of all kinds of necessaries, but were only in want of water; so much as that on this occasion Joseph, Herod's brother, was contriving to run away from it, with two hundred of his dependents, to the Armenians; for he heard that Malchus repeated of the offences he had been guilty of with regard to Herod: but God, by sending rain in the night-time, prevented his going away, for their cisterns were thereby filled, and he was under no necessity of running away on that account; but they were now of good courage, and the more so, because the sending that plenty of water which they had seen in want of, seemed a mark of Divine Providence; so they made a sally, and fought hand to hand with Antigonus's soldiers, with some openely, with some privately, and destroyed a great number of them. At the same time, Ventidius, the general of the Romans, was sent out of Syria, to drive the Parthians out of it, and marched forward therewith, and was desired to succour Joseph, but in reality the whole affair was no more than a stratagem, in order to get money of Antigonus; so they pitched their
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mean, i.e. a half Jew," whereas they ought to have been in one of the royal family, as their custom was; for, that in case they at present bare an ill-will to him, and had resolved to deprive him of the kingdom, as having received it from the house of David, there were many others of his family that might by their law take it, and these such as bad noway offended the Romans, and being of their sacerdotal family, it would be an ungracious thing to put them by. Now, when they said thus one to another, and fell to reproaching one another on both sides, Antigonus permitted his own men that were upon the wall to let off their shot, and ran out, who using their bows, and showing great alacrity against their enemies, easily drove them away from the towers.

3. And now it was that Silo discovered that he had taken bribes: for he set a good number of his soldiers to complain aloud of the want of provisions they were in, and to require money to buy them food, and that it was fit to let them go into places proper for winter-quarters, since the places near the city were a desert, by reason that Antigonus's soldiers had carried all away; so he set the army upon removing, and expected them all to march away: but Herod prevailed with Silo not to depart; and exhorted Silo's captains and soldiers not to desert him, when Caesar and Antony, and the senate, had sent him thither, for his assistance, and the plenty of all things they wanted, and easily procure them a great abundance of what they required; after which entreaty, he immediately went into the country, and lett not the least pretence of provisions for his departure, for he brought an unexpected quantity of provisions, and sent to those friends of his, who inhabited about Samaria, to bring down corn, oil, and wine, and all other provisions, to Jericho, that there might be no want of a supply for the soldiers for the time to come. Antigonus was sensible of this, and sent presently over the country such as might restrain and lure in ambush for those that went out for provisions. So these men obeyed the orders of Antigonus, and got together a great number of men about Jericho, and sat upon the mountains, and watched those that brought the provisions. However, Herod was not idle in the mean time, for he took ten bands of soldiers, of whom five were of the Romans, and five of the Jews, with some mercenaries among them, and with some few horsemen, and came to Jericho; and as the Romans were the horsemen, that five hundred of them had settles themselves on the tops of the hills, with their wives and children, those he took and sent away; but the Romans fell upon the rest of the soldiers, and took, and found the houses full of all sorts of good things: so the king left a' garrison at Jericho, and came back again, and sent the Roman army to take their winter-quarters in the countries that were come over to him, Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria. And so much did Antigonus gain of Silo for the bribes he gave him, that part of the army should be sent to Lydda, in order to please Antony. So the Romans laid their weapons aside, and lived in plenty of all things.

4. But Herod was not pleased with lying still, but got a body of horsemen against Idumea, with two thousand armed footmen, and four hundred horsemen, while he himself came to Samaria, and left his mother and his other relations there; he presently lay out of Massada, and went into Galilee, to take certain places which were held by the garrisons of Antigonus; and he passed on to Sepphoris, as God sent a snow, while Antigonus's garrisons withdrew from other places.

He also went thence, and resolved to destroy those robbers that dwelt in the caves, and did much mischief in the country: so he sent a body of horsemen with a body of men, to carry out the provisions, and take the wing of his army gave way, but he appearing with a body of men, put those to flight who were already conquerors, and recalled his men that were run out of the country. He ran out with a body of men, and pursued them as far as the river Jordan, though they ran away by different roads. So he brought over to him all Galilee, excepting those that dwelt in the caves, and distributed money to every one of his soldiers, giving them a hundred and fifty drachmas apiece, and much more to their captains, and sent them into winter-quarters: at which time Silo came to him, and his commanders with him, because Antigonus would not give them provisions any longer, for he supplied them for more than one month; say, he had had a hundred and forty, and charged them to carry off the provisions that were there, and retire to the mountains, that the Romans might have no provisions to live upon, and so might be under the necessity of the care of that matter to Phorresas, his youngest brother, and ordered him to repair Alexander also. Accordingly, he quickly made the soldiers aboard with great plenty of provisions, and built Alexandria, which had been before desolate.

5. About this time it was that Antony came to Athens, and that Venustius, who was now in Syria, sent for Silo, and commanded him to assist Herod in the first place, to finish the present war, and then to send for them confederates, for the war they were themselves engaged in; but as for Herod, he went in great haste against the robbers that were in the caves, and sent Silo away to Venustius, while he marched against them. These caves were in mountains, that were exceedingly abrupt, and in their middle were no other than precipices, with certain entrances into the caves, and those caves were defended with sharp rocks, and in these did the robbers lie concealed, with all their families about them; but the king caused certain cattle to be driven to the foot of the mountains, so that they might be hung down, bound about with iron chains, by an engine, from the top of the mountain, it being not possible to get up, by reason of the nullity of the mountains, nor to carry them down to them from above. Now those cattle were filled with armed men, who had long hooks in their hands, by which they might poll out such as resisted them, and then thumble them down, and kill them by so doing; but the letting the cattle down proved to be a matter of great danger, because of the vast depth they were to be let down, although they had their provisions in the chests themselves: but when the cattle were let down, and not one of those in the mouths of the caves durst come near them, but lay still and left off, as they were not used to such armour, and by both their hands took hold of the chain, by which the cattle were let down, and went into the mouths of the caves, because they were not accustomed to that, and not daring to come out of the caves; and when they were at any of those mouths, they first killed many of those that were in the mouths with
entreaties. Accordingly he left Joseph there with his army, but charged him to run no hazards, nor to quarrel with Macherus.

8. But for his own part he made haste to Anto- tony, (who was then at the siege of Samosata, a place upon Euphrates,) with his troops, both horsemen and footmen, to be auxiliaries to him; and advising him to Anto- tony, and seeing that a great number of men gathered together, that were very desirous to go to Antony, but durst not venture to go out of fear, because the barbarians fell upon men on the road, and cut many of them off, now they encouraged them, and became their conductor upon the road. Now when they were within two days march of Samosata, the barbarians had laid an ambush there to disturb those that came to Anto- tony; and where the woods made the passes narrow, as they led to the plains, there they laid not a few of their horsemen, who were to lie still until those passengers were gone by into the wide place. Now as soon as their first ranks were gone by, (for Herod brought on the rear,) those that lay in ambush, who were about five hundred, fell upon them on the sudden, and when they had put the foremost to flight, the king came riding hard, with the forces that were about him, and immediately drove them back by a great number of horsemen; which means he dispersed the minds of his own men, and then surrounded them to go on, inso- much that those who ran away before, now re- turned back, and then the barbarians were afraid of all manner of security for his life. By which means all these caves were at length subdued entirely.

6. And when the king had set Ptolemy over these parts of the country as his general, he went to Samaria, with six hundred horsemen, and three thousand armed footmen, as intending to fight Antigonus. But still this command of the army failed, and did not succeed with Ptolemy, but those that had been troublesome to him, before attacked him, and slew him; and when they had done this, they fled among the lakes, and places almost inaccessible, laying waste and plundering whatsoever they could come at in those places. But Herod soon returned, and punished them for what they had done; for some of these rebels he slew, and others of them, who had fled to the strong holds, he besieged, and both slew them, and demolished their strong holds: and when he had thus put an end to their resistance, he said a fine upon the cities of a hun- dred talents.

7. In the mean time Ptolemaus was fallen in a battle, and the Parthians were defeated. When which event was known to Herod, he soon went to He- rod, with two legions and a thousand horsemen, while Antony encouraged him to make haste. But Macherus, at the instigation of Antigonus, without the approbation of Herod, as being cor- rupted by money, went about to take a view of his affairs: but Antigonus suspecting this inten- tion of his coming, did not admit him into the city, but kept him at a distance, with throwing stones at him, and plainly showed what he him- self meant. But when Macherus was sensible that Herod had given him good advice, and that he had made a mistake in his judgment, according to that advice, he retired to the city of Emmaus; and what Jews he met with he slew them, whether they were enemies or friends, out of the rage he was in at what he had done. The king was provoked at this conduct of his, and went to Samaria, and resolved to go to An- tony about these affairs, and to inform him that he had a great misfortune by having his uncle thus troublesome, and that he was able of himself to best Antigonus; but Macherus followed him, and desired that he would not go, that he would join his brother Joseph with him, and let them fight against Antigonus. So he was reconciled to Macherus, upon his earnest
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50. After which defeat, the Galileans revolted from their commanders, and took those of Herod's party, and drowned them in the lake, and a great part of the village; and when the news of this reached Machærus, he fortified the placeGittha [in Samaria].

11. At this time messengers came to Herod, and informed him of what had been done; and when he came to Daphæn, he told me of the ill fortune that had befallen his brother; which yet he expected, from certain visions that appeared to him in his dreams, which pleased God, and believed his brother's death. So he hastened his march; and when he came to Libanæus, he received about eight hundred of the men of that place, having already with him also the Roman legion, and with these he came to Ptolemæis. He also marched thence by night with his army, and proceeded along Galilee. Here it was that the enemy met him, and at that place where he was, he was able to do nothing, but drew off his army into the neighbouring villages; yet as soon as the other legion that Antony sent him was come to his assistance, his troops were in the place, he was afraid, and deserted it in the night. Then did the king march hastily to Jericho, intending to avenge himself on the enemy for his daughter's death, and when he had pitched his tent, held a feast for the principal commanders, and after this collation was over, and he had dismissed his guests, he retired to his own chamber; and here one may see what God had for the king, for the upper part of the house fell down when nobody was in it, and so killed none, inasmuch that all the people believed that Herod was beloved of God, who had kept his house unharmed.

12. But the next day six thousand of the enemy came down from the tops of the mountains to fight the Romans, which greatly terrified them; and the soldiers that were in light armour came near, and pelted the king's guards that were come out with darts and stones, and one of them hit Antony, and also slew a soldier. And as soon as he saw this he sent a commander against Samaria, whose name was Pappus, with some forces, being desirous to show the enemy how potent he was, and that he had more power in his war with them: they set down to oppose Machærus; but Herod, when he had taken five cities, took such as were left in them, being about two thousand, and slew them, and put to death the cities themselves, and then returned to go against Pappus, who was encamped at a village called Issanà; and there ran in to him many out of Jericho and Judea, near to which place he was, and the enemy fell upon him, so stout were they at this time, and joined battle with them, but he beat them in the flight; and in order to be revenged on them for the slaughter of his brother, he pursued them sharply, and killed them as they ran away: and as the houses were full of armed men,* and many of them ran as far as the tops of the houses, he got them under his power, and pulled down the roofs of the houses, and saw the lower rooms full of soldiers that were caught, and lay all on a heap: so they threw stones down upon them as they lay piled one upon another, and thereby killed them: nor was there there a more frightful spectacle in all the war than this, where beyond the walls an immense multitude of dead men lay beaten another. To this action it was which chiefly broke the spirits of the enemy.

* It may be worth our observation here, that those soldiers of Herod could not have gotten upon the tops of these houses which were full of extraction, in order to pull up the upper house, and destroy them beneath, but by lad

who expected now what would come; for there appeared a mighty number of people that came from places far distant, that were now about the place for the depth of winter, which then restrained them, the king's army had presently gone to Jerusalem, as being very courageous at this good success. The king, therefore, immediately, for Antigonus was already looking about how he might fly away, and leave the city.

13. At this time the king gave order that the soldiers should go in for it was late at night, while he went into a chamber to use the bath, for he was very weary; and here it was that he was in the greatest danger, which yet was by God's providence escaped; for as he was naked, and had but one servant that followed him, to be with him while he was bathing in an inner room, certain of the enemy, who were in the hall, threw the door of the hall, were then in the place; and as he was bathing, the first of them came out with his naked sword drawn, and went out at the doors, and after him a second came out; and the third were under such a consternation, that they did no hurt to the king, and thought themselves to have come off very well in suffering no harm to themselves, in their getting out of the bath. However, on the next day, he cut off the head of Pappus, for he was already slain, and sent it to Phœraus, as a punishment of what their brother had suffered by his means, for he was the man that saved him with his own hand.

14. When the rigour of winter was over, Herod removed his army, and came near to Jerusalem, and pitched his camp hard by the city. Now this was the third year since he had been made king at Rome; and as he removed his camp, and came near that part of the wall where it could be most easily assaulted, he pitched that camp before it; and went in, intending to make his remain, in the same manner as did Pompey: so he compassed the place with three bulwarks, and erected towers, and employed a great many hands about the work, and cut out the trees that were round about the city; and when he had appointed proper persons to oversee the works, even while the army lay before the city, he himself came, and took to the marriage, and to take to wife the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus: for he had betrothed her already, as I have before related.

CHAP. XVI.

How Herod, when he had married Mariamme, took Jerusalem, with the Assistance of Scævus, by Force; and how the Government of the Amæans was put an end to.

§ 1. After the wedding was over, came Scævus through Phœnicia, having sent out his army before him over the midland parts. He also, who was their commander, came himself with a great number of horsemen and footmen. The king also came himself from Samaria, and brought with him no small army, besides that which was there before, for they were about thirty thousand; and they all met together at the walls of Jerusalem, and encamped on the north wall of the city, being now an army of eleven legions, armed men on foot, and six thousand horsemen, with other auxiliaries out of Syria. The generals were two, Scævus, sent by Antony to suceed Herod, and Herod on his own account, in order to take the government from Antigonus, who was declared an enemy to Rome, and that he might enter upon the king, according to the decree of the senate.

Here from the outside, which illustrates some parts in the New Testament, by which it appears that men used to esca-
2. Now the Jews that were enclosed within the walls of the city fought against Herod with great acracy and zeal, for the whole nation was gathered together; they also gave orders to all men within the city, that they might not leave any thing to afford assistance either for men or for beasts, and by private robberies, they made the want of necessaries greater. When Herod understood this, he assembled all the armed men in the fifty thousand, and set them against their private robberies, and he sent legions of armed men to bring in provisions, and that from remote places, so that in a little time they had great plenty of provisions. Now the three bulwarks were easily erected, because so many hands were continually at work upon them; for it was summer-time, and there was nothing to hinder their works, neither from the air, nor from the workmen; so they brought their engines to bear, and shook the walls of the city, and tried all manner of ways to get in; yet did not they, in any of their attempts, shift the bulwarks, nor contrived not a few engines to oppose their engines withal. They also sallied out, and burnt not only those engines that were not yet perfect; they burnt the whole city from hand to hand, their attempts were not less bold than those of the Romans, though they were behind them in skill. They also erected new works when the former were ruined, and, making mines under ground, they met each other, and fought; and, making use of brute courage rather than of prudent valour, they persisted in this method of war, and this lasted till a mighty army lay round about them, and while they were distressed by famine, and the want of necessaries, for this happened to be a sabbatic year, yet the more they were pressed, the more they were strengthened; and when twenty chosen men, the next were Sossius's censors, for the first wall was taken in forty days, and the second in fifteen more, when some of the valiant that were about the temple were burnt, which Herod gave out to have been burnt by Antigonus, in order to expose him to the hatred of the Jews. And when the outer court of the temple, and the lower city, were taken, the Jews fled into the inner court of the temple, and into the upper city; but now, fearing lest the Romans should hinder them from offering their daily sacrifice, and desire to worship by him on the same day, and sacrifice the same evening, they desired that they would only permit them to bring in beasts for sacrifices, which Herod granted; hoping they were going to yield; but when he saw they were unwearied in the opposition, he, being opposed, but bitterly opposed him, in order to preserve the kingdom to Antigonus, he made an assault upon the city, and took it by storm; and now all parts were full of those that were slain by the rage of the Romans at the long duration of the siege, and by the zeal of the Jews that were on Herod's side, who were not willing to leave one of their adversaries alive, so that they were murdered continually in the narrow streets, and in the houses by crowds, and as they were flying to the temple for shelter, and there was no pity taken of either infants or the aged, nor did they spare so much the weaker sex; nay, although the king sent about among the tumults, and beguiled them to spare the people, yet nobody restrained their hand from slaughter; but, as if they were a company of madmen, they fell upon persons of all ages without distinction; and then Antigonus, without regard to either his past or present circumstances, came down from the citadel, and fell down at the feet of Sossius, who took no pity of him in the change of his fortune, and sent him beyond measure, and called him Antigonus [i.e. a woman, and not a man]; yet did he not treat him as if he were a woman, by letting him go at liberty, but put him into bonds, and kept him in close custody.

3. And now Herod, having overcome his enemies, his care was to govern those foreigners who had been his assistants, for the crowd of strangers rushed to see the temple, and the sacred things in the temple; but the king, thinking a victory to be a more severe affliction than a defeat, if any of the people should be lawful to see, should be seen by them, used entreaties and threatenings, and even sometimes force itself to restrain them. He also prohibited the ravage that was made in the city, and sometimes asked Sossius, whether the Romans would empty the city both of money and men, and leave him king of a desert! and told him, that he esteemed the dominion over the whole habitable earth as by no means an equivalent satisfaction for such a murder of his citizens; and when he said, that this plunder was justly to be permitted the soldiers for the siege they had endured, he replied, that he would give every one their ward out of his own money, and by this means he redeemed what remained of the city from destruction; and he persuaded what he had promised him, for he gave a noble present to every soldier, and a proportionable present to their commanders, but a most royal present to Sossius himself, till they all went away full of money.

4. This destruction befell the city of Jerusalem when Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus were consuls of Rome, on the hundred eighty and fifth Olympiad, on the second of the Ides of June. For the city was destroyed, as the city of the fast, as if a periodic revolution of calamities had returned, since that which befell the Jews under Pompey, for the Jews were taken away, and the city burned every seven years' time. So when Sossius had dedicated a crown of gold to God, he marched away from Jerusalem, and carried Antigonus with him in bonds to Antony; but Herod as Antigonus should be kept in prison [only] by Antony, and that when he was carried to Rome by him, he might get his cause to be heard by the senate, and might demonstrate, as he was himself of the royal blood, and Herod but a private man, that therefore it belonged to his sons how ever to have the kingdom, on account of the family they were of, in case he had himself offended the Romans by what he had done. Out of

* Note here, that Josephus fully and frequently assures us that there passed above three years between Herod's first obtaining the kingdom at Rome, and his second obtaining it upon the taking of Jerusalem, and the death of Antigonus. This second obtaining is supported by the testimony of this historian. It was not longer than the continuance of the army's going into winter-quarters, which perhaps belonged to two or several winters, chap. xxv. sect. 3, 4; andJosephus says nothing how long the Jews remained in winter-quarters, yet does he give such an account of the long state of the city of Jerusalem, and the many campaigns of Sinaitus, Iblis, and Matho, where to see Herode settled in his new kingdom (but them not to have any such powers for that purpose, and were therefore all corrupted by Antigonus to make the long state (duration) easier, and give in such passionate assertions of the many great actions of Herod during the same interval, as fairly imply that interval, before Herod went to Rome, to have been very considerable. However, what

is wanting in Josephus is fully supplied by Rose's Chora nese, the Armenian historian, in his history of the same interval, B. ii. ch. xviii. where he directly assures us, that Tigranes, then king of Armenia, and the professed enemy of this Parthian war, reigned two years after Herod was made king at Rome; and yet Antony did not hear of his death, in that very the fourteenth year, at Samosata, till he was come thither to besiege it; after which Herod brought him an army, which was 340 miles march, and through a different country, full of difficulty, the march being seven months. In the siege of Samosata, till that city was taken; then Herod and Sossius march back with their large armies the same number of 340 miles, and in a single stretch, they sat down to besiege Jerusalem, they were not able to take it, but by a siege of five months. All which put together fully supplies what is wanting in Josephus, and completes the entire chronology of those times beyond contradiction,
Herod's fear of this it was, that he, by giving Antony a great deal of money, endeavoured to persuade him to have Antigonus slain, which if it were once done, he should be free from that fear. And thus did the government of the Asmonees cease, a hundred twenty and six years since as it is now. This family was a splendid and an illustrious one, both on account of the nobility of their stock, and of the dignity of the high priesthood, as also for the glorious actions their ancestors had performed for our nation: but they were lost but through that Antigonus, one of their generals, who joined the Romans against the Jews, and was afterwards slain by them. This is what history tells us was the end of the Asmonean family.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF EIGHTEEN YEARS—FROM THE DEATH OF ANTIGONUS TO THE FINISHING OF THE TEMPLE BY HEROD.

CHAP. I.
Concerning Pollio and Samaea. Herod slays the principal of Antigonus's friends, and spoileth the City of its Wealth. Antony beheads Antigonus.

§ 1. How Sosius and Herod took Jerusalem by force; and, besides that, how they took Antigonus captive, has been related by us in the foregoing book. We will now proceed in the narration. And since Herod had now the government of all Judea put into his hands, he promoted such of the private men in the city as had been of his party, but never left off avenging and punishing every day those that had chosen to be of the party of his enemies; but Pollio, the Pharsees, and Samaea, a disciple of his, were honoured by him above all the rest; for when Jerusalem was besieged, they advised the citizens to receive Herod, for which advice they were well requited; but this Pollio, at the time when Herod was once upon his trial of life and death, foretold, in a way of reproach, Hyrcanus and the other judges, how this Herod, when they suffered now to escape, would afterward inflict punishment on them all; which had its completion in time, while God fulfilled the words he had spoken.

2. At this time Herod, now he had got Jerusalem under his power, carried off all the royal ornaments, and spoilt the wealthy men of what they had gotten; and when by these means he had heaped together a great quantity of silver and gold, he gave it all to Antony, and his friends that were about him. He also slew forty-five of the principal of Antigonus's party, and set guards at the gates of the city, that nothing might be carried out together with their dead bodies. They also searched the dead, and whatsoever was either of silver or gold, or of other treasure, it was carried to the king nor was there any end of the miseries he brought upon them, and this distress was in part occasioned by the covetousness of the prince regent, who was still in want of more, and in part by the sabbatic year, which was still going on, and forced the country to lie still uncultivated, since we are forbidden to sow the land in that year. Now when Antony had received Antigonus as his captive, he determined to keep him against his triumph; but when he heard that the nation grew sedition, and that, out of their hatred to Herod, they continued to bear good-will to Antigonus, he resolved to behead him at Antioch, for otherwise the Jews could not say he was brought to be quiet. And Strabo of Cappadocia affirms to what I have said, when he thus speaks: "Antony ordered Antigonus the Jew to be brought to Antioch, and there to be beheaded: and this Antony seems to me to have been the very first man who beheaded a king, as supposing he could no other way bend the minds of the Jews, so as to receive Herod, whom he had made king in his stead, for by no torments could they be forced to call him king, so great a fondness they had for their former king; so he thought that this dishonourable death would diminish the value they had for Antigonus's memory, and at the same time withal, to quench the hatred they bare to Herod." Thus far Strabo.

CHAP. II.
How Hyrcanus was set at Liberty by the Parthians, and returned to Herod; and what Alexander did when she heard that Annæus was made High Priest.

§ 1. Now after Herod was in possession of the kingdom, Hyrcanus the high priest, who was then a captive among the Parthians, came to him again, and was set free from his captivity in the manner following: Barbazarnes and Pacorus, the generals of the Parthians, took Hyrcanus, who was first made high priest and afterward king, and Herod's brother Phasaelus, captives, and were carrying them away into Parthia. Phasaelus indeed could not bear the reproach of being in bonds, and thinking that death with glory was better than any life whatsoever, he became his own executor, as I have formerly related.

2. But when Hyrcanus was brought into Parthia, the king Phraates treated him after a very gentle manner, as having already learned of what an illustrious family he was; on which account he set him free from his bonds, and gave him five thousand dollars a year, and he lived in great numbers. These Jews honoured Hyrcanus as their high priest and king; as did all the Jewish nation that dwelt as far as Esæbon. And Herod was very much to his satisfaction. But when he was informed that Herod had received the kingdom, new hopes came upon him, as having been himself still of a kind disposition towards him, and expecting that Herod would bear in mind what favour he had received from him, and when he was upon his trial, and when he was in danger that a capital sentence would be pronounced against him, he delivered him from that danger, and from all punishment. Accordingly, he talked of that matter with the Jews that came often to him with great affection; but they endeavoured to retain him among them, and desired that he would stay with them, putting him in mind of the kind offices and honours they did him, and that those honours they paid him were not at all inferior to what they could pay to either their high priests or their kings; and what was a greater motive to determine him, they said, was this, that he could not have those dignities [in Judea] because of that main in his body, which had been inflicted on him by Antigonus; and that kings do

* The city here called Babylon by Josephus seems to be a place which was built by some of the Seleucids upon the Phœnician coast after the utter desolation of old Babylon was commonly so called; and, I suppose, not far from Seleucia; just as the latter adjoining city Bagdat has been, and is often called by the same old name of Babylus all this very day.
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and use to require men for those kindnesses which they received when they were private persons, a height of fortune making usual small changes in them.

3. Now although they suggested these arguments to him for his own advantage, yet did Hyrcanus not consent to it, and so he wrote to him, and persuaded him to desire of Pharnaces to send the Jews that were there, that they should not judge him the royal authority, which should have jointly with him, for that now was the proper time for him to seek to amends for the favours he had received from him, as having been brought up by him, and saved by him also, as well as Hyrcanus to receive it. And as he wrote thus to Hyrcanus, he did send also Saramallas, his ambassador, to Pharnaces, and many presents with him, and desired him to follow the same way that he would be no hinderance to his gratitude towards his benefactor. But this zeal of Herod did not flow from that principle, but because he had been made master of that country, without having any just claim to it, he was afraid, and placed upon him reasons good enough, of a change in his condition, and so made what haste he could to get Hyrcanus into his power, or indeed to put him quite out of the way: which last thing he composed afterward.

4. Accordingly, when Hyrcanus came, full of assurance by the permission of the king of Parthia, and at the earnest request of his, sisters, and was supplied him with money, Herod received him with all possible respect, and gave him the upper place at public meetings, and set him above all the rest at feasts, and adorned him. He called him his father; and endeavoured by all the ways possible, that he might have no suspicion of any treacherous designs against him. He also did other things, which contribute to the public good, which yet occasioned a sedition in his own family; for being cautious how he made an illustrious person the high priest of God, he sent for an obscure priest out of Babylonia, whose name was Aanelus, and bestowed the high priesthood upon him.

5. However, Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus, and wife of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus the king, who had also brought Alexander [two] children, could not bear this indignity. Now this was one of the greatest calamities, and indeed, the cause Aristobulus was so dear to Mariamme, was married to Herod, and eminent for her beauty also. This Alexandra was much disturbed, and took this indignity offered to her son exceedingly, and her friends whom he had that he might be as well be sent forth for to have the dignity of the high priesthood conferred upon him. Accordingly she wrote to Cleopatra [a musician assisting her in taking care to have her letters carried] to desire her intercession with Antony, in order to gain the high priesthood for her son.

6. But as Antony was slow in granting this request, his friend Dullius came into Iudaea upon some affairs, and when he saw Aristobulus, he stood in admiration at the tallness and handsome of the child, and no less at Mariamme, the king's wife, and was open in his commendations of Alexandra, as the mother of most beautiful children: and when she came to discourse with him, he persuaded her to get pictures drawn of that child, and send them to Antony, for that when he saw them, he would deny her nothing that she should ask. Accordingly Alexandra was elevated with these words of his, and sent the pictures to Antony. Dullius also talked extravagantly and said, that these children seemed not derived from him, but of another. His design in doing so was to entice Antony intoewed pleasures with them, who was ashamed to send for the damsel, as being the wife of Herod, and fearful that Antony, in this species of recreation should have from Cleopatra on that account, but he sent, in the most decent manner he could, for the young man; but added this withal, "Unless he would tell it, he knew it not how to do." When this letter was brought to Herod he did not think it safe for him to send one so handsome as was Aristobulus, in the prime of his life, for he was sixteen years of age, and so noble a family, and particularly not to Antony, the principal man among the Romans, and one that would abuse him in his amours, and besides, one that openly indulged himself in such pleasures, as his power allowed him, without control. He therefore wrote back to him, that "If this boy should only go out of the country, all would be well; he would be in a state of war and uproar, because there were in hopes of a change in the government, and to have another king over them."

7. When Herod had thus excused himself to Antony, he resolved that he would not entirely permit the child of Alexandra to be treated dishonourably; but his wife Mariamme lay vehemently at him to restore the high priesthood to the brother of her son, but she was determined to make this advantage so to do, because, if he once had that dignity, he could not go out of the country. So he called all his friends together, and told them, that "Alexandria particularly contributed to the royal authority, and endeavoured, by the means of Cleopatra, so to bring it about, that he might be deprived of the government, and that Antony's means this time to obstruct the arrangement of public affairs in his stead; and that this procedure of hers was unjust, since she would at the same time deprive her daughter of the dignity she now had, and would bring disturbances upon the kingdom, for which he had taken a great deal of pains, and had gotten it with extraordinary hazards: that yet while he remembered her wicked practices, he would not leave off doing what was right himself, but he would even now give the youth the high priesthood: and that he formerly set up Annaeus, because his child, and take the place of a child."

Now when he had said this, not at random, but as he thought with the best discretion he had, in order to deceive the women, and those that had advised him, and that he might have the advantage of Alexandra, out of the great joy she had at this unexpected promise, and out of fear of the suspicious she lay under, fell a weeping, and made the following apology for herself, and said, that "as to the [high] priesthood, she was very much concerned for the disgrace her son was under, and so did her utmost endeavours to procure it for him, but that as to the kingdom, she had made no attempts, and that if it were offered her [for her son], she would not accept it; and that now she would be satisfied with her son's dignity, while he himself held the civil government, and she had thereby the security that arose, from his peculiar ability in governing, to all the remainder of her family; that she now overcame by his benefit, and thankfully accepted of this honour showed by him to her son, and that she would hereafter be entirely obsequious to the people of the Jews derived from such court politics, especially in and after the days of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin; who gave the most part of the people of it, who brought on the grossest corruption of religion by it; and the punishment of whose family for it was most remarkable, and is now too well known to stand in need of particular citations."

1. Of this wicked Dullius, see the note on The War B. 6 ch. xx. sect. 3.
dost: and she desired him to excuse her, if the nobility of her family and that freedom of acting which she thought that allowed her, had made her act too precipitately and imprudently in this matter. Whereupon, they had spoken thus one to another, they came to an agreement, and all suspicions, so far as appeared, were vanished away.

CHAP. III.

How Herod, upon his making Aristobulus High Priest, came to believe that he should be murdered in a little Time; and what apology he made to Antony about Aristobulus: as also concerning Joseph and Mariamne.

§ 1 So king Herod immediately took the high priesthood of Aristobulus, whom he was making high priest, and before, was not of this country, but one of those Jews that had been carried captive beyond Euphrates; for there were not a few ten thousands of captives that were brought away. And Aristobulus was the son of Ananias, who was one of the high priests, and dwelt about Babylon, whence Ananias came. He was one of the stock of the royal high priests, and had been of old a particular friend of Herod; as when he was first made king, he consulted that dignity upon him, and now put him out of it again, in order to quiet the troubles in his family; though what he did was plainly unlawful, for at no other time of all days was any other person put out of that dignity; and yet it was left as if it were not of his own accord. He was Antiochus Epiphanes who first brake that law, and deprived Jesus, and made his brother Onias high priest in his stead. Aristobulus was the second that did so, and took that dignity from his brother [Hyrcanus: and this Herod was the third, who took that high office away [from Ananias, and gave it to this young man, Aristobulus, in his stead.

2. And now Herod seemed to have healed the divinities in his family; yet was he not without suspicion, as is frequently the case, of people seeking to be reconciled to one another, but thought that, as Alexander had already made attempts tending to innovations, so did he fear that she would go on therein, if she found a fit opportunity for so doing; so he gave a command, that she should dwell in the palace, and meddle with no public affaires: her guards also were so careful, that nothing she did in private life every day was not known. All these things put her out of patience, by little and little, and she began to hate Herod; for as she had the pride of a woman to the utmost degree, she had great indignation at this, that she would not have that regard that was about her, have any desires rather to undergo any thing that could befal her, than to be deprived of her liberty of speech, and, under the notion of an honorary guard, to live in a state of slavery and terror. She therefore sent to Cleopatra, and made a long complaint of the circumstances she was in, and entreated her to do her utmost for her assistance. Cleopatra hercous advised her to take her son, with her, and come away immediately to her in Egypt. This advice pleased her; and she had her contrivance for getting away: she got two coaches made, as if they were made for two large ones about the house; and put herself into one, and her son into the other, and gave orders to such of her servants as knew of her intentions, to carry them away in the night-time. Now their road was to be thence to the seaside, and there was a ship ready to carry them into Egypt. Now Asop, one of her servants, happened to fall upon Sabion, one of her friends, and spake of this matter to him, as thinking he had known of it before.

When Herod had heard of this, he feared, as if he had discovered an enemy of Herod, and been esteemed one of those that laid snares for, and gave the poison to [his father] Antipater, he expected that this discovery should change Herod's hatred into kind- ness, so he told the king of this private stratagem of Alexander; whereupon he suffered her to proceed to the execution of her project, and caught her in this manner: yet it was true in fact, but still he passed over her offence: and though he had a great mind to do it, he durst not inflict any thing that was severe upon her, for he knew that Cleopatra would not bear it; and he should give the king a reason of her hatred to him, but made a show as if it were rather the generosity of his soul, and his great moderation, that made him forgive them. He did this, and caused him, who was now in the prime of his youth and beauty, to be sent out of the way, by one means or other; but he thought he might in probability be better concealed in doing it, if he did not presently, nor immediately after what had lately happened.

3. And now, upon the approach of the feast of tabernacles, which is a festival very much observed among us, and of all the rest of the people were therein very merry; yet did the envy which at this time arose in him, cause him to make haste to do what he was about, and to put out this young Aristobulus, who was now in the seventeenth year of his age, went up to the altar, according to the law, to offer the sacrifices, and this with the ornaments of his high priesthood, and when he performed the sacred office, he seemed to be exceeding comely, and taller than men usually were at that age, and to exhibit in his countenance a great deal of that high family, and a warm zeal and affection towards him appeared among the people, and the memory of the actions of his grandfather Aristobulus was fresh in their minds; and their affections got so far for the mastery of them, that they could not forbear to show their inclinations to him. They at once rejoiced, and were confounded, and mingled with good wishes their joyful spirits with envy, for the good-will of the multitude was made too evident, and they more rashly proclaimed the happiness they had received from his family, than, when before. The king, on this understanding all this, Herod resolved to complete what he had intended against the young man. When therefore the festival was over, and he was fearing at Jericho with Alexander, who entreated him there, he was then very pleasant with the young man, and drew him into a lonely place, and at the same time played with him in a juvenile and ludicrous manner. Now the nature of that place was better than ordinary; so they went out in a body and of a sudden, and in a veil of madness; and as they stood by the fish-ponds, which there were five of which the two large ones about the house, they went to cool themselves [by bathing] because it was in the midst of a hot day. At first they were only spectators of Herod's servants and acquaintance as they were swimming, but after a while, the young man, at the instigation of his friends among the Macedonians; and this tyrant king Herod the Great; although afterward that infamous practice became frequent, till the very destruction of Jerusalem, and when Herod was then, when Josephus knew of, but that barbarous tyrant and persecutor Antiochus Epiphanes; that barbarous tyrant Aristobulus, the first that took royal

- When Josephus says here, that this Ananias, the new high priest, was of the stock of the high priests, and since he had been just telling us that he was a priest of an obscure family, and is well probable that he could so soon say that he was of the stock of the high priests. However, Josephus here makes a re- mark, every one that knows this Ananias, was the stock that was ever unjustly and wickedly turned out of the high priesthood by the civil power; no king or governor bore the name of Ananias, but that Josephus knew of, but that barbarous tyrant and persecutor Antiochus Epiphanes; that barbarous tyrant Aristobulus, the first that took royal authority among the Macedonians; and this tyrant king Herod the Great; although afterward that infamous practice became frequent, till the very destruction of Jerusalem, and when Josephus knew of, but that barbarous tyrant and persecutor Antiochus Epiphanes; that barbarous tyrant Aristobulus, the first that took royal
of Herod, went into the water among them, while such of Herod's acquaintance, as he had appeared to do so, were swimming, and plunged him under water, in the dark of the evening, as if it had been done in sport only, nor did they desist till he was entirely subso- cated. And indeed the city was a great number of, having lived no more in all than eighteen years, and kept the high priesthood one year only: for Herod was ever endearing himself to make Antony hate him. He, therefore, determined to obey his sum mons, for he had reason to be thus: for he had left his uncle, Joseph, procurator for his go vernment, and for the public affairs, and gave him a private charge, that if Antony should kill him, he also should not leave him unscathed; for that he had a tender affection for this his wife, and was afraid of the injury that should be offered him, if, after his death, she, for her beauty, should be engaged to some other man, but his humiliation was nothing but this at Antioch, that Antony had fallen in love with her when he had formerly heard of her beauty; so when Herod had given Joseph this care, and had indeed no sure hopes of see- ing with his life, he went away to Antony.

6. But as Joseph was administering the public affairs of the kingdom, and for that reason was very frequently with Mariamme, both because his business required it, and because of the respects he ought to pay to the queen, he frequently let himself into discourses about Herod's kindnesses, and great affection towards her; and when the women, especially Alexandra, used to turn his discourses into feminine rambles, Joseph was so over desirous to commit the king's ingratiations to his memory, that he proceeded so far as to make him recall the charge he had received, and thence drew his de monstration, that Herod was not able to live without her: and that if he should come to any ill end, he could not separate himself from her, even after he was dead. Thus spoke Josep h. But the women, as was natural, did not take this to be an instance of Herod's strong af fection for her, but only for the sake of him, that they could not escape destruction, nor a tyrannical death, even when he was dead himself: and this saying of Joseph was a foundation for the women's severe suspicions against him afterward.

7. At this time a report went about the city of Jerusalem, among Herod's enemies, that Antony had tortured Herod, and put him to death. This report, as is natural, disturbed those that were about the palace, but chiefly the women: upon which Alexandra endeavoured to persuade Joseph of the dangers that she supposed would arise to the king, by the crossing of the Roman legion, which then lay encamped about the city as a guard to the kingdom, under the command of Julius: for, by this means, if any disturbance should happen among those who now were in power, it should be in greater security, as having the Ro mans favourable to them; and that besides, they hoped to obtain the highest authority, if Antony did but once see Mariamme, by whose means they should recover the kingdom, and want nothing which was reasonable for them to hope for, be cause of their royal extinction.

8. But as they were in the midst of these deliberations, letters were brought from Herod about all his affairs, and proved contrary to the report, and of what they before expected; for when he was come to Antony, he soon recovered his interest with him, by the presents he made him, which he had brought with him from Jer salem, and he soon induced him, upon discovering with him, to leave off his indignation at him, so that Cleopatra's persuasions had less force than the arguments and presents he brought, to regain his friendship, for Antony said, that it was not good to require an account of a king, as to the affairs of his government, for at this rate he could be no king at all, but that those who had given him that authority ought to permit him to live; and to make use of it, that it was best for her not duties to meddle with the acts of the king's government. Herod wrote an account of these
things, and "enlarged upon the other honours which he had received from Antony; how he sat by him at his hearing causes, and took his dinner with him every day, and that he enjoyed those favours from him, notwithstanding the reproaches that Cleopatra so severely laid against him, who having a great desire of his country, and earnestly entreating Antony that the king- dom might be given to her, laboured with her utmost diligence to have him out of the way, but that he still found Antony just to him, and him longer; any apprehensions of hard usage had no power to turn him from him; and that he was soon upon his return, with a firmer additional assurance of his favour to him, in his reigning and managing public affairs; and that there was no longer any hope for Cleopatra's covetous temper, since Antony had given her Colossia instead of what she desired, by which means he had at once paci- fied her, and got clear of the entreaties which she made him to have Juden bestowed upon her." 9. When these letters were brought, the women left off their attempt for flying to the Romans, with what they thought of while Herod was supposed to be dead, yet was not that purpose of theirs a secret; but when the king had conducted Antony on his way against the Parthians, he returned to Judah, and joined herself to Salome, and his mother informed him of Alexandre's intentions. Salome also added somewhat further against Joseph, though it were no more than a calumny, that Joseph had saved her son in the conversation with Mariamne. The reason of her saying so was this, that she for a long time bare her ill-will, for when they had differences with one another, Mariamne took all the great freedoms and reproaches for the rest for the meanness of their birth. But Herod, whose affection to Mariamne was always very warm, was presently disturbed at this, and contrived to get it into her possession; so he sent Lysanius, the son of Polemno, accusing him of his bringing the Parthians upon those countries. She was not moved, but began to grow jealous, and was gone into a great passion of jealousy; but was still restained from doing any rash thing to her by the love he had for her; yet did his vehement affection and jealousy together make him ask Mariamne by herself about this matter of Joseph, but she denied it upon her oath, and said all that an innocent woman could possibly say in her own defence, so that by little and little the king was prevailed upon to drop the suspicion, and left off his anger at her; and being overcome with his passion for his wife, he made an apology to her for having seemed to believe what he had heard and reported of her; and a great many and knowing of her modest behaviour, and professed the extraordinary affection and kindness he had for her, till at last, as is usual be- tween lovers, they both fell into tears, and embrac- ed one another with a more tender affection. But as the king gave more and more assurances of his belief of her fidelity, and endeavoured to draw her to a like confidence in him, Mariamne said, "Yet was not that command thou gavest, that if any harm came to thee from Antony, I, who had been no occasion of it, should perish with thee, a sign of thy love to me." When these words were fallen from her, the king was shocked at them, and presently let her go out of his arms, and cried out, and tore his hair with his own hands, and said, that "now he had an evident demonstration that Joseph had had criminal conversation with his wife, for that he would never have uttered what he had told him alone by himself, unless there had been such a great familiarity and firm confidence between them." And while he was in this passion he had like to have killed his wife, but being still overborne by his love to her, he resolved to visit a country; and being then pressed, though not without a lasting grief, and disqui- etness of mind. However, he gave order to slay Joseph, without permitting him to come into his sight; and joined her, and kept her in custody, as the cause of all this ado.

CHAP. IV.

How Cleopatra, when she had gotten from Antony some parts of Judea and Arabia, came into Judea; and how Herod gave her many Presents, and conducted her on her way back to Egypt.

§ 1. Now at this time the affairs of Syria were in confusion by Cleopatra's constant proceedings to Antony to make an attempt upon every body's dominions; for she persuaded him to take those dominions away from their several princes, and to give them to Antony. She had a mighty influence upon him, by reason of his being enam- oved to her by his affections. She was also by nature very covetous, and stuck at no wicked means. She had already poisoned her brother, because she knew that he was to be king of Egypt, and this when he was but fifteen years old; and she had her sister Arsinoe to bewitch, by the means of Antony, when she was a suppliant at Diana's temple at Ephesus; for if there were but any hopes of getting money, she would violate both temples and sepulchres. Nor was there any holy place in Egypt which she did not attempt to plunder, from which she would not fetch the ornaments and in it; nor any place so profane, but was to suffer the most flagitious treatment possible from her; and she would have given her sister Salome a very covetous humour of this wicked creature; yet did not all this suffice so extravagant a woman, who was a slave to her lusts, but she still in that she had all the power and conversation with the rest of the world. She contrived to get it into her possession; so she sent Lysanius, the son of Polemno, accusing him of his bringing the Parthians upon those countries. She was not moved, but began to grow jealous, and was gone into a great passion of jealousy; but was still restained from doing any rash thing to her by the love he had for her; yet did his vehement affection and jealousy together make him ask Mariamne by herself about this matter of Joseph, but she denied it upon her oath, and said all that an innocent woman could possibly say in her own defence, so that by little and little the king was prevailed upon to drop the suspicion, and left off his anger at her; and being overcome with his passion for his wife, he made an apology to her for having seemed to believe what he had heard and reported of her; and a great many and knowing of her modest behaviour, and professed the extraordinary affection and kindness he had for her, till at last, as is usual be- tween lovers, they both fell into tears, and embrac- ed one another with a more tender affection. But as the king gave more and more assurances of his belief of her fidelity, and endeavoured to draw her to a like confidence in him, Mariamne said, "Yet was not that command thou gavest, that if any harm came to thee from Antony, I, who had been no occasion of it, should perish with thee, a sign of thy love to me." When these words were fallen from her, the king was shocked at them, and presently let her go out of his arms, and cried out, and tore his hair with his own hands, and said, that "now he had an evident demonstration that Joseph had had criminal conversation with his wife, for that he would never have uttered what he had told him alone by himself, unless there had been such a great familiarity and firm confidence between them." And while he was in this passion he had like to have killed his wife, but being still overborne by his love to her, he resolved to visit a country; and being then pressed, though not without a lasting grief, and disqui- etness of mind. However, he gave order to slay Joseph, without permitting him to come into his sight; and joined her, and kept her in custody, as the cause of all this ado.

2. When Cleopatra had obtained this, and had accompanied Antony in his expedition to Armenia, as far as Ephesus, she returned back, and came to Apamia and Damascus, and then passed on to Judea, where Herod met her, and farmed of her parts of Arabia, and those revenues that came to her from the region about Jericho. This country bears that balsam, which is the most precious drug that is there, and grows there alone. The place bears also palm-trees, both many in number, and those excellent in their kind. When she was there, and was very often with Herod, she endeavoured to have criminal conversation with the king; nor did she affect secrecy in the indulgence of such sort of his pleasure in this his passion, but with a passion of love to him, or rather, what is most probable, she laid a treacherous snare for him, by aiming to obtain such adulterous conversation from him by all means, upon the whole to overcome her with love to him. Now Herod had a great while borne no good-will to Cleopatra, as
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Knowing that she was a woman insomuch to all; and that at that time he thought her particularly set at last; he had also thought of preventing her intrigues, by putting her to death, if such were her endeavours. However, he refused to comply with her request, and called a council of his friends to consult with them, "Whether he should not kill her, now he had her in his power? for that he should thereby deliver all those from a multitude of evils to whom she was already become insomuch, and was expected to be still so for the time to come; and that this very thing would be much for the advantage of Antony himself, if she would counsel him to punish the king of Armenia, in case any such reason or necessity should come upon him as that he should stand in need of her fidelity." But when he thought to follow this advice, his friends would not let him; and told him, that "in the first place, it was not right to attempt so great a thing, and run himself thereby into the utmost danger, and they lay hard at him, and urged him to undertake nothing rashly, for that Antony would never bear it, so, not though any one should evidently lay before his eyes that it was for his own advantage; and that he hoped it would be very free and open conversation, by this violent and treacherous method, would probably set his affections more in a flame than before. Nor did it appear that he could do this, or that it was a place of Antony's in his defence, this attempt being against such a woman as was of the highest dignity of any of her sex at that time in the world; and as to any advantage to himself that might arise from it, and as to any such could be supposed in this case, it would appear to deserve condemnation, on account of the insomuch he must take upon him in doing it. When he considered, he made it plain that he so doing would find his government filled with mischief, both great and lasting, both to himself and his posterity, whereas it was still in his power to reject that wickedness she would persuade him to, and come off honourably at the same time." So by thus affrighting Herod, and representing to him the hazard he must, in all probability, run by this undertaking, they restrained him from it. So he treated Cleopatra kindly, and made her presents, and conducted her on her way to Egypt.

3. But Antony secured Armenia, and sent Arabates, one of his sons, in bands, with his children and procurators, to Egypt, and made a present of them, and of all the royal ornaments which he had taken out of that kingdom, to Cleopatra, by word of which, as he had escaped at that time, took the kingdom of Armenia, who yet was ejected by Archelaus and Nero Caesar, when they restored Tigranes, his younger brother, to the kingdom: but this happened a good while afterward.

4. But then, as to the tributes which Herod was to pay Cleopatra for that country which Antony had given her, he acted fairly with her, as deeming it not safe for him to afford any cause for Cleopatra to hate him. As for the king of Arabia, whose tribute Herod had undertaken to pay for some time to the king of this race, he had given it up as much as came to two hundred talents, but he afterward became very niggarly, and slow in his payments, and could hardly be brought to pay them parts of it, so that he did not pay them without some deductions.

CHAP. V.

Herod made War with the King of Arabia, and afterwards they fought some battles, in length conquered him, and was chosen by the Arabs to be Governor of that Nation; as also concerning a great Earthquake.

§ 1. Herod went hold himself ready to go against the king of Arabia, because of his ingratitude to him, and because, after all, he would do nothing that was just to him, although Herod had made the Roman war his occasion, and fought for the battle of Actium, when Caesar and Antony were to fight for the successor of Augustus: for Herod having enjoyed a country that was very fruitful, and that now for a long time, and having received great taxes, and raised great armies therewith, yet could not make himself so completely furnished with all necessaries, and designed them as auxiliaries for Antony; but Antony said, he had no want of his assistance; but he commanded him not to go against the king of Arabia, for he had heard both from him, and from Cleopatra, how peridious he was; for this was what Cleopatra desired, who thought it for her own advantage, that Herod should another as great mischief as possible. Upon this message from Antony, Herod returned back, but kept his army with him, in order to invade Arabia immediately. So when his army of horse-men and footmen was ready, he marched to Diospolis, whither the Aramans came also to meet them, for they were not unapprized of this war that was coming upon them. But as the battle had been fought, the Jews had the victory. But afterward there were gotten together another numerous army of the Aramans, at Cana, to whom Antony had sent, which was armed and formed of this beforehand: so he came marching against them with the greatest part of the forces he had; and when he was come near to Cana, he himself resolved to encamp himself; and his army, that was a bulwark, that he might take a proper season for attacking the enemy, but as he was giving those orders, the multitude of the Jews cried out that he should make no delay, but lead them against the Aramans. They went with great spirit, and believing they were in very good order, and those especially were so that had been in the former battle, and had been conquerors, and had not permitted their enemy so much as to come to a close fight with them. And when they were so tumultuous, and showed such great acuteness, the king resolved to make use of that zeal the multitude then exhibited; and when he had assured them he would not be behindhand with them in courage, he led them on, and stood before them all in his armour, all the regiments following him in their several ranks: when an universal storm of admiration fell upon the Aramans; for when they perceived that the Jews were not to be conquer ed, and, were, full of spirit, the greater part of the forces that had run away, and were aviators. And those who had been quite destroyed, had not Aenetus fallen upon the Jews, and distressed them, for this man was Cleopatra's general over the soldiers she had there, and was at enmity with Herod, and very wistfully looked on to see what the event of the battle would be: he had also resolved, that in case the Arabs did any thing that was brave and successful, he would make no delay, but in case they were beaten, as it really happened, he would attack the Jews with those forces he had of his own, and with those that the country had in the war. Herod had spent their rage upon the Jews' enemies, and were about to enjoy themselves in quietness after the victory, they were easily best on by these that attacked them alread, and in particular received great praise from the places where the horses could not be of service, and which were very stony, and where those that attacked them were better acquainted with the places than themselves. And when Herod had suffered the loss, the Jews raised their spirits after their defeat, and returning back again, slew those that were already put to flight; and indeed all sorts
of slaughter were now frequent, and of those that entered this camp returned to it. When the camp was taken, so the Arabs had unexpectedly a most glorious success, having gained that victory, which of themselves they were not well able to do it, but those a great part of the enemy's army: whence afterwards Herod could only act like a private robber, and make excursions upon many parts of Arabia, and distress them by sudden incursions, while he had encamped among the mountains, and avoided by any means to come to a pitched battle, yet did he greatly harass the enemy by his audacity, and the night in his own person. He also took great care of his own forces, and used all the means he could to restore his affairs to their old state. By this time it was that the fight happened at Actium, between Octavius Caesar and Antony, in the seventh year of the reign of Herod; and therewith was also that there was an earthquake in Judea; but that did not happen at any other time, and which earthquake brought a great destruction upon the cattle in that country. About ten thousand men also perished by the fall of the camp of Antony, which were lodged in the same field, received no damage by this sad accident. When the Egyptians were informed of this, and those that hated the Jews, and pleased themselves with aggravating the reports, taking them of it, they raised their spirits, as if their enemy's country was quite overthrown, and the men were utterly destroyed, and thought there nothing could oppose them. Accordingly, they sent the Jewish ambassadors, who came to them after all this had happened, to make peace with them, and they came with great acclamations against their army; but the Jews did not answer them, and were so cast down by the calamities they were under, that they took no care of their affairs, but gave up themselves to despair; for they had no hope that they should be upon a level with them again in battles, nor obtain any assistance elsewhere, while their affairs at home were in such great distress also. When matters were in this state, they consulted the conditions by their words, and tried to raise their spirits, which were quite sunk; and first he endeavoured to encourage and embolden some of the better sort of them, and then to make them speak to the multitude, which he had before avoided to do, lest he should find them uneasy thereon, because of the misfortunes which had happened; so he made a consolatory speech to the multitude, in the manner following:—

3. "You are not unacquainted, my fellow-soldiers, that we have had not long since many accidents that have put a stop to what we are about; and it is probable that those that are most distinguished above others for their courage, can hardly keep up their spirits in such circumstances; but since we cannot avoid fighting, and no thing that hath happened is of such a nature but it may by ourselves be recovered into a good state, and this by one brave action only well performed, I have proposed myself both to give you some encouragement, and, at the same time, some information, both which parts of my design will tend to this point, that you may still count in your own power for fortune. We shall, in the first place, demonstrate to you, that

this war is a just one on our side, and that on account of the injuries of our adversaries, for if you be once satisfied of this, it will be a reason of alacrity to you, after which I will further demonstrate the injustice of the war that we have on account of small differences; and I shall also demonstrate the great consequence of our undertaking, and that we have the greatest reason to hope for victory. I shall begin with the first, and appeal to yourselves as witnesses to what I shall say. You are not ignorant certainly of the wickedness of the Egyptians, which is to that degree as to appear incredible to all other men, and to include somewhat that shows by worse barbarity and ignorance of God. The chief things wherein they have afforded us, have arisen from covetousness and envy; and they have attacked us in an insidious manner. And on what occasion is there for me to mention many instances of such their procedures? When they were in danger of losing their own government of themselves to the Egyptians, what others were they that freed them from that fear? For it was the friendship I had with Antony, and the kind disposition he was in towards us, that hath had this effect. And we have been so far undone, and the dominions on Cleopatra, I also managed that matter so, that by giving him presents of my own, I might obtain a security to both nations, and a peace while it lasted. And Cleopatra, in token of her love, gave him two hundred talents, and became surety for those two hundred more which were imposed upon the land that was subject to this treaty, and by that means they have deserted the army, although it was not reasonable that Jews should pay tribute to any man living, or allow part of their land to be taxable; but although that was to be, yet ought we not to pay tribute for these Arabians on whom we haveCorsianas promised; nor is it fit that they, who have processed, and that with great integrity and sense of our kindness, that it is by our means that they keep their principalities, should injure us, and deprive us of what is our due, and this while we have been still not their enemies but their friends. And where observation of conditions among the principals, and among friends is absolutely necessary, this is not observed among these men, who think gain to be the best of all things, let it be by any means it discovers, and the means of their livelihood, if they cannot get money by it: is it therefore a question with you, Whether the unjust are to be punished or not? when God himself hath declared his mind that so it ought to be, and hast commanded that we ever should hate injuries and injustices, which is not only just but necessary in wars between several nations; for these Arabians have done what both the Greeks and barbarians own to be an instance of the grossest wickedness, with regard to our ambassadors, whom they have beleaguered, while the Greeks declare that those ambassadors are sacred and inviolable. And for ourselves, we have learned from God this is the most excellent of our doctrines, and the most holy part of our law. For this alone brings God to the knowledge of mankind, and is sufficient to reconcile enemies one to another. What wickedness these can be greater than the slaughter of ambassadors, who come to treat about doing what is right. And when such have been their actions, how is it

† Herod says here, that as ambassadors were sacred when they carried messages to others, so did the Jews of the Jews derive a sacred authority by being disposed from God to treat with the ambassadors of the righteous, and that the taking of Jerusalem a few months before, and never from so long a time being the kingdom at Rome above three years before, as some have very weakly and injudiciously done.
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side they can live securely in common life, or be successful in war? In my opinion this is impossible; but perhaps some will say, that what is holy and what is righteous, is indeed on our side, but the Arabians are either more courageous, or more cunning in them. As far as this is not wrong, it is not fit for us to say so, for with whom is it what is righteous, with them is God himself; now where God is, there is both multitude and courage: and to examine our own circumstances a little, we were conquerors in the first battle; and when we fought again, they were not able to oppose us, but ran away, and continued to bear witness to our courage; but when we had conquered them, then came Atrothenian, and made war against us without declaring it, and prey, is this an instance of their manhood 1 or is it not a second instance of their wickedness and treachery? Why are we, therefore, of less courage, on account of that which ought to inspire us with stronger hopes? and why are we terrified at these, who, when they go upon the level, are continually beaten, and when they seem to be conquerors, they gain it by wickedness? and if we suppose that any one among them desire to beget in us a certain degree of courage, will not he be excited by that very consideration to do his utmost against them? for true valor is not shown by fighting against weak persons, but in fighting against the most hard. But then, if the distresses we are ourselves under, and the miseries that have come by the earthquake, have affrighted any one, let him consider, in the first place, that it is not anything to deceive the Arabians, that what hath befallen us is greater than it really is. Moreover, it is not right that the same thing that emboldens them should discourage us. If they are needed be to recover their alacrity from any advantageous virtue of their own, but from their hope, as to us, that we are quite cast down by our misfortunes; but when we boldly march against them, we shall soon pull down their insolent conceit of themselves, and shall gain this by attacking them, that they will not be so insolent when we come to the battle, for our distresses are not so great, nor is what hath happened an indication of the anger of God against us, as some imagine, for such things are accidental, and adversities that come in such things, if we allow that this was done by the will of God, we must allow that it is now over by his will also, and that he is satisfied with what hath already happened, for God would not have changed his mind thereby, he had not changed his mind so soon. And as for the war we are engaged in, he hath himself demonstrated, that he is willing it should go on, and that he knows it to be a just war; for while some of the people in the country have perished, all you who were in arms have suffered nothing, but are all preserved alive; whereby God makes it plain to us, that if you had universally, with your children and wives, been in the army, it had come to pass, that you had not undergone anything that would have hurt you. Consider these things, and what is more than all the rest, that you have God at all times for your protector; and proseecute these men with a just bravery, who, in point of friendship are unjust, in their battles perfidious, towards ambassadors impious, and always inferior to you in valor.

When the Jews heard this speech they were much raised in their minds, and more disposed to fight than before. So Herod, when he had offered the sacrifices appointed by the law, made haste, and took them, and led them against the Arabians; and in order to that passed over Jordan, and pitched his camp near to them. When he had pitched his camp, he set upon a certain castle that lay in the midst of them, as hoping it would be for his advantage, and would the sooner produce a battle; and that if there were occasion for delay, he should by it have his camp fortified. And as the Arabians had the same intentions upon that place, a contest arose about it: at first they were not but shirking, but were in number which there could more soldiers, and it proved a sort of fight, and some fell on both sides, till those of the Arabians side were beaten, and retreated. This was a blow to the Jews immediately: and when Herod observed that the enemy's army were disposed to any thing rather than to come to an engagement, he ventured to put his pieces, and so to get nearer to their camp, in order to fight them; for when they were forced out of their trenches, and they went out in disorder, and had no alacrity, or hope of victory; yet did they fight hand to hand, because they were more in number than the Jews, and because they were in such a disposition of war that they were not a necessity of opposing boldly; so they came to a terrible battle, but not a few fell on each side. However, at length the Arabians fled; and so great a slaughter was made among them, that they were being routed, that they were not only killed by their enemies, but became the authors of their own deaths also, and were trodden down by the multitude, and the great current of people in disorder, and were destroyed by their own armour; so five thousand men lay dead upon the spot, while the rest of the multitude soon ran within the bulwark [for safety], but had no firm hope of safety, by reason of the want of necessaries, and especially of water. The Jews pursued them; but could not get in with them, but sat round about the bulwark, and watched any assistance that would get in to them, and prevented any there, that had a mind to it, from running away.

5. When the Arabians were in these circumstances, they sent ambassadors to Herod, in the first place to propose terms of accommodation; and after that to offer him, sopressing was their thirst upon them, to undergo whatsoever he pleased, if he would only leave them in distress; but he would admit of no ambassadors, of no price of redemption, nor of any other moderate terms whatever, being very desirous to revenge those unjust actions which they had been guilty of towards his nation. So they were necessitated by other motives, and particularly by their thirst, to come out, and deliver themselves up to him, to be carried away captives; and in five days' time the number of four thousand were taken prisoners, while all the rest resolved to make a sally upon their enemies, and to fight it out with them, choosing rather, if so be, to die therein than to perish gradually and ingloriously. When they had taken this resolution, they came out of their trenches, but could noway sustain the fight, being too much disabled, both in mind and body, and having not room to exert themselves, and thought it an advantage to be killed, and a misery to survive; so on the first onset there fell about seven thousand army, and by a very great earthquake in Judea; such times of affliction make the most of the wicked religions: nor was he disappointed of his hopes here, but immediately gained a most signal victory over the Arabians; while they who last before had great confidence that Jesus Christ was visited upon the earthquake in Judea as to venture to stay the Jewish ambassadors, were now under a strange consideration, and hardly able to fight at all.
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and of them; after which stroke they let all the courage and hope, and stood away at Herod's warlike spirit under his own calamities; so for the future they yielded, and made him ruler of their nation; whereupon he was successful in all he did, and returned home, taking great authority upon him, on account of so bold and glorious an expedition as he had made.

CHAP. VI.

How Herod slew Hyrcanus, and then hasted away to Caesar, and obtained the Kingdom from him also; and how, a little time afterward, he entertained Caesar in a most honorable manner.

§ 1. Herod's other affairs were now very prosperous, and he was not to be easily assaulted on any side. Yet did there come upon him a danger that would hazard his entire dominions, after Antony had been beaten at the battle of Actium by Caesar [Octavian], for at that time both Herod's enemies and friends despised of his affairs, for it was not probable that he would remain without punishment, who had showed so much friendship for Antony; and he knew that his friends, despised, and had no hopes of his escape, but for his enemies, they all outwardly appeared to be troubled at his case, but were privately very glad of it. And so he began to obtain a change for the better. And as for Herod himself, he saw that there was now no one of royal dignity left but Hircanus; and therefore he thought it would be for his advantage not to be an obstacle in his way any longer; for that in case he himself survived, and escaped the danger he was in, he thought it the safest way to put it out of the power of others to make any attempt against him at such junctures of affairs, as was more worthy of the kingdom than himself; and in case he should be slain by Caesar, his envy prompted him to desire to slay him that would otherwise be king after him.

2. While Herod had these things in his mind, there was a certain occasion afforded him; for Hircanus was so mild a temper, both then and at other times, that he desired not to meddle with public affairs, nor to concern himself with innovations, but left all to fortune, and contented himself with the care of his family and his daughters: his first daughter [his daughter] was a lover of strife, and was exceeding desirous of a change of the government, and spake to her father not to bear for ever Herod and his family, but to partake of the government himself, and that the case was the same when he came to be king, but that he even then committed the management of the greatest part of public affairs to Antigonus, and that he had no score years old, and knew that Herod's government was in a secure state. He also came over Euphrasus, and left those who greatly honoured him beyond this, though he were to be entangled under Herod's government, and that it was a most incredible thing that he should enterprize any thing by way of innovation, and not at all agreeable to his temper, but that this was a plot of Herod's contrivance.

3. And this was the fate of Hircanus; and thus did he end his life, after he had endured various calamities, and which would turn of fortune in his life time: for he was made high priest of the Jewish nation in the beginning of his mother Alexander's reign, who held the government nine years; and when, after his mother's death, he took the kingdom himself, and held it three months, he lost it, by the means of his brother Aristobulus. He was then restored by Pompey, and received all substance of it, and he died therefore trusty of the hopes that Herod had given him; none of which came to pass according to his expectations, but he still continued with many misfortunes through life. When he was a kinman of one Josiah, whom he had slain, and a brother of those that were formerly slain at Tyre by Antony; yet could not the most prudent Dositheus move Herod in this affair, for, according to the hope he had from the present king to those he had from him, he gave Herod the letter. So he took it kindly in good part, and bade his son, what he should do which was already upon him, on account of so bold and glorious an expedition as he had made.

What was the heaviest calamity of all, as we have re-
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hated already, he came to an end which was undeserved by him. His character appeared to be that of a man of a mild and moderate disposition, and generally done by others under him. He was averse to much meddling with the public, nor had shrewdness enough to govern a kingdom: and both Antipater and Herod came to the greatness by reason of his mildness, and last he met with such an end from them as was not agreeable either to justice or piety.

3. Now Herod, as soon as he put Hyrcanus out of the way, made haste to Cæsar; and because he could not have any hopes of kindness from him, on account of the friendship he had for Antony, he had a suspicion of Alexander, lest she should take this opportunity to bring the multitude to a revolt, and introduce a sedition into the affairs of the kingdom; so he committed the care of every thing to his brother Pheroras, and placed his mother Cypros, and his sister [Salome.] and the whole family, at Massada, and gave him a charge, that if he should hear any news about him, he should take care of the government: but as to Marianne his wife, because of the misunderstanding between her and his sister, and his mother's sister, which made it impossible for him to live with them, he placed her at Alexandria, with Alexander her mother, and left his treasurer Joseph, and Sohemus of Iturea, to take care of that fortress. These two had by his appointment for the first time been out of the kingdom, and were now left as a guard to the women. They also had it in charge, that if they should hear any mischief had beset them, he should keep them safe, and for that purpose he preserved the kingdom for his sons, and for his brother Pheroras.

6. When he had given them this charge, he marched toward the river Jordan, where he had sailed to that city, he took off his diadem, but remitted nothing else of his usual dignity: and when, upon his meeting him, he desired that he would let him speak to him, there exhibited a much more noble specimen of a great soul, for he did not betake himself to supplications, as men usually do upon such occasions, nor offered him any petition, as if he were an offender, but, after an undaunted manner, gave an account of what he had done; for he spoke thus to Cæsar, that *he had the greatest friendship of all the Orient.* He was well appointed in all that he might attain the government: that he was not indeed in the army with him, because the Arabians had diverted him, but that he had sent him before, and had in like manner, but too lately, in comparison of what he ought to have done for him; for if a man owns himself to be another's friend, and knows him to be a benefactor, he is obliged to hazard every thing, to use every faculty of his soul, every member of his body, and all the wealth he hath, for him, in which I confess I have been too deficient. However, I am conscious to myself, that so far I have done right, that I have not deserted him upon his defeat at Actium; nor upon the evident change of his fortune have I transferred my hopes from him to another, but have preserved myself, though not as a valuable fellow soldier, yet certainly as a faithful counsellor to Antony, when I demonstrated to him that the only way that he had to save himself, and to lose all his authority, was to slay Cleopatra; for when she was once dead, there would be room for him to retain his authority, and rather to bring thee to make acompact with him, than to continue any longer. None of which advices would he attend too, but preferred his own rash resolutions before them, which have happened unprofitably, and, therefore, for the sake of his wife, Mariamne, and her mother, Alexander, very uneasy; for, as they supposed, what was easy to be supposed, that they were not put
INTO THAT FORTRESS [ALEXANDRIA] FOR THE SECURITY OF THEIR PERSONS, BUT AS INTO A GARRISON FOR THEIR IMPRISONMENT, AND THAT THEY HAD NO POWER OVER ANY TANG, EITHER OF OTHERS OR OF THEIR OWN AFFAIRS, AS THEY WERE USED; AND MARIANNE, SUPPOSING THAT THE KING'S LOVE TO HER WAS BUT HYPOCRITICAL, AND RATHER PRETENDED, AS ADVANTAGE TO HIMSELF, THAN REAL, SHE LOOKED UPON IT AS FALSIFICIOUS. SHE ALSO GRIEVES THAT SHE WOULDN'T ALLOW HER ANY HOPES OF SURVIVING HIM, IF HE SHOULD COME TO ANY HARM HIMSELF. SHE ALSO RECOLLECTED WHAT COMMANDS HE HAD FORMERLY GIVEN TO THE INHABITANTS TO PLEASE HER KEEPERS, AND ESPECIALLY SOBENUS, AS WELL APPRIZED HOW ALL WAS IN HIS POWER. AND AT THE FIRST SOBENUS WAS FAITHFUL TO HEROD, AND NEGLECTED NONE OF THE THINGS HE HAD GIVEN HIM IN CHARGE; BUT WHEN THE WOMEN, BY KIND WORDS AND LIBERAL PRESENTS, HAD GAINED HIS AFFECTION OVER TO THEM, HE WAS BY DEGREES OVERTURNED, AND AT LENGTH DISCOVERED TO THEM ALL THE KING'S INJUNCTIONS, AND THIS ON THAT ACCOUNT PRINCIPALLY, THAT HE DID NOT SO MUCH AS HOPE HE WOULD COME BACK WITH THE SAME AUTHORITY HE HAD BEFORE, SO THAT THEY SHOULD BOTH ESCAPE ANY DANGER FROM HIM, AND SUPPOSED THAT HE DID HEREBY MUCH GRATIFY THE WOMEN, WHO WERE LIKELY NOT TO BE OVERLOOKED IN THE SETTLEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT, NEITHER WOULD THEY BE ABLE TO MAKE HIM OF ANY SUBSTANTIAL RECOMPENSE, SINCE THEY MIGHT EITHER RISE AGAINST THEMSELVES, OR BE VERY NEAR TO HIM THAT SHOULD REIGNS. HE HAD A FURTHER GROUND OF HOPE ALSO, THAT THOUGH HEROD MIGHT HAVE ALL THE SUCCESS HE COULD WISH FOR, AND SHOULD RETURN AGAIN, HE COULD NOT CONTRADICT HIS WIFE IN WHAT SHE DESIRED, FOR HE KNEW THAT THE KING'S FONDNESS FOR HIS WIFE WAS INNOCENT. THESE WERE THE MotIVES HEROD DREW SOBENUS TO DISCOVER WHAT INJURIES HAD BEEN GIVEN HIM. SO MARIANNE WAS GREATLY DILEESED TO HEAR THAT THERE WAS NO END OF THE DANGERS SHE WAS UNDER FROM HEROD, AND WAS GREATLY UNEASY AT IT, AND WISHED HE MIGHT OBTAIN NO Favours FROM CAESAR, AND ESTEEMED IT ALMOST AN INSUPPORABLE TASK TO LIVE WITH HIM ANY LONGER; AND THIS SHE AFTERWARD OPENLY DECLARED, WITH- OUT CONCEALING HER RESSENTMENT.

2. AND NOW HEROD Sailed HOME WITH JOY, AT THE UNEXPECTED GOOD SUCCESS HE HAD HAD, AND WAS UNHAPPY TO THINK THAT IT WAS NOT LIKE TO PERSIST, AND TOLD HER, AND HER ONLY, THE GOOD NEWS, AS PREFERING HER BEFORE THE REST, ON ACCOUNT OF HIS FONDNESS FOR HER, AND THE INTIMACY THERE HAD BEEN, AND THE OPENNESS AND HONESTY SHE HAD SHOWN TO HIM, YET SHE HAD SOMEWHAT REGRETTED HER BEHAVIOUR TO HER. SHE WAS ANNOYED AT HER, AND AT TIMES REPROVED HERSELF TO HER; BUT BY ALWAYS CHANGING ONE PASSION FOR ANOTHER, HE WAS STILL IN GREAT UNCERTAINTY. AND THIS HE ENTANGLED BETWEEN HATRED AND LOVE, AND WAS FREQUENTLY DISPOSED TO INFECT PUNISHMENT ON HER FOR HER INSOLENCE TOWARDS HIM; BUT BEING DEEPLY IN LOVE WITH HER IN HIS SOUL, HE WAS FREE TO BE DEEPLY IN LOVE WITH HER. IN SHORT, SHE ASHE WOULD GLADLY HAVE HURT HER, SO AS HE AFRID LEST SHE BE AWARE OF HIS INTENT, HE SHOULD, BY PUTTING HER TO DEATH, BRING A HEAVIER PUNISHMENT UPON HERSELF AT THE SAME TIME.

3. WHEN HEROD'S SISTER AND MOTHER PERCEIVED THAT HE WAS IN THIS TAMPER WITH REGARD TO MARIANNE, THEY THOUGHT THEY HAD NOW AN EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY TO EXERCISE THEIR HATRED AGAINST HER, AND PROVOKED HEROD TO WRIT BY TELLING HIM OF HER INSOLENT BEHAVIOUR TO HER, AS MIGHT AT ONCE EXCITE HIS HATRED AND HIS JEALOUSY. NOW, THOUGH HE WERE WILLINGLY ENOUGH HEARD THEIR WORDS, YE HAD NOT ITEMS COURAGE TO DO ANY THING TO HER, AS E HE BELIEVED THEM, AND HAD BECOME WORSE AND WORSE DISPOSED TO HER, AND THESE ILL PASSIONS WERE MORE AND MORE INFAMOUS ON BOTH SIDES, WHILE SHE DID NOT HIDE HER DISCURSING TO HER KINSMEN, AND THEM TO HER INTO WRATH AGAINST HER. BUT WHEN HE WAS JUST GOING TO PUT THIS MATTER PAST ALL REMEDY, HE HEARD THE NEWS THAT CAESAR WAS THE VICTOR IN THE WAR, AND THAT ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA WERE OTH- DEAD, AND THAT HE HAD CONQUERED EGYPT, WHERE HE MADE HALATE TO MEET CAESAR, AND LEFT THE AFFAIRS OF HIS FAMILY IN THEIR PRESENT STATE. HOWEVER, MARIANNE RECOMMENDED SOBENUS TO HIM, AS HE WAS SETTING OUT ON HIS JOURNEY, AND REQUESTED THAT SHE OWE HIM THANKS FOR THE CARE SHE HAD TAKEN OF HER, AND ASKED OF THE KING FOR HER. HEROD WAS SO PLEASED WITH THIS HONOURABLE EMPLOYMENT THAT HAD BESTOWED UPON HIM ACCORDINGLY. NOW, WHEN HEROD WAS COME INTO EGYPT, HE WAS INTRODUCED TO CAESAR WITH GREAT FAVOURS, AND RECEIVED FROM HIM ANOTHER OF THE GREAT FAVOURS FROM HIM; FOR HE MADE HIM A PRESENT OF THOSE FOUR HUNDRED GALATIANS WHO HAD BEEN CLEOPATRA'S GUARDS, AND RESTORED THE COUNTRY TO HIM AGAIN, WHICH HAD BEEN TAKEN FROM HIM. HE ALSO ADDED TO HIS KINGDOM, GADARA, HIPPUS, AND SARMARIS; AND, ON TOP OF ALL, THE MARITIME CITIES, GAZA, ASHDOCK, PHILIPPI, AND STRATOS.

4. UPON THESE NEW ACQUISITIONS, HE GREW MORE MAGNIFICENT, AND CONDUCTED CAESAR AS FAR AS ANTIOCH; AND ON HIS RETURN, AS MUCH AS HIS PROSPERITY ALLOWED OF, CONSUMED SOME ADDITIONS THAT HAD BEEN MADE HIM, SO MUCH THE GREATER WERE THE DISTRESSES THAT CAME UPON HIM IN HIS OWN FAMILY, AND CLEOPATRA'S AFFECTION FOR HIS WIFE, WHEREIN HE FORMERLY APPEARED TO HAVE BEEN MOST OF ALL FORTUNATE; FOR THE AFFECTION HE HAD FOR MARIANNE WAS NOWEY INFERIOR TO THE AFFECTIONS OF SUCH AS ARE ON THAT ACCOUNT CELEBRATED IN HISTORY, AND THE FAVOURS HIS FAMILY RECEIVED WERE SO TREATING HER, AND THE HONOUR SHE RECEIVED; AND HER DIGNITY, AND THE NOBILITY OF HER BIRTH, IN RETURN FOR HER SALUTATIONS SHE GAVE A GROAN, AND DECLARED EVIDENTLY THAT SHE RATHER GRIEVED THAN REJOICED AT HIS SUCCESS; AND THIS TILL HEROD WAS DISTURBED AT HER, AS AFFORNING HIM NOT ONLY MARKS OF HER SUSPICION, BUT EVIDENT SIGNS OF HER DISAPPROVEMENT. THIS Much TROUBLED HIM, TO SEE THAT THIS SURPRISING HATE OF HER AGAINST HIM WAS NOT CONCEALED, BUT OPEN; AND HE TOOK THIS SO ILL, AND YET IT WAS SO UNABLE TO BEAR IT, ON ACCOUNT OF THE FONDNESS HE HAD FOR HER, THAT HE COULD NOT CONCEIVE LONG IN ANY ONE MIND; BUT SOMETIMES WAS ANGRY AT HER, AND SOMETIMES RECONCILED HIMSELF TO HER; BUT BY ALWAYS CHANGING ONE PASSION FOR ANOTHER, HE WAS STILL IN GREAT UNCERTAINTY. AND THIS HE ENTANGLED BETWEEN HATRED AND LOVE, AND WAS FREQUENTLY DISPOSED TO INFECT PUNISHMENT ON HER FOR HER INSOLENCE TOWARDS HIM, BUT BEING DEEPLY IN LOVE WITH HER IN HIS SOUL, HE WAS FREE TO BE DEEPLY IN LOVE WITH HER. IN SHORT, SHE ASHE WOULD GLADLY HAVE HURT HER, SO AS HE AFRID LEST SHE BE AWARE OF HIS INTENT, HE SHOULD, BY PUTTING HER TO DEATH, BRING A HEAVIER PUNISHMENT UPON HERSELF AT THE SAME TIME.

* WHEREAS MARIANNE IS HERE REPRESENTED AS OPPRESSING HEROD WITH THE WRATH OF HER SISTERS [ALENES], SO AS HER BROTHER [ARABODEUS] WITH HER, STAND IN HIGHEST CONTEMPT OF HER; SHE CAME IN ACCORDANCE, BUT WOULD NOT BE GIVEN BY HIM; AND WHEN HE WAS THE MORE AGitated, SHE WAS THE MORE INHABITED.
BOOK XV.—CHAP. VII.

proached her daughter in the hearing of all the people; and cried out, that "she had been an ill woman and ungrateful to her husband, and that her punishment had in part been due to her insolent behaviour, for that she had not made proper returns to him who had been their common benefactor." And when she had for some time acted after this hypocritical manner, and been so outrageous as to tear her hair, this indecent and dissembling behaviour, as was to be expected, was greatly condemned by the rest of the spectators, as it was principally by that poor woman who was to suffer; for at the first she gave her not a word, nor was discomposed at her peevishness, and only looked at her; yet did she, out of a greatness of soul, discover her concern for her mother's offence, and especially for her exposing herself in a manner so unbecoming her; but as for herself, she went to her death with an unshaken firmness of mind, and without changing the colour of her face, and thereby evidently discovered the nobility of her descent to the spectators, even in the last moments of her life.

6. And thus died Marianna, a woman of an excellent character, both for charity and greatness of soul; but she wanted moderation, and she had too much of contention; for she had all that can be said in the beauty of her body, and her majestic appearance in conversation; and thence arose the greatest part of theCreature's complaints against her. And all this was most faithful to her, to be brought to torture about this potion, as well knowing it was not possible that any thing small or great could be done without her being there, who despised even her utmost agonies, he could say nothing concerning the thing he was tortured about, but so far he knew that Marianna's hatred against him was occasioned by what was said to her. Now, as he was saying this, Herod cried out aloud, and said, that "Schemus, who had been at all other times most faithful to him, and to his government, would not have betrayed what injunctions he had given him, unless he had had a nearer conversation than ordinary with Marianna." So he gave order that Schemus should be seized on and slain immediately; but he allowed his wife to take her trial; and got together those that were most faithful to him, and laid an elaborate accusation against her for this, and also charged Herod, that he had been charged upon her by way of calumny only. However, he kept no temper in what he said. and was in too great a passion for judging well about this matter, to speak of all they had suffered by him, and at last greatly provoked both the king's mother and sister, till they became enemies to her; and even he himself also did the same, on whom alone she depended for her expectations of escaping the last of punishments.

7. But when she was once dead, the king's affections for her were kindled in a more outrageous manner than before, whose old passion for her we have already described; for his love to her was not of a calm nature, nor such as we usually meet with among other husbands, for at its commencement it was not animated by a love, nor was it by their long colabitation, and free conversation together, brought under his power to manage; but at this time his love to Marianna seemed to seize him in such a manner, as looked like divine vengeance upon him for the taking away her life, for he would frequently call for her, and frequently lament for her in a most indescent manner. Moreover, he betook him of every thing he could make use of to divert his mind from thinking of her, and contrived feasts and assemblies for that purpose, but nothing would suffice; he therefore laid aside the administration of public affairs, and was so far conquered by his passion, that he would order his servants to call for Marianna, as if she were still alive, and could still hear them. And when he was in this way, there arose a pestilential disease, that carried off the greatest part of the multitude, and of his best and most esteemed friends, and made all men suspect that this was brought upon them by the anger of God, for the injustice that had been done to Marianna. This circumstance affected the king still more, till at length he forced his mind to see, in the sharpness of his grief, and there, under pretence of going a hunting, bitterly afflicted himself, yet had he not borne have grounds.

After Hyrcania, and not her father Alexander, whom he deemed to be slain, (as Josephus himself informs us, ch. vi. sect. 1,) we must either take Zonare's reading, which is
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his grief there many days before he fell into a most dangerous distemper himself: he had an indig- nation upon him, and a pain in the hinder part of his body, and jointed with madness; and for the remedies that were used, they did him no good at all, but proved contrary to his case, and so at length brought him to despair. All the physicians also that were about him, partly because of the medicines they brought for his recovery could not at all conquer the disease, and partly because his diet could be no other than what his disease involved him to, feared him to eat whatever he had a mind to, and so left the small hopes they had of his recovery in the power of that diet, and committed him to fortune. And thus did his distemper go on while he was at Samaria, now called Sebaste.

3. Now Alexandra abode at this time in Jerusalem, and being informed what condition Herod was in, she endeavoured to get possession of the fortified places that were about the city, which were two, the one belonging to the city itself, the other belonging to the temple; and those that could get them into their hands had the whole nation under their power, for without the command of them it was not possible to offer their sacrifices, and to think of leaving off those sacrifices as being impossible to every Jew; and those that were still more ready to lose their lives than to leave off that divine worship which they have been wont to pay unto God. Alexandra, therefore, sent with those things and the keeping of these strong holds, that it was proper for them to deliver the same to her, and to Herod's sons, lest, upon his death, any other person should seize the government; and that upon his recovery none could keep them more safely for him than those of his own family. These words were not by them all taken in good part; and as Antipater, Lysimachus, and Dotisines, who was also called Antipater, and Lysimachus, and Dotisines, were raising a sedition against him: as an evidence whereof, she alleged the case of the sons of Babas, that they had been by him preserved alive already for the interval of twelve years; which proved to be true. But when Herod thus unexpected heard of it, he was greatly surprised at it, and being exceedingly grieved at his negligence appeared incredible to him. As for the fact relating to these sons of Babas, Herod had formerly taken great pains to bring them to punishment; he knew the most intimate of his friends, Costobarus, and Lysimachus, and Gadias, who was also called Antipater; and as also Dotisines, and that upon the following occasion.

2. Costobarus was an Idumean by birth, and one of principal dignity among them, and one whose ancestors had been priests to the Kozae, whom the Idumeans had [formerly] esteemed as a god; but after Hyrcanus had made a change in their political government, and made them receive the Jewish customs and law, Herod made Costobarus governor of Idumea and Gaza, and gave him his sister Salome to wife; and this was upon his slaughter of [his uncle] Joseph, who had that government before, as we have related already. When Costobarus had gotten to be so

Here is a plain example of a Jewish lady giving a bill of divorce to her husband, though in the days of Josephus it was not so enforced by the Jews, as it is now; and this was likewise a relief to her husband; and this is a true example of the coexistence of good in the Jewish customs. The interpretation of all these things may be found in the former books; which are in their remarks, to have been so eminently religious in the Jewish way, that, except the day following the tenth of Tammuz, in the memory of the Lord, he has not appeared topos all his sins entirely forgiven, he used every day of his divorce or divorce, in order to offer a sacrifice for the sin of his divorce, or of that blood, he had bound guilty of, but did not distinctly remember. See somewhat at it of Agrippa the Great, Antiq. B. xx. ch. 10 sect. 7; and Job 1.
So these men acted with political skill, and, as they thought, for the excellence of the theft, when the city was taken, and Herod had gone, the government into his own hands, and Costobarus was appointed to hinder men from passing out from the city, and in many other ways to assist the king, who might not get out of it, Costobarus being sensible that the sons of Babas were had in regard, and honored in all the districts, and supposing that their preservation might be of great advantage to him in the changes of government afterward, he set them by themselves, and committed all the care of his own district to them. For, when the thing was suspected, he assured Herod upon oath that he really knew nothing of that matter, and so overcame the suspicions that lay upon him; nay, after that, when the king had publicly proposed a reward for the discovery, and had put in practice all sorts of methods, for searching out this matter, he would not confess it, but being persuaded that when he had at first denied it, if the men were found, he should not escape unpunished, he was forced to keep them secret, not only of his good-will to them, but out of necessity of his own preservation. Also, but when the king knew the thing, by his sister's information, he sent men to the places where he had the information they were concealed, and ordered them both to bear the guilt with them, to be slain, insomuch that there were now none at all left of the kindred of Hyrcanus, and the kingdom was entirely in Herod's power. There was therefore for such nobility of such dignity as could put a stop to what he did against the Jewish laws.

CHAP. VIII.

How Ten Men of the Citizens of Jerusalem were Executed on the Account of Foreign Practices which he had Introduced, which was a Transgression of the Laws of their Country, Concerning the building of Sebaste and Casarvetes, and other Edifices of Herod.

§ 1. On this account it was that Herod revolted from the laws of his country, and corrupted their ancient constitution, by the introduction of foreign practices, which constitution yet ought to have been preserved inviolate by which means was preserved the glory of great and powerful cities afterward, while those religious observances which used to lead the multitude to piety, were now neglected for, in the first place, he appointed some one every year, in the month of March, in honour of Caesar, and built a theatre at Jerusalem, as also a very great amphitheatre in the plain. Both of them were indeed costly works, but opposite to the Jewish notions; for we have no such shows delivered down to us as fit to be used or exhibited by us; yet did he celebrate these games every five years, in the most solemn and magnificent manner. He also made proclamation to the neighbouring countries, and called men together out of every nation. The wrestlers also, and the rest of those who strive for the prizes in such games, were invited out of every land, both by the hopes of the rewards there to be bestowed, and by the glory of victory to be there gained. So the principal persons that were the most eminent in these sorts of exercises, were gotten together, for there were very great rewards for victory proposed, not only to those that performed their exercises naked, but also to those that waged as musicians also, and were adorned as such by the sober Jews as heathenish sports, and tending to corrupt the manners of the Jewish nation, and to bring them in love with paganish idolatry and paganish com-
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new customs, and esteemed the violation of the laws of their country as likely to be the origin of very great mischief to them, so that they desisted in an instance of plenty rather to hazard themselves [to be put to death.] than to seem as if they took no notice of Herod, who, upon the change in their government, introduced such customs, and that in a violent manner, which they had never been used to before; as indeed in pretence a king, but in reality one that showed himself an enemy to their whole nation; on which account ten men that were citizens [of Jerusalem] conspired together against him, and swore to one another to undergo any dangers in the attempt, and took daggers with them under their girdles, and went forth for the purpose of inflicting punishment on the country and the city in aaw. He also built another fortress for the whole nation; it was of old called Strato's Tower, but was by him named Cesarea. Moreover, he chose out some select horsemen, and placed them in the great plain, and built [for them] a place in Galilee, called Uba, with Hesebonitis, in Peres. And these were the works in which he particularly busied himself, while he was always inventing somewhat farther for his own security, and encompassing the whole nation with guards, that they might by so great a terror be kept from any kind of rebelion, and that he might by so great a terror be kept from any kind of tumult, which they did continually upon any small commotion; and that if they did make any commotions he might know of it, while some of his people were ready from the famine and the want of bread in the country, and might both be able to know what they were attempting, and to prevent it. And when he went about building the wall of Samaria, he commanded to bring thither many of those that had been assisting to him in his wars, and many of the people in that neighbourhood also, whom he made fellow-citizens with the rest. This was a great work, as it were, of building a temple, and out of a desire to make the city more eminent than it had been before, but principally because he contrived that it might at once be for his own security, and a monument of his magnificence. He also changed its name, and called it Sebaste. Moreover, he parted the adjoining country, which was excellent in its kind, among the inhabitants of Samaria, that it might be in a happy condition, upon their first coming to inhabit it. Besides all which, he encompassed the city with a wall of great strength, which was strong and high, and made its fortifications stronger; nor was the compass of the place made so small as it had been before, but was such as rendered it not inferior in importance to Jerusalem, for it was more than twenty furlongs in circumference. Now, within and about the middle of it he built a sacred place, of a furlong and a half [in circuit]; and adorned it with all sorts of decorations, and therein erected a temple, which was illustrious on account of both its largeness and beauty. And as to the several parts of the city, he adorned them with sculptures of all sorts also; and as to what was necessary to provide for his own security, he made the walls very strong for that purpose, and made it, for the greatest part, a citadel; and as to the elegance of the buildings, it was taken care of also, that he might leave monuments of the fineness of his taste, and of his beneficence, to future ages.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the Fornication that happened in Judea and Syria; and how Herod, after he had married another Wife, rebuilt Cesarea, and other Grecian Cities.

1. Now on this very year, which was the thirteenth year of the reign of Herod, very great calamities came upon the country; whether they were derived from the anger of God; or whether this misery returns again naturally in certain
periods of time; for in the first place there were no fields of corn, and it is thought that reason the ground was barren and did not produce the same quantity of fruits that it used to produce; and after this barrenness of the soil, that change of place, and the beasts of burden, produced distempers in the bodies of men, and a pestilential disease prevailed, one misery following upon the back of another; and the circumstances, that they were destitute both of methods of care and of food, made the pestilential distemper, which began after a violent manner, the more lasting. The destruction of men also after such a manner, as was to the sight of all their courage, because they had no way to provide remedies sufficient for the distresses they were in. When therefore the fruits of that year were spoiled, and whatsoever they had laid up beforehand was spent, there was no foundation of hope for relief remaining, but the misery, contrary to what they expected, still increased upon them; and this not only in that year, while they had nothing for themselves left at the end of it, but what seed they had sown perished also, by reason of the ground not yielding its fruits on the usual and usual times. The quantity of the wars in them made them also, out of necessity, to eat many things that did not use to be eaten; nor was the king himself free from this distress any more than the meanest, nor did he think it permitted to use to have from the fruits of the ground, and having already expended what money he had, in his liberality to those whose cities he had built, nor did he suffer that any of his neighbours, who were under the same calamities, for there was nobody who had been in want, that was left destitute of a suitable assistance by him, nor was there any foreigner, nor any cities, nor any private men, who were to make provision for the multitudes, and on that account were in want of support, and had recourse to him, but that what was in need of assistance, inasmuch, that it appeared upon a computation, that the number of cori of wheat, of ten Attic medimni, a piece, that was given to the number of foreigners, amounted to ten thousand, and the number that was given in his own kingdom was about four thousand. Now it happened that this care of his, and this seasonable benefaction, had such influence on the Jews, and was so cried up among other nations, as to wipe off that old hatred which his violation of some of their customs, during his reign, had procured him among all the nations; and that this liberality of his assistance in this their greatest necessity was full satisfaction for all that he had done of that nature, as it also procured him great fame among his foreigners: so that it is noted as if these calamities that afflicted his land to a degree plainly incredible, came in order to raise his glory, and to be to his great advantage, for the greatness of his liberality in these times, being demonstrated beyond all expectation, did so change the disposition of the multitude towards him, that they were ready to suppose he had been from the beginning not such a one, but that he found him to be by experience, but such a one as the care he had taken of them in supplying their necessities proved him now to be.

3. About this time it was that he sent five hundred chosen men out of the guards of his body as auxiliaries to Caesar, whom Aelius Gallus led to the Red Sea, and who were of great service to him there. When therefore his armies were thus increased, and were again in a flourishing condition, he built himself a palace in the now from Petunius the prefect of Egypt, under Augustus the Roman emperor. See almost the like case, Antiq. B. xx. ch. ii. sect. 6. It is also well worth our observation here, that these taxes were laid in the year of jubilee, for which Porcupine, during the speculation, used to provide a triple crop beforehand, and became now, when the Jews were excused that blessed time, that this period of lesse years of famine to them ever since the days of Abah, 1 Kings xvi. 8. 7

*This Aelius Gallus seems to be no other than Aelius Irgus whom Dio speaks of as conducting an expedition that was about this time made into Arabia Felix, according to Petavius, B. xiv. c. 27, p. 414. This is the account of this expedition in Plineus, at the years 50 and 54.
upper city, raising the rooms to a very great height, and adorning them with the most costly furniture of gold, and marble seats and beds, and their upper rooms, that they might contain very many companies of men. These apartments were also of distinct magnitudes, and had particular names given them, for one apartment was called Cæsar's, another Agrippa's. He also fell in love again, and married another wife, not suffering his reason to hinder him from jiving as he pleased. The occasion of this his marriage was this: one of his friends, a rich man of Jerusalem, the son of one Boethus, a citizen of Alexandria, and a priest of great note there: this man had a daughter, who was esteemed the most beautiful woman of that time; and when the people of Jerusalem began to speak much in her commendation, it happened that Herod was much affected with what was said of her; and when he saw the damsel, he was smitten with her beauty, yet did he entirely reject the thoughts of using his authority to abuse her, as believing, what was the truth, that by so doing he should be stigmatized for violence and tyranny, and he thought it best to take the damsel to wife. And while Simon was off a dignity too inferior to be allied to him, but still too considerable to be despised, he governed the tribes of the Jews after the most prudent manner, by augmenting the dignity of the family, and making them more honourable; so he immediately deposed Jesus, the son of Phabat, of the high priest's office, and conferred that dignity on Simon, and so joined in affinity with him [by marrying his daughter.]

4. When this wedding was over, he built another temple in that place where he had conquered the Jews when he was driven out of his government, and Antigonus enjoyed it. This citadel is distant from Jerusalem about threescore furlongs, and is well strong for a building. It is a sort of a moderate hill, raised to a farther height by the hand of man, till it was of the shape of a woman's breast. It is encompassed with circular towers, and hath a strait ascent up to it, which ascent is composed of steps of polished stones, in number two hundred. Within it are royal and very rich apartments, of a structure that provided both for security and for beauty. About the bottom there are habitations of such a structure as are well worth seeing, both on other accounts, and also on account of water, which is brought thither from a great way off, and at vast expenses, for the place itself is destitute of water. The plain that is about this citadel is full of edifices, not inferior in largeness and lesser marbles having the hill above it in the nature of a castle.

5. And now, when all Herod's designs had succeeded according to his hopes, he had not the least suspicion that any troubles could arise in his kingdom, because he kept his people obedient, as well by the fear they stood in of him, for he was implacable in the infliction of his punishments, as by the provident care he had shewn towards them, after the most magnanimous manner, when they were under their distresses; but still he took care to have external security for his government as a fortress against his subjects; for the orations he made to the cities were very fine, and full of kindness, and he cultivated them most agreeably, sending to all the governors, and bestowed presents on every one of them, inducing them thereby to be more friendly to him, and using his magnificent disposition, so as his kingdom might be the better secured to him, and this till all his affairs were every way more and more augmented. But then, this magnificent temper of his, and that submissive behaviour of his subjects, which was observed towards Caesar, and the most powerful men of Rome, obliged him to transgress the customs of his nation, and to set aside many of their laws and by building cities after an extravgant manner, and erecting temples;* not in Judea indeed, for that would not have been borne, it being forbidden for us to pay any honour to images, or representations of animals, after the manner of the Greeks, but still he did thus in the country [properly] out of our bounds, and in the cities thereof. The apology which he made to the Jews for such things was this, that all was done, not out of his own inclinations, but by the commands and injunctions of others, in order to please Caesar and the Romans, as though he had not had anything to do with it, but that he had the honour of those Romans, while yet he had himself entirely in view all the while, and indeed was very ambitious to leave great monuments of magnificence, and the like. And so it was that he was so zealous in building such fine cities, and spent such vast sums of money upon them.

6. Now, upon his observation of a place near the sea, which was very proper for containing a city, and was before called Strato's Tower, he set about getting a plan for a magnificent city there, and made the places, and fit for such a building. It is a sort of a moderate hill, raised to a farther height by the hand of man, till it was of the shape of a woman's breast. It is encompassed with circular towers, and hath a strait ascent up to it, which ascent is composed of steps of polished stones, in number two hundred. Within it are royal and very rich apartments, of a structure that provided both for security and for beauty. About the bottom there are habitations of such a structure as are well worth seeing, both on other accounts, and also on account of water, which is brought thither from a great way off, and at vast expenses, for the place itself is destitute of water. The plain that is about this citadel is full of edifices, not inferior in largeness and lesser marbles having the hill above it in the nature of a castle.

* One may here take notice, that how tyrannical and extravagant a scourge Herod was in himself, and in his Greek was. How so large, that they could speak for idolatry, mentioned above, ch. viii. sect. 1, and here also, not durst even he introduce very few of them into the cities of the country; when he caigned the death of a note, he did not even then have borne them, so zealously were they still for many of the laws of Moses, even under so tyrannical a government as this was to that of the Gentiles; but all that legal government puts me naturally in mind of that of the Priests of the highest religion upon the like ambition, after whom the Greeks were great model to live at home in peace, without entreparing upon the subjects of each other, for the vapour of royalty, and such as they contain; as silence, but not less than they do; and be quiet; but their ambition, their follies, and their humour, leading them constantly to encroach upon and quarrel with each other, they invent all that is needful under them in the mischief thereof; and many thousands are those which yearly perish by it; so that it may almost raise a doubt whether any government is so suitable to the world as the Roman, and whether the Roman government is sufficient to make amends for the calamities which it suffers from the follies, mistakes, and unmeditations of those that manage it.
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and Atenitis, which he gave him on the occasion following: one Zenodorus had hired what was called the house of Pharaoh, of which he had reaped a larger than himself, and the Titus, as well as several others, who were satisfied with its revenues, became a partner with the robbers that inhabited the Trachones, and so procured himself a larger income; for the inhabitants of those places were thereby great sufferers, and pillaged the country of the Damascenes, while Zenodorus did not restrain them, but took a part of the prey they acquired. Now, as the neighbouring people were hereby great sufferers, they complained to Varro, who was then president [of Syria], and entreated him to write to Caesar about this injustice of Zenodorus. When these matters were laid before Caesar, he wrote back to Varro to destroy those nests of robbers, and to give the land to Herod, that by his care the neighbouring countries might be no longer disturbed with these doings of the Trachonites, for it was not an easy thing to restrain them, since this way of robbery had been their usual practice, and they had no other way to get their living, because they had neither any city of their own, nor lands in their possession, but only some receptacles and dens in the earth, and there they and their cattle lived in common together. However, as they had made covert ones, they had built in the turrets, which was over against them: these stood up right, and were joined together. Now there were edifices all along the circular haven, made of earth; and attacked them with fire in elevation, whereon was erected a temple, that was seen a great way off by those that were sailing for that haven, and had in it two statues, the one of Zeus, the other of Ceres. It was called Cæsarea, which was also itself built of fine materials, and was of a fine structure; nay, the very subterranean vaults and cellars had a roof on it, and placed on it, that were higher than had the buildings above ground. Some of these vaults carried things at even distances to the haven and to the sea, but one of them ran obliquely, and bound all the rest together, that both the rain and the filth of the citizens were together carried off with ease, and the sea itself, upon the flux of the tide from without, came into the city, and washed it all clean. Herod also built therein a theatre of stone; and on the south quarter, behind the port, an amphitheatre also, capable of holding a vast number of men, and capable of being seen from the sea. So this city was thus finished in twelve years; during which time the king did not fail to go on both with the work, and to pay the charges that were necessary.

CHAP. X.

How Herod sent his Sons to Rome; how also he was accused by Zenodorus, and the Gadarens, but was cleared of what they accused him of, and without gained to himself the good will of Caesar. Concerning the Pharisees, the Essenes, and Manahem.

§ 1. WHEN Herod was engaged in such matters, and when he had already re-edified Sebaste [Samaria,] he resolved to send his sons Alexander and Aristobulus to Rome, to enjoy the company of Caesar, who, when they came thither, lodged at the house of Pollio, [who was very fond of Herod's friendship; and they had leave to lodge in Caesar's own palace, for he received these sons of Herod with all humanity, and gave Herod leave to give his kingdom to which of his sons he pleased; and, besides all this, he bestowed on him Trachon, and Batanea,

* Cesarea being here said to be rebuilt and adorned in every respect, as it is in the text of the Latin, in Theodotion, Asin, B. E. vi. ch. v. sect. 1, there must be a mistake in the one places as to the true number, but in which of them it is impossible to decide. Dr. Hudson has observed, that the name of the place is not mentioned in Josephus, ch. i. sect. 1, and again presently, after this, chap. x.

† This Pollio, with whom Herod's sons lived at Rome, was not Pollio the Pharisee, already mentioned by Josephus, ch. i. sect. 1, and again presently. After this, chap. x., the character of this Zenodorus is so like that of a famous robber of the same name in Strabo, and that about this very country, and about this very person, we may think Dr. Hudson hardly need to have put a perhaps to his determination that they were the same. 
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ing force against him, and sometimes by going to law with him. Moreover, they persuaded the poorer soldiers to help them, and were troublesome to him, out of a constant hope that they should be enabled to raise full soldiers in his name, which designs those that are in the most miserable circumstances of life, are still the most earnest; and although Herod had been a great while apprised of these attempts, yet did not he induce any severity to them, but by rational methods aimed to mitigate things, as not willing to give any handle for tumults.

Herod had already reigned seventeen years, Caesar came into Syria; at which time the greatest part of the inhabitants of Gada
dara clamoured against Herod, as one that was heavy in his injunctions, and tyrannical. These reproaches they mainly ventured upon by the encouragement of Zenodorus, who took his oath that he would never leave Herod till he had procured that they should be severed from Herod's kingdom, and joined to Caesar's province. The Gadarenses were induced hereby, and made no small cry against him, and that the more boldly, because it had been known that had been of the Agrippa were not punished by Herod, who let them go, and did them no harm, for indeed he was the principal man in the world who appeared incapable of punishing crimes in his own family, but very generous in remitting the offences that were committed elsewhere. And while they accused Herod of injuries, and plunderings, and execution of temples, he stood most un
considered, and was ready to make his defence. However, Caesar gave him his right hand, and remitted nothing of his kindness to him, upon this occasion, but by the multitude; and indeed these things were alleged the first day, but the hearing proceeded no further; for as the Gadarenses saw the inclination of Caesar and of his associates, as they had reason to do, that they should be delivered up to the king, some of them, out of a dread of the torments they might undergo, cut their own throats in the night-time, and some of them threw themselves down precipices, and others of them cast themselves into the river, and destroyed themselves of their own accord; which accidents seemed a su
succession of the rashness and crimes they had been guilty of: whereupon Caesar made no longer delay, but cleared Herod from the crimes he was accused of. Another happy circumstance was, which was a further advantage to Herod at this time; for Zeno
Drusus's belly burst, and a great quantity of blood issued from him in his sickness, and he thereby departed at Antioch in Syria; so Caesar bestowed his country, which was no small one, upon Herod; it lay between Trachon and Galilees, and contained Ulath, and Panias, and the country round about. He also made him one of the procurators of Syria, and commanded that they should do every thing with his approbation; and, in short, he arrived at that pitch of felicity, that whereas there were but two men that governed the vast Roman empire, first Caesar, and then Agrippa, who was his principal favourite; Caesar preferred no one to Herod besides Agrippa, and Agrippa made no one his greater friend than Herod besides Caesar. And when he had ac
quired such freedom, he begged of Caesar a tetrarchy* for his brother Phasaelus, while he did himself bestow upon him a revenue of a hundred talents out of his own kingdom, that in case he came to any harm himself, his brother might be in safety, and that his sons might not have dom
inical power in the land which he had conducted to the sea, and was returned home, he built him a most beautiful temple of the whitest stone, in Zenodorus's country, near the place called Panium. This is a very fine cave in a mountain, under which there is a great cavity in the earth, and the cavern is abrupt, and prod
iously deep; and the water, in which it is, has its source from a vast mountain; and under the caverns arise the springs of the river Jordan. Herod adorned this place, which was already a very remarkable one, still further, by the erection of this temple, which he dedicated to Caesar.

4. At which time Herod released to his subjects the third part of their taxes, under pretence in
need. He had been at war with them, and the new kings, after the death of the Agrippa, had had bad; but the main reason was, to recover their good-will, which he now wanted, for they were uneasy at him, because of the innovations he had introduced in their practices, of the dissolution of their religion, and of the abuse of their own customs; and the people everywhere that talked against him, like those that were still more provoked and disturbed at his procedure; against which discontent he greatly guarded himself, and took away the opportunities they might have to disturb him, and enjoined them to be always at war with the other provinces, that they might not meet together, or to walk, or to eat together, but watched everything they did, and when any were caught they were severely punished, and made many of those that had profaned the citi
cels of the Hyarcanus, both openly and secretly, and there were put to death; and there were spets everywhere, both in the city and in the roads, who watched those that most frequented the thespian plays. It is reported, that he did not himself neglect this part of caution, but that he would oftentimes take the habit of a private man, and mix sometimes in the night-time, and make trial what opinion they had of his government; and as for those that could noway be reduced to acquiesce under his scheme of government, he prosecuted them all manner of ways, but for the rest of the multitude, he required that they should be obliged to take an oath of fidelity to him, and at the same time compelled them to swear that they would bear him good-will, and continue certainly so to do, in his management of the government; and indeed a great part of them, either to please him, or out of fear of him, yielded up their properties, but there were of them a great many who were of a more open and generous disposition, and had indignation at the force he used to them, by one means or other made away with them. These were the Pilgrims, the Paterists, the Hys
rise, and Sameas, and the greatest part of their scholars, to take the oath; but these would not submit so to do, nor were they punished to

* A tetrarchy properly and originally denoted the fourth part of an entire kingdom or country, and a tetrarch one that ruled over such a fourth part, which al
BOOK XV.—CHAP. XI.

his hand, and said, "However that be, thou wilt be king, and wilt begin thy reign happily, for God finds thee worthy of it. And do thou remember the blows that Manahem hath given thee, and piety towards God, and clemency towards thy citizens; yet do I know how thy whole conduct will be, that thou wilt not be such a one, for thou wilt excel all men in happiness, and obtain an everlasting reputation, but wilt forget piety and righteousness, and the crimes will not be concealed from God, at the conclusion of thy life, when thou wilt find that he will be mindful of them, and punish thee for them." Now at that time Herod did not at all attend to what Manahem said, as having no hopes of such advancement; but a little afterward, when he was so fortunate as to be advanced to the dignity of king, and was in the height of his dominion, he sent for Manahem, and asked him, How long he should reign? Manahem did not tell him the full length of his reign, wherefore, upon that silence of his he thought he should reign ten years, or not! He replied, "Yes, twenty, nay, thirty years," but did not assign the just determinate limit of his reign. Herod was seized with a kind of alarm, and hid them, and then threw them in his hand, and dismissed him, and from that time he continued to honour all the Essenes. We have thought it proper to relate these facts to our readers because they are, and certainly, to declare what hath happened among us, because many of the Essenes have by their excellent virtue been thought worthy of this knowledge of divine revelations.

CHAP. XI.

How Herod rebuilt the Temple, and raised it higher, and made it more magnificent than it was before; as also concerning that Tower which he called Antonia.

§ 1. And now Herod, in the eighteenth year of his reign, and after the acts already mentioned, undertook a very great work, that is, to build "himself" the temple of God," and make it larger in compass, and raise it to a most magnificent altitude, as esteeming it to be the most glorious of all his actions, as it really was, to bring it to perfection, and this would be sufficient for an event so grand. But also he knew that the multitude were not ready nor willing to assist him in so vast a design, he thought to prepare them first by making a speech to them, and then see what they would do; and so he set about it, and spake thus to them: "I think I need not speak to you, my countrymen, about such other works as I have done since I came to the kingdom, although I may say they have been performed in such a manner as to bring more security to you than glory to myself; for I have neither been negligent in the most difficult times about what tended to ease your necessities, nor have the buildings I have made been so proper to preserve me as yourselves from injuries; and I imagine that, with God's assistance, I have advanced the nation of the Jews to a degree of happiness which they never had before; and for the particular edifices belonging to your own country, and your own cities, that we have latterly acquired, what we have erected and greatly adorned, and thereby augmented the dignity of your state, and yours to some extent, I consider as thy fortune. And truly this will be the best reasoning for thee, that thou love justice (towards men,) and piety towards God, and clemency towards thy citizens; yet do I know how thy whole conduct will be, that thou wilt not be such a one, for thou wilt excel all men in happiness, and obtain an everlasting reputation, but wilt forget piety and righteousness, and the crimes will not be concealed from God, at the conclusion of thy life, when thou wilt find that he will be mindful of them, and punish thee for them." Now at that time Herod did not at all attend to what Manahem said, as having no hopes of such advancement; but a little afterward, when he was so fortunate as to be advanced to the dignity of king, and was in the height of his dominion, he sent for Manahem, and asked him, How long he should reign? Manahem did not tell him the full length of his reign, wherefore, upon that silence of his he thought he should reign ten years, or not! He replied, "Yes, twenty, nay, thirty years," but did not assign the just determinate limit of his reign. Herod was seized with a kind of alarm, and hid them, and then threw them in his hand, and dismissed him, and from that time he continued to honour all the Essenes. We have thought it proper to relate these facts to our readers because they are, and certainly, to declare what hath happened among us, because many of the Essenes have by their excellent virtue been thought worthy of this knowledge of divine revelations.

3. So Herod took away the old foundations, and laid others, and erected the temple upon them, being in length a hundred cubits, and in height twenty additional cubits, which (twenty;) upon the sinking of their foundations, fell down;

One of our modern students in architecture have made a strange blunder here, when they imagine that Josephus affirms the entire foundations of the temple or holy house sunk, which is not the case. For it stood, no less than twenty cubits, whereas he is clear that they were the foundations of the additional twenty cubits, of which he only speaks; only of the cubic, of course, and only for show and grandeur, that sunk or fell down, as Dr. Hudson rightly understands him. Now we think the thing itself is sufficiently prepared for building the inner parts of the temple twenty cubits higher, (History of the War, B. v. ch. I sect. 4,) must, in all probability, refer to this matter.

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and this part it was that we resolved to raise again in the days of Nero. Now, the temple was built of stone and wood, and it was both strong, and each of their length was twenty-five cubits, their height was eight, and their breadth about twelve; and the whole structure, as also the structure of the roof, was made of the same material. There was a tower lower, but the middle was much higher, till they were visible to those that dwelt in the country for a great many furlongs, but chiefly to such as lived afar from them. And these towers were adorned to them. The temple had doors also at the entrance, and linteus over them, of the same height with the temple itself. They were adorned the temple with golden rails, with their flowers of purple, and pillars interwoven: and over these, but under the crownwork, was spread out a golden vine, with its branches hanging down from a great height, the largeness and fine workmanship of which was a surprising sight to the spectators, to see what vast materials there were, and with what great skill the workmanship was done. He also encompassed the entire temple with very large cloisters, contriving them to be in a due proportion thereto; and he laid out larger sums of money upon them than had been done before him, and it seemed that no one else had so greatly adorned the temple as he had done. There was a large wall to both the cloisters, which wall was itself the most prodigious work that was ever heaped up. The hill was also a rock, and that declined by degrees towards the east parts of the city, till it came to an elevated level. This hill it was which Solomon, who was the first of the Jews, gave command to Vitellius, who was then commander in Syria, to give it them accordingly. Before that time, they were kept under the seal of the high priest, and of the priests themselves, but the king himself took them, and brought them to the temple guards, and received the vestments; and again he was a rock, and that declined by degrees towards the place, and showed the temple of the temple guards their seal, which corresponded with his seal, and repositioned them there. These were the conditions that happened to us afterward [about them] are sufficient evidence: but for the tower itself, when Herod the king of the Jews had fortified it not more firmly than Herod the king before him, and was encompassed with a deep valley along the entire south quarter; but the fourth front of the temple, which was southward, had indeed not been constructed at all. This cloister, with three walls which reached in length from the east valley unto that on the west, for it was impossible it should reach any farther: and this cloister deserves to be mentioned better than any other under the sun; for while the valley was very deep, and its bottom could not be seen, if you looked from above into the depth, this farther vastly high elevation of the cloister stood upon that height, insomuch, that if any one looked down from the top of the battlements, or down both those altitudes, he would be giddy, while his sight could not reach to such an immense depth. This cloister had piliars that stood in four rows one over against the other all along, for the fourth row was interwoven into the wall, [which also was built of stone:] and the thickness of each pillar was such, that three men might, with their arms extended, fathom it round, and join their hands again, while its length was two fathoms, which was a double in its base; and the number of all the pillars [in that court] was a hundred and sixty-two. Their chapels were made with sculptures after the Caesars, an appearance of the palace, Antiq. B. 32. 23. 7, and other places, to be seen only the first of David's cisterns, and the first building that within the Jews, appears by the parallel place, Antiq. B. 22. 23. 7, sect. 7, and other places, to be seen only the first of David's cisterns, and the first building that
rthemselves order, and caused an amazement (to the
spectators,) by reason of the grandeur of the
whole, and the intervals for walking in the middle of this
closet; two of which walks were made parallel to
each other, and were covered after the same man-
ner; the breadth of each was thirty
feet, the length was a furlong, and the height
fifty feet, but the breadth of the middle part of
the closet was one and a half of the other, and
the height was much higher than those on each side; but the roofs
were adorned with deep sculptures in wood, repre-
senting many sorts of figures; the middle was
much higher than the other, and the wall of the
front was adorned with beams, resting upon pil-
ars that were interwoven into it, and that front
was all of polished stone, incomprehensible, that its fine-
ness, to such as had not seen it, was incredible, and
to such as had seen it, was greatly amazing.
Thus was the first enclosure, in the midst of
which, and not far from it, was the second, to be
gone up to by a few steps; this was encompassed
by a stone wall for a parapet, with an inscrip-
tion, which forbade any foreigner to go in under
penalty of death. Now, this inner enclosure had on
its southern part a gate called [equally] distant from one another; but on
the east quarter, towards the surmount, there was
one large gate, through which such as were pure
came together with their wives. But the simple
fell further inward in that gate was not allowed
to the women; but still more inward was there a
third [court of the] temple, whereinto it was not
lawful for all to enter. This temple itself was within this;
and before that temple was the altar, upon which we offer our
sacrifices and burnt-offerings to God. Into one
of these three did king Herod enter; for he was
forbidden, because he was not of that race, to
build the temple: but he took care of the cloisters, and the outer en-
closures, and these he built in eight years.
6. But the temple itself was built by the
priests in a year and six months: upon which all
the people were full of joy; and presently they
returned thanks, in the first place to God, and in
the next place, for the sanctity the king had
shown. The temple and the edifice of the
building of the temple: and, for the king, he
sacrificed three hundred oxen to God, as did
the rest, every one according to his ability; the
number of which sacrifices is not possible to be
set down, for it cannot be that we should truly
relate it: for at the same time with this celebra-
tion for the work about the temple, fell also
the day of the king’s inauguration, which he kept of
an old custom as a festival, and it now coincided
with the other, which coincidence of them both
made the festival most illustrious.
7. There was also an occult passage, built for
the king: it led from Antonia to the inner tem-
ple, at its eastern gate; over which he aereat-
ed for himself a tower, that he might have the
opportunity of ascending the gate to the temple,
in order to guard against any sedition which
might be made by the people against their kings.
It is also reported, that during the time that the
temple was built, he did not rain in the daytime,
but that the showers fell in the night, so
that the work was not hindered. And this our
ancestors have delivered to us; nor is it incredible
if any one have the manifest tokens of the
greatness of God. And thus was performed the
work of the rebuilding of the temple.

BOOK XVI.
CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWELVE YEARS—FROM THE FINISHING OF THE TEMPLE BY HEROD TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER AND ARISTOBULUS.

CHAP. I.

A Law of Herod about Thieves. Salome and Pheroxas columinate Alexander and Aristobulus upon their Return from Rome, for whom yet Herod provides Wives.

§ 1. As king Herod was very zealous in the ad-
mintistration of his entire government, and de-
sires to put to a stop to particular acts of crime, which were done by criminals about the city and
province, he made a law, noway like our original
laws, and which he enacted of himself, to expose house.
and the victims of crimes to public view; and
which punishment was not only grievous to be
borne by the offenders, but contained in it a dis-
solution of the customs of our forefathers; for
those houses were exhibited, in such a manner
that the walls were divided into such narrow
floors in the manner of Jews, and this necessity
that they were under to do whatsoever such
man should command, was an offence against our
race, and the victims exhibited were thrown into
such to such as were found to have offended, such
a punishment being avoided in our original laws;
for those laws ordain, that the thief shall restore
fourfold: and that if he have not so much, he
shall be sold indeed, but not to foreigners, nor so
that he be under perpetual slavery, for he must
have been released after six years. But this
law, thus enacted, in order to introduce a severe
and illegal punishment, seemed to be a piece of
insolence in Herod, when he did not act as a
king, but as a tyrant, and thus contemptuously,
and without any regard to his subjects, did he
ventures to introduce such a punishment. Now
this penalty, thus brought into practice, was like
Herod’s other actions, and became a part of his
accusation, and an occasion of the hatred he lay
under.

2. Now at this time it was that he sailed to
Italy, as very desirous to meet with Caesar, and
to see his sons who lived at Rome: and Caesar
was not only very desirous of him in other
respects, but delivered him his sons again, that
he might take them home with him, as having
already completed themselves in the sciences,
but as soon as they had manifested their
appearance to such as were found to have offended, such
punishment being avoided in our original laws;
for those laws ordain, that the thief shall restore
fourfold: and that if he have not so much, he

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dignity. So they soon appeared to be the objects of envy to Sabelos, the king’s subject, and to such as had raised calumny’s against Mariamme: for they were suspicious, that when these came to the government, they should be punished for the wiles of their father; and, in the case of against their mother: so they made this very fear of theirs a motive to raise calumny’s against them also.

They gave it out that they were not pleased with their father’s company, because he had put their mother to death, as if it were not agreeable to piety to appear to converse with their mother’s murderer. Now by carrying these stories, that had indeed some foundation in the fact, but were only built on probabilities as to the present accusation, they were able to do them mischief, and to make Herod take away that kindness from his sons which he had before borne to them; for they did not say these things to him openly, but scattered abroad such words among the rest of the multitude; from which words, when carried to Herod, he was induced [at last] to hate them; and which natural affection itself, even in length of time, was not able to overcome; yet was the king at that time in a condition to prefer the opinion of those that were his relatives to all the suspicious and calumnies his sons lay under; so he respected them as he ought to do, and married them to wives, now they were of an age. Thus, to Archelaus, he gave a wife Bernice, Sallome’s daughter, and to Alexander, Giaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia.

CHAP. II.

How Herod twice sailed to Agrippa; and how, upon the Complaint of the Jews in Ionia against the Greeks, Agrippa confirmed the Laws of the Jews to them.

§ 1. Now Herod had despatched these affairs, and he understood that Marcus Agrippa had sailed again out of Italy into Asia, he made haste to him, and besought him to come to him into his kingdom, and to partake of what he might justly expect from one that had been his guest, and was his friend. This request he greatly pressed, and to it Agrippa agreed, and came into Judæa; whereupon Herod omitted nothing that might please him, nor spared any kindness to all his friends and kinsmen; and that at Sebaste, and other places that he had lately built, and at the fortresses which he had erected at great expenses, Alexandria, and Herodium, and Hyrcania. He also conducted him to the city Jerusalem, where all the people met him in their festival garments, and received him with acclamations. Agrippa also offered a hecatomb of sacrifices to God, and feasted the people, without omitting any of the greatest dainties that could be gotten. He also took so much pleasure there, that he abode many days with them, and would willingly have stayed longer, but that the season of the year made him get to him again away; for, as winter was coming on, he thought it not safe to go sea later, and yet he was of necessity to return again to Rome.

§ 2. So Agrippa went away, when Herod had bestowed on him, and on the principal of those that were with him, many presents; but king Herod when he had passed the winter in his own dominions, made haste to get to him again in the spring, when he knew he designed to go to a campaign at the Bosporus. So when he arrived in Asia Minor, he went to Cæsarea, as he touch ed at Lesbos, as thinking he should have over taken Agrippa there; but he was taken short here by a north wind, which hindered his ship from going on; and he continued many days at Cæsarea, there he kindly treated a great many that came to him, and obliged them by giving gifts. And then he sent that the portico of the city was fallen down, which, as it was overthrown in the Mithridatic war, and was a very large and fine building, so was it not so easy to rebuild, but to build in its place a sum not only large enough for that purpose, but what was more than sufficient to finish the building, and ordered them not to overlook that portico, but to rebuild it quickly, that so the city might recover its proper ornaments. And when the high winds were laid, he sailed to Mytilene, and thence to Byzantium, and was not long there; for he heard that the Cretan and the Cynanean rocks, he made all the haste possible to overtake him, and came up with him about Sinope, in Pontus. He was seen sailing by the shipsmen most unexpectedly, but appeared in their great joy; and many friendly salutations there were between them, inasmuch that Agrippa thought he had received the greatest marks of the king’s kindness and humanity towards him possible, since the king had come so long a voyage, and at a very proper season, for his assistance, and had left the government of his own dominions to him, if it should please him to come to him. Accordingly, Herod was all in all to Agrippa in the management of the war, and a great assistant in civil affairs, and in giving him counsel; he gave him a wife, and also a pleasant companion for him when he relaxed himself, and a joint partner with him in all things: in troubles, because of his kindness, and in prosperity, because of the respect that Agrippa had for him. Now as soon as those affairs of Pontus were finished, for whose sake Agrippa was sent thither, they did not think fit to return by sea, but they passed through Paphlagonia and Cappadocia; they then travelled thence over Great Phrygia, and came to Ephesus, and then they sailed from Ephesus to Samos. And indeed the king bestowed a great many benefits on every city that he came to, according as they stood in need of them; for as for those that wanted either money or kind treatment, he was not wanting to them: but he supplied the former himself out of his own expenses: he also became an intercessor with Agrippa,for all such as came after his favour, and he brought things so about, that the petitioners were satisfied of all their suits to him, Agrippa being himself of a good disposition, and of great generosity, and ready to grant all such requests as might be advantageous to the petitioners, provided that they were rightfull.

The inclination of the king was of great weight also, and still excited Agrippa, who was himself ready to do good; for he made a reconciliation between the great Cimon of Limyra, at whose anger, and paid what money the people of Chios owed Cesar’s procurators, and discharged them of their tributes; and helped all others according as their several necessities required.

3. But now, when Agrippa and Herod were in Ionia, a great multitude of Jews, who dwelt in their cities, came to them, and, laying hold of the opportunity that was now given them, complained before them the injuries which they suffered; while they were not permitted to use their own laws, but were compelled to prosecute their suits, by the ill usage of the judges, upon their holydays; and were deprived of the money they used to lay up at Jerusalem, and were forced into the army, and upon such occasions as obliged them to spend their sacred money: from which burdens they always used to be freed by the Romans, who had still permitted them to live according to their laws, and when the law that was made, the king desired of Agrippa, that he would hear their cause, and assigned Nicolas, one of his friends, to plead for these their private leges. Accordingly, when Agrippa beheld the principal of the Romans, and such of the
in itself a privilege to be envied us, so it is for
the advantage of those that grant it to us; for if
the Divinity delights in being honoured, he must
delight in those that permit him to be honoured,
and there are some instances in which are in-
human, but all tending to piety, and devoted to
the preservation of justice; nor do we conceal
these inconjunctions of ours, by which we govern
our lives, they being memorials of piety, and of a
friendly conversation among men: and the se-
venth day we set apart from labour; it is dedica-
ted to the learning of our customs and of our
thinking it proper to retain them, as well as
on any [good] thing else, in order to our avoiding
of sin. If any one, therefore, examine into our
observances, he will find they are good to
ourselves, and that they are ancient also, though
some think otherwise, insomuch, that those who
have received them cannot easily be brought to
depart from them, out of that honour they pay
to the length of time they have religiously en-
joyed them, and observed them. Now our ad-
versaries take these our privileges away, in the
way of injustice: they view them, as if there was
money of ours, which is given to God, and called
sacred money, and this openly, after a sacred
manner; and they impose tribute upon us, and
bring as before tribunals on holy days, and
then require of us money, because the contracts
require it, or for their own advan-
tage, but because they would put an affront
on our religion, of which they are conscious as well
as we, and have indulged themselves in an un-
just, and to them involuntary, hatred; for your
government over all is one, tending to the esta-
blishing of benevolence, and abolishing all ill-
will among such assemblies as have not
therefore what we impose from thee, most ex-
cellent Agrippa, that we may not be ill-
treated; that we may not be abused; that we may not be
hindered from using our own customs; nor be
đeposed of our goods; nor be forced by
these men to do what we ourselves force nobody
to do; for these privileges of ours are not only
government by us. And we are able to read to you many
decrees of the senate, and the tables that con-
tain them, which are still extant in the capitol,
concerning the same; and it is evident that it is the
grand after you had experience of our fidelity
towards you, and which ought to be valued,
though no such fidelity had been; for you have
distinctly preserved what is of such a nature as
of, not to us only, but almost to all men, and
have added greater advantages than they could
have hoped for, and thereby your government is
become a great advantage to them; for it is
one that can desire to make void the favours
they have granted? No one is certainly so mad:
for there are no men but such as have been partakers
of their favours, both public and private; and in-
deed those that take away what you have grant-
ed, can have no assurance; but every one of
their own grants made them by you, may be
taken from them also; which grants of yours can
yet never be sufficiently valued; for if they con-
sider the old governments, under kings, together
with your present government, besides the great
number of benefits which this government hath
bestowed on them in order to their happiness,
this is instead of all the rest, that they appear to
be no longer in a state of slavery, but of free-
dom. For the privileges we desire, even when we
are in the best circumstances, are not such as
deserve to be envied, for we are indeed in a prosperous
state by your means, but this is
also in common with many others more than
this which we desire, to preserve our religion
without any prohibition; which as it appears not

* We may here observe the ancient practice of the
Jews, of dedicateing the Sabbath-day not to idleness, but
to the learning their sacred rites and religious customs.

and to the meditation on the law of Moses. The like to
which we meet with elsewhere in Josephus also against
Apion, B. I. sect. 39.
of the navy; and what need I say any thing of how great weight those soldiers were at that juncture! or how many and how great presents they were vouchsafed by Caesar! And truly I ought before now to have mentioned the epistles which Caesar wrote to the Jews and to the great Athenians, who had honours, and the freedom of the city of Rome, bestowed upon him, for these are demonstrations both that we have received these favours by our own desert, and also on that account petition thee for thy confirmation of them, from whom we had reason to hope for them, though they had not been given us before, both out of respect to the king's disposition towards you, and your disposition towards him. And farther, we have been informed by those Jews that were there, with what kindness those came into our country, and how thou offeredst the most perfect sacrifices to God, and honoured him with remarkable vows, and how thou gavest the people a feast, and acceptedst of their own hospitable presents to thee. We ought to esteem all these kind entertainments, made both by our nation and our city, to a man who is the ruler and manager of so much of the public affairs, as indications of the great respect he had for thee. And the Jews make any defence of themselves, or deny what it was supposed they had done. Their presence was no more than this, that while the Jews inhabited in their country, they were entirely unjust to them [in not joining in their worship]; but they demonstrated their generosity in this, that though they worshipped according to their own institutions, they did nothing that ought to grieve them. So when Agrippa perceived that they had been oppressed by violence, he made this answer. 'That on account of him, and of the friendship by which he was ready to grant the Jews whatsoever they should ask him, and that their requests seemed to him in themselves just; and that if they requested any thing that was not just, he should not consent to grant them, provided it was now to the detriment of the Roman government; but that, while their request was no more than this, that what privilege they had already given them might not be abrogated, he confirmed this to them, that they might continue in the observation of their own customs, without any one's offering them the least injury.' And when he had said this, he dissolved the assembly; upon which Herod stood up, and saluted him, and gave him thanks for the kind disposition he showed to them. Agrippa added, that this was a very obliging and friendly act, and saluted him again, and embraced him in his arms; after which he went away from Lesbo; but the king determined to sail from Samos to his own country; and when he had taken leave of Agrippa, he pursued his voyage, and landed at Cesarea in a few days' time, as having favourable winds, from whence he went to Jerusalem, and there gathered all the people together to an assembly, not a few being there out of the country also. So he came to them, and gave them a particular account of all his journey, and all the things that related to him, as how by his assays they would live without injurious treatment for the time to come. He also told them of all the great good fortune he had met with and how he had administered the government, and had not neglected any thing which was for their advantage; and as he was very joyful, he now remitted to them the fourth part of their taxes for the last year. Accordingly, they were so pleased with his favour and speech to them, that they offered to present him with a crown, and wished the king all manner of happiness.

CHAP. III.

How great Disturbances arose in Herod's Family on abolishing digimester, his son Alexander being before the rest, till Alexander took that Injury very heinously.

§ 1. But now the affairs in Herod's family were in more disorder, and became more severe upon him, by the hatred of Salome to the young man [Alexander and Aristobulus], which ascended as it were by inheritance [from their mother Mariamme] and as she had fully succeeded against their mother, so she proceeded to the degree of madness and insolence as to endeavour that none of her posterity might be left alive who might have it in their power to revenge her death. The young men had also somewhat of a hold thereby; and upon this occasion there was occasioned by the remembrance of what their mother had unjustly suffered, and by their own affection of dominion. The old grudge we mentioned, also, which subsisted between Salome and Pheroras, who required the young men with malicious designs, and actually laid watch upon their snares for them. Now, as for the hatred, it was equal on both sides, but of exerting that hatred was different: for as for the young men, they were rash, reproaching and affronting the others openly, and were unexce...
and considered that the disorders in his family had hindered him from enjoying any comfort from those that were dearest to him, or from his wife and children. He thus lost sight of the thought that his future troubles would soon be heavier and greater than those that were past, he was in great confusion of mind; for Divine Providence had in reality conferred upon him; a great many outward advantages for his happiness, even beyond his hopes, but the troubles he had at home were such as he never expected to have met with, and rendered him unfortunate in may, both sorts came upon him to such a degree as no one could imagine, and made it a doubtful question, whether, upon the comparison of both, he ought to have exchanged so great a success of outward good things, for so great misfortunes at home, or whether he ought not to have chosen to avoid the calamities relating to his family, though he had, for a compensation, never been possessed of the admired grandeur of a kingdom.

3. As he was thus disturbed and afflicted, in order to depress these young men, he brought to court another of his sons, that was devoted to him when he was a private man: his name was Antipater; yet did he not then indulge him as he did afterward, when he was quite overcome by himself, and to whom do every thing that pleased, but rather with a design of depressing the insolence of the sons of Mariamne, and managing this elevation of his so, that it might be for a while to the good, for this bold behaviour of theirs (he thought) would not be so great, if they were once persuaded, that the succession to the kingdom did not appertain to them alone, or must of necessity come to them, and thus introduced Antipater as their antagonist, and imagined that he made a good provision for discouraging their pride, and that after this was done to the young men, he was more safe to expect these to be of a better disposition: but the event proved otherwise than he intended, for the young men thought he did them a very great injury; and as Antipater was a skrew man, when he had once obtained this degree of freedom, and began to expect greater things than he had before hoped for, he had but one single design in his head, and that was, to distress his brethren, and not at all to yield to them the pre-eminence, but to keep close to his father, who was already alienated from them by the calamities he had heard of; and this he did, and he was not able in any way his zeal against them should advise him to pursue, that he might be continually more and more severe against them. Accordingly, all the brothers now, loaded with wrongs, but still, while the delay was so long, while he avoided himself the suspicion of those discoveries proceeding from him, for he rather chose to make use of those persons for his assistants that were unsuspected, he hoped of gaining somewhat by him; and there were the men who most of all persuaded Herod, because they appeared to speak thus out of their good-will to him; and while these joint accusations, from various foundations, supported one another's veracity, the young men themselves afforded further occasions to Antipater also: for they were observed to shed tears often, on account of the injury that was of- fered them, and had their mother in their mouths; and among their friends they ventured to rochet their father, as not acting justly by them; all which things were with an evil intention reserved in memory by Antipater against a proper opportunity; and for this reason, with aggravations, increased the disorder as much, that it brought a great tumult into the family; for while the king was very angry at imputations that were laid upon the sons of Mariamne, and was desirous to humble them, he still increased the honour that he had bestowed on Antipater; and was at last so overcome by his persuasions, that he brought his mother to court also. He also wrote frequently to Cæsar in favour of him, and more earnestly recommended him to his particular care. And when Agrippa was returning to Rome, after he had finished his ten years' government in Asia, Herod sailed from Judea; and when he met with him, he had none with him but Antipater, whom he delivered to Agrippa, that he might take him along with him, together with many presents, that so he might become Cæsar's friend, insomuch, that things already looked as if he had all his father's favour, and that the young men were entirely rejected from any hopes of the kingdom.

CHAP. IV.

How, during Antipater's Abode at Rome, Herod brought Alexander and Aristobulus before Caesar, and accused them of revenging themselves before Cæsar, and Reconciliation to his Father.

$1. And now what happened during Antipater's absence augmented the honour to which he had been promoted, and his presence above his brethren, for he had made a great figure in Rome, because Herod had sent recommendations of him to all his friends there: only he was grieved that he was not in a proper opportunity of perpetually calumniating his brethren; and his chief fear was, lest his father should alter his mind, and entertain a more favourable opinion of the sons of Mariamne; and as he had this in his mind, he did not desist from his purpose, but continually sent from Rome any such stories as he hoped might grieve and irritate his father against his brethren, under pres- tence indeed of a deep concern for his preservation; but in truth, such as his malicious mind dictated, in order to purchase a greater hope of the succession, which was already great in itself: and thus he did till he had excited such a degree of anger in Herod, that he was already become very ill-disposed towards the young men, and the enmity increased, and so a disgust against them, and that he might not either be too remiss or too rash, and so offend, he thought it best to sail to Rome, and there ac- cuse his sons before Cæsar, and to indulge himself in any such crime as might be heinous enough to be suspected of impolicy; but as he was going up to Rome, it happened that he made such haste as to meet with Cæsar at the city Aquila: so when he came to the speech of Cæsar, he asked for a time for hearing this great cause, whereas he thought himself very miscera- ble, and presented his sons there, and accused them of their mad actions, and of their attempts against him: that “They were enemies to him; and by all the means they were able did their endeavours to show their hatred to their own father, and would take away his life, and so obtain his kingdom after the most barbarous manner

* This interval of ten years for the duration of Marcus Agrippa's government in Asia, seems to be true, and agreeable to the Roman history. See Usher's Annals at 103.

$Although Herod met Augustus at Aquila, yet was this accusation of his sons deferred till they came to Rome, because he had no reason to doubt but they were both of the same hearing by Augustus, although the advice was made by Alexander alone. So Agrippa, who was the eldest brother, and one did speak very well.
that he had power from Caesar to dispose of it, not by his own authority, but by the choice of him to whom shall exercise the greatest piety towards him, while these my sons are not so desirous of ruling, as they are, upon a disappointment thereof, to expose their lives if so they may but deprive their father of his life, so wild and polluted in their mind by time become out of their hatred to him; that whereas he had a long time borne this his hard fortune, he was now compelled to lay it before Caesar, and to pollute his ears with such language, while he himself wants to know what severity they have ever suffered from him? or with what? his father laid upon them? nor to make them complain of him? and how they can think it just that he should not be lord of that kingdom, which he in a long time and with great danger had gained, and not allow him to keep it and to dispose of it to him who should deserve it best? And this, with other advantages, he proposes as a reward for the piety of such a one as will hereafter imitate the care he hath taken of it, and that such a one may gain so great a requital as that is: and that it is an impious thing for them to pretend to meddle with it beforehand, for Caesar hath the kingdom in his view; at the same time reckons upon procuring the death of his father, because otherwise he cannot come to the government; that as for himself, he had all give but all that he was able, and what was agreeable to such as are subject to the royal authority, and the sons of a king; what ornaments they wanted, with servants and deligent faith, and the state, and had married them into those most illustrious families, the one (Aristobulus) to his sister's daughter, but Alexander to the daughter of king Archelaus: and what was the greatest of all, when their crimes were so very bad, and he had authority to punish them, yet had he not made use of it against them, but had brought them before Caesar their common benefactor, and had not used the severity which, either as a father who had been impiously abused, or as a king who had been assaulted treacherously, he might have done, he made them stand upon the level with him in judgment; that, however, it was necessary that all this should not be passed over without punishment, nor himself live in the greatest fears; nay, that it was not for the honour or advantage to see the light of the sun after what they have done, although they should escape at this time, since they had done the vilest things, and would certainly suffer the greatest punishments that ever were known among mankind."

2. These were the accusations which Herod aid with great vehemence against his sons before Caesar. Now, the young men, both while he was speaking, and chiefly by his concluding, wept, and were in confusion. Now, as to themselves, they knew in their own consciences they were innocent, but because they were accused by their father, they were sensible, as the truth was, that it was hard for them to make their apology, since, though they were at liberty to speak their minds freely as the occasion required, and might with force and earnestness refute the accusation, yet was it not now decent so to do. There was therefore a difficulty how they should be able to speak; and tears, and at length a deep groan, followed, while they were afraid, that if they said nothing, they should seem to be in this difficulty from a consciousness of guilt, nor had they any defence to be their youth, and the disorder they were under; yet was not Caesar unapprized, when he looked upon them in the confusion they were in, that their delay to make their defence might arise from an unconsciousness of great enormities, but from their unskillfulness and modesty. They were also commiserated by those that were there in particular, and they knew their father's affections in earnest till he had much ado to conceal them

3. But when they saw there was a kind disposition in Caesar, and that every one of the rest did either shed tears, or at least did all grieve with them, the one of them, whose name was Alexander, called to his father, and said, "Father, I beseech thee not to bear all these miseries, and to suffer thee to be cast away to the winds; but, O father, if it be so determined, be thou the first to die of this, which is done, that no man may suffer such a wrong as we have done; for thou, who art thyself not guilty of any misdoings, but wast so connect with us, that we have not done what is done, thou intimatedst that thou intendedst to save us; for no one that hath a design to say a man will bring him to the temples, and to the altars; yet are our circumstances still worse, for we cannot endure to live ourselves any longer, if he believed that we have injured such a father; nay, perhaps it would be worse for us to live with this suspicion upon us, that we have injured him, than to die without such guilt; and if our open defence may be taken to be true, we shall be happy, both in pacifying thee, and in recovering what we lost; but if the thing be so as it is suspected, it is more than enough for us that we have seen the sun this day; which why should we see, if this suspicion be fixed upon us? Now it is impossible for thee to reign; and to say farther, that this evil proceeds from the case of our unhappy mother. This is abundantly sufficient to produce our misery or misfortunes. Though another such an accusation does not suit all such young men, and may not be said of them all piously thus for nothing can hinder him that reigneth, if his reign be just, his children to reign, but the father may have a suspicion upon all his sons, as intending some treachery to him; but a suspicion is not sufficient to prove such an accusation, unless we can show that we have actually and insolently attempted any such thing, whereby actions, otherwise incredible, use to be made credible. Can any body prove that poison hath been prepared? or prove a conspiracy of our equals, or the corruption of servants, or letters written against thee? though indeed there are none of those things but have been written, and they were written when they were never done; for a royal family that is at variance with itself is a terrible thing; and that which thou callest a reward of piety, often argued a foundation of hope as makes them leave no sort of mischief untiried; nor does any one lay any wicked practices to our charge; but as to cunning by hearsay, how can he put an enforce to them, who will not hear what we have to say? Have we talked with too great freedom? yes, but against thee, for that would be unjust, but against those that never conceal any thing that is spoken to them. Hath either of us lamented our mother? yes; but because she is dead, but because she was evil spoken of by those that were reason so to do. And we desirous of that dominion which we know our father is possessed of? For what reason can we be so? If we already have royal honours, as we have, should we not labour in vain? And if we have them not, are we not in hopes of them? Of, supposing that we had killed thee, could we expect to obtain thy kingdom? while neither the thing itself, nor us sail upon after such an action as that: nay, the religion of all your subjects, and the piety of the whole nation, would have prohibited parties from assuming the government; and that most holy temple which was built by thee."

* Since some prejudiced men have indulged a wild suspicion, as we have supposed already, Antiq. B. v. ch. 15. sect. 7 that Josephus's history of Herod's rebelling
joined at this reconciliation. And in the last days they were with Caesar, Herod made him a present of three hundred talents, as he was then exhibiting to the people of Rome; and Caesar made him a present of half the revenue of the copper mines in Cyprus, and committed the care of the other half to him, and honoured him with other gifts and incomes; and as to his own kingdom, he left it in his own power to appoint which of his sons he pleased for his successor, or to distribute it in parts to every one, that the dignity might thereby come to them all. And when Herod was disposed to make such a settlement immediately, Caesar said, “He would not give him leave to deprive himself, while he was alive, of the power over his kingdom, or over his sons.”

6. After this Herod returned to Judea again, but during his absence no small part of his dominions about Trachonitis had revolted, whom yet the commanders he left there had ravaged, and compelled to a submission again. Now, as Herod was sailing with his sons, and was come over against Cilicia, to [the island] Eleusis, which hath now changed its name for Sebaste, he met with Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, who received him kindly, as rejoicing that he was reconciled to him, and to the great suffering against Archelaus, who had married his daughter, was at an end. They also made one another such presents as it became kings to make. From thence Herod came to Judea, and made a speech to the people, concerning what had been done in this his journey: “He also discourse to them about Caesar’s kindness to him, and how and about as many persecution he had done, as he thought it for his advantage other people should be acquainted with. At last he turned his speech to the admonition of his sons; and exhort those that were in every country, and the cities, to order, and informed them, that his sons were to reign after him; Antipater first, and then Alexander and Aristobulus, the sons of Mariamme; but he desired that at present they should all have regard to himself, and esteem him king and lord of all, since he was not yet hindered by old age, but was in that period of life when he must be the most skilful in governing; and that he was not deficient in other arts of management that might enable him to govern the kingdom well, and to rule over his children and others also. He farther said to the soldiers, that in case they would look upon him alone, their life would be led in a peaceable manner, and they would make one another happy.” And when they talked it was this, and this, the assembly. Which speech was acceptable to the greatest part of the audience, but not so to them all, for the contention among his sons, and the hopes he had given them, occasioned thoughts and desires of innovations among them.

CHAP. V.

How Herod celebrated the Games that were to return every fifth Year, upon the Building of Cesarea; and how he built and adorned many other Places after a magnificent Manner; and did many other Actions gloriously.

§ 1. About this time it was that Cesarea Sebaste, which he had built, was finished. The entire building being accomplished in the tenth year, the solemnity of it fell into the twenty-eighth year of Herod’s reign, and into the hundred and ninety-second Olympiad. There was accordingly a great festival, and most sumptuous

the temple is no better than a fable, it may not be unsafe to take notice of this occasion. And it is certain that Alexander, before his father Herod, in his and his brother’s vindication, which mentions the temple as known by every body to have been built by Herod. See John ii. 20. See also another speech of Herod’s own to the young men

of other dangers, can any murderer go off unpunished, while Caesar is alive? We are thy sons, and not so impious, or so thoughtless, as to think of such a wickedness of our own as is convenient for thee. But in case thou neither findest any causes of complaint, nor any treacherous designs, what sufficient evidences hast thou to make such a wickedness of our invisible? Our mother is dead indeed, but then what befell her might be an instruction to us to caution, and not an incitement to wickedness.

We are willing to make a larger apology for ourselves, but actions never done do not admit of discourse: nay, we will make this agreement with thee, and that before Caesar, the lord of all, who is now a mediator of this, our father, cannot bring himself, by the evidence of truth, to have a mind free from suspicion concerning us, let us live, though even then we shall live in an unhappy way, for to be accused of great acts of wickedness, though falsely, is a terrible thing; but if thou hast any fear remaining, continue thou on in thy pious life, we will give this our consent to our own continuation of life is not so desirable to us as to desire to have it, if it tend to the harm of our father who gave it us.”

4. When Alexander had thus spoken, Caesar, was well disposed to his sons, and yet Alexander was still more moved by it, and looked intently upon Herod, and perceived he was a little concealed; the persons there present were under awe to hear him, and no one came to Judea, or a saying that was spread abroad made the king hated, for the very incredibility of the calumny, and the commiscation of the flower of youth, the beauty of her age, and the good character of the young girl, which had been bedewed with tears and cast downwards to the ground, but now there arose in them a hope of the best; and the king himself appeared not to have had foundation enough to build such an accusation upon, he having no real evidence wherewith to convict them. Indeed he wanted some apology for making the accusation; but Caesar, after some delay, said, that “although the young men were thoroughly innocent of that for which they were calumniated, yet had they been so far to blame, that they had not demeaned themselves towards their father as to prevent that suspicion which was spread abroad concerning them.” He also exhorted Herod to lay all such suspicions aside, and to be reconciled to his sons; and he added “not justly to give any credit to such reports concerning his own children; and that this repentance on both sides might still heal those breaches that had happened between them, and might improve their good-will to one another, whereby those on both sides, excusing the rashness of their suspicions, might resolve to bear a greater degree of affection towards each other than they had before. After Caesar had given them this admonition, he beckoned to the young men. When therefore they were disposed to fall down to make intercession to their father, he took them up, and made them always, as they were in tears, and took each of them distinctly in his arms, till not one of those that were present, whether free man or slave, but was deeply affected with what they saw.

5. Then did they return thanks to Caesar, and went away together; and with them went Antipater, with a hypocritical pretence that he re
preparations made presently, in order to its dedication, for he had appointed a contention in music, and games to be performed naked. He had even a votive horse-race, and an apportionment of the prizes, for those that fight single combats, and of beasts for the like purpose: horse-races also, and the most chargeable of such sports and shows as used to be performed at Rome, and in other places. He consecrated this contest to Caesar, and ordered it to be celebrated every fifth year. He also sent all sorts of ornaments for it out of his own furnaces, that without regard to his own advantage, and with respect to his people to make nothing to do it decent: nay, Julia, Caesar’s wife, sent a great part of her most valuable furniture [from Rome,] insomuch that he had no want of any thing. The sum of all was enormous: six thousand talents, and the army of the year was made up of all the inhabitants. One of the ornaments of furniture, and sometimes at contradiction with itself: but I am myself of another opinion, and imagine that the occasion of both these sorts of actions was one and the same; for he had a design to make Caesar appear of a better sort by his conduct: and as he was already agitated, he was necessitated to harass his subjects; for the persons on whom he expended his money were so many, that they made him a very bad procurer of it; and he was conscious that he was hated by those under him, for the injuries he did them, he thought it not an easy thing to amend his offences, for that it was in a conversing with the temple and the great magnitudes was round about it; this he named Antipatris, from his father Antipater. He also built upon another spot of ground above Jericho, of the same name with his mother’s place of great security, and very pleasant for habitation, and called it Cyprus. He also dedicated the finest monuments to his brother Phasaelus, on account of the great natural affection there had been between them, by erecting a tower in the city itself, not less than the tower of Pharos, which he named Phasaelus, which was at once a part of the town, and of the city, and a memorial for him that was deceased, because it bare his name. He also built a city of the same name in the valley of Jericho, as you go from northward, which was a. considerable in his neighboring country, more fruitful, by the cultivation its inhabitants introduced; and this also he called Phasaelis.

3. But as for his other benefits, it is impossible to reckon them up, those which he bestowed on cities, both in Syria and in Greece, and in all the places he came to in his voyages; for he seems to have conferred, and that after a most plentiful manner, what would minister to many necessities, and the building of public works, and gave them the money that was necessary to such works as wanted it, to support them upon the failure of their other revenues: but what was the greatest and most illustrious of all his works, he erected Apollo’s temple at Rhodes, at his own expenses, and gave them a great number of talents of silver for the repair of their fleet. He also built the greatest part of the public edifices for the inhabitants of Nicopolis,* at Actium: and for the Antiochians, the inhabitants of the principal city of Antioch in Syria, where a broad street cuts through the place lengthways, he built cloisters along it on both sides; and laid the open road with polished stone, which was of very great ad

vantageto the inhabitants. And as to the Olympic games, which were in a very low condition, by reason of the failure of their revenues, he restored them their reputation, and apportioned revenues for their maintenance, and made that solemn meeting more venerable, as to the sacrifices and other ornaments: and by reason of this vast liberality, he was generally declared to have been one of the perpetual managers of those games.  

4. Now some there who stand amazed at the diversity of Herod’s nature and passions for what was good and what was base, for his greatness and his meanness, and the benefits which he bestowed on all mankind, there is no possibility for even those that had the least respect for him, to deny, of open day to count, that he had a nature vastly beneficent; but when any one looks upon the punishments he inflicted, and the injuries he did, not only to his subjects, but to his near relations, and takes notice of his severe and unrelenting disposition there, he will be forced to allow that he was brutish, and a stranger to all humanity, insomuch that these men surpass that nature in different, and sometimes at contradiction with itself; but I am myself of another opinion, and imagine that the occasion of both these sorts of actions was one and the same; for he had a design to make Caesar appear of a better sort by his conduct: and as he was already agitated, he was necessitated to harass his subjects; for the persons on whom he expended his money were so many, that they made him a very bad procurer of it; and he was conscious that he was hated by those under him, for the injuries he did them, he thought it not an easy thing to amend his offences, for that it was in a conversing with the temple and the great magnitudes was round about it; this he named Antipatris, from his father Antipater. He also built upon another spot of ground above Jericho, of the same name with his mother’s place of great security, and very pleasant for habitation, and called it Cyprus. He also dedicated the finest monuments to his brother Phasaelus, on account of the great natural affection there had been between them, by erecting a tower in the city itself, not less than the tower of Pharos, which he named Phasaelus, which was at once a part of the town, and of the city, and a memorial for him that was deceased, because it bare his name. He also built a city of the same name in the valley of Jericho, as you go from northward, which was a considerable in his neighboring country, more fruitful, by the cultivation its inhabitants introduced; and this also he called Phasaelis.  

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* Dr. Horsley has given us the words of Suetonius concerning the Nicopolis, when Augustus rebuilt it: “And that the memory of his victory at Actium might be celebrat

brated the more afterward, he built Nicopolis at Actium, and appointed public shows to be there exhibited every fifth year. August. sect. 16.
lived in Libya, which joins to Cyrene, while the former had given them the privileges with the other citizens; but the Greeks afforded them at this time, and that so far as to take away their sacred money, and to do them mischief on other occasions. While the Jews were thus afflicted, and found no end of the barbarous treatment they met with among the Greeks, they sent ambassadors to Caesar on the same subject, and gave the same privileges as they had before, and sent letters to the same purpose to the governors of the provinces, copies of which I subjoin here, as testimonials of the ancient and favorable disposition the Roman emperors had towards us.

2. "Cæsar Augustus, high priest, and tribune of the people, ordains thus: Since the nation of the Jews have been treated as subjects of God in people, not only at this time, but in time past also, and chiefly Hyrcanus the high priest, under my father Cæsar the emperor, it seemed good to me and to the senate and people of Rome, that the Jews have liberty to make use of their own customs, according to the law of their forefathers, saves only one use unseasonable, as the sacrifice of the high priest of Almighty God; and that their sacred money be not touched, but be sent to Jerusalem, and that it be committed to the care of the receive at Jerusalem; and that it be not to be judged on the Sabbath, nor on the day of the preparation to it, after the ninth hour: but if any one be caught stealing their holy book, or taking their money, whether he be of the synagogue, or public school, he shall be deemed a sacrilegious person, and his goods shall be brought into the public treasury of the Romans. And I give order, that the synagogal which they have given me, on account of my regard to that piety which I exercise toward all mankind, and out of regard to Cæsarius Marcus Censorius, together with the present decree, be proposed in that most eminent place which hath been consecrated to me, by the community of Asia at Ancyra. And if any one transgress any part of what is above declared, he shall be severely punished." This was inscribed upon a pillar in the temple of Cæsar.

3. "Cæsar to Norbanus Flaccus, sendeth greeting: Let those Jews, how many soever they be, who have the same custom to send their sacred money to Jerusalem, do the same freely." These were the decrees of Cæsar.

4. Agrippa also did himself esteem the manna of Cæsar hymen of the Jews; to the magistrates, senators, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting: I will that the care and custody of the sacred money that is carried to the temple at Jerusalem be left to the Jews of Asia, to do with it according to their ancient custom; and that such as steal that sacred money of the Jews, and fly to a sanctuary, shall be taken thence and delivered to the Jews, by the same law that sacrilegious persons are taken thence. I have also written to Sylvanus the praetor, that no one compel the Jews to come thence on the Sabbath day."}

5. "Marcus Agrippa, to the magistrates, senators, and people of Cyrene, sendeth greeting: The Jews of Cyrene have interceded with me for the performance of what Augustus sent orders about to Flavius, the then praetor of Libya, and to the other procurators of that province, that the sacred money may be sent to Jerusalem freely, as hath been their custom from their forefathers, they complaining that they are abused by certain informers, and accused with thefts which were not due, are hindered from sending them, which I command to be restored, without any diminution or disturbance given to them: for that and if any of that sacrificial money in the cities be taken from their proper receivers, I further enjoin, that the same be exactly returned to the Jews in that place."}

6. "Cæsarius Norbanus Flaccus, proconsul, to the magistrates of the Sardians, sendeth greeting: Cæsar hath written to me, and commanded me not to forbid the Jews, how many soever they be, from assembling together according to the custom of their forefathers, nor from sending their money to Jerusalem: I have therefore written to you, that you may know that both Cæsar and I would have you act accordingly."}

7. "Nor did Julius Antonius, the proconsul, write otherwise: "To the magistrates, senators, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting: As I was dispensing justice at Ephesus, in the month of February, the Jews that dwell in Asia demonstrated to me, that Augustus and Agrippa had permitted them to use their own laws and customs, and to offer the sacrifices according to their own, and that one of them freely offers to the Deity on account of piety, and to carry them in a company together to Jerusalem without disturbance. They also petitioned me, that I also might confirm what had been granted by Augustus and Agrippa by my own sanction, I would therefore have you take notice, that according to the will of Augustus and Agrippa, I will prudently and do according to the customs of their forefathers without disturbance."}

8. "I have been obliged to set down these decrees, because of the present history of our own acts will go generally among the Greeks; and I have hereby demonstrated to them that we have formerly been in great esteem, and have not been prohibited by those governors we were under from keeping any of the laws of our forefathers; nay, that we have been supported by them, while we followed our own religion, and the worship we paid to God; and I frequently make mention of these decrees, in order to reconcile other people to us, and to take away the causes of that hatred which unreasonable men bear us. As for our present history, it is a nation which always makes use of the same, and in every city almost we meet with them different from one another; but natural justice is most agreeable to the advantages of all men equally, both Greeks and barbarians, to which our laws have the greatest regard, and thereby render us, if we abide in them after a proper manner, benevolent and friendly to all men: on which account we have reason to expect the like return from others, and to inform them that they ought not to esteem difference of positive institutions a sufficient cause of alienation, but [join with us in] the pursuit of virtue and probity, for this belongs to all men in common, and of itself alone is sufficient for the preservation of human life. I now return to the thread of my history." 

CHAP. VII.

How, upon Herod's going down into David's Sæculum, the Sedition in his Family greatly increased.

§ 1. As for Herod, he had spent vast sums about the cities, both without and within his own

morality, from positive institutions in all countries, and evidently preferring the evident truth of God always under the Old Testament, and Christ and his apostles always under the New; whence our Josephus seems to have been at a great distance from the morality then prevailing, and the practice of his age, who, as we know from the New Testament, were entirely of a different opinion and practice."
kingdom; and as he had before heard that Hyrcanus, who had been king before him, had opened David's sepulchre, and taken out of it three thousand talents of silver, and that there was a much greater number left behind, and indeed enough to suffice all his wants, and to be a great while an intention to make the attempt; and at this time he opened that sepulchre by night, and was not a little surprised at what he found. It shou'd seem he was at all known in the city, but took only his most faithful friends with him. As for any money, he found none, as Hyrcanus had done, but that furniture of gold, and those gildings, as those kinds, that were laid up there, all which he took away. However, he had a great desire to make a more diligent search, and to go farther in, even as far as the very bodies of David and Solomon; where two of his guards were slain, by a flame that burst out upon those that went in, as the report was. So he was terribly affrighted, and went out, and then the next day, that he might the more easily have searched, he entered the sepulchre, and at the mouth of the sepulchre, and that at a great expense also. And even Nicolaus his historiographer, the son of this monument built by Herod,1 though he does not mention his going down into the sepulchre, as knowing that action to be of ill repute; and many other things he treats of in another manner in his book; for he wrote Herod's life, and was his own companion, and so as to please him, and as a servant to him, touching upon nothing but what tended to his glory, and openly excusing many of his notorious crimes, and very diligent to please almost the emperor. And as he was desirous to put handsome colours on the death of Mariamne and her sons, which were the occasions acting in the king, he tells falsehoods about the inconstancy of Mariamne, and the treacherous designs of his sons upon him; and thus he proceeded in his whole work, making a pompous encomium upon what just actions he had done, but earnestly apologizing for his unjust ones. Indeed a man, as I said, may have a great deal to say by way of excuse for Nicolaus; for he did not so properly write this as a history for others, as somewhat that might be subservient to the king himself. As for ourselves, who come of a family nearly allied to the Asmonean kings, and on that account have an honor, which is the priesthood, as is therefore the priest's prerogative, I think it indecent to say anything that is false about them, and accordingly we have described their actions after an unblemished and upright manner in our history of the king. And so we conceive it right, and agreed that the thirtieth day after should be the day of marriage; and swore he would have no farther conversation with her whom he had put away; but when the thirty days were expired, he was such a slave to his affections, that he no longer performed any thing he had promised, but continued still with his former wife. This occasioned Herod to grieve openly, and made him angry, while the king dropped one word or other against Phereoras perpetually; and many more the king's anger an opportunity for raising ca
dunois for him. Nor had the king any longer a single quiet day or hour, but occasions of one fresh quarrel or another arose among his relations, and those that were dearest to him; for Salome was of a harsh temper, and ill treated Mariamne's sons; nor would she suffer her own daughter, who was the wife of Aristobulus, one of those young men, to bear a gentle heart towards her: If he had said anything to her in private, and when any misunderstanding happened, as is common, she raised a great many suspicions out of it; by

1 See Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews, Book 17, Chapter 10, Section 3.

* It is here worth our observation, how careful Josephus was as to the discovery of truth in Herod's history, since he does not follow Nicolaus his historian. It is a man of great sagacity, where there was great reason to suspect that he flattered Herod; which imprudence in history

Josephus here solemnly professes, and of which imprec

2 See Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews, Book 17, Chapter 10, Section 3.
which means she learned all their concerns, and made the damsels ill-natured to the young man. [And in order to gratify her mother, she often said that the young men used to mention Mero
dam and her sisters frequently among themselves; that they hated their father, and were continually
threatening, that if they had once got the king-
dom, they would make Herod's sons by his first
wife wear cuir boulet Recruiting for that the
present education which was given them, and
their diligence in learning, fitted them for such
as employment. And as for the women, when-
ever she saw them wearing her son's grov
clothes, they threatened, that instead of their
present gaudy apparel, they should be clothed in
secrect, and confin'd so closely that they
should not see the light of the sun. These sto-
ries were presently carried by Salome to the
king, who was troubled to hear them, and en-
deavoured to make up matters; but these sus-
picions afflicted him, and becoming more and
more uneasy, he believed every body against
every body. However, upon his rebuking his
sons, and hearing the defence they made for
them, he was a little mightily pacified; a little
afterward much worse accidents came upon him.

4. For Phærocer came to Alexander, the hus-
bondman of Glaphyra, who was the daughter of
Archelaus, as we have already told you, and said,
that he had heard from Salome, that Herod was
eammonished of Glaphyra, and that his passion for
her was incurable. When Alexander heard this, he
was all on fire, from his youth and jealousy;
and he interpreted the instances of Herod's obli-
ging behaviour to her, which were very frequent,
for the worse, when he was from home; whereas
he had on account of that word which fell from
Phærora; nor could he conceal his grief at the
thing, but informed him what words Phærocer
had said. Upon which Herod was in a great
more disorder than ever; and not bearing such a false
calumnry, which was to his shame, was much dis-
turbed at it; and often did he lament the wicked-
ness of his domestics, and how good he had been to
them, and how ill requital they had made him.
So he sent for Phærocer, and reproached him, and
said, "This vilest of all men! art thou come to
the unbecoming behaviour of an emperor in the
grace of arrogation, as not only to suppose such things
of me, to speak of them! I now indeed perceive
what thy intentions are: it is not thy only aim
to please him, but also to render him thine own;
but thereby to persuade him to plot
against me, and get me destroyed by poison.
And who is there, if he had not a good genius at
his back? He is such a man; he is such a one,
suspect of his father, but would revenge him-
selves upon him! Doest thou suppose that thou hast
only dropped a word for him to think of, and not
rather put a sword into his hand to slay his
father? And what dost thou mean, when thou
realy hatest both him and his brother, to pretend
kindness to them, only in order to raise a reproach
against me, and talk of such things as no one but
such an impious wretch as thou art could either
deceive in their mind, or declare in their words.
Begone, thou that art such a plague to thy
benefactor and thy brother, and may that evil con-
sideration of thine go along with thee; while I still
overcome my relations by kindness, and am so
far from avenging myself of them as they de-
served, and that I bestow greater benefits upon them
than they are worthy of."

5. Thus did the king speak. Whereupon Phæro-
cer, who was caught in the very act of his vil-
lance, said, "But I must discover the mer-
ner of this plot, and that the words came from
her." But as soon as she heard that, for she was
at hand, she cried out, like one that would
not bear that proposal, and went his way;
for he said, that if he should do so, he should
be stoned by the Arabs. Then did Phærocer re-
proach Salome for her insubordination, as did the
many much more than this, to the king, and dehoused her. As for that damsel, whom the
king had betrothed to his brother Phærocer, but
he had not taken her, as I have before related,
because he was in the prime of his age, Salome
desired of Herod she might be given (to
make the king hate her, and to make her
away, because of the good-will she bore to Her-
rod, and because she was always foreseeing the
dangers that were coming upon him, and at present there were more plots against him
than usual; for while she was the only person was
persuaded her brother to put away the wife he
now had, and to take his sister, she never
wondered if she were hated by him. As she
said this, and often tore her hair, and often beat
her breast, her countenance made her denial to
be believed; but the persuasiveness of the man,
her dissimulation in these proceedings; but Phærocer was caught
between them, and had nothing plausible to offer
in his own defence, while he confessed that he
had said what was charged upon him, but was
not believed when he said he had heard it from
Salome; so the confusion among them was
increased, and their quarrelsome words were
other. At last the king, out of his hatred to his
brother and sister, sent them both away; and
when he had commended the moderation of his
son, and that he had himself told him of the
report, he went in a great manner, and a little
latterward much worse accidents came upon him.

6. There was one Obodas, king of Arabia, an
inactive and slothful man in his nature; but Sy-
leus managed most of his affairs for him. He was
a shrewd man, although he was but young, and
was handsome withal. This Syllenus, upon some
occasion coming to Herod, accused of him,
him, saw Salome, and set his heart upon her,
and, understanding that she was a widow, he
discoursed with her. Now, because Salome was
at this time less in favour with her brother, she
looked upon Syllenus with some passion, and was
very earnest to be married to him; and on
the days following there appeared many, and those
very great, indications of the same affair to
ther. Now the women carried this news to the
king, and laughed at the indecency of it; where-
upon Herod inquired about it farther of Phæro-
cer, and desired him to tell him more how their
behaviour was one toward another—
who told him, that by the signals which came
from their heads and their eyes, they both were
evidently in love. After the Syllenus was al-
bian, being suspected, went away, but came
again in two or three months afterwards, as it
were on that very design, and spake to Herod
about it, and desired that Salome might be given
him to wife; for that his affinities might not be
disadvantageous to his affairs, by a union with
Arabia, the government of which country was
already in effect under his power, and more evi-
dently would be his hereafter. Accordingly,
when Herod discoursed with his sister about it,
and asked her whether she were disposed to this
match, she immediately agreed to it. But when Syllenus was desired to come over to the Jewish
religion, and them he should marry her, and that
it was impossible to do it on any other terms, he
could not bear that proposal, and went his way;
for he said, that if he should do so, he should
be stoned by the Arabs. Then did Phærocer re-
proach Salome for her insubordination, as did the
many much more than this, to the king, and dehoused her. As for that damsel, whom the
king had betrothed to his brother Phærocer, but
he had not taken her, as I have before related,
because he was in the prime of his age, Salome
desired of Herod she might be given (to
her son by Costobarns; which match he was very willing to, but was dissuaded from it by Phororos, who pleaded, that this young man was not fit for her; that he was very fond of her; and that he had been slain by him, and that it was more just that his son, who was to be his successor in the ter- rarchy, should have her; so he begged his per- don, and persuaded him to do so. Accordingly, the damsel, upon this change of her espousals, was disposed of to this young man, the son of Phororos, the king giving for her portion a hun- dred talents.

CHAP. VIII.

How Herod took up Alexander, and bound him: whom yet Archelaus, King of Cappadocia, reconciled to his Father Herod again.

§ 1. But still the affairs of Herod's family were no better, but perpetually more trouble- some. Now this accident happened, which arose from no decent occasion, but proceeded so far as to bring great difficulties upon him. There were certain enmities which the king had, and on ac- count of their beauty, was very fond of them; and the care of bringing him drink was intrusted to one of them, of bringing him his supper to an- other, and of putting him to bed to the third, who almost monopolized the principal affairs of the go- vernment; and there was one told the king, that these enmities were corrupted by Alexander the king's son, with great sums of money: and when they were asked, whether Alexander had had any criminal conversation with them they confess- ed it, but said they knew of no farther mischief of his against his father; but when they were more closely tortured, and were in the utmost extremity, and the tormentors, out of compliance with Antipater, stretched the rack to the very utmost, they said, that Alexander bare great ill- will they were asked, whether Alexander had had any cavils against his son; and that he was will- ing enough to have done worse by them but that he might not seem to take such liberty against men of so great reputation, he contented himself with doing the injury to the dignity, and of their power to hinder his wicked proceed- ings.

3. And in this state of disorder were the affairs of the palace: and he had already told many of his friends directly, that they ought not to appear before him, nor come into the palace; and the reason of this injunction was, that when they were there he had less freedom of acting, or a greater restraint on himself on their account: for at this time he feared the government of his son and of his friends, and been very useful to him in the affairs of his kingdom, and been of advantage to his family, and had been his tutors to his sons, and had in a manner the first degree of freedom with him. He ex- pelled Andromachus, because his son Demetrius was a great sinner, and Antipater and Gamelius, because he knew that he wished well, which arose from his having been with him in his youth, when he was at school, and absent at Rome. These were the men that were least willing to have done worse by them but that he might not seem to take such liberty against men of so great reputation, he contented himself with doing the injury to the dignity, and of their power to hinder his wicked proceed- ings.

4. Now it was Antipater who was the cause of all this; who, when he knew what a mad and bencious way of acting his father was in, and had been a great while one of his counsellors, he bur- ried him on, and then thought he should bring him to do something to purpose, when every one that could oppose him was taken away. When, therefore, Andromachus and his friends were driven away, and had no discourse nor freedom in his council, he was afraid of having any great many of his friends was of his side, and those ill men neither, ready both to do and to suffer whatsoever should come on that account.

And he not having heard this confession, he was all over anger and fear, some parts seeming to him reproachful, and some made him suspicious of dangers that attended him, insomuch that on both accounts he was provoked, and bitterly afraid lest some more heavy plot was laid against him than he should be then able to escape from; whereupon he did not now make an open search, but sent about spies to watch such as he suspect- ed, for he was now over-run with suspicion and hatred against all about him; and indulging abundance of those suspicions, in order to his preservation, he continued to suspect those that were suspected him, lest he should get any bounds to himself, but supposing that those who staid with him had the most power to hurt him, they were to him very frightful: and for those that did not suspect him, it seemed to him to have thought to himself, [to make them suspected, and he thought himself safer when they were destroyed: and at last his conduct was that pass, that he could no way escape without exposing himself, they fell to accusing one another, and imagining that he who first accused another, was most likely to accuse himself, and any had yet, when they threw others, they were hated, and they were thought to suffer justly, who unjustly accused others, and they only thereby prevented their own accusation; nay, they now executed their own private enmities by this means, and when they had done, which their master had done, they were their own accusers: and the king soon repeated what he had done, because he had no clear evidence of the guilt of those whom he had slain: and yet what was still more severe in him, he did not make use of his repentance, in order to leave off doing the like again, but in order to inflict the same punishment upon their accusers.
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It is also related, that he had his brother Achilles for his acquaintance; and contrived to go to Rome to beg for his father, as they were both under sentence to death. He therefore set out, and came to Rome, and desired to have the kingdom given to him. There were also letters of the young man found, written to his brother, wherein he complained, that his father did not act justly in giving an estate to another, a country, whose yearly revenues amounted to two hundred talents. Upon these appeals, Herod presently thought it best to send him to Jerusalem, on purpose to compose the differences; and when he found Herod in such a temper, he thought it wholly unseasonable to dispose of him, or to pretend that he had done any thing rashly; for that he should thereby naturally bring him to dispute the point with him, and by still more and more apologizing for himself to be more irritated; he went therefore another way to work, in order to correct the former misfortunes, and appeared angry at the young man, and said, that Herod had been so very mild a man, that he had not acted a rash part at all. He also said, he would dissolve his daughter's marriage with Alexander, nor could in justice spare his own daughter, if she were conscious of any thing, and did not inform Herod of it. When Archelaus appeared to be more severe than his father, and otherwise than Herod expected or imagined, and for the main, took Herod's part, and was angry on his account, the king abated his anger, and took occasion, for he was appearing to have acted justly hitherto, to come by degrees to put on the affection of a father, and was on both sides to be pitied; for when some persons refuted the calumnies that were laid on the young man, he was thrown into a passion; but when Archelaus joined in the accusation, he was dissolved into tears and sorrow after an affectionate manner; in which he said, he would not dissolve his soul's marriage, and became not so angry as before for his offences. So when Archelaus had brought him to a more moderate temper, he transferred the calumnies upon his friends; and said, it must be owing to them that so young a man, and one unacquainted with malice, was corrupted, and he supposed that there was more reason to suspect the brother than the son. Upon which Herod was very much displeased at Pheroras, who indeed now had no one that could make a reconciliation between him and his son. So he sent that Archelaus had the greatest power with Herod, he betook himself to him in the habit of a mourner, and like one that had all the signs upon him of an undone man. Upon which Archelaus did not overlook the intercession he made to him, nor yet did he undertake to change the king's disposition towards him immediately; and he said, that it was better for him to himself to the king, and confess himself the occasion of all; that this would make the king's anger not to be extravagant towards him, and that then he would be present to assist him. When he had persuaded him to this, he gained his point with both of them; and the calumnies raised against the young man were, beyond all expectation, wiped off. And Archelaus, as soon as he had made the reconciliation, went then away to Cappadocia, having proved at this juncture of time the most acceptable person to Herod in the world; on which account he gave him the richest presents, as tokens of his respect to him, and being on other occasions magnanimous, he esteemed him one of his dearest friends. He also made an agreement with him, that he would go to Rome, because he had written to Cæsar about these affairs: so they went together as far as Antioch, and there Herod made a reconciliation between Archelaus and Titus, the president of Syria, who had been greatly at variance, and returned back to Judea.
CHAP. IX.

Concerning the Revolt of the Trachonitis: how Syllaus accused Herod before Caesar: and how Herod, when Caesar was angry at him, resolved to send Nicodemus to Rome.

§ 1. When Herod had been at Rome, and was coming against a war arose between him and the Arabians, on the occasion following: the inhabitants of Trachonitis, after Caesar had taken the country away from Zenodorus, and added it to his kingdom, held no land to rob, but were forced to plough the land, and to live quietly, which was a thing they did not like; and when they did take that pain, the ground did not produce much fruit for them. However, at the first the king would not permit them to rob, and so they abstained from that unjust way of living upon their neighbours, which procured Herod a great reputation for his care: but when he was sailing to Rome, (it was at that time when he went to succour his son Alexander, and to summit Anipater to Caesar's protection,) the Trachonitans spread a report as if he had deserted his dominions, and betook themselves again to their accustomed way of robbing their neighbours: at which time the king's commanders, finding them doing so, were ashamed, but about forty of the principal robbers, being terrified by those that had been taken, left the country, and retired into Arabia; Syllaus entertaining them, promised them of marrying their children, and gave them a place of strength, in which they dwelt. So they overran not only Judea, but all Cæsarea also, and carried off the prey, while Syllaus supplied them with victual and quieted their minds with a security of coming off with their plunder, because of the secure retreat they had in that country, and which the Arabians afforded them, and yet being very uneasy at the injuries they had done him, he went all over Trachonitis, and slew their relations; whereupon these robbers were more angry than before, it being a law among them to be avenged on the murderers of their relations by all possible means, so they continued to tear and rend every thing under Herod's dominion with impunity; then did he discourse about these robberies to Saturninus and Volumnius, and required that they should be punished; upon which occasion they still the more confirmed themselves in their robberies, and became more numerous; and made war on the outlying places, laying waste the country and villages that belonged to Herod's kingdom, and killing those men whom they caught, till these unjust proceedings came to be like a real war, for the robbers were now become about a thousand. At which Herod was sore displeased, and required the robbers, as well as the money which he had lent Obodas, by Syllaus, which was sixty talents; and since the time of payment was now past, he desired to have it paid him; but Syllaus, who had laid Obodas aside, and managed all by himself, denied that the robbers were in Arabia, and put off the payment of the money; about which there was a hearing before Saturninus and Volumnius, who were then the presidents* of Syria. At last, he, by their means, agreed, that within thirty days' time Herod should be paid his money, and that each of them should deliver up the other's subjects reciprocally. Now, as to Herod, there was not one of the Jews who had gone away with his kingdom, either as doing any injustice, or on any other account; but it was proved that the Arabians had the robbers amongst them.

2. When the day appointed for payment of the money was past, without Syllaus's performing any part of his agreement, and he was gone to Rome, Herod demanded the payment of the money, and required that the robbers that were amongst them should be delivered up; and, by the permission of Saturninus and Volumnius, executed the judgment upon those that were refractory. He took the army that he had, and kept no more than a thousand men; and in three days' time, by forced marches, arriving at the garrison wherein the robbers were, he made an assault upon them, and took the place, and put all within to the sword, except such as were called Reæpta, but did no harm to any others: but as the Arabians came to their assistance, under Nacebos their captain, there ensued a great conflict of battles, when Nacebos, the captain of the Arabians, and about twenty of his soldiers fell, while the rest betook themselves to flight. So when he had brought these to punishment, he placed three thousand Idumeans in Trachonitis, and thereby restrained the robbers that were there. He also sent an ambassador to the captains that were about Persia, and demanded that he had done was being what he ought to do, in punishing the refractory Arabians, which, upon an exact inquiry, they found to be no more than what was true.

3. However, Herod went next year to Syria, to repair to Syllaus to Rome, and informed him of what had been done, and, as is usual, aggravated every thing. Now Syllaus had already insulted himself to Herod, to his everlasting shame and dislike, about the palace; and as soon as he heard of these things, he changed his habit into black, and went in, and told Caesar, that * Arabyas was affected with a war, and that he was in great confusion, upon Herod's laying it waste with his army; and he said, with tears in his eyes, that two thousand five hundred of the principal robbers were killed or destroyed, and that their captain Nacebos, his familiar friend and kinsman, was slain; and that the riches that were at Reæpta were carried off; and that Obodas was despaired of, whose infant state of body rendered him unfit for war, or which account neither he, nor the Arabian army, were present." When Syllaus said so, and added invidiously, that "he would not himself have come out of the country, unless he had believed that Caesar would have provided that they should all have peace one with another, and that, had he been the governor, he would have destroyed the war should not have been to Herod's advantage." Caesar was provoked when this was said and asked no more than this one question, both of Herod, and of Syllaus, whether he had not seen his own friends, who were come from Syria, "Whether Herod had led an army thither?" And when they were forced to confess so much, Caesar, without staying to hear for what reason he did it, and how it was done, grew very angry, and wrote to Herod sharply. The sum of his epistle was this; that "whereas of old he had used him as his friend, he should now make him his subject." Syllaus also wrote an account of this to the Arabians; who were so elevated with it, that they neither delivered up the robbers that had fled to them, nor paid the money that was due: they retained those pastures also which they had hired, and kept them without paying their rent, and all this because the king of the Jews was now in a low condition, by reason of Caesar's anger at him. These of Trachonitis also made use of this opportunity, and rose up against the Idumean garrisons, and followed as far as they could Obodas, who had pillaged their country, and were more rigid in their unjust proceedings, not only in order to get by it, but by way of revenges also.

4. Now Herod was forced to bear all this, that you more like a procurator under the former; as the very learned Moris and Pagi, and with them Dr. Herder, demonstrated.

* These joint presidents of Syria, Saturninus and Volumnius, were not perhaps of equal authority; but the lat-
BOOK XVI.—CHAP. X.

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ideas of his being quite gone with which we're favored to inspire him; for Caesar is not so much as an ambassador from him as an apology for himself; and when they again, he saw that without success be was cast into madness and fear; and Sylius proceedings grievously more, as he was known to Caesar, and was present or sometimes aspiring higher, to the latter he was cast into madness and fear; and Sylius proceedings grievously more, as he was known to Caesar, and was present or sometimes aspiring higher, to the latter he was cast into madness and fear; and Sylius proceedings grievously more, as he was known to Caesar, and was present or sometimes aspiring higher, to the latter he was cast into madness and fear; and Sylius proceedings grievously more, as he was known to Caesar, and was present or sometimes aspiring higher, to the latter he was cast into madness and fear; and Sylius proceedings grievously more, as he was known to Caesar, and was present or sometimes aspiring higher, to the latter he was cast into madness and fear; 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that Alexander would have persuaded them to kill Herod, when he was in pursuit of the wild beasts, that it might be said he fell from his horse and was injured by the fall, for that he had once such a misfortune formerly. They also showed where there was money hidden in the stable under ground, and those convicted with the king, chief hunter, that he had given the young men the royal hunting spears, and weapons to Alexander's dependents, at Alexander's command.

4. After this, the commander of the garrison of Alexandria was caught and tortured; for he was accused to have promised to receive the young men into his fortress, and to supply them with that money of the king which was laid up in that fortress, yet did he not acknowledge any thing of it himself; but his son came in, and said it was so, and delivered up the writing, which, so far as could be guessed, was in Alexander's hand. Its contents were these: "When we have finished, by God's help, all that we have proposed to do, we will come to you; but do your endeavors, as you have promised, to set us into your fortress." After this writing was produced, Herod had no doubt about the treacherous design of his son against him. But Alexander and Sophonisba, it appears, had written a letter by hand, and that the paper was maliciously drawn up by Antipater; for Diophonius appeared to be very cunning in such practices; and as he was now asked of Herod, supposing there were others, he was put to death for it.

5. So the king produced those that had been tortured before the multitude at Jericho, in order to save themselves, these the young men, which in one day cost various many of the people stoned to death; and when they were going to kill Alexander, and Aristobulus likewise, the king would not permit them to be slain, but let them be restored to the multitude, because of the means of Ptolemy and Pharaoh. However, the young men were put under a guard, and kept in custody, that nobody might come at them; and all that they did or said was watched; and the reproach and fear they were in was little or nothing different from those of condemned criminals; and one of them, who was Aristobulus, was so deeply affected, that he broke Salome, who was his aunt, and his mother-in-law, to lament with him for his calamities, and to hate him which had suffered things to come to that pass; when he had said this, "Aristobulus, take not the danger of destruction also, while the report goes that thou hadst disclosed beforehand all our affairs to Sylla, when thou wast in hopes of being married to him; but immediately carry those words to her brother: upon this he was out of patience, and gave command to bind him; and embraced them both, now they were kept separate from one another, that they might not have occasion to fly away; and that by the distress they were in, their lives being now uncertain and tedious to them.

6. About this time there came an ambassador out of Cappadocia from Archelaus, whose name was Melaus: he was one of the principal rulers under him. So Herod, being desirous to show Archelaus' ill-will to him, called for Alexander, as he was in his bonds, and asked him again concerning his flight, whither and how they had resided. Alexander replied, "To Archelaus, who had promised to send them away to Rome; but that they had no wicked nor unchaste design against their father; and that nothing of that nature which had charged upon them was true; and that their desire was, that he might have examined Tyranneus and Jason more strictly; but that they had been suddenly slain by the means of Antipater, who put his own friends among the multitude to imitate."

7. When this was said, Herod commanded that both Alexander and Meles should be carried to Gephyra, Archelaus' daughter, and that she should be asked, if she heard anything of somewhat of Alexander's treacherous design against Herod! Now as soon as they were come to her, and she saw Alexander in bonds, she best her head, and in a great constravention gave up a deep and moving groan. The young man she fell into tears. This was so miserable a spectacle to those present, that, for a great while, they were not able to say or do any thing; but a length Ptolemy, who was ordered to bring Alexander, bade him say, whether his wife was conscious of his actions? He replied, "How is it possible that she, whom I love better than my own soul, and by whom I have had children, should not know what I do!" Upon which she cried out, that she knew of no wicked design of his; that, if he was the supposed ill-will to his preservation, she would confess it all." Alexander replied, "There is so much wickedness as those (who ought the least to charge) charge of all, that I am not ashamed, nor ought I to be ashamed, nor ought I to be arguished, or thou knowest of, but this only, that we had resolved to retire to Archelaus, and from thence to Rome." Which also she confessed. Upon which Herod, supposing there were others, and that the means of Ptolemy and Pharaoh, and that Cæsar was no longer displeased at him, he should give him his letters, and the proofs which he had ready to show against the young men. As to Archelaus, he made this defence for himself, that "he had promised to receive the young men, because it was both for their own and their father's advantage so to do, lest some too severe procedure should be gone upon in that anonymous disorder they were under, and the suspicion of the present suspicions; but that still he had not promised to send them to Cæsar: and that he had not promised or consented the young men could show ill-will to him."
8. This provoked Caesar more than ever; so he turned to Sylla's full of rage, and asked him how many of the Arabians were slain? Hereupon he hesitated, and said he had been imposed upon. The question was then read aloud before him; he was asked how much money he had borrowed, and the letters of the presidents of Syria, and the complaints of the several cities, so many as he had been imposed by robbers. The conclusion was this: that Sylla was condemned to die, and that Caesar was reconciled to Herod, and owned his repentance for what severe things he had written to Herod, occasioned by calamity. Insomuch that he told Sylla, that he had compelled him, by his lying account of things, to be guilty of ingratitude against a man that was his friend. At the last, all came to this: Sylla was sent away to answer Herod's suit, and to repay the debt that he owed, and after that to be punished [with death]; but still Caesar was offended with Arata, that he had taken upon himself the government, without his consent first obtained, for he had determined to bestow Arabia upon Herod; but that the letters he had sent hindered him from giving him concurrence. When Caesar had read them, he thought it would not be proper to add another government to him, now he was old, and in ill state with relation to his son, so he admitted Arata's suit; and after this, Caesar just reproved him for his rashness in not marrying till he had received the kingdom from him, he accepted the presents, and confirmed him in his government.

CHAP. XI.

How Herod, by Permission from Caesar, accused his Sons before an Assembly of Judges at Bersus; and what Terror suffered for using a boundless and military liberty of Speech. Concerning also the Death of the young Men, and their Burial at Alexandria.

§ 1. So Caesar was now reconciled to Herod; and wrote to him, that "he was grieved for him on account of his sons; and that in case they had been guilty of any great and notorious crimes against him, it would behove him to punish them as accomplices, for which he gave him power accordingly; but if they had only contributed to fly away, he would have had good reason to defer an admission, and not proceed to extremity with them. He also advised him to get an assembly together, and to appoint some place near Bersus, which is a name of more meaning in the language of the Egyptians, and to take the presidents of Syria, and Archelaus king of Cappadocia, and as many more as he thought to be illustrious, for their friendship to him, and the dignities they were in, and determine what should be done by their approbation." These were the directions that Caesar gave him. Accordingly Herod, when the letter was brought to him, was immediately glad of Caesar's reconciliation to him, and very glad also, that he had a complete authority given him over his sons. And it strangely came about that whereas before he had not only an admission, but an entire ascertainment, and had indeed showed himself severe, yet had not been very rash, nor hastily in procuring the destruction of his sons, he now, in his prosperity, took advantage of this change for the better, and the freedom he now had, to exercise his hatred against them, after an unheard of manner; he therefore sent and called as many as he thought fit to this assembly, excepting Archelaus, for an
ANTIOCHIUS OF THE JEWS.

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prison; and if those think any thing further necessary, thou mayest indeed so punish them, that they may appear to indulge, though more than to govern thyself by judgment; but if thou inclinest to the milder side, thou mayst absolve them, lest perhaps thy misfortunes be the occasion of the misfortunes of the greatest part of thy friends at Rome also.

Whereupon Herod was silent, and in great thoughtfulness, and bade Nicaurus sail along with his ship.

4. Now as they came to Cesarea, every body was there talking of Herod's son and the kingdom was in suspense, and the people in great expectation, and indeed it was a terrible fear seized upon all men, lest the ancient disorders of the family should come to a sad conclusion, and they were in great trouble about their sufferings: nor was it without danger to say any rash thing about this matter, nor even to hear another saying it; but men's pity was forced to be shut up in themselves, which rendered the excess of their sorrow very intense, but very silent; yet was there an old soldier of Herod, whose name was Tero, who had a son of the same age with Alexander, and his son, whose name was Antiochus,17 and he told what others silently thought about that matter: and was forced to cry out often among the multitude, and said, in the most unguarded manner, “I have heard of others abroad, that have been forced away from men, while lies and ill-will prevailed. And brought such a mist before public affairs, that the offendors were not able to see the greatest mischief that can full fill man. And as he was so bold, he seemed not to have kept himself out of danger, by speaking so freely; but the reasonableness of what he said moved men to regard seriously what he said, and to fear that there was no man in authority, and this at a proper time also, for which reason every one heard what he said with pleasure; and although they first took care of their own safety, by keeping silent themselves, yet did they kindly receive the great freedom he took for the expectation they were in of so great an affliction, put a force upon them to speak of Tero whatsoever they pleased.

5. This man had thrust himself into the king's presence with the greatest freedom, and desired to speak with him by himself alone, which the king permitted him to do, where he spake thus to him: “Since I am not able, O king, to bear up under so great a concern as I am under, I have preferred the use of this bold liberty that I now take, which may not be received by thee, and get any profit by it, before my own safety. Whether is thy understanding gone, and left thy soul empty? Whither is that extraordinary sagacity of thine gone, where thou hast performed so many and such glorious actions? Whence comest thou this solitude, and desertion of thy friends and relations? Of which I cannot but determine, that they are neither thy friends nor relations, while they overlook so horrid wickedness in thy once happy kingdom. Dost not thou perceive what is doing? Wilt thou slay these two young men, born of thy queen, who are accomplished with every virtue in the highest degree, and leave thyself destitute in thy old age, but exposed to one son, who hath very ill managed the hope thou hast given him; and to relations, whose death thou hast so often resolved on thyself? Dost not thou take notice, that the very silence of the multitude at once sees the crime and abhors the tyrant, where Nicaurus met him in his voyage from Rome: of whom he inquired, after he had related to him what had passed at Berytus, what his sentiments were about the king's sons and of Antiochus, he thought of that matter! His answer was: 'That they had determined to do to thee was impious, and that thou oughtest to keep them in
his was over, one Trypho, who was barber, took the opportunity, and led the king, that Tero would often meet him, to cut his throat, for that by this could be among the chief of Alexander, and receive great rewards from he had said this, the king gave Tero and his son, and the barber trusted, which was done accordingly, he bore up himself, his son seeing ready in a sad case, and had no hope, and perceiving what would be once of his terrible sufferings, said, king would free him and his father from, for what he should say, be true." And when the king had said so, he said that there was such guiltiness of them, while he was skilled, without any certain evidence of their treachery designs against him, and without any proofs that they had made preparation for such attempt, to kill his own sons, who were of very comely bodies, and the great darlings of other men, and noway deficient in their conduct, whether it was in hunting, or in warlike exercises, or in speaking upon occasional topics of discourse: for in all these they were skilful, and especially Alexander, who was the eldest; for certainly it had been sufficient, even though he had condemned them, to have kept them alive in bonds, or to let them live at a distance from his dominions in banishment, while he was surrounded by the Roman forces, which were a strong security to him, whose help would prevent his suffering any thing by a sudden onset, or by open force; but for him to kill them on the sudden, in order to gratify a passion that governed him, was a demonstration of insufferable impurity: for it is great a crime in his older age; nor will the days that he made, and the length of time in which the thing was done, plead at all for his excuse; for when a man is waked and in comotion of mind, and then commits a wicked action, although this be a heavy crime, yet is it a thing that frequently happens; but to do it upon deliberation, and after frequent attempts, and as frequent puttings off, to undertake it at last, and accomplish it, was the action of a murderous mind, and such as was not easily moved from that which is evil: and this temper he showed in what he did afterward, when he did not spare those that seemed to be the best beloved of his friends that were left, whereas, though the justice of the punishment caused those that perished to be the less pitied, yet was the barbarity of the man here equal, in that he did not abstain from their slaughter also; but of these persons we shall have occasion to discourse more hereafter.

true observe; nor is there any other reason for it, I suppose, than the great difficulty of an exact translation
Chapter I.

Here Antipater was hated by all the nation (of the Jews) for the slaughter of his brothers; and how, for that reason, he got into particular favour with his friends at Rome, by giving them many presents; and he died with the president of Syria, and the governors who were under him; and concerning Herod's wives and children.

§ 1. When Antipater had thus taken off his brethren, and had brought his father into the highest degree of impunity, till he was haunted with furies for what he had done, his hopes did not succeed to his mind, as to the rest of his life; for although he was delivered from the fear of his brethren being his rivals in the government, yet did he find it a very hard thing, and almost impracticable, to come to the kingdom, because the hatred of the nation against him on that account was great; and, besides, this very disagreeable circumstance, the affair of the soldiers grieved him still more, who were alienated from him, from which yet these kings derived all the safety which they had, whenever they found the nation desirous of innovation: and all this danger was drawn upon him by his destruction of his brethren. However, he went by very different ties with his father, being indeed no other than a king already; and he was for that reason trusted, and the more firmly depended on, for which he ought himself to have been the most afraid, if appearing to have betrayed his brethren out of his concern for the preservation of Herod, and not rather out of his ill-will to them, and before them, to his father himself; and this was the accused state he was in. Now, all Antipater's contrivances tended to make his way to take off Herod, that he might have nobody to accuse him in the vile practices he was devising; and that Herod might have no excuse, nor any to afford him their assistance, since they must thereby have Antipater for their open enemy; insomuch that the very plots he had against his brother Apelles were occasioned by the hatred he bore his father. But at this time he was more than ever set upon the execution of his attempts against Herod, because, if he were only once beside him, he would now be forming his design against him. And he sent great presents to his friends at Rome, to take off their hatred against him. And he sent great presents to his friends at Rome, particularly, to gain their good-will; and above all to Saturinus, the president of Syria. He also hoped to gain the favour of Saturinus's brother with the large presents he bestowed on him; as also, he used the same art to [Salome] the king's sister, who had married one of Herod's chief friends. And, when he counterfeited friendship to these with whom he conversed, he was very subtle in gaining their belief, and very exact in designing ways against any that he really did hate. But he could not impose upon his aunt, who understood him of a long time, and was a woman not easily to be deluded; especially since she had always hated his friends, and was very conscious in preventing his perversions. Although Antipater's uncle by the mother's side was married to her daughter, and this by his own contrivance and management, while she had before been married to Aristobulus, and while Salome's other daughter by that husband was married to the son of Callicles; yet that marriage was no obstacle to her, who knew how wicked he was, in her discovering his designs, as her former kindred to him could not prevent her hatred of him. Now Herod had compelled Salome, while she was in love with Syllaeus the Arabian, and had taken a fondness for him, to marry Alexander; which match was by her submitted to at the instance of Julia, who persuaded Salome not to refuse it, lest she should herself be their open enemy, since Herod had sworn that he would never be friends with Salome, if she would not accept of his son for her husband; so she submitted to Julia as being Cesar's wife, and besides that, she advised her to nothing but what was very much for her own advantage. At this time, also, it was not the condition of this daughter, who had been Alexander's wife, to her father, returning the portion he had with her out of his own estate, that there might be no dispute between them about it.

2. Now Herod brought up his sons' children with great care; for Alexander had two sons by Glapeylla; and Aristobulus had three sons by Bernice. But he was more careful of his son Hyrcanus, and, as his friends were once with him, he presented the children before them, and declaring the hard fortune of his own sons, he prayed that God would have no sufferings from them to fall on the children, but that they might improve in virtue, and obtain what they justly deserved, and might make him amends for his care of their education. He also caused them to be brought against them should come to the proper age of marriage: the elder of Alexander's sons to Pharora's daughter, and Antipater's daughter to Aristobulus's eldest son. He also allotted one of Aristobulus's daughters to Antipater's son, and Aristobulus's other daughter to Herod, a son of his own, who was born to him by the high priest Alexander; and these were occasioned among us to have many wives at the same time. Now, the king made these separations for the children, out of consideration of them now they were more numerous, and because he had Antipater kind to them by these intermarriages. But Antipater did not fail to bear the same temper of mind to his brothers' children which he had borne to his brothers themselves; and his father's concern about them provoked his indignation against them, upon this supposal, that they would become greater than even his brothers had been; while Aristobulus, a king, would support his daughter's sons, and Pharora, a tetrarch, would accept of one of the daughters as a wife to his son. What provoked him also was this, that all the multitudes would so compass themselves with fatherless children, and so hate him, [for making them fatherless], that all would come out, since they were no strangers to his vile disposition, towards his brethren. He contrived, therefore Antipater, to overturn his father's settlements, as thinking it a terrible thing that they should be so reduced to him, and be so powerful withal. So Herod yielded to this demand of his, and the matter rested in his own discretion: and the determination now was, that Antipater himself should marry Aristobulus's daughter, and Antipater's son should marry Pharora's daughter. The marriages were changed after this manner, even without the king's real approbation.
with the imposition of taxes. Of which matter I shall treat more accurately in the progress of this history.

3. At length Zamaris, the Babylonian, to whom Herod had given that country for a possession, died; having lived virtuously, and left children. So when he was got to heaven, the name was Jeusias, who was famous for his valor, and taught his Babylonians how to ride their horses and a troop of them were guards to the foremen of their kings. And when it was in this case, as his old age, he left a son whose name was Philip one of great strength in his hands, and in other respects also more eminent for his valor than any of his contemporaries; on which account there was a confidence and firm friendship between him and king Agrippa. He had also an army which he maintained as great as that of a king; which he exercised and led wherever he had occasion to march.

4. When the affairs of Herod were in the condition I have described, all the public affairs depended upon Antipater; and his power was such, that he could do good turn to as many as he pleased, and this by his father's concession, in hopes of his good-will and fidelity to him; and this till he ventured to use his power still further, because his wicked designs were concealed from his father, and he made him believe everything as he said. He was also formidable to all, not so much on account of the respect that authority he had, as for the shrewdness of his vile attempts beforehand; but he who principally cultivated a friendship with him was Phæoros, who received the like marks of his friendship: while Antipater had cunningly encompassed him about by a company of women, whom he placed as guards about him; for Phæoros was greatly enslaved to his wife, and to her maidenhood, and this notwithstanding the hatred he bore them, for the indignities they had offered to his virgin daughters. Yet did he bear them, and nothing was to be done without the women; who had got this man into their circle, and continued still to assist each other in all things, insomuch that Antipater was entirely addicted to them, both by himself and by his brother; for these four women said all one and the same thing; but the opinions of Phæoros and Antipater were different in some points of no consequence. But the king's sister [Salome] was their counselor, who desired a good while had looked about all their affairs, and was apprized that this their friendship was made in order to do Herod some mischief, and was disposed to inform the king of it. And since these people knew that their friendship was very disagreeable to Herod, as tending to do him a mischief, they contrived that their meetings should not be discovered; so they pretended to hate one another, and to abuse one another whom time served, and especially when Herod was present, or when any one was there that would tell him; but still their intimacy was nearer than ever when they were in private. And this was the course they took; but they could not conceal from Salome neither their first confidences, when they set about these their intentions, nor when they had made some progress by them; but she searched out every thing; and, aggravating the relations to her brother, declared it to him. As well their secret assemblies and communications, as their counsels taken in a clandestine manner, which, if they were not in order to destroy him, they might well enough have been open and public. In short, these are at variance, and speak about one another as if they intended one another a mischief, but
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agree so well together when they are out of the sight of the multitude; for when they are alone by themselves, they act in concert, and profess that they will never leave off their friendship, but will fight against those from whom they conceal it. And thus she search out these things, and get a perfect knowledge of them, and then told her brother of them, who understood also of himself a great deal of what she had told him not to depend upon it, because of the suspicions he had of his sister'solumnies. For there was a certain sect of men that were Jews, who valued themselves highly upon what they had by the law of the temple, their fathers, and made men believe they were highly favoured by God, by whom this set of women was inveterate. These are those that are called the sect of the Pharisees, who were in a capacity of greatly opposing kings. A cunning sect they were, and soon elevated to a pitch of open light- ing, and doing mischief. Accordingly, when all the people of the Jews gave assurance of their good-will to Caesar, and to the king's govern- ment, these very men did not swear, being above six thousand; and when the king imposed a fine upon Phalaris's wife and her fines for them. In order to requisite which kindness of hers, since they were believed to have the fore- knowledge of things to come by divine inspira- tion, and because the king had already done so good a service to Herod's government should cease, and his pos- terity should be deprived of it; but that the king- dom should come to her and Phæoras, and to their children. These predictions there were not come to pass from Salome, but were told the king; as also how they had perverted some persons about the palace itself: so the king slew such of the Pharisees as he could see and catch; and Bagoas, the eunuch, and one Carus, who exceeded all men of that time in comeliness, and one that was his eunuch. He slew also those of his own family who had consented to what the Pharisees foretold; and for Bagoas, he had been puffed up by them as though he should be named the fa- ther and the benefactor of him who, by the pre- diction, was foretold to be their appointed king; for that this king would have all things in his power, and would enable Bagoas to marry, and to have children of his own body begotten.

CHAP. III.
Concerning the Enmity between Herod and Phæoras; how Herod sent Antipater to Caesar; and of the Death of Phæoras.

§ 1. When Herod had punished those Phæ- raeæ, who had been convicted of the foregoing crimes, he changed his sway altogether, and joined himself to a number of his friends, and accused Phæoras's wife; and ascrib- ing the abuses of the virgins to the impi- dence of that woman, brought an accusation against her for the dishonour she had brought upon them; that she had studiously introduced a quarrel between him and her brother, and, by her ill temper, had brought them into a state of war both with her husband and her brother; that the fines which he had laid had not been paid, and the offenders had escaped punishment by her means; and that nothing which had of late been done had been done without her; for which reason Phæoras would do well, if he would, of his own accord, and by his own command, and not at my satirize, or as following my opinion, put this his wife away, as one that will still be the occasion of war between thee and me. And now, Phæoras, if thou valuest thy relation to me, put this thing from thee away; for by this means thou wilt continue with me, and wilt abide in thy love to me." Then said Phe- ðoras, (although as was pressed hard by the Speakers,) that he as he would not do so unjust a thing, as to renounce his brotherly re-
History of this matter very distinctly, y be for a warning to mankind, that care of conducting their whole lives is of virtue.

CHAP. IV.

Wife is accused by her freed-men as poisoning him; and how Herod, upon the Matter by Torture, found the Serpent that it had been prepared by her son Antipater; and, upon an In- Ture, he discovered the dangerous of Antipater.

Soon as Phæoras was dead, and his son, one of Herod's freed-men, much esteemed by him, came to Herod and threatened him not to leave the murder of his wife without avenging it, but to exact such an unreasonable and unhappy sentence on him as in such a sort of food as he was not, but that when he had eaten it, the poison would be afterwards brought to him by a woman that was his, but in reality to that the Arabians are making such poisons; and the woman had, in manner, as a friend of one of Sylleus's mistresses, both the mother and the sister of a husband was at the places where they lived, who was a physician, had not yet been sent to tell them, and had come back and brought it the day before that of his supper." The king was provoked, and put the 're' under guard, and so he was sent; and as the fact did not yet agree none of them would confess it, at of them, under the utmost agonies, we but this, that "she prayed that they send the like agonies upon Antipater, who had been the occasion of these all of them." This prayer induced the women's tortures, till was discovered: "their merry meet- secret assemblies, and the disclosing had said to his son alone unto Phæor- and had charged to conceal, was the gift of a hundred im not to have any conversation with "And what hatred he bore to the same, so as not to tell of his father lived; and that he was of an old man, insomuch, that if the his son; and that it was out of the under, lest he should do the like to do him contrive this his journey to Phæor the see chapter to his own life, and tended greatly to corrobo- him, and to free her from the sus- picion of her unfaithfulness to him. So the king having satisfied himself of the spite which Doris, Antipater's mother, as well as himself, bore to him, took away from her all honor and respect, which were worth many talents, and then sent her away, and entered into friendship with Phæoras's women. But he who most of all irritated the king against his son, was one Antipater, the procurator of Antipater the king's son, who, when he was tortured, among other things said, that Antipater had prepared a deadly potion, and given it to Phæoras, with his desire that he should give it to his father during his absence, and when he was too remote to have the least suspicion cast upon him thereto relating: that Antiphitus, one of Antipater's friends, brought that potion out of Egypt, and the King sent it to Phæoras by Theudion, the brother of the mother of An- tipater the king's son, and by that means came to Phæoras's wife, her husband having given it her to keep. And when the king asked her about it, she confessed it; and as she was running to fetch it, she threw herself down from the house-top, but yet did she not kill herself, because she fell on her feet: by which means, when the king had comforted her, and had promised her and her do- mesticus pardon, upon condition of their concealing notion of the truth from him, but had then re- named her with the utmost miseries if she proved ungrateful, [and concealed any thing;] so she promised and swore that she would speak out every thing, and tell with what manner of thing she did it; and said, what many took to be entirely true, that "The potion was brought out of Egypt by Antiphitus; and that his brother, who had procured it to be sent to him, when Theudion brought it us, she kept it upon Phæoras's committing it to her; and that it was prepared by Antipater for thee. When, there- fore, Phæoras was fallen to death, the king, and the Phæorians, its preparation to him, and tookest care of him, and when he saw the kindness thou hadst for him, his mind was overborne thereby. So he called me to him, and said to me; 'O woman! Antipater hath cir- cumented me in this affair of his father and my brother, by persuading me to have a murderous intention to him, and procuring a potion to be subsercient thereto; do thou, therefore, go and fetch my potion, (since my brother appears to have still the same virtuous disposition towards me which he had formerly, and I do not expect ill to myself, and I may trusts that I would forever be a scourge to my brother, because of the murder of a brother,) and burn it before my face: that accordingly she immediately brought it, and did as her husband bade her; and that she burnt the greater part of the potion; but that a little of it was left, that if the king, after Phæoras's death, should treat her ill, she might poison herself, and thereby get clear of her miseries." Upon her saying thus, she brought out the potion, and the box in which it was, before them all. Nay, there was another brother of Antiphitus, and his mother also, who, by the extreme of pain and torture, confessed the same things, and owned the box [to be that which had been brought out of Egypt.] The high priest's daughter also, who was the king's wife, was accused to have been conscious of all this, and had resolved to conceal it; for which reason Herod divorced her, and blotted her son out of his testament, wherein he had been mentioned as one that was to reign after him; and he took the high priesthood away from his father-in-law, Simeon the son of Boethus, and appointed Mattathias the son of Theophilus, who was born at Jerusalem, to be high priest in his room.
3. While this was doing, Bethys, also Antipater's freed-man, came from Rome, and, upon the torture, was found to have brought another accusation against the hands of Antipater's mother, and of Phorora, that if the former potion did not operate upon the king, this at least might carry him off. There came also letters from Herod's friends at Rome, by the approbation and at the suggestion of Antipater, to accuse Archelaus and Philip, as if they calumniated their father on account of the slaughter of Alexander and Aristobulus, and that they had disdained their destinies and us if, because they were sent for home, (for their father had already recalled them,) they concluded they were themselves also to be destroyed. These letters had been procured by great rewards, by Antipater's friends; but Antipater himself wrote to his father about them, and said the heaviest things to their charge; yet did he entirely excuse them of any guilt, and said, they were but young men, and so imputed their words to their youth. But he said, that he had himself been very busy in the affair relating to Syracus, and in getting interest among the great men; and on that account had brought splendid ornaments to present them withal, which cost him two hundred talents. Now, one may wonder about that while so many accusations were laid against him in Judea during seven months before this time, he was not made acquainted with any of them. The cause of which was, that the king had the gods also strictly guard ed, and that men hated Antipater; for there was nobody who would run any hazard himself, to gain him any advantages.

CHAP. V.
Antipater's Navigation from Rome to his Father: and how he was accused by Nicolaus of Damascus, and condemned to die by his Father, and by Quinirius Varus, who was then President of Syria; and how he was bound till Caesar should be informed of his Cause.

§ 1. Now Herod, upon Antipater's writing to him, that having done all that he was to do, and this in the manner he was to do it, he would suddenly come to him, concealed his anger against him, and wrote back to him, and bade him not delay his journey, lest any harm should befall himself in his absence. At the same time also he made mention of some things about his mother, but he concealed the secret he that he would lay those complaints aside when he should return. He withal expressed his entire affection for him, as fearing lest without something to contribute of his, and defer his journey to him, and lest, while he lived at Rome, he should lay plots for the kingdom, and, moreover, do somewhat against himself. This letter Antipater met with in Cilicia; but had received an account of Phorora's death before at Tarentum. This last news affected him deeply; not out of any affection for Phorora, but because he was dead without having murdered his father, which he had promised to do. And when he was at Celeris in Cilicia, he began to deliberate with himself about his sailing home, as being most expedient, to put an end to the ejection of his mother. Now, some of his friends advised him that he should tarry a while somewhere, in expectation of further information. But others advised him to sail home without delay; for that if he were once come thither, he would soon put an end to all accusations, and that nothing afforded any weight to his accusers at present but his absence. He heeded not this, and sent a continuance of the abolition of his mother, and landed at the haven called Sebastus, which Herod had built at vast expenses in honour of Cæsar, and called Sebastus. And now was Antipater's clause entirely in a just condition, while nobody came to him nor saluted him, as they did at his going away, with good wishes or joyful acclamations; nor was there now any thing to hinder them from entertaining him, on the contrary, with bitter curses, while they supposed he was coming to execute his punishment for the murder of his brethren.

2. Now Quintilius Varus was at this time at Jerusalem, being sent to succeed Saburassus, as president of Syria, and to advise with Herod, who had desired his advice in his present affairs; and as they were sitting together, Antipater came upon them, without knowing any thing of the matter, he came into the palace clothed in purple. The porters indeed received him in, but excluded his friends. And now he was in great disorder, and presently understood the condition he was in; while upon his going to salute his father he was repulsed by him, who called him a murderer of his brethren, and a plotter of destruction against himself, and told him that Varus should be his auditor and judge the very next day; so he found, that with the misfortune he now heard of was already upon him, with the greatness of which he went away in consequence of which his mother and his wife met him (which wife was the daughter of Antigonus, who was king of the Jews before Herod,) from whom he learned all circumstances concerning him, and then prepared himself for his trial.

3. On the next day Varus and the king sat together in judgment; and both their friends were also called to say what they exactly guarded, and that men hated Antipater; for there was nobody who would run any hazard himself, to gain him any advantages.
flinching of Democles, being the end always conversant with him, did whatever he did, and with all his affairs, proceeded to bestow on him by his father's inclination and evidences of the facts. Antipater, in order to make his, turned himself to his father, and won the many intimacies he had from him; and instanced in that he had been done him, which yet had been, had he not deserved them by every mean of him; for that he had as for everything that was fit to be reaped, as to giving him his wish whenever there was occasion for his own hands, he had not grudged as for him. And that it was almost as if he had delivered his fantastic treacherous contrivances laid should be himself in a plot against all the reputation he had gained, by his wickedness which succeeded; so while he had nothing to prohibit a plot with his successor, royal honour with his father also at that there was no likelihood that a had the one half of that authority whose descendant was under the whole with inflamy and this when it was doubtful whether in it or not; and when he saw the sad was bawled, and was both and the accuser against them, at a they might not otherwise have been say, was the author of the punish-
ment upon the accused evi-

dence were guilty of a wicked attempt father; and that the accusations of
the king's family, were indications of good conscience after the sinner of his father And as to what he had
to Caesar was a witness thereto; who more to be imposed upon than God those opinions his letters sent him
evidence, and that it was not rea-
sfer the cumulums of such as pro-
disturbances before those letters; part of which cumulums had been his absence, which gave scope to o forge them, which they had not do if he had been there. More-

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bles to his sad case, cause them he same; insomuch that his very moved to compassion; and it ap-
that Hesiod himself was affected as, although he was not willing it en notice of. Then did Nicolaus cite what the king had begun, and it bitterness; and summed up all which arose from the tortures, or

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ought he owned that was as his former sons, who were but are besides corrupted by wicked who were the occasion of their things that might have a go to the

and this out of a desire of comple-
ting to the government sooner than they ought to do; yet that he could not but justly stand amazed at the horrid wickedness of Antipater, who, although he had not only had great benefits from his father, enough to be born from his reason, yet could not be more tamer than the most enamoured serpents; whereas even those creatures admit of some mitigation, and will not bite their benefactors, while Antipater hath not let the misfortunes of his brethren be any hinder-
ance to him, but he hath gone on to imitate their barbarity notwithstanding. Yet was thou, O Antipater! (as thou hast more than once confessed,) the

informer as to what wicked actions they had done, and the searcher out of the evidence against them, and the author of the punishment they underwent upon their detection. Nor do we say this as accusing thee for being so zealous in thy anger against them, but are astonished at thy endeavours to imitate their profligate behaviour, and we discover thereby, that thou didst not act thus for the safety of thy father, but for the de-
struc tion of thy brethren, that by such outside hatred of their impu ty, mightst thou be believ-
ed a lover of thy father, and mightst thou get thee power enough to do mischief with the greatest impunity, which design thy actions indeed demonstrate. It is true, thou tookst thy brethren off, because thou didst convict them of their wicked designs; but thou didst not yield to justice those who were their partners, and thereby didst make it evident to all men, that thou hadst no covenant with them against thy fa-
ther, when thou chosest to be the accuser of thy brethren, as desirous to gain to thyself alone this advantage of laying plots to kill thy father, and

in thy evil disposition, which thou hast openly showed against thy brethren; on which account thou didst rejoice, as having done a most famous exploit, nor was that behavior worthy of thee. But if thy intention were otherwise, thou art worse than they; while thou didst contrive to hide thy treachery against thy father, thou didst hate them, not as plotters against thy father, but in that case thou hadst not thyself fallen upon the like crime, but as successors of his dominions, and more worthy of that succession than thyself. Thou wouldst kill thy father after thy brethren, lest thy lies raised against them might be detected: and lest thou shouldst suffer what punishment thou hadst deserved, thou hadst a mind to make exact that punishment upon the happy father, and didst devise such a sort of uncommon para-
cide as the world never yet saw. For thou, who art his son, did not only lay a, a treacherous design against thy father, and didst hate him while he loved thee, and had been thy benefactor, had made thee in reality his partner in the kingdom, and had openly declared thee his successor, while thou wast not forbidden to taste the sweetness of authority already, and hadst the firm hope of what was future by thy father's determinism, and the security of a written testament. But for certain thou didst not measure those things, according to thy father's various disposition, but according to thy own thoughts and inclinations; and wast desirous to take the part that remained away from thy too indulgent father, and soughtest to destroy him with thy deeds, whom thou in words pretended to preserve. Nor was thou content to be wicked thyself, but didst fill all thy mother's head with thy devices, and raised disturbances among thy brethren, and hast the boldness to call thy father a wild beast, while thou hadst thyself a mind more cruel than any serpent, whence thou hadst a mind that, perhaps among thy nearest kindred and greatest benefactors, and invited thee to assist thee and guard thee, and didst hedge thyself in on all sides by the artifices of both age and youth; an old man: as though that mind of thee was
not sufficient of itself to support so great a hatred as though barren to him. And here thou appeareth the tortures of the women, of domestics, of men and women, which have been examined on thine account, and after the information of thy fellow-conspirators, as making haste to turn thee to destruction; and hast thought of ways not only to take thy father out of the world, but to disannul that written law which is against thee, and the virtue of Varus, and the nature of justice, nay, such is that impiety of thine on which thou confidedst, that thou desirest to be put to the torture thyself, while thou asseverest, that the tortures of those already examined thereby have made them tell lies; that those that have been the deliverers of thy father may not be allowed to have spoken the truth; but that thy tortures may be esteemed the discoverers of truth.

What is it Varus delivers, when he speaks of the injuries of his kindred? Wilt thou not destroy this wicked wild beast, which hath pretended kindness to his father, in order to destroy his brother? Didst thou not drive him, out of necessity, to carry off the kingdom immediately, and appears to be the most bloody butcher to him of all? For thou art sensible, that parricide is a general infamy, and the nature and to common life, and that the intention of parricides is not only to abuse the perpetration: and he who does not punish it, is injurious to itself.

What is it said, by what belonged to Antipater's mother, and whatsoever she had pretended, as also about the predictions and the sacrifices relating to the king; and whatsoever his father had done inexcusably in his cups and his amours among Phereus's women; the examination upon torture; and whatsoever concerned the testimonies of the witnesses, of which there were many and of various kinds; some prepared beforehand, and others uncertainly, which further declared and confirmed the foregoing evidence. For those men who were acquainted with Antipater's practices, but had concealed them out of fear, when they saw that he was exposed to the accusations of the former witnesses, and that his great fortune, which had supported him hitherto, had now evidently betrayed him into the hands of his enemies, who were now insatiable in their hatred to him, told all they knew of him. And his ruin was now hastened, not so much by the evidence of the men that were his accusers, as by their groans, and impudent, and wicked contrivances, and by his ill-will to his father and his brethren; while he had filled their house with disturbance, and caused them to murder him to murder them to murder to murder; and he was neither fair in his hatred, nor kind in his friendship; but just so far as served his own turn. Now, there were a great number who for a long time before had seen all this; and especially such as were naturally disposed to judge of matters by the rules of virtue; because they were used to determine affairs without passion, but had been restrained from making any open complaints before; these, upon the leave now given them, produced all they knew before the public. The demonstrations also of these wicked facts could now by way be disproved; because the many witnesses there were did neither speak out of favour to Herod, nor were they obliged to keep back what they had to say, out of suspicion of any danger they were in; but they spoke what they knew, because they thought such actions very wicked, and that Antipater deserved the greatest punishment; and indeed not so much from the court of Herod, as the court of God. For his own wickedness. Many things were also said, and those by a great number of persons who were now obliged to say them; insomuch that Antipater was at once guilty of the most of his own wickedness. Many things were also said, and those by a great number of persons who were now obliged to say them; insomuch that Antipater was at once guilty of the most of his own wickedness. Many things were also said, and those by a great number of persons who were now obliged to say them; insomuch that Antipater was at once guilty of the most of his own wickedness. Many things were also said, and those by a great number of persons who were now obliged to say them; insomuch that Antipater was at once guilty of the most of his own wickedness.

7. So when Varus, upon asking Antipater what he had to say for himself, found that he had nothing to say beside his oath to God, and saw that there was no end of that, he brought the potion before the court, that he might see what virtue still remained in it; and when he was brought, and one that was consecrated to die had his head, and the potion was administered, he died presently. Then Varus got up, and departed out of the court, and went away the day following to Antioch, where his usual residence was, because that was the palace of the Syrians; upon which Herod laid his son in bonds. But what were Varus's discourses to Herod, was not known to the generality, and upon what words it was that he went away; though it was said generally supposed, that whatsoever Herod did afterward about his son, was done with his approbation. But when Herod had bound his son, he sent him to Caesar, to inform Cæsar of the case; and Caesar to inform his messenger withal, as word of mouth, inform Cæsar of Antipater's wickedness. Now at this very time there was seized a letter of Antipater addressing to Antipater (for he lived there;) and, when it was opened by the king, it was found to contain what follows: 'I have sent thee Acme's letter, and hazarded my own life; for thou knowest that I am dangerer from two families, if I be discovered. I wish thee good success in thy affair.' Those were the contents of this letter: but the king made inquiry about the letter also, for it did not appear, and Antiphius's slave, who brought that letter which had been read, denied that he had received the other. But, while the king was in doubt about it, one of Herod's friends, seeing a seam upon the inner coat of the slave, and a doubling of the cloth, (for he had two coats on,) he guessed that the letter might be within the doubling, which accordingly proved to be true. So they took out the letter, and its contents were these: 'Acme to Antipater. I have written such a letter to thy father as those desired thee. I have now received the account of the man, and it came from Salome to my lady (Livia;) which, when thou readest, I know that Herod will punish Salome, as plotting against him. Now, this pretended request was very false, the more so as it was proposed by Antipater, in the name of Salome, as being her meaning, but in the words of Acme.'
this: "Acme to king Herod. I have
endeavour that nothing that is done
should be concealed from thee. So
advice, she wrote not her name, but
against thee, I have written out a copy,
to thee, with hazard to myself, but
unusual. The reason why she wrote
to him is, she trembled in his face, she
was to therefore tear this letter in
time may not come into danger of my
Acme had written to Antipater him-
self, in the law of their fathers, in that
bit had both herself written to
Salome had laid a sudden plot en-
against him, and had herself sent a copy
to him, saying to her lady, she
was a Jewess by birth, and a servant
of Antipater's wife; and this out of her
for Antipater, as having been cor-
in a large present of money,
his pernicious designs against his fa-

son Herod was so amazed at the pro-
kedness of Antipater, that he was
ordered him to be slain immediately
person in the most important
as one that laid a plot not only
self, but with a number of his
and Celsius own domestics. Salome
ed him to it, beating her breasts, and
kill her, if she could produce any
imposition to them, or otherwise. For
that Herod also sent for his son, and asked
his matter, and bade him contradict
it, and not suppress any thing he had
in his heart, and laid all his
but discovered nobody else. Here-
was in such great grief, that he was
his son to Rome to Caesar, there to
int of these his wicked contrivances,
became afraid, lest he might there,
ance of his friends, escape the dan-
see him kept bound as before,
ambassadors and letters to Rome
son, and an account of what assist-
d given him in his wicked designs,
f the epistles before mentioned.

CHAP. VI.

The Disease that Herod fell into, and
which the Jews raised thereupon,
daishment of the Sects.

Herod's ambassadors made haste to
nt, as instructed beforehand, what
were to make to the questions put
by also carried the epistles with
now fell into a distemper, and
, and besought his kingdom to
youngest son; and this out of these
that Claus and Philip, which the calum-
ter had raised against them. He
ed a thousand talents to Caesar,
o John, Caesar's wife, to Caesar's
friends, and freed-men. He also
son his sons and their sons, his
venues, and his lands. He also
his sister very rich, because the
faithful to him in all his circum-
snever so rash as to do him any
be despised of recovering, for he
for many ages; he
indulged the bitterest anger
the cause whereof was this, it
it himself despised, and that
such a man, he
represented a sedition which some
sort of men excited against him,
which was as follows:

2. There was one Juda, the son of Sariphæus,
and Matthias, the son of Margalothus, two of
the most eloquent men among the Jews, and
the most celebrated interlocutors in the law,
and men well beloved by the people, because
of their education of their youth; for all those
who were studious of virtue frequented their
lectures every day. These matters, being
the king's distemper was incurable, excited the
young men that they would pull down all those
works which the king had erected contrary to
the law; and they observed that his other misfor
fines, and this distemper also, which was so
usual among mankind, and with which he was
now afflicted, came upon him; for Herod had
caused such things to be made, which were con-
trary to the law, of which he was accused by
Judas and Matthias; for the king had erected
over the great gate of the temple a large golden
eagle, of great value, and had dedicated it to
the temple. Now, the law forbids those that pro-
s to live according to it, to erect images or
representations of any living creature. So these
were his solicitation to push down the
golden eagle; allaying, that "although they
should incur any danger, which might bring them
to their deaths, the virtu of the action now
proposed to them would appear more
nous to them than the pleasures of life; since
they would die for the preservation and observa-
tion of the law of their fathers' they would
also acquire an everlasting fame, and acquit
sion; since they would be both commended by
the present generation, and leave an example
of life that would never be forgotten to posterity
since that common calamity can never be
avoided by our living so as to escape any such
dangers; that therefore it is a right thing for
those who are in love with a virtuous conduct,
to wait for that fatal hour by such a behaviour
as may carry them out of the world with praise
and honour; and that this will alleviate death
to a great degree, thus coming to it by the per-
formance of brave actions, which bring us into
danger of it; and, at the same time, to leave
that reputation behind them to their children,
and to all their relations, whether they be men
or women, which will be of great advantage to
them afterward."

3. And with such discourses as this, did these
men excite the young men to this action; and a
report being come to all upon the
dead, this was an addition to the wise men's
persuasions; so, in the very middle of the day, they
got upon the place; they pulled down the eagle,
and cut it into pieces with axes, while a great
number of the people were in the temple. And
now the king's captain, upon hearing what the
undertaking was, and supposing it was a thing
of a higher nature than it proved to be, came up
thither, having a great band of soldiers with
him, such as was sufficient to put a stop to
the multitude of those who pulled down what
was dedicated to God; so he fell upon them unex-
pectedly, and as they were upon this bold at-
tempt, in a foolish presumption rather than a
cautious circumpection, as is usual with the
multitude, and while they were in disorder, and
incautious of what was for their advantage; so
he caught no fewer than forty of the young
men, who had the courage to stay behind when
the rest ran away, together with the authors of
this bold attempt, Judas and Matthias, who
thought it an ignominious thing to retire upon
his approach, and led them to the king. And
when they were come to him, and he has
* That the making of images, without an intention to
worship them, was not unlawful to the Jews, see the note
on Esther B. viii. 2. of 2. sect. 5.
ANTICITUDES OF THE JEWS.

as had them if they had been so bold as to pull down what he had dedicated to God? "Yes, (said they,) what was contrived, we contrived, and what had been performed, we performed it, and that with such a virtuous courage as becomes us; for we have our assistance from those things which are dedicated to the majesty of God, and we have provided for what we have learned by hearing the law; and it ought not to be wondered at, if we esteem those laws which Moses had suggested to him, and were taught him by God, and which he wrote and left behind him, more worthy of observation than thy commands, thy doings, thy colors, and all sorts of punishment which thou canst inflict upon us, with pleasure, since we are conscious to ourselves that we shall die, not for any unrighteous actions, but for our love to religion." And thus they all said, and their courage was still equal to their profession, and equal to that with which they readily set about this undertaking.

And when the king had ordered them to be bound, he sent them to Jericho, and called together the principal men among the Jews; and when they were come, he made them assemble in the midst of a great and because he could not bear, he lay upon a couch, and enumerated the many labours that he had long endured on their account, and his building of the temple, and without that was to him, while the Hasmoneans, during the hundred and twenty-five years of their government, had not been able to perform any so great a work for the honour of the nation; he had also adorned it with very valuable donations, on which account he hoped that he had left himself a memorial, and procured himself a reputation after his death. He had also endeavoured to abstain from affronting, even in his lifetime, and that, in the very daytime, and in the sight of the multitude, they had abused him to that degree, and to such a length, that had he not abstained from affronting him, even in his lifetime, he had been just dying; but upon the lamentable crisis of his dominions, he revived; and having no longer the least hopes of recovering, he gave orders that every soldier should be paid fifty drachmae; and he also gave a great deal to their commandants, and to his friends, and came again to Jerusalem, where he grew so choleric, that it brought him to do all things like a madman; and though he was near his death, he contrived the following wicked designs. He commanded that all the principal men of the entire Jewish nation, whatsoever they lived, should be called to him. Accordingly, they were a great number that came, because the whole nation was called, and all men heard of this call, and death was the punishment of such as should not come, or answer the summons that were sent to call them. And now the king was a wild rage against them all, the innocent as well as those that had afforded ground for suspicion, and all were assembled there to be shut up in the bippodrome, and sent for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexias, and spoke thus to them: "I shall die in a little time, so great are my pains; which death I seek to be cheerful, and to be received by all men; but what principally troubles me is this, that I shall die without being lamented, and without all as men usually expect at a king's death. For that he was not unserviced with the temerity of the Jews, that his death would be a thing very desirable, and exceedingly acceptable to them; because during his lifetime of weight enough to deserve that so great a man as Herod should spend his tints upon him for his size;"

5. But now Herod's distemper greatly increased upon him after a severe manner, and this, it seems, was occasioned by his passion for even a fire greedily in his bowels, which did not at all appear to the touch outwardly, as it augmented his pains inwardly; for it brought upon him a vehement appetite to eat, which he could not avoid to supply with one sort of food or another. His entrails were also enflamed, and the chief violence of his pain lay on his bowels; and because he had set himself upon his feet, and a little alienated him at the bottom of his belly, Nay, farther, his privy member was putrid, and produced worms; and when he was upright, he had a difficulty of breathing, which was very loathsome, on account of the stench of his breath, and the quickness of its returns; he had also convulsions in all parts of his body, which increased his strength to an unsufferable degree. It was said by those who pretended to divine, and who were endued with wisdom to foretell such things, that it was written in the Psalms, "That a king will sit upon the throne on account of his great impuity;" yet was he still in hopes of recovering, though his afflictions seemed greater than any one could bear. It was not refused to follow what they prescribed for his assistance, and went beyond the river Jordan, and bathed himself in the warm baths that were at Capharnaum. Calling his current of virtues, were also fit to drink; which water ran into the lake called Asphaltitis. And when the physicians once thought fit to have him bathed on a steam, he was supposed to be just dying; but upon the lamentable crisis of his dominions, he revived; and having no longer the least hopes of recovering, he gave orders that every soldier should be paid fifty drachmae; and he also gave a great deal to their commandants, and to his friends, and came again to Jerusalem, where he grew so choleric, that it brought him to do all things like a madman; and though he was near his death, he contrived the following wicked designs. He commanded that all the principal men of the entire Jewish nation, whatsoever they lived, should be called to him. Accordingly, they were a great number that came, because the whole nation was called, and all men heard of this call, and death was the punishment of such as should not come, or answer the summons that were sent to call them. And now the king was a wild rage against them all, the innocent as well as those that had afforded ground for suspicion, and all were assembled there to be shut up in the bippodrome, and sent for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexias, and spoke thus to them: "I shall die in a little time, so great are my pains; which death I seek to be cheerful, and to be received by all men; but what principally troubles me is this, that I shall die without being lamented, and without all as men usually expect at a king's death. For that he was not unserviced with the temerity of the Jews, that his death would be a thing very desirable, and exceedingly acceptable to them; because during his lifetime..."
BOOK XVII.—CHAP. VII. VIII.

ready to revolt from him, and to conspire he had dedicated to God; therefore their business to resolve to once more make, as if the king was gone; and to this great suggestion; for that, if they do not refuse consent in what he desires, he shall mount up at his funeral, and such king his beloved, for them the rest of the month from them they would, and that wise would be done in sport and y. He designed therefore that as soon he hath given up all the ghost, they should then while he now that he is dead: and that they render his death to the multitude till but that they shall give orders to such as are in custody with their feet that this slaughter of them all will shall not miss to rejoice on a double t as he is dying, they will make him is will shall be executed in what he to do; and that he shall have the honorable mournings at his funeral. yed his condition, with tears in his blest them in the kindness due is of his kindred, and by the faith God, and begged of them that they render him of this honourable mourne- ral." So they promised him not to a commands.

y one may easily discover the tem- man's mind, which not only took ments for the sake of instant grati- nations, out of the love of life, but mands of his which savoured of so he took care when he was de- of the kindred of his, which went through all the kindred, and indeed made meer dearest kindred, when he gave in every family should be the thing that was against him, nor were they y other crimes; while it is usual for re any regard to virtues, to lay aside it such a time, even with respect to stily esteemed their enemies.

CHAP. VII.

ruth of killing himself with his and a little afterward he orders An- aleus.

was giving these commands to his use came letters from his ambas- he had been sent to Rome unto Cesar, they were read, their purport was the death of Cesar, out of what hand she had in Antipater's ces; and that as to Antipater him- it to Herod to act as became a king, and either to banish him or his life, which he pleased." Then, this was somewhat better, out he had from the contents of the as elevated at the death of Aeneus, power that was given him over his in pains were become very great, a to faint for want of something called for an apple, and a knife; for storn formerly to pare the apple on afterward to cut it, and eat it. got the knife, he looked about, and stab himself with it; and he had at his first cousin, Archabaeus, pre- we said, that Philip the tetrarch, and Asaphus, were dead: previous or go t those words mean sons brothers, or born r and mother, if we must here some they had indeed, the father, the the; the former Cleopatra, and Arche- haeus. They were indeed brought up altogether like own brothers; and Philip was he when he went to have his kingdom con- vented him, and hold his head, and cried out loudly. Whereupon a woful lamentation ensued through the palace, and a great tumult was made, as if the king was gone; which, Antipater, who verily believed his father was deceased, grew bold in his discourse, as hoping to be immediately and entirely released from his bonds, and to take the kingdom into his hands, without any more ado; so he discourse with the jailer about letting him go, and in that case promised him great things, both now and hereafter, as if that were the only thing now in question. But the jailer did not only refuse to do what Antipater would have him, but informed the king of his intentions, and how many solicitudes he had had from him of that nature. Hereupon Herod, who had formerly no affection nor good-will towards his son to restrain him, when he heard what the jailer said, he cried out, and beat his head, although he was at death's door, and raised himself upon his elbow, and sent for some of his guards, and commanded them to kill Antipater without any further delay, and to do it presently, and to bury him in an ignoble manner at Myraenae.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning Herod's Death, and Testament, and Burial.

§ 1. And now Herod altered his testament upon the alteration of his mind, for appointed Antipater, to whom he had before left the kingdom to be tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, and granted the kingdom to Archelaus. He also gave Galatia, and Trachonitis, and Pamphylia, to Philip, who was his son, but own brother; who was known by the name of a tetrarch; and bequeathed Jamnia, and Ashdod, and Phasaeus, to Salome his sister, with five hundred thousand drachmas of silver that was coined then. He also made provision for all the rest of his kindred, by giving them sums of money and annual revenues, and so left them all in a wealthy condition. He bequeathed also to Caesar ten millions of drachmas of coined money, besides both vessels of gold and silver, and garments exceeding costly, to Julia, Caesar's wife; and to certain others, five millions. When he had done these things, he died, the fifth day after he had caused Antipater to be slain having reigned since he had procured Antigonus to be slain, thirty-four years; but since he had been declared king by the Romans, thirty-seven. A man he was of great barbarity towards all men equally, and a slave to his passion; but above the consideration of what was right: yet was he favoured by fortune as much as any other was, for from a private man he became a king: and though he were encompassed with ten thousand dangers, he got clear of them all, and continued his life to a very old age. But then, as to the affairs of his family and children, in which, indeed, according to his own opinion, he was also very fortunate, because he was able to conquer his enemies, yet, in my opinion, he was herein very unfortunate.

2. But then Salome and Alexas, before the king's death was made known, dismissed those that were shut up in the hippocreus, and told them that the king ordered them to go away to their own lands, and take care of their own affairs, which was esteemed by the nation a great benefit. And now the king's death was made public, when Salome and Alexas gathered ther- formed to him at Rome; ch. in. sect. 5, and Of the War, B. ii. ch. ii. sect. 1, which latinity is perhaps all that Josephus intended by the words before us.

1 These numbers of years of the reigns, 34, and 37, are the very same with those of the War, B. i. ch. xxxix. sect. 6, and are among the principal chronological characters belonging to the reigns or death of Herod. See Harm. of the Engraving. P. 156—158.
soldiers together in the amphitheatre at Jericho; and the first thing they did was, they read Herod's letter, written to the soldiery, thanking them for their fidelity and good-will to him, and exhorting them to afford his son Archelaus, whom he had appointed for their king, like fidelity and good-will to him. After which, Ptolemy, who had the king's ring, read the king's testament, which was to be of force no otherwise than as it should stand when Caesar had inspected it; so there was presently an acclamation made to Archelaus, as king, and the soldiery came by bands, and their commanders with them, and promised the same good-will to him, and readiness to serve him, which they had exhibited to Herod, and they prayed God to be assistant to him. After all his ordinances to adorn the pomp of the funeral. The body was carried upon a golden her, embroidered with very precious stones of great value, and covered with purple, as well as the body itself: he had a diadem upon his head, and above it a crown of gold; he also had a sceptre in his right hand. About the bier were his, and his numerous relations, next to these was the soldiery, distinguished according to their several countries and denominations; and they were put into the following order: first of all went his guards; then the band of Thracians; and after them the Germans; and next the band of Galatians; every one in their habiti- ments of war; and behind these marched the women in the same manner as they used to go out to war, and as they used to be put in array by their master-masters and centurions; these were followed by five hundred of his domestics carrying spicula; and they went eight furlongs in that order; for they were not commanded he was to be buried. And thus did Herod end his life. 4. Now Archelaus paid him so much respect, as to continue his mourning till the seventh day; so for many days are appointed for it by the law of our fathers. And when he had given a treat to the multitude, and left off his mourning, he went up into the temple; he had also acclamation, and the king, and the soldiery, which was said in a suitable manner; but that he should abstain from the name of king, and that he should have the honour of that dignity if Caesar should confirm and settle that testament which his father had made; and that it was on account, that when the army would have put the diadem on him at Jericho, he would not accept of that honour, which is usually so much desired, because it was not yet evident that he who was to be principally concerned in bestowing it, would give it him; although, by his accepti- ance of the government, he should not want the ability of rewarding their kindness to him; and that it should be his endeavour, as to all things wherein they were concerned, to prove in every possible instance, how he had put his heart and desire to be lawful and right which tended to please them and being unskilful in foreseeing what dangers they incurred; and when they had suspicion of

"At eight sestertii or fourcings a day, as here, Herod's courtiers were not poor; but Herod himself (which lay at the distance from Jericho, where he died, of 330 sestertii or fourcings)."

CHAP. IX.

How the People rose in Sedition against Archelaus, and how he sailed to Rome.

§ 1. At this time also it was, that some of the Jews got together out of a desire of innovation. They lamented Matthias, and those that were slain with him by Herod, who had not any respect or charity for the Jews, as well as those who had been condemned for pulling down the golden eagle. The people made a great clamour and lamentation hereupon, and cast out upon the reproach that God would not suffer them to have so great a purity, to officiate as high priest. This was granted by Archelaus, although he was mightily offended at their importunity, because he proposed to himself to go to Rome immediately, to look after Caesar's determination about him. However, he sent the general of his forces to use persuasions, and to tell them that the deaths of the people were not for a time by the law, but according to the law; and to represent to them, that their petitions about these things were car- ried to a great height of injury to him; that the time of the next year was in the beginning of which he required their unanimity until such time as he should be established in the government by the consent of Caesar, and should then be come back to that place where he had been, that they did not remember the injuries his father had done them, to his disadvantage; and promised them he would endeavour not to be behindhand with them in rewarding their sincerity to his service, after a suitable manner; but that he should abstain from the name of king, and that he should have the honour of that dignity if Caesar should confirm and settle that testament which his father had made; and that it was on this account, that when the army would have put the diadem on him at Jericho, he would not accept of that honour, which is usually so much desired, because it was not yet evident that he who was to be principally concerned in bestowing it, would give it him; although, by his accepti- ance of the government, he should not want the ability of rewarding their kindness to him; and that it should be his endeavour, as to all things wherein they were concerned, to prove in every possible instance, how he had put his heart and desire to be lawful and right which tended to please them and being unskilful in foreseeing what dangers they incurred; and when they had suspicion of

Of the War, B. I. ch. xxi. sect. 3. he must have taken up no less than twenty-five days.
modelling with them, for he was there as sent for by Archelaus, by the means of Ptolemey. And Salome, out of regard to Varus, did not make so much as asked upon any of the castles that were among the Jews, nor did she seal up the treasures in them, but permitted Archelaus to have them, until Caesar should decide on the point; so that, upon this his promise, he tarried still at Cesarea. But after Archelaus was sailed for Rome, and Varus was removed to Antioch, Sabinus went to Jerusalem, and seized on the king's palace. He also sent for the keepers of the garrisons, and for all those that had the charge of Herod's effects, and declared publicly, that he should require them to give account what they had: and he disposed of the castles in the manner he pleased; but those who kept them did not neglect what Archelaus had given them in command, but continued to keep all things in the manner that had been enjoined them; and their pretence was, that they kept them all for Caesar.

4. At the same time, also, did Antipas, another of Herod's sons, sail to Rome, in order to gain the government; being buoyed up by Salome with promises, that he should take the government; and it was a much greater thing than to be a child. To be a child was far less formidable than to be a king. Antipas also brought with him his mother, and Ptolemy the brother of Nicolaus, one that had been Herod's most honoured friend, and was then so zealous for Antipas, but it is not known the king really meant it. It was, that when some advised him to yield to Archelaus, as to his elder brother, and who had been declared king by his father's last will, he would not submit so to do. And when he came to Rome, all his relations revolted to him: not out of their good-will to him, but out of their hatred to Archelaus; though indeed they were most of all desirous of gaining his liberty, and to be put under a Roman governor; but if there were too great an opposition made to that, they thought Antipas preferable to Archelaus, and so joined with him, in order to procure the kingdom for him. Sabinus also, by letters, accused Archelaus to Caesar.

5. Now, when Archelaus had sent in his papers to Caesar, wherein he pleased that right of the kingdom, and his father's testament, with the accounts of Herod's money, and with Ptolemey, who brought Herod's seal, he so expected the event; but when Caesar had read these papers, and Varus's and Sabinus's letters, with the account of the money, and what were the annual revenues of the kingdom, and understood that Antipas had also sent letters to lay claim to the kingdom, he summoned his friends together, to know their opinions, and with them Caius, the son of Agrippa, and of Julia his daughter, whom he had adopted, and took him with him and made him sit first of all, and desired such as pleased to speak their minds about the affairs now before them. Now Antipater, Salome's son, a very subtle orator, and a bitter enemy to Archelaus, spoke first to this purpose: that "it was ridiculous in Archelaus to pretend now to have the kingdom given him, since he had in reality taken already the power over the kingdom, before Caesar had granted it to him; and appealed to those bold actions of his, in destroying so many at the Jewish festival, and, if the men had acted unjustly, it was but fit neither the act of them should have been reserved to those that were out of the country, but had the power to punish them, and not be executed by a man that, if
he pretended to be a king, he did an injury to Caesar, by usurping that authority before it was decreed by him by Caesar; but, if I own that I did by my own admission to be a private person, my case was much worse, since he who was putting in for the kingdom, could by no means expect to have that power which he did, and which had already deceived Caesar (by taking it to himself.) He also touched sharply upon him, and appealed to his desiring the command in the army, and his sitting on the royal throne before hand, and the determination of lawsuits; all done as if he were no other than a king. He appealed also to his concessions to those that petitioned him on a public occasion, what with such things, that it was not which could devise no greater if he had been already settled in the kingdom by Caesar. He also ascribed to him the releasing of the prisoners, in the hippodrome, and many other things, that either had been certainly done by him, or were believed to be done, and easily might be believed to have been done, because they were of such a nature, as to be usually done by using men, and by such as are not of a desire of ruling, seize upon the government too soon. He also charged him with the neglect of the funeral mourning for his father, and with having mercy murdered his own side which he might. Stalin and that it was change the multitude took the handle of raising a tumult; and if Archelaus could thus the right he had been in the kingdom, which he hath been to his father; since he had then dancing and singing, as if a king, and of his were fallen, and we as though a man were carried to his funeral, that was so nearly related, and had been as great a benefactor to him. But he said that the great crime of all was this, that he came now before Caesar to obtain the government by his grant, while he had before acted in all things as he could have acted if Caesar himself, who ruled all, had fixed him firmly in the government. And what he most aggravated in his pleading, was the slaying of those about the temple, and the impurity of it, as done at the festival; and how they were then sacrificing themselves, some of whom were foreigners, and others of their own country, till the temple was full of dead bodies; and all this was done, not by an alien, but by one whose father was not a Jew, and who was the child of a king, being by that, he might complete the wicked tyranny which his nature prompted him to, and which is hated by all men. On which account his father never so much as dreamed of making his successor in the kingdom, when he was of a sound mind, because he knew his disposition; and in his former and more authentic testament, he appointed his antagonist Antipas to succeed; but that Archelaus was called by his father to that dignity, when he was in a dying condition, both of body and mind, while Antipas was called upon when he was ripe in his judgment, and of such strength of body as made him capable of managing his own affairs; and if his father had the like notion of him formerly that he hath now showed, yet hath he given a sufficient specimen what a king he is likely to be when he is made (in effect) deprived Caesar of that power of disposing of the kingdom, which he justly hath, and hath not abstained from making the vilest slaughter of his fellow-citizens in the temple, while he was a but a private person. 6. So when Antipater had made this speech, and had confirmed what he had said by producing emissaries from among Archelaus's own relations, he made an end of his pleading. Upon which Nicolaus arose up to plead for Archelaus, and said, "That what had been done at the temple was rather to be attributed to the mind of those that had been killed, than to their author, and they were the authors of such things, are not only wicked in the injuries they do of themselves, but in forcing sober persons to avenge themselves upon them. For in the manner of opposition was done under pretense indeed against Archelaus, but in reality against Caesar himself; for they, after an injurious manner, attached and bound those who were sent by Archelaus, and who came only to put a stop to their doings. They had no regard, either to God or to the festival, whom Antipater yet is not supposed to have shared the same indulgence of an enemy to Archelaus, or out of his hatred of virtue and justice. For as to those who begin such tumults, and first set about such ungodly actions, they are the men who have those that punish them to betake themselves to arms even against their wills. So that Antipater in effect ascribes the rest of what was done to all the things of Caesar, of the things for nothing which is here accused of injustice has been done, but what was derived from them as its authors; nor are those things evil in themselves, but so represented only in order to do him harm. So that the accusations to do an injury to a man that is of his kindred, their father's benefactor, and familiarly acquainted with them, and that hath ever lived in friendship, in the opinion of a king, it was made by the king when he was of a sound mind, and so ought to be of more authority than his former testament: and that for this reason, because Caesar is therein left to be the judge and disposer of all therein contained; and for Caesar, he will not, to be sure, at all imitate the unjust proceedings of those men, who, during Herod's life, had on all occasions been joint partakers of power with him, and yet do zealously endeavour to injure his determination, while they have not themselves had the same regard to their kinmen (while Archelaus had,) Caesar will not therefore disannul the testament of a man whom he had entirely supported, of his friend and confederate, and that which is committed to him in trust, to ratify; nor will Caesar's virtues and upright disposition, which is known and uncontroverted through all the habitable world, imitate the wickedness of these men in condemning a king, and determining a king, by reason, while he hath bequeathed the succession to a good son of his, and to one who flies to Caesar's upright determination for refuge. Nor can Herod, by the just title of a king, be put under judgment about a successor, while he showed so much prudence as to submit all to Caesar's determination." 7. Now when Nicolaus had laid these things before Caesar, he ended his plea; whereupon Caesar was so obliging to Archelaus, that he raised him up when he had cast himself down at his feet, and said, that "he well deserved the kingdom;" and he soon let him know, that he was so far moved in his favour, that he would not act otherwise than his father's testament directed, and than was for the advantage of Archelaus. However, while he gave this encouragement to Archelaus to depend on him securely, he made no full determination about him; and when the assembly was broken up, he considered himself, whether he should confirm the kingdom to Archelaus, or whether he should part it among all Herod's posterity; and this because they stood in need of much assistance to support them. 

CHA. X.

A Solicitation of the Jews against Sabinus; and how Varus brought the Authors of it to Punishment.

§ 1. But before these things could be brought to a settlement, Malatrace, Archelaus's mother.
stern, and died of it; and letters Varus, the president of Syria, which Varus, since he was there him- were the authors of the disturbance to and when he had restrained them put not reach them, insomuch that the took his journey to Antioch, leav- en the nation was ing of his army at Jerusalem to keep set, who were now very fond of inno- do, set fire to the cloisters; the fire, that was said to be too easy for their enemies. And this sort of lightning lasted a great while, till at last the Rom- anians, who were greatly distressed by what was done, set fire to the cloisters so as to deceive him: for he made use of them as his guards, whereby so the Jews, and giving them so great an terror to the Romanians, who were in the city, and zealously the search after the king's money, use it by force, on account of his and his extraordinary covetousness for the spoils, which is ours, so called from the days of our great many ten thousands of men, nor did they come only to celebrate by burning into the temple the Sabians, and at the injuries he offered great number there was of Gali- umaneans, and many men from Jer- usalem passed, and cast them into the other, the river inhabited those parts. This whole multitude themselves to all the rest, and saluted the others in making an hissing, in order to be avenged on parted themselves into three bands, and themselves in the places follow- them seized upon the hippodrome: her sacred money was re- deposited: a great part of the temple was burnt with the sword, which was stolen by the soldiers, and Sabians got openly four hundred talents.

3. But this calamity of the Jews' friends, who fell in this battle, grieved them as did also this plundering of the money dedicated to God in the temple. Accordingly, that body of them which continued best together, and was the most warlike, the threatened to set fire to it, and kill all that were in it. Yet still they commanded them to go out presently, and promised, that if they would do so, they would not hurt them, nor Sabinus neither: but when the greatest part of the king's troops deserted to them, while Rufus and Gratus, who had three thousand of the most warlike of Herod's army with them, who were in a heat of enterprise, went over to the Romans. There was also a band of horsemen under the command of Rufus, which itself went over to the Romans also. However, the Jews went on with the siege, and dug mines under the palace walls, and besought those that were gone over to the other side, not to be their hinderers, now they had such an opportunity for the recovery of their country's ancient liberty; and for Sabinus, truly he was desirous of going away with his soldiers, but was not able to trust himself with the enemy, on account of what mischief he had already done them; and he took this great [pretended] lenity of theirs for an argument why he should not comply with them: and so, because he expected that Varus was coming, he still bore the siege.

4. Now, at this time there were ten thousand other disorders in Judea; which were like mutiny; because a great number put themselves into a warlike posture either out of hope of getting himself, or to themselves, or out of enmity to the Jews.
1. If this Judea, the son of Esdras, be the same with that Thoephus, mentioned Acts v. 39, Josephus must have omitted him; for that other Thoephus, where he afterward speaks of Felix, the Roman governor, *s. xx. ab. seg. 1., is much too young to correspond to this Tobiad; and the name is mentioned in the Acts. The name Thoephus, Thoedas, and Thoedas, is very little known, but best little. See Archbishop Usher's annals at A. D. 401. However, since Josephus does not pretend to reckon up the heads of all those thousand

sign. He had also four brethren, who were tall men themselves, and were believed to be superior to others in the strength of their hands, and they were so renowned as to do great things, and thought that strength of their would support them in retaining the kingdom. Each of these ruled over a band of men of his own; for those once got together, there were very numerous. They were every one of them also commanders; but, when they came to fight, they were subordinate to him, and fought for him, while he put a diadem about his head, and assembled a council to debate about the most expedient ways of executing all things according to his pleasure. And this man retained his power a great while; he was also called king, and had nothing to hinder him from doing what he pleased. He also, as well as his brethren, slew a great many, both of the Romans and of the king's forces, and managed matters with the like hatred to each of them. The king's forces they fell upon, because of the licentious conduct they had been allowed under Herod's government; and they fell upon the Romans, because of the injuries they had so lately been inflicted upon them. But in the course of time, they grew more cruel to all sorts of men, nor could any one escape from one or other of these seditions, since they slew some out of the hope of being of use to the sedition, and some of the most notable of slaying men. They once attacked a company of Romans at Emmaus, who were bringing corn and weapons to the army, and fell upon Aristobulus, the centurion, who commanded the company, and shot forty of the best of his foot-soldiers; but the rest of them were asphyxiated at their slaughter, and left their dead behind them, but seven were taken alive; among whom was an officer of the king, who came with the king's troops that were about him to his assistance. Now, these four brethren continued the war a long while by such sort of sedition and bribery, but they did not accomplish any thing, for they brought their troubles and their own nation also a great deal of mischief. Yet were they afterward subdued; one of them in a fight with Gratus; another with Ptolemus; Archelaus also took the eldest of them prisoner, while the last of them was so dejected at the others' misfortune, and saw so plainly that he had no way now left to save himself, his army being scattered and dispersed, and his men in the public. They were in some small measure ideed, and in small matters, hurtful to the Romans; but the murders they committed upon their own people lasted a long while.

2. Hence come the Antiquities of the Jews, which, though he tells us were thence afterward, yet 46 and 47, the Thoephus of the Acts might be at the head of one of those seditions, though not particularly named. Then he informs us here, sect. 6, that Herod the Great, after the war, B. C. 4, iv. 30, in regard to this matter, which occurred to him, came and burned the royal palace at Ashdod, or Beth-rephathah, upon the river Jordan. Perhaps their leader, who is not named by Josephus, might be this Thoephus.
BOOK XVII.—CHAP. XI.

Aretas also, the king of Arabia Petraea, hated Herod, and in order to be favour of the Romans, sent him assistance, besides their footmen and men, and, when he had made them all together, he committed part of them to a friend of his, and sent them sedition into Gessíde, which lies in the land of Ptolemais, who made an attack on the city, and put them to flight, and burnt it, and made its inhabitants slaves, and the camp at a certain village that belonged to them, whose name was Arus, which is burnt, out of their hatred to Herod, the severity they bore to his friends; yea, he went to another village, whose name was Sambo, which the Arabians plundered, although it was a fortified and a solid place, and all along this march nothing was left, and all places were full of fire and smoke. 

And Varus was a great friend to him; for it is reported that his village had been besieged by them, and that there was a promissory letter to that effect: but as to the Jerusalem Jews, they reproached them bitterly for what they had done, they cleared themselves of the one, and alleged, that the account of the occasioned by the heat; that the war was as to the Romans, and besieged together rather than having any inclination to agree, and Joseph, the cousin-german of king Isaac Gratus and Rufus, who brought the letters along with them, together with them who had been besieged; but Sapor came into Varus's presence, but the city privately, and went to the
this, Varus sent a part of his army into, to seek out those that had been of the revolt; and when they were published some of them that were there, and were inhabited by foreigners, but that those cities belonging to his own government were ruined, and utterly destroyed: that whereas, when he took the kingdom, it was in an extraordinary flourishing condition; and filthy the cities, and not to the utmost degree of poverty; and when, upon unjust pretences, he had slain many of the nobility, he took away their estates; and when he permitted any of them to live, he condemned them to the forfeiture of what they possessed. And, besides the annual impositions which he laid upon every one of them, they were made liberal presents to himself, to his domestics and friends, and to such of his slaves as were vouchsafed the favour of being his tax-gatherers; because there was no way of obtaining a freedom from unjust violence, without giving either gold or silver for it. That they would say nothing of the corruption of the charity of their virgins, and the reproach laid on their wives for incorruptibility, and those things acted after an insolent and inhuman manner; because it was not a smaller pleasure to the sufferers to have such things concealed than it would have been not to suffer them. That Herod had put such abuses upon them as a wild beast would not have put on them, if he

* See Of the War, B. ii. ch. ii. sect. 3.
† See the note, Of the War, B. ii. ch. vi. sect. 1.
‡ He was strangled afterward.

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him at Rome, on the occasions following: for an embassage of the Jews was come to Rome, Varus having permitted the nation to send it, that they might petition for the liberty of living by their own laws. Nor, the chief men of the ambassadors that were sent by the authority of the nation was fifty, to which they joined above eight thousand of the Jews that were at Rome already. Hereupon Caesar assembled his friends, and the chief men among the Romans, in the temple of Apollo, which he had built at a vast charge; whether the ambassadors came, and a multitude of the Jews that were there, came with them, as did also Archelaus and his friends; but as for the several reasons which Archelaus had, they would not join themselves with him, out of their hatred to him; and yet they thought it too gross a thing for them to assist the ambassadors against him; as supposing it would be a disgrace to them in Caesar's opinion to think of thus acting in opposition to a man of their own kindred. Philip also was come hither out of Syria, by the persuasion of Varus, with this principal intent, to assist his brother (Archelaus) for so it was, that if there should say change happen in the form of government, (which Varus suspected there would,) and if any distribution should be made on account of the liberty of living by their own laws, that he might not be disappointed, but might have his share in it.

2. Now upon the liberty that was given to the Jewish ambassadors to speak, they were helped to obtain a dissolution of king's government, betook themselves to accuse Herod of his iniquities; and they declared, "that he was indeed in some a king, but that he had taken to himself, and that uncontrolled authority which tyrants exercise over their subjects, and had made use of that authority for the destruction of the Jews, and did not abstain from making many innovations among them besides, according to his own inclinations; and that whereas there were a great many who perished by that destruction he brought upon them, so many indeed as no other history relates, that they survived were far more miserable than those that suffered under him, not only by the anxiety they were in from his looks and disposition towards them, but from the danger their estates were in of being taken away by him: that he did never leave off adorning those cities that lay in their neighbourhood, and foreigners; but so that the cities belonging to his own government were ruined, and utterly destroyed: that whereas, when he took the kingdom, it was in an extraordinary flourishing condition; and filthy the cities, and not to the utmost degree of poverty; and when, upon unjust pretences, he had slain many of the nobility, he took away their estates; and when he permitted any of them to live, he condemned them to the forfeiture of what they possessed. And, besides the annual impositions which he laid upon every one of them, they were made liberal presents to himself, to his domestics and friends, and to such of his slaves as were vouchsafed the favour of being his tax-gatherers; because there was no way of obtaining a freedom from unjust violence, without giving either gold or silver for it. That they would say nothing of the corruption of the charity of their virgins, and the reproach laid on their wives for incorruptibility, and those things acted after an insolent and inhuman manner; because it was not a smaller pleasure to the sufferers to have such things concealed than it would have been not to suffer them. That Herod had put such abuses upon them as a wild beast would not have put on them, if he
had power given him to rule over us; and that although their nation had passed through many subversions and alterations of government, their house had no account of so calamity they had ever been under, that could be compared with this which Herod had brought upon their nation; that it was for this reason that they therein thought they were more justly and gravely opposite Archelaus as king, upon this circumstance, that whoever should be set over their kingdom, he would appear more mild to them than Herod had done. And that they had joined with him in the mourning for his father, in order to gratify him, and were ready to oblige him in other points also, if they could meet with any degree of moderation from him; but that he seemed to be afraid lest he should not be deemed Herod's own son, and so, without any delay, he immediately set the nation understand his meaning, and this before his dominion was well established, since the power of disposing of it belonged to Caesar, who could either give it to him or not, as he pleased. That he had given a specimen of his fear to his subjects, and with what kind of moderation and good administration he would govern them, by that his first action which concerned them, his own citizens, and God himself also, when he made the slaughter of three thousand of God's children in ten days. He parted them then, could they avow the just hatred of him who, to the rest of his barbarity, had added this as one of our crimes, that we have opposed and contrived, directed him in the exercises of his authority, and not withstood the authority of such presidents of theirs as should be sent to them; for that it would thereby he made evident, whether they be really a seditions people, and governed with innovations, or whether they would live in an orderly manner, if they might have governors of any sort of moderation set over them.

3. Now when the Jews had said this, Nicolaus indicated the kings from those accusations, and said, "That, as for Herod, since he had never been thus accused all the time of his life, it was not possible there were so many that could have accused him of lesser crimes than those now mentioned, and might have procured him to be punished during his lifetime, to bring an accusation against him now he is dead. He also attributed the actions of Archelaus to the Jews' injuries to him, who affecting to govern contrary to the laws, and going on as if he was king, he would not only hinder them from acting unjustly, when they were by him punished for what they had done, made their complaints against him; so he accused them of approving the evil, and not doing it, when they took in sedition, by reason of their not having learned to submit to justice, and to the laws, but still desiring to be superior in all things. This was the substance of what Nicolaus said.

4. When Cæsar had heard these pleadings, he dissolved the assembly; but a few days afterward he appointed Archelaus, not indeed to be king of the whole country, but etharch of one half of that which had been subject to Herod, and promised to give him the royal dignity hereafter, if he governed his part virtuously. But for the other half, he divided it into two parts, and gave it to two other of Herod's sons, to Philip and to Antipas, that Antipas who disputed with Archelaus for that country, and to him it was that Perea and Galilee paid their tribute, which amounted annually to two hundred talents, while Bætæa, with Trachonitis, as well as Antipas, and in part of the rest of the country, called the house of Zenodorus, paid the tribute of one hundred talents to Philip; but Idumæa, and Judea, and the country of Samaria, paid the tribute to Archelaus, but had not now a fourth part of that tribute taken off by the order of Cæsar, who decreed them that mitigation, because they did not join in this revolt with the rest of the multiplied nations of the cities which paid tribute to Archelaus, Strato's Tower, and Sebaste, with Joppa and Jerusalem; for as to Gaza, and Gadara, and Hippus, they were Greek cities, which Cæsar separated from his government, and added them to the province of Syria. Now the tribute-money that came to Archelaus every year from his own dominions, amounted to six hundred talents.

5. And so much came to Herod's sons from their father's inheritance. But Salome, besides what her brother left her by his testament, which was not much, might have accused him of lesser crimes than those now mentioned, and might have procured him to be punished during his lifetime, to bring an accusation against him now he is dead. He also attributed the actions of Archelaus to the Jews' injuries to him, who affecting to govern contrary to the laws, and going on as if he was king, he would not only hinder them from acting unjustly, when they were by him punished for what they had done, made their complaints against him; so he accused them of approving the evil, and not doing it, when they took in sedition, by reason of their not having learned to submit to justice, and to the laws, but still desiring to be superior in all things. This was the substance of what Nicolaus said.

If any one compare that divine prediction concerning the tyrannical power which Jewish kings would exercise, he would be as foolish as to prefer it in before their ancient theocracy or monarchy, 1 Sam. viii. 1–22 Antiq. B. viii. chap. iv. sect. 4, he will soon find that it is not similar either in the days of Herod, and that to such a degree, that the nation now seem sorely to repeat of such their ancient choice in opposition to God's better choice for them, and had much rather be subject to even a Pagan Roman government, and their deputies, than to be any longer under the oppression of the family of Herod; which request of theirs Augustus did not now grant them; but did it for the one half of that nation in a few years afterward, upon fresh complaints by the Jews made against Archelaus; who, under the more humble name of ethnarch, which Augustus only would now allow him, soon took upon him the insolence and tyranny of his father King Herod, as becomes a god, and the remaining part of this book will inform us, and particularly ch. xii. sect. 2.

† This is not true. See Antiq. B. xiv. ch. ix. sect. 3, 4, and this will show us, that as during the residuum part of this book will inform us thereof, and particularly ch. xii. sect. 2. Antiq. B. xvi. ch. 3, sect. 3.

‡ Since Josephus here informs us that Archelaus and one half of the kingdom of Herod, and properly informs us that Archelaus's annual income, after an abstention of one quarter for the present, was 600 talents, we may judge nearly as exactly what was Herod the Great's yearly income; I mean about 1600 talents, which the known value of 3000 shekels to a talent, and about 900 to the ducus, in the days of Josephus, see the note on Antiq. B. iii. ch. viii. sect. 3, amounts to £26,000,000 sterling per annum: which income, though great in itself, becomes less to other situations. Archelaus's vast estate where visible in Josephus, and to the vast sum he left behind him in his will, chap. viii. sect. 1 and chap. xii. sect. 1, the rest must have arisen either from his confiscation of those great man's estates whom he put to death, or made to pay a fine, since he and the other kings used the same methods of oppression which such savage tyrants usually exercise upon their miserable subjects: or rather from the confiscation of those who were above these sums, very much too small for his expenses, being drawn from no larger a nation than that of the Jews, which was very populous, but without the advantage of trade to bring them riches; so that I cannot but strongly suspect that no small part of this his wealth arose from another source: I mean from some vast sums he took out of Judea's sequestrum, but concealed from the people. See the note on Antiq. B. vi. ch. xv. sect. 3.

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imposed upon in such affairs as were of great concern to him; yet, having some suspicion it might be so, he sent one Celsus, a freed-man of his, and one that had lived with the young men themselves, and bade him bring Alexander into his presence; so he brought him, being no more accurate in judging about him than the rest of the multitude. Yet did not he deceive Celsus; for although there was a resemblance between him and Alexander, yet was it not so exact as to impose on such as were prudent in discerning; for this spurious Alexander had his hands rough, by the labours he had been put to, and instead of that softness of body which the other had, and this as derived from his delicate and generous education, this man, in the contrary relation, had a rugged body. When, therefore, Cæsar saw how the master and the scholar agreed in this lying story, and in a bold way of talking, he inquired about Aristobulus, and asked what became of him, who, it seems, was stolen away together with him, and for what reason it was that he did not come along with him, and endeavour to recover that dominion which was due to his high birth also? And when he said, that he had been left in the isle of Crete, for fear of the dangers of the sea, that, in case any accident should happen to himself, the power of Monmouth might not utter perish, but that Aristobulus might survive, and punish those that laid such treacherous designs against them. And when the one he inquired in his affirmations, and the other in the imposture agreed in supporting it, Cæsar took the young man by himself, and said to him, "If thou wilt not impose upon me, thou shalt have this for thy reward, and thou shalt escape with thy life, tell me, then, who thou art, and who it was that had boldness enough to contrive such a cheat as this; for this contrivance is too considerable a piece of villainy to be covered over by one of thy age." Accordingly, because he had no other way to take, he told Cæsar the contrivance, and after what manner, and by whom, it was laid together. So Cæsar, upon observing the spurious Alexander to be a strong active man, and fit to work with his hands, that he might not break his promise to him, put him among those that were to row among the mariners; but slew him that induced him to do what he had done; for as for the people of Melos, he thought them sufficiently punished, in having thrown them more upon this spurious Alexander. And such was the ignominious conclusion of this bold contrivance about the spurious Alexander.

CHAP. XIII.

How Archelaus, upon a second Accusation, was banished to Vienna.

§ 1. WHEN Archelaus was entered on his eth- narchy, and was come into Judea, he accused Jozzaer, the son of Boethus, of assisting the se- ditionists, and took away the high priesthood from him, and put Eleazar his brother in his place. He also magnificently rebuilt the royal palace that had been at Jericho, and diverted half the water with which the village of Nears used to be watered, and drew off that water into the plain, to water those palm-trees which he had there planted: he also built a village, and put his own name upon it, and called it Archelaus. Moreover, he transgressed the law of our fa- thers, and married Gisphrya, the daughter of Archelaus, who had been the wife of his brother Alexander, which Alexander had three children by her, while it was a very unbecoming thing to the Jews, to marry the brother's wife; nor did this Eleazar abide long in the high priesthood: Jesus, the son of Sie, being put in his room while he was still living.

had children by her first husband, and that Zemorae [cites or] interpret the clause before us accordingly.
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2. But in the tenth year of Archelaus's government, both his brethren, and the principal men of Judea, being unable to bear being barbarous and tyrannical usage of them, accused him before Cæsar, and that especially because they knew he had broken the commandments of Cæsar, and would not be subject to the moderation among them. Whereupon, Cæsar, when he heard it, was very angry, and called for Archelaus's steward, who took care of his affairs at Rome, and whose name was Archelaus also, and thinking it beneath him to write to Arechlaus, he bade him sail away as soon as possible, and bring him to Rome: so the man made haste in his voyage, but on the way he came into Judea and found Archelaus feasting with his friends; so he told him what Cæsar had sent him about, and hastened him away. And when he was come to Rome, Cæsar, upon hearing what certain accusers of his had said, and what reply he could make, both banished him, and appointed Vienna, a city of Gaul, to be the place of his habitation, and took his money away from him.

3. Now, before Archelaus was gone up to Rome upon this message, he related this dream to his friends, that "he saw ears of corn, in number ten, fearful, perfect, and which ears of corn it seemed to him, were devoured by oxen." And when he was awake and gotten up, because the vision appeared to be of great importunity to him, he sent for the diviners, and those that study to be employed about dreams. And while some were of one opinion, and some of another, (for all their interpretations did not agree,) Simon, a man of the sect of the Essenes, desired leave to speak his mind freely, and said, that "the vision denoted a change in the affairs of Archelaus, and not for the better; that oxen, because that animal takes up many pains in his labours, which Archelaus, as it seemed to him, were devoured by oxen." And when he was awake and gotten up, because the vision appeared to be of great importunity to him, he sent for the diviners, and those that study to be employed about dreams.

4. The like accident befell Galphry, his wife, who was the daughter of king Archelaus, who, being married to Galphry, as I said before, being able to bear being barbarous and tyrannical usage of them, accused him before Cæsar, and that especially because they knew he had broken the commandments of Cæsar, and would not be subject to the moderation among them. Whereupon, Cæsar, when he heard it, was very angry, and called for Archelaus's steward, who took care of his affairs at Rome, and whose name was Archelaus also, and thinking it beneath him to write to Arechlaus, he bade him sail away as soon as possible, and bring him to Rome: so the man made haste in his voyage, but on the way he came into Judea and found Archelaus feasting with his friends; so he told him what Cæsar had sent him about, and hastened him away. And when he was come to Rome, Cæsar, upon hearing what certain accusers of his had said, and what reply he could make, both banished him, and appointed Vienna, a city of Gaul, to be the place of his habitation, and took his money away from him.

BOOK XVIII.
CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-TWO YEARS.—FROM THE BANISHMENT OF ARCHELAUS TO THE DEPARTURE OF THE JEWS FROM BABYLON.

CHAP. I.

How Cyrenius was sent by Cæsar to make a Taxation of Syria and Judea; and how Cephasius was sent to be Procurator of Judea: concerning Judea of Galilee, and concerning the Sects that were among the Jews.

§ 1. Now Cyrenius, a Roman senator, and one who had gone through other magistracies, and had passed through there till he had been consul, and one who, on other accounts, was of great dignity, came at this time into Syria, with a few others, being sent by Cæsar to be a judge of that nation, and to take account of their substance: Cephasius also, a man of the equestrian order, was sent together with him, to have the supreme power over the Jews. Moreover, Cyrenius came himself into Judea, which was now added to the province of Syria, to take an account of their substance, and to determine of Archelaus's money: but the Jews, although at the beginning they took the report of a taxier heinously, yet did they leave off any further opposition to it, by the reason, that Archelaus was the son of Boethus, and high priest; so they being over persuaded by Joses's words, gave an account of their estates, without any dispute about it. Yet there were one Judas, a Galilean, who, being over persuaded by Joses's words, gave an account of their estates, without any dispute about it. Yet there were one Judas, a Galilean, who, being over persuaded by Joses's words, gave an account of their estates, without any dispute about it. Yet there were one Judas, a Galilean, who, being over persuaded by Joses's words, gave an account of their estates, without any dispute about it. Yet there were one Judas, a Galilean, who, being over persuaded by Joses's words, gave an account of their estates, without any dispute about it. Yet there were one Judas, a Galilean, who, being over persuaded by Joses's words, gave an account of their estates, without any dispute about it.
whose name was Gamaliel, who taking Sadducee, a Pharisee, became zealous to revolt, who both said, that this was so much better than an introduction to none other way than to assert the liberty of all mankind; if they could procure them happiness for what they possessed, and assurance of a still greater good, which was a greater good which they could thereby achieve or bestow. They also said, that it is not otherwise assisting to them, their joining with one another in such a way might be successful, and for their most part of the greatest dignity. But they are able to do almost nothing of themselves; for when they become magistrates, sometimes by force, sometimes obliged to be, they addict themselves to the purposes of the Pharisees, because the multitude would not otherwise bear them. 

5. The doctrine of the Sadducees is this, that all things are best ascribed to God. They teach the immortality of souls, and esteem that the rewards of righteousness are to be earnestly striven for; and when they know that they have dedicated to God in the temple, they do not offer sacrifices, because they have more pure communications of their own which account they are excluded from the common court of the temple, but offer their sacrifices themselves; yet is their course of life better than that of other men; and they entirely addict themselves to humanity. It also deserves our admiration, how much they exceed all other men that addict themselves to virtue, and this in righteousness: and indeed to such a degree, that as it hath never appeared among any other men, neither Greeks nor barbarians, nor for a little time, but it hath been continued for a long while among them. This is demonstrated by that institution of theirs, which will not suffer any thing to hinder them from having all things in common; and each man enjoys as much more of his own wealth as he hath nothing at all. There are about four thousand men that live in this way; and neither marry wives, nor are desirous to know any one else; as thinking that the latter tempts men to be unjust, and the former gives the handle to domestic quarrels, but as they live by themselves, minister one to another. They also appoint certain stewards to receive the incomes of their revenues, and of the fruits of the ground; such as are good works and priests; who are to get their corn and their food ready for them. They none of them order sacrifices from the rest, but do the most resemble those Daco, who are called Polistes, [dwellers in cities.]
4. In the fourth sect of Jewish philosophy, Judas the Galilean was the author. These men agree in all other things with the Pharisaic notions; but they have an inviolable attachment to liberty, and say, that God is to be their only Rabbi and Lord. And since this immovable resolution of theirs has been, and is, known to a great many, I shall speak no farther about that matter; nor am I afraid that any thing I have said of them should be disbelieved, but rather that they have said is beneath the resolution they show when they undergo pain. And it was in Gesius Florus's time that the nation began to grow mad with this distresser, who was our procurator, and who occasioned the Jews to go wild with it by the abuse of his authority, and to make them revolt from the Romans. And these are the sects of Jewish philosophy.

CHAP. II.

How Herod and Philip built several Cities in Honour of Caesar. Concerning the Succession of Priests and Procurators; as also what befell Phraates and the Parthians.

1. Waxed Cyrenius had now disposed of Aristobulus; and when the taxing came to a conclusion, which were made in the thirty-seventh of Caesar's victory over Antony at Actium, he deprived Junex of the high priesthood, which dignity had been conferred on him by the multitude, and he appointed Ananus, the son of Seth, to be high priest; while Herod and Philip had each of them received their own tax, and settled the affairs thereof. Herod also built a wall about Sephoris, which is the security of all Galilee, and made it the metropolis of the country. He also built a wall round Bethanatha, which was itself a city also, and called it Julias, from the name of the emperor's wife. When Philip also had built Panæas, a city at the fountains of Jordan, he named it Cesarea. He also advanced the village Bethsaida, situate at the lake of Gennesareth, unto the dignity of a city, both by the number of inhabitants it contained, and its other grandeur, and called it by the name of Julias, the same name with Caesar's daughter.

2. As Coponius, who we told you was sent along with Cyrenius, was exercising his office of procurator over the country of Judea, the following incidents happened. As the Jews were celebrating the feast of unleavened bread, which we call the Passover, it was customary for the priests to eat after their usual custom; just after partaking thereof, therefore, those gates were first opened, some of the Samaritans came privately into Jerusalem, and threw about the dead man's bodies in the cloisters; on which account the Jews afterward excluded them, out of the temple, which they had not used to do at such festivals; and on other accounts also they watched the temple more closely than they had formerly done. A little after which accident, Coponius returned to Rome, and Marcus Ambivius came to be his successor in that government; under whom Salome, the sister of king Herod, died, and left to Julia [Cesar's wife] Annia, all its toparchy, and Phraates in the plain, and Arachais, where is a great plantation of palm-trees, and their fruit is excellent in its kind. After him came Annus Rufus, under whom died Caesar, the second emperor of the Romans, the duration of whose reign was fifty-seven years, besides six months

* We may have some notice, as well as in the parallel part of the books Of the War, B. ii. chap. ix. sect. 1. that several of the Jews who had the successions of Arachais, Josephs is very brief in his accounts of Judea, till near his own time. I suppose the reason is, that after and two days, (of which time Antiochus raised together with him fourteen years;) but the duration of his life was seventy-seven years; but upon whose death Tiberius Nero, his wife Julia's son, succeeded. He was now the third emperor; and he lived a number of years. After his death, the Romans, and the people of Judea, and to succeed Annius Rufus. This man deprived Annas of the high priesthood, and appointed Eleazar, the son of Phasri, to be high priest. He also deprived him in a little time, and ordained Eleazar, the son of Ananias, who had been high priest before, to be high priest; which office, when he had held it for a year, Gratus deprived him, and gave the high priest to Simon, the son of Caiaphas, and, when he had possessed that dignity no longer than a year, Joseph Casparus was made his successor. When Gratus had done these things, he went back to Rome, after he had harbied in Judea eleven years, when Pontius Pilate came as his successor.

3. And now Herod the tetrarch, who was in great favour with Tiberius, built a city of the same name with him, and called it Tiberias. He built it in the best part of Galilee, at the lake of Gennesareth. There are warm baths at a little distance from it, in a village named Nerusmus. Strangers came, and inhabited this city; a great number of the inhabitants were Galileans also; and many were necessitated by Herod to come there to serve him, and the Roman garrison. But they, and were by force compelled to be its inhabitants; some of them were persons of condition. He also admitted poor people, such as the poor, that were collected from all parts, to dwell in it. Nay, some of them were not quite free men, and these he was a benefactor to, and made them free in great numbers; but obliged them not to build houses, but to dwell in very good houses at his own expense, and by giving them land also; for he was that made this place a habituation to transgress the ancient Jewish laws, because many sepulchres were to be here taken away, in order to make rooms for the city Tiberias; whereas our laws pronounce that such inhabitants are uncivil for seven days.]

4. About this time died Phraates, the king of the Parthians, by the treachery of Phraestates his son, upon the occasion following: When Phraates had had legitimate sons of his own, he had also taken a young maid-servant, who was Thermusa, who had been formerly sent to him by Julius Caesar, among other presents. He first made her his concubine, but, being a very great man and of great power, and having a son by her, whose name was Phraestates, he made her his legitimate wife, and had a very great respect for her. Now, she was able to persuade him to agitate for the crown in procuring the government of Parthia for her son; but still she saw that her endeavors would not succeed, unless she could constrive how to remove Phraestates' legitimate sons [out of the kingdom: so she persuaded him to send those his sons as pledges of his fidelity to Rome; and they were sent to Rome accordingly, because it was not necessary for them to bear arms. Now, while Phraestates was also brought up in order to succeed in the government, he thought it very tedious to expect that government by his father's donation [as his successor: he therefore formed a treacherous design against his father, by his mother's assistance, with whom, as the report went, he had criminal conversations also. So he was hated by both these viceces, while his mother deemed this [wicked] love of his mother to be nowy inferior to his parchees; and it was by them, in a sedition, expelled out of the large history of Nicodamus of Damascus, including the life of Herod, and probably the succession and first union of his son, he bad but few good histories of them told to before him.]

* Numbr. xxx. 11—14
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since he grew too great, and died. the best sort of Parthians agreed to- it that it was impossible they should be without a king, where also it was their custom to anoint a king, and likewise, of necessity, (nor did their law allow of any others;) but that this kingdom had been suff- fered already by the marriage with concubine, and by her issue, the Parthians and called Orodas [to take the- r the multitude would not otherwise or them; and though he were accused of cruelty, and was committed to prison, was, by dint of prayer, wrested from wrath, yet still he was one of the Arataces. However, they made an against him, and slew him, and that, y, at a festival, and among their sacri- ties the universal custom there to carry it with them;) but as the more gene- ral, they slew him when they had drawn hunting. So they sent ambassadors to desired them they would send one of those here as pledges, to be their king. Ac- Vonones was preferred before the rest, the Parthians sent him as a pledge to Rome, which two of the greatest king- and the sun now offered him, his own, his own. However, the barbarians re- ceived him, which is naturally a dis- position, upon the supposition, that was not worthy to be their governor; could not think of obeying the com- mand it had been a slave, (for so was the charge that had been hostages,) nor could the ignominy of that name; and this was intolerable, because then the Par- thian was his own master, and not in war, but in times of peace. So they invited Arataclus, king of Media, to- is, he being also of the race of Arata- clus, to the offer that the Parthians made and came to them with an army. So set him; and at first the multitude of is stood on his side, and he put his - way; but Arataclus was beaten, and mountains of Media. Yet did he as after gather a great army together, with Vonones, and beat him; where- as his horseback, with a attendants about him, to Seleucia, a. So when Arataclus had slain a - and this after he had gotten the re- lated their necks bare, he then to have the government of the country, and sent ambassadors to Rome [for that But because Tiberius refused it him, he wanted courage, and because the ng tightened him, and sent ambas- sion to denote war against him if he and because he had no way to take o other kingdom, (for the people of the city had no mind to have nothing to do with Arataclus,) he delivered up Ilamis, the president of Syria, who, to his education at Rome, kept him on as now wanting, as, as they were here called, whose blood Pi- hia occasion, may very well be those very whoses blood Pilate had mingled with their i. 1. 2. these tumults being usually 100 of these things; and the Galileans being con- scious in such tumults than those of Ju- leans, as Pilate (who he) Swallowed, had intermeddled with the tetrarch's jurisdiction, and had slain some of his Galilean subjects; Luke xxi. 1; and, so he was willing to correct that error, he sent Christ to He- rod at this time."


§ 1. But now Pilate, the procurator of Judæa, removed the army from Caesarea to Jerusalem, to take their winter quarters there and so to se- lish the Jewish laws. So he introduced Cæsar's effigies, which were upon the ensigns, and brought them into the city; whereas our law forbids us to make images; and which agreed with all the former procurators were wont to make their entry into the city with such ensigns as had not those ornaments. Pilate was the first who brought these images to Jerusalem, and set them up there; which was done without the knowl- edge of the people, because it was done in the night-time; but as soon as they knew it, they came in multitudes to Caesarea, and in multitudes to Pilate many days that he would remove the images; and when he would not grant their re- quests, because it would tend to the injury of Cæsar, while yet they persevered in their re- quest, on the sixth day he ordered his soldiers to have their weapons privately, while he came and sat upon his judgment-seat, which place was so prepared in the open place of the city, that it con- cealed the army that lay ready to oppress them; and when the Jews petitioned him again, he gave a signal to the soldiers to encompass them round, and threatened that they should be put to death no less than immediate death, unless they would leave off disturbing him, and go their ways home. But they threw themselves upon the ground, and pleaded, and said they would not leave off their death very willingly rather than the wis- dom of their laws should be transgressed; upon which Pilate was deeply affected with their firm resolution to keep the peace, and prevailed, and pre- sently commanded the images to be carried back from Jerusalem to Caesarea.

But Pilate undertook to bring a current of water to Jerusalem, and did it with the sacred money, and derived the origin of the stream from the distance of two hundred furlongs. However, the Jews were not pleased with what had been done about this water; and many ten thousands of them said Pilate had the change of water against him, and insisted that he should leave off that design. Some of them also used reproaches, and abused the man, as crowds of such people
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usually do. So he habited a great number of his soldiers in their habit, who carried daggers under their garments and hid about them a piece where they might surround them. So he bade the Jews himself go away; but they boldly castly approached upon him, he gave the soldiers that digested upon him, and he believed understood one who laid upon them with much greater blows than Pilate had commanded them, and equally punished those that were tumultuous, and those that were not; nor did they spare them in the least: and since the people were unarmed, and were caught by men prepared for what they were about, there were a great number of them slain by this means, and others ran away wounded. And thus an end was put to this sedition.

3. Now, there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, who was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was called Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men amongst us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him; and some of them went up to him again the third day, *as the divine prophets had foretold these* and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of Christians, so many as were in it, were not extinct by this day.

4. About the same time, also, another and calamity put the Jews into disorder, and certain shameful practices happened about the temple of Jains. I will first take notice of the wicked attempt about the temple of Jains, and will then give an account of the Jewish affairs. There was at Rome a woman whose name was Paula, who, on account of the dignity of her ancestors, and by the regular conduct of a virtuous life, had a great reputation; she was also very rich, and although she were of a beautiful countenance, and in that flower of the age wherein women are most gay, yet did she lead a life of great modesty. She was married to Saturninus, one that was every way answerable to her in an excellent character. Decius Mucius fell in love with this woman, who was a man very high in the equestrian order; and as she was of too great dignity to be caught by passion, did notoug had already rejected them, though they had been very much at that abundance, he was still more inflamed with love to her; insomuch that he promised to give her two hundred thousand Attic drachmas for one night's lodging, and this would neither cost him nor her, and he was not able to bear this misfortune in his arms, he thought it the best way to ruin himself to death for want of food, on account of Paula's refusal; and he determined with himself to die after such a manner, and he went on with his purpose accordingly. Now, Mucius had a freed-woman, who had been made free by his father, whose name was Ide, one skilful in all sorts of mischief. This woman was very much grieved at the young man's resolution to kill himself, (for he did not conceal his intentions from himself, and his friends, and more particularly from Paula,) and came to him, and encouraged him by her discourse; and made him to hope, by some promises, that he might obtain a supper with her, and that she might manage it; when he joyfully heartened her to entreaty, she said she wanted no more than fifty thousand drachmas for the entrapping of the woman. So when she had exacted so much from this young man, and from as many as she required, she did not take the same method as she had been taken before, because she perceived that the woman was by no means to be tempted by money; but as she knew that she was very much given to the worship of the goddess Isis, she devised the following stratagem: She informed the young man of her, upon the strongest assurances [of concealment], she persuaded them by words, but chiefly by the offer of money, of twenty-five thousand drachmas to have nothing else when they were taken effect, and told them the passion of the young man, and persuaded them to use all means possible to beguile the woman. So they were drawn in to promise so to do, by that large sum of gold they were to have. Accordingly, the eldest of them went immediately to Paula, and, upon his admittance, he desired to speak with her, by herself. When that was granted him, he told her, that "he was sent by the god Anthis, who was fallen in love with her, and composed her to come to him." Upon this she took the message very kindly, and valued herself greatly upon this condescension of Anthis, and told her husband, that she had a message sent, and was to sup and lie with Anthis; as he agreed to her acceptance, she offered herself satisfied with the chastity of his wife. Accordingly, she went to the temple, and after she had supped there, and it was the hour to go to sleep, the priest of the god Anthis appeared to her, and, taking her, by his own force, and by the aid of her holy part of it, the lights were also put out. Then did Mucius leap out, (for he was hidden therein,) and did not fail of enjoying her, who was at that lightest of all this day singing he was the god, and when he was gone away, which was before those priests who knew nothing of this stratagem were stirring. Paula was not the same day instructed and told, and God Anthis had appeared to her among her friends, also, she declared how great a value she put upon this favour, who partly disbelieved the thing, and the further parts of it, partly were amazed at it, as having no pretence for not believing it, when they considered the modesty and the dignity of the person. But now, on the third day after what had been done, Mucius met Paula, and said, "Nay, Paula, thou hast saved me 200,000 drachmas, which sum thou mightest have added to thy own family; yet hast thou not failed to be at my service in the manner I invited thee. As for the money thou hast laid upon Mucius, I value not the business of names; but I rejoiced in the pleasure I received, and did, while I took to myself the sauce of Anthis." Whereupon said she, "I am not aware of this way of his. But now she began to come to the sense of the grossness of what she had done, and rue her garments, and told her husband of the horrid nature of the thing, and the great injury she had done at this case. So he discovered the fact to the emperor; whereupon Tiberius inquired into the matter thoroughly, by examining the priests about it, and ordered them to be crucified, as well as Ide, who was the occasion of their perdition, and who had contrived the whole matter, which was so injurious to the woman. He also demolished the temple of Isis, and gave order that her statues should be thrown into the river Tiber; while he only banished Mucius, but did no more to him, because he supposed that what happened was not the work of Mucius, but done out of the passion of love. And these were the circumstances which concerned the temple of Isis, and the injuries occasioned by her priests. She was not to see some of Isaiah's prophecies fulfilled to instruct men in the wisdom of the law of Moses. He procured also three other men,
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19. the same character with himself, to be a. These men persuaded Fulvia, a great dignity, and one that had sent some Jews to send purple dye and temple at Jerusalem, and when they them, they employed them for and spent the money themselves, on fruit that they at first required. Whereupon Tiberius, who had been the thing by Saturninus, the husband who desired inquiry might be moved, to send the Jews to be banished out of the island of Mysia, not punished a great number of them, unwilling to become soldiers, on accounting the laws of their forefathers. These Jews banished out of the city of Alexandria of Tyre.

CHAP. IV.

1. Narratives made a Tumult, and Pilate Many of them: how Pilate was a What things were done by Vitellius, the Jews, and the Samaritans.

He nation of the Samaritans did not put it out of their way to excite, as one who thought lying a thing of nonsense, and who contrived everything multitudinous that might be pleased: so he got the name of Antiochus, to look upon them as the most holy ones, and assured them, that when some thither, he would show them vessels which were laid under that name, and put them there. So they armed, and thought the discourse probable; and as they abode at a distance, Tiberius, who was looking at them, together to them, and desired to get them in a great multitude together: they went their way, being seized by a great band of horsemen, who fell upon those that were in the village; and when it came some of them they slew, and others put to flight, and took a great many of them, and also the most that fled away, Pilate ordered to take to him, sent an embassy to Vitellius, and had been consul, and who was now in Syria, and accused Pilate of the one, and Caiphas, of the other, as they Tirathaba in order to revolt from but to escape the violence of Pilate. sent Marcellus, a friend of his, to the affairs of Judea, and ordered him to Rome, to answer before the emperors of the Jews. So Pilate, it carried ten years in Judea, made a, and this in accordance to the orders

1. Seizure of 4000 Jews into Samaria, sect. 36. But as for here, which supposes that Jews could with their laws, be soldiers, it is contrary to the constant assertions of their fighting, and proving exist in war; and indeed many of the best of under heathen kings themselves, did so, as allowed them their rest on the Sabbath- sabbath, and the yea. Did it. It is true, they could not always, and then they got accused as well or sometimes absolutely refused to, but have been the case here, as to the major now banished, but nothing more. See sect. decrease in their favour, as to such mat- r

never came himself beyond Jordan, nor of Vitellius, which he durst not contradict; but before he could get to Rome, Tiberius was dead. 2. But Vitellius came into Judea, and went up to Jerusalem: it was of that festivity, which is called the Passover. Vitellius was there magnificently received, and released the inhabitants of Jerusalem from all the taxes upon the fruit, which they had been compelled to bear, and gave them leave to have the care of the high priest's vestments, with all their ornaments, and to have them under the custody of the priests in the temple, which power they used to have formerly, although at this time they were laid up in the tower of Antonia, the citadel so called, and that on the occasion following: There was one of the [high] priests, named Hyrcanus, and there were many of that name, he was the first of them; this man built a tower near the temple, and when he had done so, he generally dwelt in it, and had these vestments with him: because it was lawful for him alone to put them on, and he had them there deposited when he went down into the city, and took his ordinary garments; the same things were continued to be done by his sons, and by their sons after them. But when Herod came to be king, he rebuilt this tower, which was very conveniently situated, in a magnificent manner: and Herod Antipas had it built by the same name of Antonia. And as he had found these vestments lying there, he retained them in the same place, as believing that while he had them in his custody, the people would make no innovations against them. The like to what Herod did was done by his son Archelaus, who was made king after him; after whom the Roman, when they entered on the government, took possession of these vestments of the high priest, and had them reposed in a stone chamber, under seal of the priests, and of the keepers of the temple, the captain of the guard lighting a lamp there every day; and seven days before a festival they were delivered to them by the captain of the guard, when the high priest having purified them, and made use of them, laid them up again in the same chamber where they had been laid up before, and this the very next day after the feast was over. This was the practice at the three yearly festivals, and on the fast day; but Vitellius put these garments into our own power, as in the days of our forefathers, and ordered the captain of the guard not to trouble himself to inquire where they were laid, or when they were to be used; and this he did as an act of kindness, to oblige the nation to him. Besides which, he also deprived Joseph, who was also called Caiaphas, of the high priestly dignity, appointed Jonathan, the son of Ananias, the former high priest, to succeed him. After which, he took his journey back to Antioch. 4. Moreover, Tiberius sent a letter to Vitellius, and commanded him to make a league of friendship with Artabanus, the king of Parthia; for, while he was his enemy, he terrified him, because he had taken Armenia away from him, lest he particularly to Mount Gerizim, and since those Samaritans have a tradition among them of Dr. Justus, from Ralein, who was very skilful in Jewish and Samaritan learning, that in the days of Uzai or Oznai the high priest, 1 Chron. vii. 6, the rest and other parts were, by God's command, laid up in hidden in Mount Gerizim; it is highly probable that this was the foundation of the present Samaritans went up in the section here described, and that we should read here Levi, instead of Messenger, in the text of Josephus. This mention of the high priest's sacred garments received seven days before a festival, and placed in those days against a festival, as being have polluted, by being in the custody of heathens, in Josephus, agrees well with the traditions of the Talmud, and has been observed. Nor is there any question but the three festivals here mentioned, were the Passover, Pentecost, and Feast of Tabernacles: and the fast, so called, that of stolicon, also mentioned, Acts xxvi. 9, was the great day of apos.
should proceed farther, and told him he should no otherwise trust him than upon his giving him hostages, and especially his son Antipas. Upon Tiberius's writing thus to Vitellius, by the offer of great presents of money, he persuaded both the kings of Parthia and the king of Albania, to make no delay, but to fight against Artabanus; and although they would not do it themselves, yet did they give the Sceytians a passage through their country, and opened the Caspian gates for them, and brought them upon Artabanus. So Armenia was again taken from the Parthians, and the country of Parthia was filled with war, and the senate felt all of them great men were slain, and unjust things were in disorder among them: the king's son also himself fell in these wars, together with many ten thousands of his army. Vitellius had also sent such great sums of money to Artabanus's father's kinmen and friends, that he had almost procured him to be slain by the means of those bribes which they had taken. And when Artabanus perceived that the plot laid against him was not to be avoided, because it was laid by the principal men, and those a great many in number, and that it would certainly take effect, when he became the master of those that were truly faithful to him, as also of those who were already corrupted, but were deceitful in the kindness they professed to him, and were likely, upon his escape, to go over to his enemies, he made an escape to the upper provinces, where he afterward raised a great army out of the Dabe and Sacae, and fought with his enemies, and retained his principality.

5. When Tiberius had heard of these things, he desired to have a league of friendship made between him and Artabanus; and when, upon this business, the appeal for the proposal of the Artabanus and Vitellius went to Ephesras, and as a bridge was laid over the river, they each of them came with their guards about them, and met one another on the midst of the bridge. And when they had agreed upon the terms of peace, Herod the tetrarch erected a rich tent in the midst of the passage, and made them a feast there. Artabanus also, not long afterward, sent his son Darius, as a hostage, with many presents, among which there was a man seven cubits tall, a Jew he was by birth, and his name was Eleazar, who, for his tallness, was called a giant. After which Vitellius went to Antioch, and Artabanus to Babylon; but Herod (the tetrarch) being desirous to give Caesar the first information of this business, sent him letters with his ambassadors, wherein he had accurately described all the particulars, and had left nothing for the consular Vitellius to inform him of. But when Vitellius's letter arrived, he let him know, that he was acquainted with the affairs already, because Herod had given him an account of them before, Vitellius was very much troubled at it; and supposing that he had been thereby a greater sufferer than he really was, he kept up a secret anger upon this occasion, till he could be relieved; and when Caesar saw the government.

6. About this time it was that Philip, Herod's brother, departed this life, in the twelfth year of the reign of Tiberius, after he had been tetrarch of Trachonitis, and Galilæon, and of the province of the Bataneans also, thirty-seven years. He had showed himself a person of moderation and quietness in the conduct of his life and government; he constantly lived in that country which was subject to him; he used to make his prostration in the presence of his king, and the king, and the king's son, whenever he happened to be, and sat down upon it, and heard his complaint; he there ordered the guilt of those who were convicted to be punished, and abolished several of these laws: but he was a man of Honorius, and enjoyed the favor of Tiberius at Julius; and when he was carried to that monument which he had already erected for himself beforehand, he was buried with great pomp. He principality Tiberias took, for he left no sons behind him, and added it to the province of Syria, but gave order that the tributes which arose from it should be collected, and laid up in his tetrarchy.

CHAP. V.

Herod, the tetrarch, makes War with Aretas, the King of Arabia, and is beaten by him; and also concerning the Death of John the Baptist; how Vitellius went to Jerusalem; together with some Account of Agrippa, and of the Poorest of Herod the Great.

§ 1. About this time Aretas, the king of Arabia Petraea, and Herod, had a quarrel on the account following: Herod, the tetrarch, had married the daughter of Aretas, and had kept her a great while; but when he was once at Rome, he lodged with Herod, who was his brother indeed, but not by the same mother; for this Herod was the son of the high priest Simon's daughter. However, he fell in love with Herodias, this last Herod's wife, who was the daughter of Aristobulus, their brother, and the sister of Agrippa the Great; this man ventured to talk to her about a marriage between them, which address when she admitted, an agreement was made for her to change her habitation, and come to him as soon as she should return from Rome: one article of this marriage also was this, that he should divorce Aretas's daughter. So Antipas, when he had made this agreement, sailed to Rome; but when he had done there the business he went about, and was returned again, his wife, having discovered the agreement he had made with Herodias, and having learned it before, in November of the whole design, she desired him to send her to Macherus, which is a place in the borders of the dominions of Aretas and Herod, without intrusting her to any one. So Herod sent her thither, as thinking his wife had not perceived any thing. Now, she had sent a good while before Macherus, who was subject to her father, and so all things necessary for her journey were made ready for her by the general of Aretas's army; and by that means she soon came into Arabia, under the conduct of the several generals, who carried her from one to another successively, and she soon came to her father, and told him of Herod's intentions. So Aretas made this the first occasion of his enmity between him and Herod, who had also some
th him about their limits at the confabulation. So they raised armies on both prepared for war, and sent their generals to Rome, joint
armies. So the former wrote about 2 to Tiberius, who, being very angry, at once to Aretas, wrote to Vitellius to come and, either to take him and to kill to him in bonds, or to kill to his head. This was the charge of the most of the presided over, that was impossible
that this army of Vitellius could enter Petra; for that one of the order was then, or he that was con
sulting the division; and that he was to be subser
vient to his will, or else against whom this army is prepared. So Vitellius truly retired to Antioch; but Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, went up to Rome, a year before the death of Tiberius, in order to treat of some affairs with the emperor, if him might be permitted so to do.
I have now a mind to describe Herod and his
army, how they shamed with them, partly because it is suitable to this history to speak of this mat
ter, and partly because this thing is a demonstration of the interception of Provisions, how a
multitude of children is of no advantage, no more than any other strength that mankind set their hearts upon, besides those acts of piety which are done towards God; for it happened, that, within the revolution, not the order, but the
porter of Herod, who were a great many in number, were, excepting a few, utterly destroy
ed. One may well apply this to the instruction of the past. Now, the men in crowds about him, hearing the word of God, and were afraid, and the great in
fluence of his might put it in and inclination to raise rebellion, seemed to do anything that he should so
tically, by leaving him his life, but by putting him to death, to make cause, and not f into difficulties, by sparing a man to make him repent of it when it should
one, who was a prisoner, and came, of Maccabees, formerly mentioned, and was there put, the Jews had an opinion that the of this army was sent as a punishment, and a mark of God's displeasure.
us prepared to make war with Aretas: his two legions of armed men: with them all those of his army, horsemen which belonged to them, who Romans, and made haste for the same day as he was
busily, and leading his army, the principal men met him, and to see was, that will be, after them, to see the others OCCUP to look over those images caught into it, of which there were in their ensigns; so he was per
t they said, and changed that reason which he had before taken in this reason he ordered the army to be in his great plain, while he himself, patriarch, and his friends, went up office of a sacrifice to God, as an ancient Jews then just approaching; and seen there, and been honourably the multitude of the Jews, he waited for three days, within which he
and Jonathan of the high priest
him to his brother Theophilus. But fourth day letters came to him, that he was determined, he should live, not to take an oath of fidelity so recalled his army, and made a home, and take their winter quarters in bonds, or to kill himself. He said, had not the like authority
of making this war which he had before. It was also reported, that when Aretas heard of the coming of Vitellius to fight against, he said, upon consulting the division; and that it was impossible that this army of Vitellius could enter Petra; for that one of the rulers would die, either that he gave orders for the war, or he that was con
sulting the division, in order to be subservient to his will, or else against whom this army is prepared. So Vitellius truly retired to Antioch; but Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, went up to Rome, a year before the death of Tiberius, in order to treat of some affairs with the emperor, if him might be permitted so to do.
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and Jonathan of the high priest
him to his brother Theophilus. But fourth day letters came to him, that he was determined, he should live, not to take an oath of fidelity so recalled his army, and made a home, and take their winter quarters in bonds, or to kill himself. He said, had not the like authority
sudden extinction of almost the entire he Great, which was very numerous, as and in the next section informed, was not
for the gross insects they were in marrying their own nephews and

BOOK XVIII  CHAP. V.

1. There are coins still extant of this Emesa, as Symeon informs us.
ANTIOCHIS OF THE JEWS.

from her husband while he was alive, and was married to Herod (Antipas), her husband's brother, and to the tetrarch of Galilee; but her daughter Salome was married to Philip, the son of Herod, and tetrarch of Trachonitis, and, as he died childless, Aristobulus, the eldest brother of Agrippa, married her; they had three sons, Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus; and this was the posterity of Phasaelus and Salamis. But the daughter of Aristobulus was Salome, whom Alexander, the son of Herod, the king of Commagene, married; she had a daughter, Cypros; but Herod and Alexander, who, as we told you, were the brothers of Antipas, had a daughter Salome, whom Alexander, the son of Herod the king, who was slain by his father, had two sons, Alexander and Tigranes, by the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia; Tigranes, who was king of Armenia, was accused at Rome, and died childless; Alexander had a son of the same name with his brother Tigranes, and was sent to take possession of the kingdom of Armenia by Nero; he had a son, Alexander, who was general, the daughter of Antiochus, the king of Commagene; Vespasian made him king of an island in Cilicia. But these descendants of Alexander, soon after their birth, deserted the kingdom of Armenia, and went over to that of the Greats; but for the rest of the daughters of Herod the king, it happened that they died childless. And as the descendants of Herod, whom we have enumerated, who were born at the same time, Agrippa the Great took the kingdom, and I have now given an account of them, it now remains that I relate the several hard fortunes which befell his sons, and now he got clear of them, and was advanced to the greatest height of dignity and power.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Navigation of King Agrippa to Rome, to Tiborius Caesar; and how, upon his being accused by his own Freed-men, he was bound; how also he was set at liberty by Caius, after Tiberius's Death, and was made King of the Tetrarchy of Philip.

§ 1. A LITTLE before the death of Herod the king, Agrippa lived at Rome, and was generally brought up and conversed with Drusus, the emperor Tiberius's son, and contracted a friendship with Antonius, the wife of Drusus the great, who had his mother Bernice in great esteem; and was very faithful in advancing her son. Now, as Agrippa was by nature magnanimous and generous in the presents he made, while his mother was alive, this inclination of his mind did not appear, that he might be able to avoid her neglect for such his extravagance; but when Bernice was dead, and he was left to his own conduct, he spent a great deal extravagantly in his daily way of living, and a great deal in the immoderate presents he made, and those chiefly among Cæsar's freed-men, in order to gain their assistance, insomuch that he was in a little time reduced to poverty, and was not able to live at Rome any longer. Tiberius also forbade the friends of his deceased son to come into his sight, because on seeing them he should be put in mind of his son, and his grief would there be recolllected.

2. For these reasons he went away from Rome, and sailed to Judea; but in evil circumstances, being deserted by the loss of that money which he owed, and because he had not wherewith to pay his creditors, who were many in number, and such as gave him no room for escaping them. Whereupon he knew not what to do, where there he resided, till he retired to a certain tower, at Malathia, in Idumæa.

* Spasianus also informs us of a coin still extant of this Jeoppa, daughter of the king of Commagene.
† Spasianus observes, that we have here an instance of the Attic quantity of one man, which was the eighth part of the original sum, or 19.33 per cent. for such is the proportion of 2,500 to 30,000.
and sailed to Alexandria, where he de-
manded the alabarch to lend him 260,000
drachmas, according to his usual custom, kept him still in
bond, being a delayed of affairs, if over there was any other king or tyrant that was so; for he did not admit ambassadors quickly, and no such affairs were despatched to governors and
procurators of the provinces, that had been for
merly sent, unless they were dead; whence it
was, that he was so negligent in hearing the
causes of prisoners; insomuch, that when Agrippa
asked by his friends, what was the reason of his
delay in such cases? he said, that "he delayed
hearing ambassadors, lest, upon their quick
dismission, other ambassadors would be summoned,
and return upon them; and so he should bring
trouble upon himself in their public reception and
dismission;" that he permitted those govern-
ors who had been once sent from their government
[to stay there a great while], out of regard to the
subjects that were under them; for that all
governors are naturally disposed to get as much
as they can, and that those who are not to fix
there, but to stay a short time, and that at an un-
certainty, when they shall be turned out, do the
more severely hurry themselves on to fecoce the
people; but that, if they continued to them,
y, like a fugitive, out of the places un-
erved, and put it out of his power
to do. Then Agrippa read
and was much troubled at it, and gave
Agrippa should be excluded from his mill he had paid that debt: upon
the fraud of the capital, at Caesar's and
ed Antonia, the mother of Germanicus,
which was afterward Caesar lend him those three hundred thou-
maine deprived of his
friendship; so, out of regard to the
Bernice his mother, (for these two were
very familiar with one another,) and
to his and Claudius's education to-
lent him the money; and, upon
the said debt, there was nothing to hin-
ner's friendship to him. After this,
three times when he went abroad. But, upon
reception by Antonia, he betook
himself in this, which was, and in very high reputation,
by his good-will they bore his father;
was one Thallus, a freed-man of Ca-
a was, nor, in my opinion, shall I
said to the Jews the debt he owed her;
with the overplus in paying his court
came a person of great authority
the friendship which Agrippa had
sail to a great height, there hap-
words to pass between them, as they
father of the Jews there.
of Antipas, that she would procure a hearing for Eutychus, let the matter whereof he accused him prove what it would. Now, Antipas was greatly esteemed by Tiberius on all accounts of his relationship to his brother, who had been his brother Drusus's successor, and from her eminent chastity; for though she were still a young woman, she continued in her widowhood, and refused all other matches, although Augustus had enjoined her to marry to somebody else; yet did she all along preserve her reputation free from reproach. She had also been the greatest and most constant of Tiberius's followers; when there was a very dangerous plot laid against him by Sejanus, a man who had been her husband's friend, and who had the greatest authority, because Agrippa was related to the ark, and when many members of the senate, and many of the freed-men joined with him, and the soldiery was corrupted, and the plot was come to a great head. As Tiberius had once at his earnest point, had not Antonia's boldness been more wisely conducted than Sejanus's malice; for, when she had discovered his designs against Tiberius, and of the habitable earth, and of the whole, and gave the letter to Pallus, the most faithful of her servants, and sent him to Capreolus to Tiberius, when he understood it, slew Sejanus; so that Tiberius, who had her in great esteem before, now looked upon her with still greater respect, and depended upon her in all things. So, when Tiberius was about to go on a journey to examine Eutychus, he answered, "If indeed Eutychus hath falsely accused Agrippa in what he hath said of him, he hath sufficient punishment by what I do done to be ready; but if, upon examination, the accusation appears to be true, let Agrippa have a care, lest, out of desire of punishing his freed-man, he do not rather bring a punishment upon himself." Now when Antonia told Sejanus of the plot, he was much more much pressing that the matter might be examined into; so Antonia, upon Agrippa's lying hard at her continuance to beg his favour, took the following opportunity, and carried him to she, and was carried about, and Caius, his grandson, and Agrippa, were before him after dinner, she walked by the sedan, and desired him to have a care of himself, and to which he replied, "O Antonia! the gods are my witnesses, that I am induced to do what I am going to do, not by my own inclination, but because Sejanus, who Sejanus, who Agrippa left him, the Hadrian, the [an owl,] one of those that were bound, a German by nation, saw him, and asked a soldier what that man in purple was; and when he was informed that his name was Agrippa, supposed he was by nation a Jew, and one of the principal men of that nation, he asked leave of the soldier to whom he was bound, let him come nearer to speak with him; for that he had a mind to inquire of him about some things relating to his country; which liberty when he had obtained, and as he stood near him, he said thus to him by way of interpreter, that "This sudden change of his condition, O young man! is grievous to thee, as bringing on thee a manifold and very great distress!" And, note, that Tertullian owns this law, against a second marriage of the clergy, had been once at least enacted in his country; but the strongest oppositions, shews how honourable single marriages were both among the Jews and Romans, in the days of Josephus and the apostles, and takes that for granted. This surmise which Tertullian gives, that Augustus had as these laws of the equites, where no widows, but those who had been the wife of the eques were allowed to marry again, but only the maiden had to marry; and all bishops, priests, or deacons, were allowed to marry more than once, without leaving office as clergy.
BOOK XVIII.—CHAP. VI.

9. But when Tiberius had given orders to Es-odus to bring the children to him the next day in the morning, he prayed to his country gods to 1beshow him a manifest sign how the children should come to the government; being very desirous to leave it to his son's son, but still de-
pending upon what God should foreshow him concerning them, more than upon his own judgment and inclination; so he made this to be the case, that the government should be left to him who should come to him first the next day. When he had thus resolved within himself, he sent his grandson's tutor, and ordered him to bring the child to him early in the morning, as supposing that God would permit him to be made emperor. But God proved opposite to his designation; for, while Tiberius was thus contriving matters, and as soon as it was at all day, he bade Esodus to call in that child which should be there ready. So he went out, and found Caius before the door, for Tiberius had given him his breakfast; for Esodus knew nothing of what his lord intended; so he said to Caius, "Thy father calls thee," and then brought him in. As soon as Tiberius saw Caius, and set before him, he reflected on the power of God, and how the ab-
ility of bestowing the government on whom he would, was entirely taken from him; and thence he was not able to esteem him as he had been esteemed. So he greatly lamented that his power of establishing what he had before contrived was taken from him, and that his grandson Tiberius was not only to lose the Roman empire by his de-
sity, but his own safety also, because his pres-
servation would now depend upon such as would be more potent than himself, who would think it a thing not to be borne that a youth should live with them, and so his relation would not be able to protect him: but he would be feared and hated by him who had the supreme authority, partly on account of his being next to the em-
pire, and partly on account of his perpetually contriving to get the government, but in order to preserve himself, and to be at the head of affairs also. Now Tiberius had been very much given to astrology, and the calculation of natures, and had spent his life in the esteem of what predictions had proved true more than those whose profession it was. Accordingly, when he once saw Galba coming in to him, he said to his most intimate friends, that "there came in a man that would one day have the dignity of the Roman empire." So that this Tiberius was very much addicted to all such sorts of diviners than any other of the Roman emperors, because he had found them to have told him truth in his own affairs. And in-
deed he was now in great fear for this acci-
dent that had befallen him, and was very much
grieved at the destruction of his son, which he foresaw, and complained of himself, that he should lose the possession of such a world; whereas, he was now tormented by the misfortunes of such men as were dearest to him, and must die under that torment. Now, although they were disordered at this unexpected revolution of the government to those for whom he did not intermeddle; he spoke thus to Caius, though unwillingly, and against his own inclination: "O child! although Tiberius be nearer related to thee than the other in determination, and the conspiring suffrage of the gods, do give, and put unto thy hand, the Roman empire; and I desire thee never to be unmindful when thou comest to sit, either of thy kindness to thee, who set thee in so high a dignity, or of thy relation to Tiberius. But as thou knowest that I am, together with, and after the gods, the procure of so great happiness to thee, so I desire that thou wilt make me a return for my readiness to assist thee, and wilt take care of Tiberius because of his near relation to thee. Besides which, thou art to know, that Tiberius is a true man; he will be as secure to thee, both as to empire and as to thy own preservation; but, if he die, that will be but a prelude to thy own misfortunes; for to be alone, unaided, and without any such vast affairs, is very dangerous; nor will the gods suffer those actions which are unjustly done, contrary to that law which directs men to set otherwise, to go off unpunished. Thus the speech which Tiberius made, which did not persuade Caius to act according, although he promised so to do; but when he was settled in the government, he took off the order that was presented by the other Tiberius; as he was also himself in no long time afterward slain by a secret plot laid against him.

10. So when Tiberius had at this time appointed Caius to be his successor, he lived but a few days, and then died, after he had held the government twenty-two years, five months, and three days: now Caius was the fourth emperor. But when the Romans understood that Tiberius was dead, they rejoiced at the good news, but had not courage to believe it; not because they were not afraid, but they should be true; for they would have given large sums of money that it might be so, but because they were afraid, that if they had showed their joy, when the news proved false, they might be severely punished, and they should be accused for it, and be thereby undone. For this Tiberius had brought a vast number of miseries on the best families of the Romans, since he was easily inflamed with passion in all cases, and was of such a temper asrendered his anger irreconcilable, till he had executed the same, although he had taken a hatred against men without reason; for he was by nature fierce in all the sentences he gave, and made death the penalty for the slightest offences; insomuch that when the Romans heard the rumour about his death, gladly they were rejoiced, and from the enjoyment of that pleasure by the dread of such miseries as they foresaw would follow, if their hopes proved ill-grounded. Now Marius, Agrippa, and Sejanus, who, as soon as he heard of Tiberius's death, came running to tell Agrippa the news; and finding him going out to the bath, he gave him a nod, and said, in the Hebrew tongue, "The knowing the meaning, and being overjoyed at the news, "Nay, (said he,) but all sorts of thanks and happiness attend thee for this news of thine: only I wish that thou sayest may prove true." Now the first!--to Agrippa, when he saw with what haste Marrys came and what joy Agrippa had from what he said, he had a suspicion that his words implied some good news for Agrippa, and was much curious about what was said. They at first diverted the discourse; but upon his further pressing, Agrippa, without more ado, told him, for he was already become his friend; so he joined with him in that pleasure which this news occasioned, because it would be fortunate to Agrippa, and made him a supper. But as they were feasting, and the case went about, there came one who said, that "Tiberius was still alive, and would return to the city in a few days." At which news the company was exceedingly troubled, because he had done what might cost him his life, to have treated so joyfully a prisoner, and this upon the news of the death of Cesar; so thast Agrippa from the couch whereon he lay, and said, "Dost thou think to cheat me thereby a lie about the emperor without punishment! and shalt not thou pay for this thy malicious report at the price of thine head!" When he had so said, he ordered Agrippa to be taken up (to his own house followed before, and kept a severer guard over him than formerly, and in that evil condition was Agrippa that night; but the next day the rumour increased in all the cities, and now it was certain that Tiberius was certainly dead; insomuch that no one durst now openly and freely talk about it; they, some offered sacrifices on that account. Several letters to the senate, which informed them of the death of Tiberius, and of his own entrance on the government; another to Piso, the governor of the city, which was delivered by the other Tiberius, as he was also himself in no long time afterward slain by a secret plot laid against him.

11. Now, in the second year of the reign of Caius Cesar, Agrippa desired leave to be given him to sail home, and settle the affairs of his government, and he promised to return again when he was at rest at Rome, in order, if it ought to be put. So, upon the emperor's permission, he came into his own country, and appeared to them all unexpectedly as a king, and thereby demonstrated to the nation that saw him in the power of fortune, when they compared his former poverty with his present happy affluence; so some called him a happy man, and others could not wish to have the other; these two were so much changed with him for the better. Now Caius was now proposed to give Agrippa the tetrarchy of Lysanias, yet it was not actually conferred upon him till the reign of Claudius, as we learn, Acts ii. 36. 37. v. 30. vi. 31.
Caius at Baiae, which is itself a little city of Campania, at the distance of about five iturgoes from Dicearchia. There are in that place royal palaces, with sumptuous apartments, every one of which is still endeavouring to outdo his predecessor's magnificence; the place also affords warm baths, that springing out of the ground of their own accord, which are of advantage for the recovery of the health of those that make use of them, and besides, they minister to men's luxury also. Now Caius saluted Herod, for he first met with him, and looked upon the letters which Agrippa had sent him, and which were written in order to accuse Herod; wherein he accused him, that he had been in confederacy with Sejanus, against Tiberius's government, and that he was now confederate with Artabasus the king of Parthia, in opposition to the government of Caius; as a demonstration of which he alleged, that he had armour sufficient for seventy thousand men ready in his armory. Caius was moved at this information, and asked Herod whether what was said about the armour was true: and when he confessed there was such armour there, for he could not deny the same, the truth of it being too notorious, Caius took that to be a sufficient proof of the accusation, that he intended to revol. So then, taking his leave of him, to depart by way of addition to Agrippa's kingdom; he also gave Herod's money to Agrippa, and by way of punishment, awarded him a perpetual banishment, to be banished a sent, and appointed Lystra to build a city in the place of his habitation. But when he was informed that Herodias was Agrippa's sister, he made her a present of what money was her own; and told her, this was no part of the persuasion of which the brother who prevented her being put under the same calamity with her husband. But she made this reply; "Thou, indeed, O emperor: actest after a magnanimous manner, but I do not think thou offerest me; but the kindness which I have for my husband, hinders me from partaking of the favour of thy gift; for it is not just, that I, who have been made a partner in his prosperity, should forsake him in his misfortunes." Hereupon Caius was angry at her, and sent her with Herod into banishment, and gave her estate to Agrippa. And thus did God punish Herodias for her envy at her brother, and Herod also for giving ear to the vain discourses of a woman. Now, Caius managed public affairs with great magnanimity, during his first reign, and took care to reign and behave himself with such moderation, that he gained the good-will of the Romans themselves, and of his other subjects. But, in the process of time, and the progress of human nature, in his conceit of himself, and, by reason of the vastness of his dominions, made himself a god, and took upon himself to act in all things to the reproach of the Deity itself.

CHAPTER VII.

Herod the Tetrarch was banished.

1. But Herodias, Agrippa's sister, who now lived as wife to that Herod who was tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, took this authority of her brother in an envious manner, particularly when she saw that he had a greater dignity bestowed on him than her husband had; since, when he ran away, he was not able to pay his debts; and now he was come back, it was because he was in a way of dignity, and of great good fortune. She was therefore grieved, and much displeased at so great a mutation of his affairs, and chiefly when she saw him marching among the multitude with the title of king, and in the midst of a great crowd, as he himself was the son of a king, and while the near relation he bore to royal authority, called upon him to gain the like dignity, he sat still, and was another thing; only he was a king, although thou wast formerly not concerned to be in a lower condition than thy father, from whom thou wast derived, had been; yet do thou now aspire to an estate which the court had been attained to; and do not thou bear this contempt, that a man who admired thy riches should be in greater honour than thyself, nor suffer his poverty to make thee pass for the greatest things than our abundance; nor do thou esteem it other than a shameful thing to be inferior to one, who, the other day, lived upon thy charity. But, let us go to Rome, and let us spare no pains nor expenses, either of silver or gold, since they cannot be kept for any better use, than for the obtaining of a kingdom.

2. But, for Herod, he opposed her request at this time, out of the love of ease, and having a suspicion of the trouble he should have at Rome; so he tried to instruct her better. But the more she saw him grow weak, the more surely she desired to take him to it, and desired him to leave no stone unturned in order to be king; and at last she left off till she engaged him, whether he would or no. In which Herod was found, and he no otherwise avoid his importunity. So he got all things ready, after as sumptuous a manner as he was able, and spared for nothing, and went up to Rome, and took Herodias along with him. But Agrippa, when he was made sensible of their intentions and preparations, also prepared to go thither; and as soon as he heard they set sail, he sent Fortunatus, one of his freed-men, to Rome, to carry presents to the emperor, and letters against Herod, and to give Caius a particular account of those matters, if he should have any opportunity. This man followed Herod so quick, and had so prosperous a voyage, and came so little after Herod, that while Herod was with Caius he came himself, and delivered his letters; for they both sailed to Dicearchia, and found

* This is a most remarkable chapter, as containing such instances of the miserable end of the Jews, as the like things we have seen among the other idolatrous nations, but as old very weary among the perversity of Abraham, the worshipper of idols, and of his posterity, as is shown in the Old Testament, which are the more remarkable, because, among all their other follies and mistakes, the Jews, at this time, did not only take advantage out of every instance already mentioned to do in order to preserve their religion into that idolatry,

1 Josephus here means no, that the ambassadors from Alexandria to Caius were on each part no more than three, nowhere having been among the other idolatrous nations, but old very weary among the perversity of Abraham, the worshipper of idols, and of his posterity, as is shown in the Old Testament, which are the more remarkable, because, among all their other follies and mistakes, the Jews, at this time, did not only take advantage out of every instance already mentioned to do in order to preserve their religion into that idolatry,
from the people of Alexandria was Apion, who uttered many blasphemies against the Jews; and among other things that he said, he charged them with the honours that belonged to Caesar; for that while all who were subject to the Roman empire, built altars and temples to Caesar, and in other regards, universally received him as the God of the gods, no Jews alone thought it a dishonourable thing for them to erect statues in honour of him, as well as to swear by his name. Many of these severe things said Apion, by which he hoped to provoke Caesar to cut off the Jews as a law was likely to be; but Philo, the principal of the Jewish embassy, a man eminent on all accounts, brother to Alexander the alabarch, and one not unequal in philosophy, was ready to betake himself to make his defence against those accusations; but Caesar prohibited him, and bade him go: he was also in such a rage, that it openly appeared he was about to do them some very great mischief: hence he, being thus affronted, went out, and was called those Jews who were about him, that they should be of good courage, since Caesar’s word was the law, and that Caesar was as just as he was wise, and that already had set God against himself.

2. Hereupon Calius, taking it very heinously that he should thus be despised by the Jews alone, sent word to Sebaste, president of Syria, and successor to the government to Vitellius, and gave him order to make an invasion into Judea with a great body of troops; and if they would admit of his state willingly, to erect it in the temple of God; but if they were obstinate, to conquer them by war, and then to do it. Accordingly, Petronius took the government of Syria, and made himself obeyed as an imperial magistrate. He sent urgent summons to Alexander the alabarch, and to the Jews, as intending to set about the business in the spring. He also wrote to Calius what he had resolved to do, who commended him for his alacrity, and ordered him to go on, and to make war with them, in case they would not obey his commands. But there came many ten thousands of the Jews to Petronius, to Ptolemais, to offer their petitions to him, that “he would not compel them to transgress and violate the law of their forefathers;” but if (said they) thou art entirely resolved to bring this statue, and erect it, do thou first kill us, and then do what thou hast to do: for while we are alive, we cannot permit such things as are forbidden us to be done by the authority of our legislator, and by our forefathers’ determination, that such prohibitions are not to be violated. But Petronius was angry at them, and said, “If indeed I were myself emperor, and were at liberty to follow my own inclination, and then had designed to act thus, these your words would be justly spoken to me; but now Caesar hath sent to me. I am under the necessity of being subservient to his decrees, because a disobedience to them will bring upon me inevitable destruction.” Then the Jews replied, “Since, therefore, thou art so disposed, O Petronius! that thou wilt not disoblige Caius’s epistles, neither will we transgress the commands of our law; and as we depend upon the excellence of our laws, and, by the labours of our ancestors, have continued hitherto without suffering them to be transgressed, we dare not by any means suffer ourselves to be so timorous as to transgress those laws out of the fear of death, which God hath determined are for our advantage; and our small strength will not stand against thee; when, on account of this, we undergo afflictions, and sustain those uncertain turns of fortune. But if we should submit to thee, we should be greatly reproached for our cowardice, as thereby showing ourselves ready to be oppressed by any anger. Is there in the great anger of God also, who, even they self being judge, is superior to Caius.”

3. When Petronius saw by these words their determination was hard to be removed, and that, without a war, he should not be able to be subservient to Caius in the dedication of his statue, and that there must be a great deal of bloodshed, he took his friends, and the servants that were about him, and hastened to Tiberias, as wanting to know in what posture the affairs of the Jews were; and many ten thousands of the Jews were already there, and there was a great tumult of Tiberians. These thought they must run a mighty hazard if they should have a war with the Romans, but judged that the transgression of the laws was of a law, and in their supposition, that he would by no means reduce them to such distresses, nor desolate their city with the dedication of the statue. Then Petronius said to them, “Will you be so mad as to make war with Caius, without considering his great preparations for war, and your own weakness?” They replied, “We will not by any means make war with Caius, unless we see that you come to transgress our laws transgressed.” So they threw themselves down upon their faces, and stretched out their throats, and said they were ready to be slain in the temple; only they desired, that they might be taken together, and in the mean time left off the tilling of their ground, and that while the season of the year required them to sow it. Thus they continued their firm in their resolution, and proposed to themselves to die willingly, rather than to see the dedication of the statue.

4. When matters were in this state, Aristobulus, king Agrippa’s brother, and Helcias the Great, and the other principal men of that family with them, went in unto Petronius, and besought him, that “since he had resolved the Jews to violate their law, and thereby drive them to despair; but would write to Calius, that the Jews had an inexpressible aversion to the reception of the statue, and how they had a desire that he would make war of their ground: that they were not willing to go to war with him, because they were not able to do it, but were ready to die with pleasure, rather than suffer their laws to be transgressed: and how, upon the lands continuing unsown, a harvest would grow up, on the inability they would be under of paying their tributes; and that perhaps Caius might be thereby moved to pay, and not order any barbarous action to be done to them, nor think of destroying the nation; that if he continued inflexible in his former opinion to bring a war upon them, he may then set about it himself.” And thus did Aristobulus, and the rest with him, supplicate Petronius. So Petronius, partly on account of the pressing instrument.

Legat. ad Caius, otherwise he would hardly have hesitated from him.

1. This Alexander, the Archon, or governor of the Jews at Alexandria, and brother to Philo, is supposed by Bishop Fuliaco to be the same with the Alexander who is mentioned by St. Luke, as of the kindred of the high priest, Acts iv. 6. But it is very probable that the same Alexander, who is mentioned by Josephus, had set up this statue at Alexandria, and was done by him, before the time of Flaccus, in Philo, for not long the time where the case was ripe, who, as Le Clerc notes, differs here on account of the circumstances, as he is very inconstant, when he wrote this account, had not seen Philo’s
down great observance of rain, contrary to human expectation, for that he was a prophet and gave no sign, by the appearance of the sky, of any rain; nay, the whole year had been subject to a great drought, and made men despair of any rain saving a little water from above. But at last, but at last, a tyr- rible thing for him to be such a slave to the mood of Caius, as to stay so many ten thousand men, only because of their religious disposition towards God, and after that to pass his life in expectation of punishment: Petronius, I say, thought it much better to send to Caius, and to let him know how intolerable it was to him to bear the anger that he might have a chance not serving him sooner, in obedience to his epistle, and that perhaps he might persuade him: and that if this mad resolution continued, he might then begin the war against them; nay, that in that case he should turn his hatred against himself, it was fit for virtuous persons even to die for the sake of such vast multitudes of men. Accord- ingly he determined to hearken to the petitioners in this matter.

5. He then called the Jews together to Tib- terias, who came, many ten thousands in number. And they all came and stayed, to him opposite to them; but did not discover his own meaning, but the commands of the emperor, and told them, that his wrath would, without delay, be such as his eyes might see, and his voice might obey the will and edicts of Caius, that God, who was their governor, had shown his power most evidently on their account, and that such a power of his as left no room for doubt about it. And doubtless he knew the business that Petronius was now engaged in.

7. But king Agrippa, who now lived at Rome, was more and more in the favour of Caius; and knowing when he had obtained it, he supposed that he was careful to exceed all others, both in expenses and in such preparations as might contribute most to his pleasure; nay, it was so far from the ability of others, that Caius and Agrippa, that God, when he was governor, had shown his power most evidently on their account, and that such a power of his as left no room for doubt about it. And doubtless he knew the business that Petronius was now engaged in.

6. When Petronius had said this, and had dis- missed the assembly of the Jews, he desired the principal of them to take care of their habi- tancy, and to speak kindly to the people, and encourage them to have a good hope of their aff' "Youth have now the same New Testament words, unrepentant, and enmity, the presence and appearance and approval of the power and providence of 'witnessing, by sending rain in time of distress, and prepared beforehand what he would ask, yet had he not discovered his intentions, but inside this answer to Caius immediately, that he was not out of any expectation of gain that he mayly paid his respects to him, contrary to the com- mands of Tibberias, nor did he now do any thing relating to him out of regard to his own advan- tages, and in order to be free from any warlike speeches that he made to the Jews, but God sent
ch 9. the jews that were in babylonia, in occasion of an error, sin and anilus, two brothers.

§ 1. a very sad calamity now befell the jews that were in mesopotamia, and especially those that dwelt in babylonia. in the territory of the calumities which had gone before, and came together with a great slaughter of them, and that greater than any upon record before. concerning which all i shall speak accurately, and not exaggeratedly. whereas these miseries came upon them. there was a city in babylonia named neera; not only a very populous one, but one that had a good and a large fortification. as which every one by the custom of our country, offers unto god, as well as they did other things devoted to him; for they made use of these cities as a treasury and a place of safety. one by one the news were transmitted to jerusalem; and many ten thousand men undertook the carriage of those donations, out of fear of the ravages of the pestilence, to whom the babylonians were them selves. as there were two men, a sin and anilus, of the city neera by birth, and brethren to one another. they were destitute of a father, and their mother put them to learn the art of weaving curtains: it not being esteemed a disgrace among them for men to be weavers of cloth. now, be that taught them that art, and was set over them, complained that they came too late to their work, and punished them with stripes; but they took this just punishment as an affliction, and carried off all the weapons which were kept in that house, which were not a few, and went into a certain place where was a partition of the rivers, and was a place naturally very fit for the breeding of cattle, and for preserving such flocks as were not kept, as well as to set sort of the young men also resorted to them, whom they armed with the weapons they had gotten, and became their captains; and nothing hindered them from being their leaders, and chief, as soon as they were become invincible, and had built them a city, they sent to such as fed cattle and ordered them to pasture
so much tribute out of them as might be sufficient for their maintenance, proposing also that they would be their friends if they would submit to them, and that they would defend them from all their other enemies on every side, but that they should be required to obey them. So they hearkened to their proposals, (for they could do nothing else,) and sent them as many sheep as were required of them, whereby their forces grew greater, and they became lords over all they pleased, because they marched suddenly, and did them a mischief, insomuch, that every body who had to do with them, chose to pay them, respecting that, or else they became formidable to such as came to assault them, till the report about them came to the ears of the king of Parthia himself.

2. But when the governor of Babylonia understood this, and had a mind to put a stop to them before they grew greater, and before greater mischiefs should arise from them, he got together as great an army as he could, both of Parthians and Babylonians, and marched against them, thinking to attack them, and destroy them before any one should carry them the news that he had got an army: he sent messengers before, that carried with them a request to the Parthian, to come and lay still; but, on the next day, (it was the Sabbath, which is among the Jews a day of rest from all sorts of work,) he supposed that the enemy which was near them suspected that he would take them and carry them away prisoners without fighting. He therefore proceeded gradually, and thought to fall upon them on the sudden. When Nithodiates, the king of Parthia, heard of this, he sent, and, being met by the report of their brigand, that I am afraid that some enemies are coming upon us to encompass us round. However, let some body go to look about, and make report of what reality there is in the present state of things; and may what I have said prove a false alarm. And when he said this, some of them went to spy out what was the matter, and they came again immediately, and said to him, that "whatever hast thou been mistaken in telling us what our enemies were doing, nor will those enemies permit us to be injurious to people any longer. We are kept by their intrigues like brute beasts, and there is a large body of cavalry marching upon us, while we are destitute of hands to defend ourselves withal, because we are restrained from doing it by the prohibitions which are given us for this day." But Asineus did not by any means agree with the opinion of his spys as to what was to be done, but thought it more agreeable to the law to pluck up their spirits in this necessity they were fallen into, and break their law by avenging themselves, although they should die in the action, than by doing nothing to please their enemies in submitting to be slain by them. Accordingly, he took up his weapons, and infused courage into those that were with him to act as courageously as himself. So they fell upon their enemies, and slew a great many of them, and forced the rest to run away, and come as to a certain victory, and put the rest to flight.

3. But when the news of this fight came to the king of Parthia, he was surprised at the boldness of these brethren, and was desirous to see them, and speak with them. We therefore sent the most of all his guards to take him to him. That king Artabanus, although he hath been unjustly treated by you, who have made an attempt against his government, yet hath he more regard to your courageous behaviour than to the anger he bears to you, and hath sent me to give you his right hand, and security, and he permits you to come to him safety, and with safety return over the road, and he wants to have you address yourselves to him as friends, without meaning any guile or deceit to you. He also promises to make you presents, and to pay you those respects which will make an addition of his power to your courage, and thereby be of advantage to you." Yet did Asineus himself put off his journey thither, but sent his brother, Aneius, with all such presents as he could procure. So he went, and was admitted to the king's presence; and when Artabanus saw Aneius coming alone, he inquired into the reason why Asineus avoided to come along with him; and when he understood that he was afraid, and stayed by the lake, he took an oath by the gods of his country, that he would do them no harm, if they came to him upon the assurances he gave them, and gave them his right hand. This is of the greatest force there with all these barbarians, and affords a firm security to those who converse with them, and it seems to be a fact, as though they would not deceive you, when once they have given you their right hands, nor will any one doubt of their fidelity, when that is once given, even though they should be infinitely injurious to you. And, as Artabanus had done this, he sent away Aneius to persuade his brother to come to him. Now this the king did, because he wanted to curb his own governors, who might be afraid of these Jewish brethren, lest they should make a league with them: for they were ready for a revolt, and were disposed to rebel, had they been on an expedition against the Parthians. And, as he was afraid, lest, when he was engaged in a war in order to subdue those governors of provinces that had revolted, the party of Asineus, and those in Babylonia should be augments, and either make war upon him when they should hear of that revolt, or, if they should be disappointed in that case, they would not fail of doing farther mischief to him.

4. When the king had these intentions, he sent away Aneius, and Aneius prevailed on his brother [to come to the king.] when he had related to him the king's good will, and the king's right hand, and how the king had taken. Accordingly, they prepared haste to go to Artabanus, who received them, when they came, with pleasure, and admired Asineus's courage in the actions he had done, and his spirit because he had been the first sight appeared contemptible also, and such as one might deem a person of no value at all. He also said to his friends, how, upon a comparison, he showed his soul to be in all respects superior to his body; and when, as they were drinking together, he once showed Asineus to Abdageas, one of the generals of his army, and told him his name, and described the great courage he was of in war, and Abdageas had desired leave to kill him, and thereby to inflict on him a punishment for those injuries he had done to the Parthian army, and kindred titles of the. I will never give thee leave to kill a man who hath depended on my faith, especially not after I have set my hand to thy right hand, and endeavoured to gain his belief by oaths made by the gods. But if thou beest a truly warlike man, thou standest not in need of my perjury. Go thou then and avenge the Parthian government, attack this man, when he is returned back, and conquer him.
him by the forces that are under thy command, without my privity." Hereupon the king called for Asineus, and said to him, "It is time for thee, O thou young man, to return home, and not provoke the indignation of the generals of my army. I ordered thee to arrest them; they attempted to murder thee, and that without my approbation. I commit to thee the country of Babylonia in trust, that it may, by thy care, be preserved free from robbers, and from other mischief. I have kept my faith inviolate to thee, and that not in trifling affairs, but in those that concerned thy safety, and do therefore deserve thou shouldst be rewarded. When he had said this, and given Asineus some presents, he sent him away immediately; who, when he was come home, built fortresses, and became great in a little time, and managed things with such courage and success, as no other person, that had no higher a beginning, ever did before him. Those Parthian governors also, who were sent that way, paid him great respect; and the honour that was paid him by the Babylonians seemed to them too small, and beneath his deserts, although he were in no small dignity and power there; nay, indeed, all the Parthians were more dependent on him than they had been on their former rulers, and he more and more flourished in this happy condition of his for fifteen years.

5. But as their affairs were in so flourishing a state, a tumult was raised among them on the following occasion. When once they had deviated from that course of virtue whereby they had gained such great a power, they affronted and transgressed the laws of their forefathers, and fell under the dominion of their lusts and pleasures. A certain Parthian, who came as general of an army into those parts, had a wife whom he loved, who had on her being married, no other accomplishments, and particularly was admired above all other women for her beauty; Aniltes, the brother of Asineus, either heard of that her beauty from others, or perhaps saw her himself also, and so became at once her lover and her enemy; partly because he could not hope to enjoy this woman but by obtaining power over her as a captive, and partly because he thought he could not conquer her inclinations for her; as soon therefore as her husband had been declared an enemy to them, and was fallen in the battle, the widow of the deceased was married to this her lover. However, this woman did not come into their house without producing great misfortunes both to Aniltes himself, and to Aniseneus; but the gods gave them on the occasion following. Since she was left away captive, upon the death of her husband, she concealed the images of gods which were among their people, and used to produce them to her husband and to herself; now it is the custom of that country for all to have the idols they worship in their own houses, and to carry them along with them when they go into a foreign land, agreeable to which customs of theirs she carried her idols with her. Now at first she performed her worship to them privately, but when she became Anilites's married wife, she married them in her accustomed manner, and with the same appointed ceremonies which she used in her former husband's days; upon which their most esteemed friends blamed him at first that he did not set after the manner of the Hebrews, nor perform what was agreeable to their laws, in marrying a foreign wife, and one that transgressed the accurate appointments of their sacred rites. But he was rough enough to consider, lest by allowing himself in many pleasures of the body, he might lose his principality, on account of the beauty of a wife, and that high authority which, by God's blessing, he had arrived at. But, when they prevailed not at all upon him, he slew one of them for whom he had the greatest respect, because of the liberty he took with him; who, when he was dying out of regard to his crimes, told him he would make him his murderer, Anilites, and upon Asineus also, and that all their companions might come to a like end from their enemies; upon the two first as the principal actors of this wickedness, and upon the rest as those that would not assist him when he suffered in the defence of their laws.

Now these latter were sorely grieved, yet did they themselves look on the act as of no small wonder, considering that they had arrived at their present happy state by no other means than their fortune. But when they also heard of the worship of those gods whom the Parthians adore, they thought the injury that Aniltes offered to their laws was to be borne no longer; and a great number of them came to Aniltes, and loudly complained of Aniltes, and told him that "it had been well that he had of himself seen what was advantageous to them, but that however it was now high time to correct what had been done in their absence, and that they had proved the ruin of himself and all of the rest of them. They added, that the marriage of this woman was made without their consent, and that without law; for the worship which this woman paid (to her gods) was a reproach to the God whom they worshipped." Now Aniltes was sensible of his brother's offence, that it had been already done with great mischief, and would be so for the time to come; yet did he tolerate the same from the good-will he had to so near a relation, and for losing of his beauty, which he had been quite overborne by his wicked inclinations. But as more and more still came about him every day, and the clamours about it became greater, he at length spake to Anilites about these clamours, reproving him for his former actions, and desiring him for the future to leave them off, and send the woman back to her relations. But nothing was gained by these reproves; for as the woman perceived what a tumult was made among the people on her account, and was afraid for Aniltes, lest he should come to any harm for his sake, she chose to love to him in his present dignity, and often fed on the good and the other things, as also a great number of sheeps, and many other things, which, when gained, make men's condition happy. Now, when Mithridates, who was there at this time, heard that his villages were taken, he was very much dis pleased to find that Anilites had first begun to injure him, and that present him in his present dignity, when he had not offered any injury to him before hand; and he got together the greatest body of horsemen he was able, and those out of that number which were of an age fit for war, and came to fight Anilites; and when he was arrived at a certain village of his own, he lay still there, as intending to fight him on the day following, because it was the sabbath, the day on which the Jews rest. And when Anilites was informed of this by a Syrian stranger of another village, who not only gave him an exact account of other circumstances, but told him where Mithridates observed, what great marvels came on these Jews, he went thither, one of his leaders, with Mithridates's wife, contrary to the law of Moses. Of which matter, see the note on B. ziz. ch. 5 sect. 3. This custom of the Mesopotamians to carry their businessmen and entertain them when they travelled, is as old as the days of Hezekiah, when Isaiah his prophet made the same to him, when Isaiah his wife, when Israel his wife, when Ezechiel his wife, when Hobaish his wife, when Ezechiel his wife, {Gen. xx. 19, 35—36; or is it to pass here un-
a heart, he took his supper at a pro-

cession, marched by night, and set fire
upon the Parthians while they were de-
spairing of what they should do; so he fell upon
the fourth watch of the night, and the
next day, when the Parthian army was put to flight, and took Mithridates
and set him naked upon a seat, which
the Parthians, is esteemed the greatest
honour. And when he had brought
wood with such a resolution, and his
sword to kill Mithridates, he soon
his own mind to the contrary, and
it was not right to dispute with any
of the principal families among the Par-
θαρδy greatly honoured with matching into
family; that so far as they had hitherto
as tolerable, for although they had in-
cluded, yet if they preserved his life,
would be remembered by him to the
of those that gave it him, but that if
yes put to death, the king would not be
the Mede of a great dragnet of the
dwell at Babylon; to whose safety we
have a regard, both on account of our
own and our men's misfortune; we have no other place to retire to,
and to the flower of their youth.
By this thought, and this speech of
his, he reached the Jews, for there was no
more Mithridates was let go. But, when
away, his wife reproached him, that
he was son-in-law to the king, he neg-
'ed it, and said that he had done no
more he took no care about it, but was
to have been made a captive by the
have escaped them; and she bade
more by the gods of their royal family
would certainly dissolve her marriage.
Upon which, partly because he
bear the daily trouble of their taunts,
because he was afraid of her inso-
his wife could not be a heart any longer,
archian, should owe his preservation,
when they had been too hard for
soon as Aniules understood that
with a great army against
sight it too ignominious a thing to the
the Jews, and not to take the
meeting his enemies, and he hoped to
successes, and to beat their enemies
; as also he ventured boldly
attempts. Accordingly, he led out
in a great many more joined them
by, in order to betake them
under the people, and in order to
many again by their numbers.
and marched ninety furlongs, while
have been through dry [and sandy]
about the midst of the day, they
were without Mithridates, and fell upon them, as they were in dis-
futur, on which account, and
the time of the day, they were not
were too great, than was sus-
to an ignominious rest, while men
were to attack those that were fresh
ight; so a great slaughter was made,
a thousand men fell. Now Aniules,
stood firm about him, ran away as
were able, into a wood, and afforded
pleasure of having gained a great
them. But there now came to Ani-
a in Syria and Mesopotamia, of seeing
men was one only, who was abroad to see the
the Christians, the Turks will not suffer them to hire
horses, but some only, who were afraid to see the
the country as Mr. Maundrell assures us, p. 182.
CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THREE YEARS AND A HALF,—FROM THE DEPARTURE OF THE JEWS OUT OF BABYLON, TO FADUS, THE ROMAN PROCURATOR.

CHAP. I.

§ 1. Now this Caius did not demonstrate his madness in offering injuries only to the Jews at Jerusalem, but also in the neighborhood, but suffered it to extend itself through all the earth and sea, so far as was in subjection to the Romans, and filled it with ten thousand miseries and sorrows indeed, in number as no former history relates. But Rome itself felt the most dismal effects of what he did, while he deemed that not to be any way more honorable than the best he did, but he thought of course, that he pleased and had ed its other citizens, but especially the senate, and particularly the nobility, and such as had been dignified by illustrious ancestors; he also had ten thousand, and was the son of the equally triumphant order, as it was styled, who were esteemed by the citizens equal in dignity and wealth with the senators, because out of them the senators were themselves elected; these were treated after an ignominious manner, and removed them out of his way, while they were at once slain, and their wealth plundered; because he slew men generally in order to seize on their riches. He also asserted his own divinity, and insisted on greater honors to be paid him by his subjects, than are due to mankind. He also frequented that temple of Jupiter which they style the Capitol, which is with them the most holy of altars, and Caius, and had boldness enough to call himself the brother of Jupiter. And other pranks he did like a madman; as when he laid a bridge from the city of Drepana, which belongs to Campagna, to the island of Ægium, another city upon the seaside, from one promontory to another, of the length of thirty furlongs, as measured over the sea. And this was done in order to subdue it to his most tyrannical thing to row over it in a small ship, and thought withal, that it became him to make that bridge, since he was lord of the sea, and might oblige it to give marks of obedience as well as the earth; so he enclosed the whole bay within his bridge, and drove his chariot over it, and thought that, as he was a god, it was fit for him to travel over such roads as was. Nor did he abstain from the plunder of any of the Greek temples, and gave order that all the engravings and sculptures, and the rest of the ornaments of the statues and donations therein dedicated, should be brought to him, saying, that "the best things ought to be set nowhere but in the best place, and that the city of Rome was that best place." He also adorned his own house and his gardens with the curiosities brought from those temples, together with the houses he lay at when he travelled all over Italy; whence he did not scruple to give a command, that the statues of Juno Olympia, this Caius Calligus, also the deliverer of his own nation had by that slaughter, of which he speaks, sect. 2. together with the great intimacy he had with Agrippa junior, whose father likewise he slew. Some of the occasions of which probably were, Josephus's bitter hatred against tyranny, and the pleasure he took in giving the history of the slaughter of such a horridous tyrant as was so called because he was honoured at the Olympic games in Greece, which was the work of Phidias the Athenian, should be brought to Rome. Yet did not he compass his end, because the architects told Memmius Regularus, who was summoned to Rome, that the workmanship was such as would be spoiled, and would not bear the removal. It was also reported that Memmius, both on that account, and on the horror of the matter, did not require it; but he said that if such workmen as are of an incredible nature, put off the taking it down, and wrote to Caius those accounts, as his apology for not having done what his epistle required, and his confidence that it would be in danger of perishing, he was saved by Caius being dead himself, before he had put him to death. 2. Nay, Caius's madness came to this height, that when he had a daughter born, he carried her into the Capitol, and put her under the knee of the statue, and said, "that the child was common to him and to Jupiter, and determined that she should be considered in the assurance that there was the greatest, he left undetermined." and yet mankind bore with him in such his pranks. He also gave leave to slaves to accuse their masters of any crimes whatsoever they pleased; for all such accusations were terrible, because they were in great part made to please him, and at his suggestion, insomuch that Pollux, Claudius's slave, had the boldness to lay an accusation against Claudius, he was not ashamed to be present at his trial of life and death, to hear that trial of his own uncle, in hopes of being able to take him off, although he did not succeed in his design. And when he had filled the whole habitable world, which he governed, with false accusations and miseries, and had occasioned the greatest insults of slaves against their masters, who, indeed, although in some cases there were many secret plots now laid against him; some in anger, and in order for men to revenge themselves, on account of the miseries they had already undergone from him; and others made attempts upon him, in order to take him off, before they should fall into such great miseries; while his death came very fortunately for the preservation of the laws of Athens, and had a great influence upon the public welfare; and this happened most happily for our nation in particular, which had almost utterly perished if he had not been suddenly slain. And confess I have a mind to give a full account of this matter, particularly because it will afford great assurance of the power of God, and great comfort to those that are under afflictions, and wise caution to those who think their happiness will never end, nor bring them at length to the most lasting miseries, if they do not conduct their lives by the principles of virtue.

1 Calli Calligus by the Romans.
BOOK XIX. — CHAPTER I.

Now there were three several conspiracies, in order to take off Caicus, and each of those was conducted by excellent persons. Regulus, when the Curiatian Connubii got the men together, and was desirous to take off either by them, or by himself. Another was that which was laid by them, under the name of Cereus Catius; and he had made several times in requiring them, because those burdens had been doubled, and had rather indulged his own mild disposition, than performed Caius's command; nay, indeed, he provoked Caius to anger by his charges, and for having such men, and pitying the hard fortunes of those from whom he demanded the taxes, and Caius upbraid him with his sloth and effeminacy in being so long about collecting the taxes. And indeed he did not only affront him in other respects, but when he gave him the watchword of the day, to whom it was to be given by his place, he gave him feminine words, and those of a nature very reproachful; and these watchwords he gave out, as having been initiat in the secrets of certain mysteries, which he had been himself the author of. Now, although he had sometimes put on women's clothes, and had been in some embroidered garments to those belonging, and done a great many other things, in order to make the company more forlorn, yet he did it, by way of reproach, object the like womanish behaviour to Caius. But when Caius received the watchword from him, he had great indignation at it, but had greater indignation at being yoked at the delivery of it to others, as being laughed at by those that received it; insomuch that his fellows and tribunes made him the subject of their drolery for they would foretell him that he would not be in some of his usual watchwords when he was about to take the watchword from Caesar, and would thereby make him ridiculous; on which accounts he took the device of assuming certain partners to him, as having just reasons for his indignation against Caius. Now there was one Pompeius the senator, and one who had gone through almost all posts in the government, but otherwise an epicurean, and for that reason loved to lead an inactive life. Now Timidius, an enemy of his, had informed Caius that he had used indecent reproaches against him, and he made use of Quintilia, for a witness to them; a woman she was, much beloved by many that frequented the theatre, and particularly by Pompeius. Now this woman thought it a horrible thing to attest an accusation that touched the life of her lover, which was also a lie. Timidius, however, wanted her to have brought to the torture. Caius was irritated at this reproach upon him, and commanded Cereus, without any delay, to torture Quintilia, as he used to employ Caius in such bloody matters, and those that required the torture, because he thought he would do it the more barbarously, in order to avoid that imputation of effeminacy which he had laid upon him. But Quintilia, when she was brought to the rack, trod upon the foot of one of her associates, and let him know, that he might be of good courage, and not be afraid of the consequence of her torture; for that she would bear them with more than ordinary patience. Cereus tortured this woman after a cruel manner; unwillingly indeed, but because he could not help it. He then brought her out being in the least motion, and the pains she had suffered, into the presence of Caius, and that in such a state as was sad to behold; and Caius being somewhat affected with the sight of Quintilia, who had her head shaven, and almost torn up by the pains she had undergone, freed both her and Pompeius of the crime laid to their charge. He also gave her money to make her an honourable, and comfortable burial, that being of her body which she had suffered, and for her glorious patience under such unsufferable tortures.
ANTIOCHITIES OF THE JEWS.

6. This matter sorely grieved Chereus, as having been the cause of so great a disturbance, of those miseries to men, which seemed worth consolation to Caius himself; on which account he said to Clement and to Papinius, his admirers, that Caius, through the-worthy, and Papinius was a tribune.) "To be sure, Cle-
ment, we have now-fail in our guarding the emperor; for as to those that have made conspir.
acies against his government, some have been slaine by our care and pains, and some have been
by us tortured, and this to such a degree, that he hath himself pitied them. How great then is
couragement to me in submitting to one who is tyranniz." Clement held his peace; but though the shame
he was under in obeying Caius's orders, both by
his eyes, and his blushing countenance, while he
thought it necessary in order to express words, lest their own safety should
be endangered thereby. Upon which Chereus
took courage, and spoke to him without fear of
the dangers that were before him, by all means to
latter largely of the sore calamities under which the
city and the government then laboured, and said,
"We may indeed pretend in words, that Caius
is in the power of those that are against him, in such miseries
ought to be imputed; but, in the opinion of
such as are able to judge uprightly, it is I, O Cle-
ment, and this Papinius, and before us thou thy-
self, that are the cause of all the Romans, and
upon all mankind. It is not done by our
being subservient to the commands of Caius, but
it is done by our own consent; for whereas it is
in our power to pour a deadly poison on the life of this
man, who hath so terribly injured the citizens
and his subjects, we are his guard in mischief,
and his executioners instead of his soldiers, and
are the instruments of his death, by our crue
we beat the weapons, not for our liberty, not for the Roman
government, but only for his preservation, who
hath enslaved both their bodies and their minds; and
we are every day polluted with the blood
that we shed, and the torment we work upon others;
and this do we, till somebody becomes
Caius's instrument in bringing the like miseries
upon ourselves. Nor does he thus employ us,
because he hath a kindness for us, but rather be-
caus he hath a suspicion of us, as also because
when abundance more have been killed, (for
Caius we set no bounds to his wrath, since he
seems to do all, not out of need of it, but to
his own pleasure,) we shall also ourselves be ex-
posed to his cruelty; whereas we ought to be
the means of confirming the security and liberty of all,
and the best means of time to resolve to free our-

7. Hereupon Clement openly commanded Che-
reus's intentions; but bade him "hold his tongue; for
that in case his words should get out among
many, and such things should be spread abroad
as were fit to be concealed, the plot would come
to be discovered before it was executed, and
they should be brought to punishment; but that
they should leave all to futurity, and the hope
which then arose, that some fortunate event would come to their assistance; that, for himself,
if not to prevent any attempt in that case. However, although per-
hap I could suggest what may be safer than what thou, Chereus, hast contrived and said, yet how may I advise thee, making so great a
more for thy reputation!" So Clement went
by, with deep reflections on what he had
heard, and what he himself said. Chereus
was not under concern, and went quickly to
Cornelius Sabinus, who was himself one of the
tribunes, and whom he otherwise knew to be a
worthy man, and a lover of liberty, and on that
account was at the present time employed in the manage-
ment of public affairs, he being desirous to come im-
mediately to the execution of what had been de-
termined, and thinking it right for him to pro
pose it to the other, and to avoid lest Clement
should discover it, and besides lacking much
delays and puttings off to be next to deciding
from the enterprise.

8. But as all was agreeable to Sabinus, who
had himself been consulted as to the whole design,
and had been silent for want of a person to
whom he could safely communicate that design;
so having now met with one, who not only pro-
sensed to conceal what he heard, but who had al-
ready opened his mind to him, he was much
more encouraged, and desired of Chereus, that no
delay might be made therein. Accordingly they
were immediately sent to Sabinus, who as a virtuous a man
and as zealous to do glorious actions as them-
selves, and suspected by Caius on occasion of
the slaughter of Lepidus; for Minucians and
Lepidus were intimate friends, and both in fear
of the dangers that they would be under; for Caius
was terrible to all the great men, as appearing
ready to set a mad part towards each of them in
party. And I return my thanks, out of the love
he had that Minucians would have such confi-
dence in him as to discourse with him. "But
do thou (said he) give me the watchword of
Liberty. And I return thee my thanks, that thou
hast so greatly encouraged me to exert myself
after an extraordinary manner; nor do I stand
in need of many words to encourage me, since
both thou and I are men that have been
makers of the state, and that we have to
the takers of the same resolutions, and this before
we have conferred together. I have indeed but
one sword girt on, but this one will serve us both.
In two swords, let us set about it. Come on,
then, when thou goest, I will follow thee, or else I will go
first, and thou shalt assist me, and we will assist one another,
and trust one another. Nor is there a man of
even one sword to such as have a mind disposed
to such works, by which misled the sword used to
be successful. I am zealous about this matter, nor am I solicitous what I may myself undergo;
for I am not at leisure to consider the dangers
that may come upon myself, so deeply am I trou-
bled at the slavery our once free country is now under, and at the notion of making any attempt
in such laws, and at the destruction which hangs over
all men by the means of Caius. I wish that I
may be judged by thee, and that these lowest
in esteem me worthy of credit, and to an act of
seeing we are both of the same opinion, and
there is herein no difference between us."

9. When Minucians and Chereus had met to-
gether, and saluted one another, (as they had
been used in former conferences to give the
upper hand to Caius, and to pretend to the life of this
man, who hath so terribly injured the citizens
and his subjects, we are his guard in mischief,
and his executioners instead of his soldiers, and
are the instruments of his death, by our crue
we beat the weapons, not for our liberty, not for the Roman
government, but only for his preservation, who
hath enslaved both their bodies and their minds; and
we are every day polluted with the blood
that we shed, and the torment we work upon others;
and this we do, till somebody becomes
Caius's instrument in bringing the like miseries
upon ourselves. Nor does he thus employ us,
because he hath a kindness for us, but rather be-
caus he hath a suspicion of us, as also because
when abundance more have been killed, (for
Caius we set no bounds to his wrath, since he
seems to do all, not out of need of it, but to
his own pleasure,) we shall also ourselves be ex-
posed to his cruelty; whereas we ought to be
the means of confirming the security and liberty of all,
and the best means of time to resolve to free our-
selves from dangers."

10. When Minucians saw the vehemency with
which Caius delivered himself, he gladly em-
braced him, and encouraged him in his bold at-
tempt, commending him, and embracing him; as
he let him go with his good wishes; and some
form, of the prosecutions of what had been agreed among
them; for, as Chereus entered into the court, the
report runs, that a voice came from among the
to encourage him, which bade him, if he was about, and take the opportu-
nity of avenging himself; but as he was expected that some of the conspira-
tors strayed him, and he was caught, but perceived that it was by way of ex-
ception rather than by design, in the manner he was about, gave a signal for
agreement, or whether it were God himself, who upon the actions of men, that en-
joy to go on boldly in his design, in
The plot was now communicated to no, and they were all in their armour;
the conspirators being senators, and esqui
s, and all the men that had ever been acquain-
ted with it, for none of the conspirators who would not reckon
his happiness to kill Caius, and at
and they were all very zealous in the
that means soever any one could come
he might not be behindhand in these
signs, but might be ready with all his
power, both by words and actions, to
his slaughter of a tyrant. And be-
Callistus also, who was a freed-man,
and was the only man that had arrived at
and under him; and it was
indeed, as was in a manner equal to
of the tyrant himself, by the dread
had of him, and by the great riches
and the great extent of the
committed injuries without bounds,
even extravagant in the use of his pow-
proceedings than any other; he also said
that he should be immediately,
to be turned from what he had re-
He had withal many other reasons
ought himself in danger, and the vast
wealth of the shows were exhibited and resolved to do
the work the first day. But fortune, which al-
lowed a farther delay to his slaughter, was too
hard for their forgoing resolutions, and, as three
days of the regular times for these shows were now
over, they had much ado to get the business
done on the last day. Then Cærea called the
conspirators together, and spake thus to them:
"So much time passed away without effect is a
reproach to us, as delaying to go through such
a virtuous design as we are engaged in; but more
fatal will this delay prove, if we are discovered,
and the design be frustrated; for Caius will then
become more cruel in his prosecution of us.
Do not we see how long we deprive all our
friends of their liberty, and give Caius leave
still to tyrannize over them? We ought to have procured their security for the future,
by laying a foundation for the happiness of others,
gain to ourselves great admiration and honour
for all time to come." Now while the conspira-
tors had nothing tolerable to say by way of
contradiction, and yet did not quite repress what
they were doing, but stood silent and astonished,
his father, "O my brave comrades! why do
we make such delays? I do not see that this
is the last day of these shows, and that Caius is
about to go to sea? for he is preparing to sail to
Alexandria in order to see Egypt. Is it there-
fore for your honour to permit me to remain
alone, thinking every time a fit time
quent opportunities offered them,
who is a reproach to mankind, and to per-
mit him to go after a pompous manner, triumph-
ing both at land and sea? Shall not we be justly
scorned of ourselves, if we all leave to Caius
Egyptian or other, who shall think his injuries
sufferable to freemen, to kill him? As for my-
sell, I will no longer bear your slow proceedings,
but I will expose myself to your anger of the va-
terprise this very day, and bear cheerfully what
soever shall be the consequence of the attempt,
\[1\] Here Josephus supposes that it was Augustus, and not
Julius Caesar, who first changed the Roman commonwealth
into a monarchy; for the first time it was he who Augustus,
as we shall learn in the next section but one.
nor let them be ever so great, will I put them off any longer: for, to a wise and courageous man, wisdom and courage are dearer than life, and, when I am alive, any one else should kill Caius, and deprive me of the honour of so virtuous an action." 10. When Cherea had spoken thus, he zealously observed the custom, which was also observed at Pompeii, of leading courage into the rest to go on with it, and they were all eager to fall to it without farther delay. So he was at the palace in the morning, with his equestrian sword girt on him; for it was the custom that the tribunes should ask for the watchword with their swords on, and this was the day on which Caius was, by custom, to receive the watchword; and the multitude were already come to the palace, to be soon enough for seeing the shows, and that in great crowds, and one tumultuously crushing another, while Caius was delighted with this eagerness of the multitude; for which reason there was no order observed in the seating men, nor was any peculiar place appointed for the senators, or for the equestrian order; but they sat at random, men and women together, and free men were mixed with the slaves. So Caius came out in a solemn manner, and offered sacrifice to Augustus Caesar, in whose honour this show was celebrated. Now it happened, upon the fall of a certain priest, that the garment of Asprenas, a senator, was filled with blood, which made Caius laugh, and when an evident one of food sprang out he said for he was slain at the same time with Caius. It is also related, that Caius was that day, contrary to his usual custom, so very affable and good-natured, bearing no regard to persons, that every one, those that were present were astonished at it. After the sacrifice was over, Caius betook himself to see the shows, and sat down for that purpose, and sat among his friends or near him. Now the parts of the theatre were so fastened together, as it used to be every year, in the manner following: it had two doors, the one door let to the open air, the other was for going into, or going out of the cloisters, that those within the theatre might not be thereby disturbed; but out of one gallery there was an inward passage, parted into partitions also, which led into another gallery, to give room to the combatsants, and to the musicians, to go out as occasion served. When the multitude were set down in the theatre, the other tribunes were set down also, and the right corner of the theatre was allotted to Caesar, one Vatinius, a senator, commander of the pretorian band, asked of Caius, one of the band by him, and placed of consular dignity, and said: "Where he had heard any thing of the news or not?" but took care that nobody should hear what he said; and when Cluvius replied, that he had heard no news," "Know then," said Vatinius, "that the game of the slaughter of tyrants is to be played this day." But Cluvius replied, "O brave comrade! bold thy peace, lest some other of the Achians hear thy tale." And as there was abundance of subterraneous fruit thrown among the spectators, and a great number of birds, that were of great value to such as possessed them, on account of their rare and sweet fruit, a great number of robbers was crucified, and the pantomime brought in a play called Cynira, wherein he himself was to be slain, as well as his daughter Myrrha, and when her father met her, and she was shed, both about him that was crucified, and also about Cynira. It is also confessed, that this was the same day wherein Pausanias, a friend of Philip, the boy of Antipater, who was king of Macedonias, slew him as he was entering into the theatre. And now Caius was in doubt whether he would tarry to the end of the shows, because it was the last day, whether he should not go first to the bath, and to be refreshed, and then return as before. Hereupon Minucians, who sat over Caius, and was afraid that the opportunity should fail them, got up, because he saw that Cherea was not received courageously into the rest to go on with it, and they were all eager to fall to it without farther delay. So he was at the palace in the morning, with his equestrian sword girt on him; for it was the custom that the tribunes should ask for the watchword with their swords on, and this was the day on which Caius was, by custom, to receive the watchword; and the multitude were already come to the palace, to be soon enough for seeing the shows, and that in great crowds, and one tumultuously crushing another, while Caius was delighted with this eagerness of the multitude; for which reason there was no order observed in the seating men, nor was any peculiar place appointed for the senators, or for the equestrian order; but they sat at random, men and women together, and free men were mixed with the slaves. 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because there might many things still happen for helping Caesar's escape, if he had not already given up the ghost; for certainly Caesar would have regard, not so much to the punishment of Cais, as to the affliction himself and his friends was not to consider much about whether they did escape, to keep silent, and to escape the wrath of Cais's defenders, and not to leave it to uncertainty whether he should gain the end he aimed at or not, and after an unreasonable manner to act as if he had a mind to ruin himself, and lose the opportunity that lay before him; but every body may guess as he pleases about this matter. However, Caius did not shew any signs of weakness, and the pain that the blow gave him, for the stroke of the sword falling in the middle between the shoulder and the neck, was hindered by the first lobs of the breast from proceeding any farther. Nor did he either cry out, in such astonishment was he, nor did he call out for any of his friends; whether it were that he had no confidence in them, or that his mind was otherwise disorder'd, but he groaned under the pain he endured, and presently went forward and died; when Cornelius Sabinus, who was already prepared in mind to do the rest, and set down upon it, came to where many of them stood round about him, and struck him with their swords, and they cried out, and encouraged one another all at once to strike him, and with the principal blows, and some of them, finish'd, which directly killed him. But one may justly ascribe this act to Cereas; for although many concurred in the act itself, yet was it that he had the principal blow, and in the longest time, and was the first of all the rest to prepare for it, and was the first man that boldly spoke to it the rest, and pos'd admission of what he said about it, of his success, and of his design; he spared every thing after a prudent manner, by suggesting good advice, showed himself superior to the rest, and made obliging speeches to them, inasmuch that he even command'd them all to go on, who otherwise had not courage enough for that purpose; and when opportunity serv'd to use his sword in hand, he applied first of all ready so to do, and gave the first blow in this virtuous slaughter; he also taught Caisins easily into the power of the rest, almost kill'd himself instead, inasmuch that he just to ascribe all that was done, to him, both as the design, and bravery, and labours of the hands of Caesar. Thus did Caisins come to his end, and lay on his hands; and Cereas, and his associates, Caius's slaughter, saw that it was impossible for them to save themselves, if they should as pass the place, partly on account of the Freeman, they were under: for it was no danger they had incurred by killing an em, who was honour'd and loved by the mad the people, especially when the soldiers who were at the time of inquiry after their ears. The passages also were narrow in the work was done, which were al治病 of a great multitude at Caisins's alt. the soldiers of the emperor's guard that day: whence it was yt went by other ways, and came to the Gaimen's, the father of Caisins, whom it had which hour low to take; for while the edifice was one, it was several parts by those particular men had been emperors, and those passage was made that brought them, the him who had begun to build any of its so they got away from the insul... the, and then were for the present out of and the emperor was not known. The were the first that perceived that Caisins These Germans were Caius's guard, and carried the name of the country, as they were chosen, and composed the Caius's guard. The men of that country are naturally passionate, which is commonly the temper of some other of the barbarous nations also, as not being used to consider much about what things they do; they are of robust bodies, and fall upon their enemies as soon as ever they are attacked by them; and which way sooner they go, they perform great exploits. When, therefore, the Caius's guards understood that Caisins was slain, they were very sorry for it, because they did not use their reason in judging about public affairs, but measured all by the advantages they were Receiver of being beloved by them, because of the money he gave them, by which he had purchased their kindness to him: so they drew their swords, and Sabinus led them on. He was one of the tribunes, not by the means of the virtuous actions of his progenitors, for he had been a gladiator, but he had obtained that post in the army by his having a robust body. So these Germans marched along the houses in quest of Caius's murderers, and cut Aspens to pieces, because he was the first man they fell upon, and whose garment he had already, and in which he said already, and which for tost that this his meeting the soldiers would not be for his good. Then did Norbanus meet them, who was one of the principal officers, and sought to have the many generals of armies among his ancestors, but they paid no regard to his dignity; yet was he of such great strength, that he wrested the sword of the first that drew out the length of his hand, and appeared plainly not to be willing to die without a struggle for his life, until he was surrounded by a great number of assailants, and was slain, and by the sword of one of the soldiers, who gave him. The third man was Antius, a senator, and a few others with him. He did not meet these Caius Germans by chance, as the rest did before, but came to show his hatred to Caius, and because he loved to see Caius lie dead with his own eyes, and took a pleasure in that sight; for Caisins had banished Antius's father, who was of the same name with himself, and, being not satisfied with that, he sent out his soldiers, and slew him: so he was come to rejoice at the sight of him, now he was dead. But as the house was now all in a tumult, and was nimble body himself, he could not escape that accurate search which the Germans made, while they barbarously slew those that were guilty and those that were not guilty, as they also did. And thus were these three persons slain. 16. But when the rumour that Caisins was slain reached the theatre, they were astonished at it, and could not believe it: even some that entertain'd his destruction with great pleasure, and were more desirous of its happening than almost any other satisfaction that could come to them, were under such a fear, that they could not believe it. There were, also those who greatly distrusted it, because they were unwilling that any such thing should come to Caius, nor could believe it, though it were ever so true, because they thought no man could possibly have so much power as to kill Caisins. These were the women, and the children, and the slaves, and some of the soldiery. This last sort had taken his pay, and is in a manner tyrannized with him, and had abused the best of his citizens, in being subservient to his unjust commands, in order to gain honours and advantages to themselves, but was so bated by the Freeman, and the youth, they had been inveigled with shows, and the sightings of the gladiators, and certain distributions of flesh meat among them, which things they were convinced for the pleasing of the multitude, but in reality to satiate the barbarous cruelty and madness of Caisins. The slaves also were sorry, because they were by Caius allowed to accuse and to depose
ed to do to the spectator, which would have been much more to the great advantage of the state. And it appeared to even these savages, when they had once fixed the heads of those that were slain with Asprenas upon the altar; at which sight most of the spectators, and in the consideration of the dignity of the persons, and out of a commiseration of their sufferings; nay, indeed, they were almost in a great discouragement at the prospect of the danger themselves were in, seeing it was still uncertain whether they should entirely escape the like calamity. Whereas it was, that such as thoroughly and truly knew, and truly hated them, yet now enjoyed the pleasure of his death, because they were themselves in jeopardy of perishing together with him, nor had they hitherto any firm assurance of surviving.

18. There was at this time one Eunecrates Arruntius, a public crier in the market, and therefore of a strong and audible voice, who vied in so sad a misfortune, at the expense of his own life, was able to do what he pleased in the city, both then and afterward. This man put himself into the most mournful habit he could, although he had a small quantity of money; but, by his fear and his wise contrivance to gain his safety taught him so to do, and prevailed over his present pleasure; so he put on such a mournful air, and dressed as if he were the best friend in the world; this man came into the theatre, and informed them of the death of Caius, and by this means put an end to that state of ignorance the men in lower condition had, and went round about the pillars, and called out to the Germans, as did the tribunes with him, bidding them put up their swords, and telling them that Caius was dead. And so they did, and the man went on, and was plain, which saved those that were collected together in the theatre, and all the rest who any way met the Germans; for, while they had hopes that Caius had still any breath in him, they obtained from no sort of mischief; and such an abundant kindless they still had for Caius, that they would willingly have prevented the plot against him, and procured his escape from so sad a misfortune, at the expense of their own lives. But they now left off the warm zeal they had to punish his enemies, now they were fully satisfied that Caius was dead, because it was now in vain for the man to do that which he was done to, when he be that should reward them was punished. They were also afraid that they should be punished by the senate, if they should go on doing that which was necessary, that is, in cases of extreme necessity, the authority of the supreme governor should revert to them. And thus at length a stop was put, though not without difficulty, to that rage, which possessed the Germans on account of Caius.

19. But Circeus was so much afraid for Mischianus, lest he should light upon the Germans, now they were in their fury, that he went and spoke to every one of the conspirators, and persuaded them to take care of his preservation, and made himself great inquiry about him, lest he should have been slain. And for Clement, he set Mischianus to go when he was brought to him, and with many other of the senators, affirmed the action was right, and commended the virtues of those that contrived it, and had courage enough to execute it; and said, that "tyrant do indeed please themselves, and look big for a while, upon having the power to set unjustly; but do not however go happily out of the world, because they are happy;" by the voice of the audience all together with his unhappiness, was become a conspirator against himself, before these other men who attacked him did so; and by becoming involved in settling his case, and which he had made, had taught his dearest friends to treat him as here, and sometimes a fourth part, as Spanish women, from Scythia and Thrace.
my; insomuch that although in common these conspirators were those that slew it; that in reality, he lies now dead as by his own sith. By this time the people in the theatre en from their seats, and those that were 20. a very great disturbance; the cause was this, that the spectatours were too getting away. There was also one Al- trying to oration as if to physicians, who hurried away as if to e that were wounded, and under that he sent those that were with him to things were necessary, for he might have rouned persons, but in reality, to get r of the present dangers they were in. Senate, during this interval, had met, people also assembled together in the r form, and were both employed in after the murderers of Caius. The l it very zealously, but the senate in e only; for there was present Valerius us that had been consul; this man went, as they were in disorder, and very at they could not discover who they mean; he was then asked by them all, 41. who it was that had He replied, "I wish I had been the he consul's" also published an edict eye on this occasion; for he it to then got together, and to the soldiers, and gave the people hopes of the of the oppressions they lay under; sea the soldiers, they lay quiet as they do, and would not go abroad to do justly, that they would bestow re upon them; for there was reason to fear upon those who were wild and de behaviour, if they should once be to spoil the citizens, or plunder. And now the whole multitude of u course of virtue it is also the preser of our liberty; for, as to our ancient state, I have heard of 9; it by the relation of others, but as to our later state, during my lifetime, I have known it by experience, and I learned thereby what mischiefs tyrannies have begotten upon this commonwealth, discouraging all virtue, and depriving persons of magnanimity of their liberty, and proving the teachers of base and base, because it leaves the public administration not to 13. be governed by wise laws, but by the humour of those that govern. For since Julius Caesar took it into his head to dissolve our democracy, and, by overbearing the regularity of our laws, to bring disorders into our administration, and to get above right and justice, and to be a slave to his own inclinations, there is no kind of misery but what hath tended to the subversion of this city; while all those that have succeeded him have striven one with another to overthrow the ancient laws of their country, and have left it destitute of such citizens as were of generous of senators, who have been many in num- and who laid upon us insufferable hardships during the times of their government, this Caius, who hath been slain to-day, hath brought more terrible calamities upon us than did all the rest, not only by exercising his ungoverned rage upon his fellow-citizens, but also upon his kin- and friends, and alike upon all other, and by inflicting still greater miseries upon them, as punishments, which they never deserved, he being, on the contrary, as kind and good to his men as ever the gods. For tyrants are not content to gain their sweet pleasure, and this by acting injuriously.

In are named in the Wars of the Jews, B. Sentius Saturninus and Pompeius Sc-
and in the vexation they bring both upon men's consciences, and upon the gods, they look upon that to be their principal advantage, when they can utterly overthrow the entire families of their enemies; while all lovers of liberty are the enemies of tyrants. Those who patiently endure what miseries they bring on them, gain their friendship; for as they are conscious of the abundant mischiefs they have brought on these men, and how magisteriously they have borne that calamity, they cannot fail to be sensible what evils they have done, and thence only depend on security from what they are suspicious of, if it may be in their power to take them quite out of the world. For this reason they are now quite clear of such great misfortunes, and are only accountable to one another, (which form of government affords as the best assurance of our present concord, and promises us the best security from evil designs, and will be most for our own glory in settling the city in good order,) you ought every one of you in particular to make provision for his own, and in general, for the public utility; or, on the contrary, they may declare their dissent to such things as have been proposed, and this without any hazard of danger to themselves. For we have now no lord set over them, who, without fear of punishment, could do mischief to the city, and had an uncontrollable power to take off those that freely declared their sentiments. Nor have any thing contributed so much to the increase of tyranny as late as Sallust, and a timorous forbearance of contradicting the emperor's will, while men had an ever growing inclination to give way to the stress of passion, and had learned to live like slaves; and as many of us as either heard of intolerable calamities that happened at a distance from us, or saw the miseries of those near us, clung to the dread thing of dying virtuously, endured a death joined with the utmost infamy. We ought, then, in the first place, to decree the greatest honours we are able to those that have taken off the tyrant, especially to Cereas Caisius; for this one man, with the assistance of the gods, hath by his counsel, and by his actions, been the procurer of our liberty. Nor ought we to forget him now we have recovered our liberty, who, under the foregoing tyranny, took counsel beforehand, and before-hand hazarded himself for our liberties, but courageously defended his property honestly, and dearly declared, that he from the beginning acted with our approbation. And certainly it is a very excellent thing, and what becomes a freeman, to redeem his country, he might have, while there was a benefactor to us all, though not at all like Cassius and Brutus, who slew Caius Julius [Cesar:] for those men laid the foundations of sedition and civil war in our city, but this man, together with his slaughter of the tyrant, hath set our city free from all those sad miseries which arose from the tyranny."

3. And this was the purport of Sentius's oration, which was received with pleasure by the senators, and by as many of the equestrian order as were present. And now one Trebellius Maximus rose up hastily, and took off Sentius's finger a ring, which had a stone, with the image of Caius engraved upon it, and which, in his zeal in speaking, and his earnestness in doing what he was about, as it was supposed, he had forgotten to take off himself. This sculpture was broken immediately. But, as it was now far in the night, Cereas demanded of the consuls the watchword. The word—"liberty." These facts were the subjects of admiration to themselves, and almost incredible; for it was a hundred years since the usual watchword that was used at this time, and yet, when this giving the watchword returned to the consuls; for, before the city was subject to tyrants, they were the commanders of the soldiers. But, Porcius Fannius had received that watchword. He delivered it to them. And now, the senator's side, which were four regiments, who esteemed the government without emperors to be preferable to tyranny. So these were sent away with their new subject, who now departed very joyful, full of hope and of courage, as having recovered their former democracy, and were no longer under an emperor; and Cereas Caisius were now set at the most clear of such great misfortunes, and are only accountable to one another, which form of government affords as the best assurance of our present concord, and promises us the best security from evil designs, and will be most for our own glory in settling the city in good order, you ought every one of you in particular to make provision for his own, and in general, for the public utility; or, on the contrary, they may declare their dissent to such things as have been proposed, and this without any hazard of danger to themselves. For we have now no lord set over them, who, without fear of punishment, could do mischief to the city, and had an uncontrollable power to take off those that freely declared their sentiments. Nor have any thing contributed so much to the increase of tyranny as late as Sallust, and a timorous forbearance of contradicting the emperor's will, while men had an ever growing inclination to give way to the stress of passion, and had learned to live like slaves; and as many of us as either heard of intolerable calamities that happened at a distance from us, or saw the miseries of those near us, clung to the dread thing of dying virtuously, endured a death joined with the utmost infamy. We ought, then, in the first place, to decree the greatest honours we are able to those that have taken off the tyrant, especially to Cereas Caisius; for this one man, with the assistance of the gods, hath by his counsel, and by his actions, been the procurer of our liberty. Nor ought we to forget him now we have recovered our liberty, who, under the foregoing tyranny, took counsel beforehand, and before-hand hazarded himself for our liberties, but courageously defended his property honestly, and dearly declared, that he from the beginning acted with our approbation. And certainly it is a very excellent thing, and what becomes a freeman, to redeem his country, he might have, while there was a benefactor to us all, though not at all like Cassius and Brutus, who slew Caius Julius [Cesar:] for those men laid the foundations of sedition and civil war in our city, but this man, together with his slaughter of the tyrant, hath set our city free from all those sad miseries which arose from the tyranny."

4. And now Cereas was very uneasy that Caius's daughter and wife were still alive, and that all his family did not perish with him, since whosoever of them all might be left for the ruin of the city and of the laws. Moreover, in order to finish this matter with the utmost zeal, and in order to satisfy his hatred of Caius, he sent Julius Lupus, one of the tribunes, to kill Caius's wife and daughter. They proposed this to Lupus, as a kinsman of Clement, that he might be so far a partaker of this murder of the tyrant, as he might have assisted his fellow-citizens, and that he might appear to have been a partaker with those that were first in their designs against him. Yet Lupus did this thing, for he thought the executors to be too cruel, as to this using such severity to a woman, because Caius did more indulge his own ill nature, than use her advice in all that he did; from which ill nature it was that the city was in such a desperate condition with the miseries that were brought on it, and the flower of the city was destroyed. But others accused her of having done him the utmost injury in the world, and described all that Caius had done to her as the cause of it, and said she had given a potion to Caius, which had made him obnoxious to her, and had tied him down to love her by such evil methods; insomuch that she, having rendered him distracted, was become the author of all the mischiefs that had befallen the Romans, and that habitable world which was subject to them. So that at length it was determined that she must die; nor could those of the contrary opinion at all prevail to have her saved: and Lupus was sent away, but continued4 in executing what he went about, but he was subservient to those that sent him on the first opportunity, as desirous to be nowise blameless in what he had done. So when he was come into the palace, he found Cesonia, who was Caius's wife, lying by her husband's dead body, which also lay down on the ground, and destitute of all such things as the law allows to the dead, and all over herself smeared with the blood of her husband's wounds, and bewailing the great affliction she was under, her daughter lying by her also: and nothing else was heard in these her circumstances, but her complaint of Caius, as if he had not regarded what she had often told him of beforehand; which words she would have taken in a different sense even at that time, and are now esteemed equally ambiguous by those that hear of them, and are still interpreted according to the different inclinations of people. Now some said that the words denoted, that she had advised him to leave off his mad behaviour and his barbarous cruelty to the citizens, and to govern the public with moderation and virtue, and that, as the daughter of Caius, she was the most proper person to be entrusted with the government, by using her influence in this way, upon which using him as he had used them.
BOOK XIX.—CHAP. III.

He was also able, off hand and readily, to give answers to compositions made by others, of considerable length and accuracy. He was also more skillful in persuading, or at least he would be out of the fear of; and that this was what she re- hearsed for, when she advised him so to it was well aware and tell why he as to what she said, this was what Ctesion said, and what in the matter of Ctesion said, and what as of men were about it. But, when and we have no clear idea of what purpose he stretched out her naked throat, and heartily to him, bewailing her case, bitterly despairing of her life, and bid her to begone at finishing the tragedy solved upon relating to her. So she lived her death's wound at the hand of the daughter after her. So Lapsus to herself, as for her part, was the end of Caius, after he had years within four months. He was, he was to be emperor, ill-natured, it had aids kindness and a lover; greatly affected by every terrible thing that account of a very murder- ous, where he dared show it. Ex- corbant power to this only purpose, see who least deserved it, with un- tending, and got his wealth by mar- stice. He laboured to appear above that was divine or agreeable to it was a slave to the commendations of; and whatsoever the laws deter- mined, the other was more honourable than what, was vir- was unmindful of his friends, how- ever, and though they were persons at character; and, if he was once f of them, he would inflict punish- him on the smallest occasions, and try man that endeavoured to lead a his enemy. And whatsoever he he would not admit of any contra- inclinations: whence it was that he conversation with his own sister; occasion chiefly it was also, that a fire was against him to show that sort of incest not having been mg time; and so this provoked men, and to hate him that was guilty of any crime, as he thought he might be for the present and for somebody can name any such, but only at he made about Aegidius and the reception of the sinner that broke: which was indeed a work with- very great in itself, and of very great the navigation. Yet was not this to be avert the wrong, but was the: left imperfect, by reason of his decisions to it; the cause of which was employed his studies about useless that he could make. But was concerned no one's benefit butuld not exert his liberality in things of easy difficulty of great consequence. — were notes from Ctesionus, that the name with whom he was guilty of incest, was and Ctesionus adds, he was guilty of the all his sisters also. He notes further that be mention of the hens for ships, which as the only public work for the good of utters a. which Caius left behind him, absolute command.

CHAPTER III.

How Claudius was seized upon, and brought out of his House, and brought to the Camp, and how the Senate sent an Embassage to him.

§ 1. Now Claudius, as I said above, went out of that way along which Caius was gone; and, as the family was in a mighty disorder upon the news of his presumption, and the murder of Caius, he was in great distress how to save himself, and was found to have hidden himself in a certain narrow place, though he had no other occasion for suspicion of any dangers, besides the dignity of his birth; for, while he was a private man, he behaved himself with moderation, and was contented with his present fortune, applying himself to learning, and especially to that of the Greeks, and keep- ing himself entirely clear from every thing that might bring on any disturbance. But as at this time the multitude were under a consternation, and the whole palace was full of the soldiers' madness, and the very emperor's guards seemed under the like fear and disorder with private persons, the band called pretorian, which was the purest part of the army, was, in consultation what was to be done at this juncture. Now all those that were at this consultation, had little regard to the punishment Caius had suffered, because he justly deserved such his fortune; but they were rather considering their own circumstan- ces, how they might take the best care of them- selves, especially while the Germans were busy in punishing the murderers of Caius; which yet was rather done to gratify their vindictive temper, than for the good of the public: all which things disturbed Claudius, who was afraid of his own safety, and this particularly because he saw the heads of Augustus and his partners carried about. His station had been on a certain elevated place, whither a few steps led him, and whither he retired in the dark by himself. But when Gratus, who was one of the soldiers that belonged to the palace, saw him, but did not well know by his countenance who he was,
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because it was dark, though he could well judge that it was a man who was privately there on some design, he came nearer to him, and when Claudius, whether because he was not well acquainted with those he was, and owned him to be Claudius. So he said to his followers, "This is a Germanicus," come on, let us choose him for our emperor. But when Claudius saw that they were making preparations for taking him away by force, and was afraid they would kill him, as they had killed Caligula, he besought them to spare him, putting them in mind how quietly he had demeaned himself, and that he was unacquainted with what had been done. Hereupon Gratus smiled upon him, and took him by the right hand, and thus his low thoughts of saving yourself, while you ought to have greater thoughts, even of obtaining the empire, which the gods, out of their concern for the habitable world, by taking Cains out of the way, commit to thy virtuous conduct. Go to, therefore, and accept of the throne of thy ancestors. So they took him up and carried him, because he was not then able to go on foot, such was his dread and his joy at what was told him. 2. Now there was already gathered together about Gratus a great number of the guards; and when Cains was carried off, they looked upon him with a sad countenance, as supposing that he was carried to execution for the mischief that had been lately done; while yet they thought him a man of a more alar greater importance to public affairs alike his life-long, and one that had met with no contemptible dangers under the reign of Cains; and some of them thought it reasonable that the con- sus would avenge both of these matters of old, and, as still more and more of the soldiery got together, the crowd about him ran away, and Claudius could hardly go on, his body was so much pressed upon his sedan, upon an inquiry that was made about his being carried off, ran away and saved themselves, as despair- ing of their lord's preservation. But when they were come into the large court of the palace, (which, as the report goes about it, was inhabited first of all the parts of the city of Rome,) and had just reached the public treasury, many more soldiery came about him, as glad to see Claudine's face, and thought it exceeding right to make him emperor, on account of their kindness for Germanicus, who was his brother, and had left behin- ber him to the whole, and not acquainted with him. They reflected also on the covetous temper of the leading men of the senate, and what great errors they had been guilty of, when they had given their votes to the government formerly; they also considered the impossibility of such an undertaking, as also what dangers they should be in, if the government should come to a single person, and that such a one should possess it as they had no hand in advancing, and not to Clau- dius, who would take it as their grant, and as gained by their good-will to him, and would remember the favours they had done him, and would make them a sufficient recompense for the same. 3. These were the overseers the soldiers had one with another by themselves, and they communi- cated them to all such as came unto them. Now, those that inquired about this matter, willingly embraced the invitation that was made to them to join with the rest: so they carried Clau- dius into the camp, crowding about him as his guard, and encompassing him about, one chair- man still succeeding another, that their vehemence easily hid the hinderers. But to the populace and senators, they disagreed in their opinions. The latter were very desirous to re- ceive their former dignity, and were zealous to get clear of the slavery that had been brought on them by the injurious treatment of the tyrants, which the present opportunity afforded them; but for the rest, they were not overjoyed with them, and knew that the emperors were capable of curbing their covetous temper, and were a refuge from them, were very glad that Claudius had been set apart upon them, and thought, that if Claudius were made emperor, he would prevent a civil war, such as there was in the days of Pompey. But, when the senate knew that Claudius was brought into the camp by the soldiers, they sent to him those of their body which had the best character for their virtues, that they might inform him, "that he ought to do nothing by violence, in order to gain the government: that he who was a single per- son, one either already, or hereafter to be, a member of their body, ought to yield to the senate, which consisted of so great a number: that he ought to let the law take place in the dispos-AL ALL that related to the public order, and to remember how greatly the former tyrants had afflicted the city; and what dangers both he and his family were escaped under Cains, and that he ought not to hate the heavy burden of tyrannical, when the injury is done by others, while he did himself have power to avert them. And this seems a more considerate manner; that if he would comply with them, and demonstrate that his firm resolution was to live quietly and virtuously, he would have the assurance of the people's peace: for it was not the people could bestow, and by subjecting himself to the law, would obtain this branch of com- mendation, that he acted like a man of virtue both as a ruler and a subject; but that if he would act foolishly, and learn no wisdom by Cains's death, they would not permit him to go on; that a great part of the army was got to- gether, by the people, a great number of slaves, which they could make use of: that good hope was a great matter in such cases, as was also good fortune, and that the gods would never assist any others but those that undertook to act with virtue and goodness, who can be no other than such as fight for the liberty of their country." 4. Now the ambassadors, Veranius and Brochus, who were both of them tribunes of the people, made this speech to Claudius, and falling down upon their knees, they begged of him, that in this case as well as in all that were fortune; but when they saw what a multitude of soldiers encompassed and guarded Claudius, and that the forces that were with the consuls were assembled in a council of war, and that they added, that "if he did desire the govern- ment, he should accept of it as given by the se- nate; that he would prosper better and be hap- pier, if he came to it, not by the injustice, but by the good will of those that would bestow it upon him. CHAP. IV. What things King Agrippa did for Claudius, and how Claudius, when he had taken the Government, commended the Murderers of Cains to be slain. § 1. Now Claudius, though he was sensible of what an insolent manner the senate had sent to him, yet did he, according to their advice, behave himself for the present with moderation, but not so far that he could not recover himself out of his fright: so he was encouraged to claim the government partly by the boldness of the soldiers and partly by the persuasion of king Agrippa, who exhorted him not to let such a dis- minution slip out of his hands, when it came to the government of his own accord. Now, this king Agrippa, that, by a decree of the senate, the surname of tetrar- macus was bestowed upon Drusus, and his posterity ailes. In Claud. Ch. 1.
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...in to Caesar, did what became one that was much honoured by him; for he endowed his body after he was dead, and laid it up, as he could, out to the guards, to be taken care of still alive, but he said that they were for physicians, since he was very ill. But when he had learned that it was carried away violently by the soldiery through the crowd to him, and that he was in disorder, and ready for the government to the senate, be him, and likewise for them, to stig a multitude ready to do them dishonour; but when he had said this to Claudius, and under the senate's arm, he animated his head with ointment, he had lately accompanied with his wife dismissed her, and then came to ask of the senators what Claudius had told him the present state of affairs to be the opinion of the senate. He told them in words, ready to lose his life for the honour, but desired them to consider what would be agreeable to them; for that those government, in need of soldiers to guard them, unless they had not only failed in the room of their liberty, which they boasted themselves of, but were in dread of Claudius also. Yet were there those that hankered after the government, both those who had not the Jews, or their families, of the joy that accrued to them by their marriages; for Marcus Minucius was illustrious, both by his own nobility, and by his having married Julia, the sister of Caesar, who was accordingly very ready to claim the government, although the consul discouraged him, and made one delay after another in proposing it; that Minucianus also, who was one of Caesar's murderers, and had left Valerius of Asia from thinking of such things; and a prodigious slaughter there had been, if leave had been given to those men to set up for themselves, and oppose Claudius, and also a considerable number of gladiators besides, and of those soldiers who kept watch by night in the city, and rowers of ships, who all ran into the camp, inasmuch, that of those who put in for the government, some left off their pretensions in order to spare their own persons.

4. But as soon as ever it was day, Chares, and those that were with him, came into the senate, and attempted to make speeches to the soldiers. However, the multitude of those soldiers, when they making demands for satisfaction with their hands, and were ready to begin to speak to them, grew tumultuous, and would not let them speak at all, because they were all clamouring to have one of them called the head of the senate one for their ruler, as not enduring any longer delays; but the senate hesitated about either their own governing, or how they should themselves be governed, while the soldiers would not admit them to govern, and the murderers of Caesar would not permit the soldiers to dictate to them. When they were in these circumstances, Chares was not able to contain the anger he had, and promised, that if they desired an emperor, he would give them one, if any one would bear the watchword from Eutychus. Now, this Eutychus was a charioter, with the green-band faction, styled Prasina, and a great friend of Caesar, who used to harass the soldiers with building stables for the horses, and spent his time in ignominious labours, which occasioned Chares to reproach him, and abuse him with much other scandalous language; and told them, "he would bring them the head of Claudius; and that it was an amazing thing, that after their former madness, they were so consul at this moment, or 10th. Yet might Josephus have this number from Agrippa juniper, though it was to the number of a few, or at least the hundred, been added by the transcribers, of which he has had several examples already to Josephus..."
should consent the government to a sed.

Yet were they not moved with his words, but drew their swords, and took up their ensigns, and went to the city, and set the oath of fidelity by their hands upon him. So the senate were left without any body to defend them, and the very consuls differed nothing from private persons. They were as much at the direction and sorrow, men not knowing what would become of them, because Claudius was very angry at them; so they fell to reproaching one another, and repented of what they had done. But one of Calvis's murderers, threatened that he would sooner come into the midst of them and kill himself, than consent to make Claudius emperor, and see slavery return upon them; he also abused Caesar for loving his life too well, while he who was the first in his contempt of Caesar, could think it a good thing to live, when, even by all that they had done for the recovery of their liberty, they found it impossible to do it. But Caesar said, he had no manner of doubt upon him about killing himself; that yet he would first sound the intention of Caesar before he did it.

5. Then were the debates [about the senate]; but in the camp every body was crowding on all sides to pay their court to Claudius, and the other consuls. Quintus Fomponius was reproached by the senate, as having rather exhorited the senate to recover their liberty; whereupon they drew their swords, and were going to assault him, and they had done it if Caesar had not hindered them; so he chastised the consuls out of the danger he was in, and set him by him. But he did not receive that part of the senate which was with Quintus in the like honourable manner; nor did some of them receive blows, and were thrust away as they came to salute Caesar; nay, Apocles went away wounded, and they were all in danger. However, king Agrippa went up to Caesar, and desired he would treat the senators more gently; for if any mischief should come to the senate, he would have no others over whom to rule. Claudius complied with him, and called the senate together into the palace, and was carried thither himself through the city, while the soldiery conducted him, though this was to the great vexation of the multitude; for Caesar and Sabinius, two of the senators, were carried in the foremost of them, in an open manner, while Ptolomeo, whom Claudius a little before had made captain of his guards, had sent them an epistulary edict, which was not at all public. Caesar did Claudius, upon his coming to the palace, get his friends together, and desired their sufferages about Caesar. They said, that the work he had done in justice was well done; but they received himself for that he did it of peradventure, and thought it just to inflict the punishment of death upon him, to discountenance such actions for the time to come. So Caesar was led to his execution, and

Lupus, and many other Romans with him now reported that Caesar bore his calumny courageously, and this, not only by the firmness of his spirit, but by the resolution of his mind. For though he laid upon Lupus, who fell into tears; for when Lupus had laid his garment aside and complained of the cold, "he said, that cold was never suffered in the purple," i.e., a person clad in purple. As soon as he was clad in the purple, this was the first time of his using his sword in that manner, and desired him to bring him that very sword with which he himself slew Caesar. So he was happily killed at one stroke. But Lupus did not meet with such good fortune in going out of the world, since he was timorous, and had many blows levelled at his neck, because he did not stretch it out boldly [as he ought to have done].

6. Now, a few days after this, as the parental solemnities were near at hand, the Romans multitude made their usual oblations to their several gods, and portions into the fire, in honour of Caesar, and besought him to be merciful to them, and not continue his anger against them for their ingratitude. And this was the end of the life of the divine king, who though Claudius not only set him at liberty, but gave him leave to retain his former command in the army; yet did he think it would be unjust to leave the後 serving his obligations to his fellow-confederates; so he fell upon his sword, and killed himself, the wound reaching up to the very hilt of the sword.

CHAP. V.

How Claudius restored to Agrippa his Grandfather's Kingdoms, and augmented his Dominion; and how he published an Edict to be half of the Jews.

§ 1. Now, when Claudius had taken out of the way all those soldiers whom he suspected, which he did immediately, he published an edict, and therein confirmed the kingdom to Agrippa, which Caesar had given him, and therein commanded the king highly. He also made an addition to it, that he should command the legions of which his grandfather, had reigned, that is, Judea and Samaria; and this he restored to him as due to his family. But for Abias, of Lycaonia, and all that belonged to him, he restored him his kingdom to his father, and to his son, who had been possessed of it, but gave him a certain part of Cilicia and Commagene: he also set Alexander Sycichmus, the eunuch, at liberty, who had been his old friend, and steward to his

* This preceding cold, here complained of by Lupus, agrees well to the time of the year when Claudius began his reign; it being for certain about the months of November, December, or January, and most probably a few days before Jan. 23th, and a few days before the Roman Fastal.

† It is both here and elsewhere very remarkable, that the murderers of the vilest tyrants, who yet highly deserved to die, when those murderers were under theirs or other the like obligations of fidelity to them, were usually preserved, and the murderers were cut off themselves, and that after a remarkable manner; and this sometimes, as in the present case, by those very persons who were not sorry for the loss of those kingdoms but they rejoiced that they might take the vengeance upon those wicked tyrants, who had unjustly oppressed God's own people under their subjection; who, as is the case in many consciences, comfort themselves in some actions to save the innocent, so had they still a desire to have it, or to have a share in the vengeance upon those wicked tyrants, who had oppressed God's own people. In this way, for what they did, Judg. iii. 15, 19, 20; Judg. vi. 3; 2 Tim. iv. 6, in Authentic. Rec. p. 312. See also p. 432.

‡ Here St. Luke is in some measure confirmed, when he speaks of the king's passion, in Acts vii. 52, that is, after the death of Herod, but before the return of Abibus, whose capital was Abia; to whom he is further confirmed by Polycletus, the great geographer, who is reported to have said, that the city of Abia was in the world, in the year 63, when it was burnt by the Parthians, and reduced to ruin, and also by the historian, of Abia of Lycaonia. See the note on 3. x. civ. ch. xii. sect. 4, and Phil. at the years 35 and 36. I cannot conceive this passage to be at all intended to have been at the burning of the place, as Abibus, and reduced to so much. Matt. xxxii. 40; Luke x. 35. See also Authentic. Rec. p. 433.
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shall, but has been imprisoned by
es [Marcæ] married Barnabe, the
Agrippa. But when Marcus, Alexan-
was dead, who had married her when
right to permit the Jews, who were in all the world
under us, to keep their ancient customs, without
being hindered so to do. And I do charge them
also to use this my kindness to them with mode-
rates, and not to show a scowl, but a seemly
stif even of others’ actions, but to keep
their own laws only. And I will that this decree
of mine be engraven on tables by the magis-
trates of the cities and other public places, both those within Italy, and those with-
cut it, both kings and governors, by the means
of the ambassadors, and to have them exposed
to the public for full thirty days, in such a place,“
whence it may plainly be read from the ground.”

CHAP. VI.

What things were done by Agrippa at Jerusa-
lem, when he was returned back unto Judæa; and
what it was that Petronius wrote to the inhabit-
ants of Doris, in behalf of the Jews.

§ 1. Now Claudius Caesar, by those decrees of
his which were sent to Alexandria, and to all the
habitable earth, made known what opinion he
had of the Jews. So he came to Jerusalem,
and offered all the sacrifices that he should, to
take his kingdom, now he was advanced to a
more illustrious dignity than before, and sent let-
ters to the presidents and procurators of the
province, that they should treat him very kindly.
Accordingly he returned in haste, as was likely
he would, now he returned in so much greater
prosperity than he had before. He also came to
Jerusalem, and offered all the sacrifices that he
should, and also to his kinsman, the Alexan-
drian insatiate towards the Jews that thence the
Greek, out of his great
great care that no troubles may
promulgation of this edict.

There were the contents of this edict on
Jews that was sent into the other parts
able earth was this which follows: Paul
Augustus Germani-

2. And when Agrippa, had entirely finished all
the duties of the divine worship, he removed
Theophilus, the son of Ananus, from his
high priesthood, and bestowed that honour of his on
Simon, the son of Boethus, whose name was also
Cananthes, whose daughter king Herod married,
as I have related above. Simon, therefore, had
the [high] priesthood with his brethren, and with
his father, in like manner as the sons of Simon,
the son of Onias, who wore thereto, had it &c.
under the government of the Macedonians, as we
are related in a former book.

his double dealing between the senate and Claudius, ch.
iv. sect. 3, than his daughter of James, the brother of John,
and his imprisonment of Pontius Pilate after his
viser he died, both in Acts xili. 1, 2, 3, and here, ch.
iv. sect. 1, will justify or allow. Josephus’s character was
probably taken from his son, Agrippa.

This treasuries chamber account must have been the very
same in which our Saviour taught, and where the people
offered their charity money for the repairs or other use
should commit the government to a foil." Yet were they not moved with his words, but drew their swords, and took up their ensigns, and went to meet the rabble in that large crowd of the oath of fealty to him. So the senate were left without any body to defend them, and the very consuls differed nothing from private persons. They were also under consternation and sorrows, not knowing what would become of them, because Claudius was very angry at them; so they fell to reproaching one another, and repented of what they had done. At which juncture Sabinus, one of Caligarius' murderers, threatened that he would sooner come into the midst of them and kill himself, than consent to make Claudius emperor, and see slavery returning upon them; he also absolved Cherea for loving his life too well, while he was the first in his contempt of Caligarius, could think it a good thing to live, when, even by all that they had done for the recovery of their liberty, they found it impossible to do it. But Cherea said, he had no manner of doubt upon him about killing himself; that yet he would first sound the intention of Claudius before he did it.

5. These were the debates [about the senate; but in the camp every body was crowding on all sides to pay their court to Claudius, and the other consuls' pockets], Pompeius was reproached by the soldiery, as having rather exhorted the senate to recover their liberty; whereupon they drew their swords, and were going to assault him; but they had not done it, if Claudius had not hindered them, who snatched the cosslan out of the danger he was in, and set him by him. But he did not receive that part of the senate which was with Quintus in the like honourable manner; nay, some of them received blows, and were struck away as they came to salute Claudius; nay, Apennus went away wounded, and they were all in distress. However Agripina went up to Claudius, and desired he would treat the senators more gently; for if any mischief should come to the senate, he would have no others over whom to rule. Claudius complied with him, and called the senate together into the palace, and was carried thither himself through the city, while the soldiery conducted him, though this was to the great vexation of the multitude; for Cherea and Sabinus, two of Caligarius' murderers, went in the fore-front of them, in an open manner, while Felleo, whom Claudius a little before had made augur of his army, had sent them an epistle to him, that lay at mount Libanus, he besought them upon him, as on his own territories. He also made a league with Agrippa, confirmed by oaths; in this league he said that if Claudius would be his benefactor, he also took away from Antochus that kingdom which he was possessed of; but gave him a certain part of Cilicia and Commagene: he also set Alexander Lydus with the Romans, who had been his old friend, and staved to his

* This piercing cold, here complained of by Lupus, agrees well to the time of the year when Claudius began his reign; it being for certain about the months of November, December, or January, and most probably a few days after the winter solstice. It is a phenomenon that like the ascen- sion of Jupiter's nimbuses, was regarded as an omen of the health of the empire. The Roman emperors at this season of the year were wont to ordain that no person whatever should celebrate the birthday of his own father or of any other person, who was just then dead, or who was wont to be dead, even the emperor himself, were it a distant monarch, and not only the emperor, but all persons of any eminence. So that Claudius was wont to ordain that no person whatever should celebrate the birthday of his own father or of any other person, who was just then dead, or who was wont to be dead, even the emperor himself, were it a distant monarch, and not only the emperor, but all persons of any eminence. So that Claudius was wont to ordain that no person whatever should celebrate the birthday of his own father or of any other person, who was just then dead, or who was wont to be dead, even the emperor himself, were it a distant monarch, and not only the emperor, but all persons of any eminence.
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another, Antioch, but has been imprisoned by Caius, whose son (Marcus) married Bernice, the daughter of Agrippa. But when Marcus, Alexander's son, was dead, who had married her when she was a virgin, and who gave her to his brother, Herod, and begged for him Claudius the kingdom of Chalcis.

2. Now, about this time, there was a sedition between the Jews and the Greeks, at the city of Alexandria, for, when Caius was dead, the nation of the Jews, which had been very much morti-

fied under the reign of Caius, and reduced to very great distress by the people of Alexandria, received itself, and immediately took up their arms to fight for themselves. So Claudius sent an order to the president of Egypt, to quiet that tumult; he also sent an edict, at the request of king Agrippa and king Herod, both to Alexandria and to Syria, whose contents were as follows: "Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, high priest, and tribune of the people, ordains that, since I am assured that the Jews of Alexandria, called Alexandrians, have been joint-inhabitants in the earliest times with the Alexandrians, and have obtained from them some privileges with them, as is evident by the public records that are in their possession, and the edicts themselves; and that after Alexander had been king in this country, their rights and privileges have been preserved by those presidents who have at divers times been sent thither; and that no dispute has been made about their presence, that is, of which they were possessed, even when Aegina was governor of Alexandria; and that when the Jewish ethnomarch was dead, Augustus did not prohibit the making such edicts, as all the transactions in the subject [for the Romans] as to continue in the observation of their own customs, and not to be forced to transgress the ancient rules of their own country religiously, in their own house, (as the edict of Alexander) became insolent towards the Jews that were among them, which Caius, out of his great magnanimity and want of good understanding, reduced the nation of the Jews very low, because they would not transgress the religious worship of their country, and call him a god. I will, therefore, that the nation of the Jews be not deprived of their rights and privileges, on account of the madness of Caius; but that those rights and privileges which they formerly enjoyed, be preserved to them, and that they may continue in their own customs, and such parties to take great care that no troubles may arise after the promulgation of this edict."

3. And such were the contents of this edict on behalf of the Jews that were sent to Alexandria. But the edict that was sent into the other parts of the habitable earth was this which follows: "Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, high priest, tribune of the people, chose the second time, ordains that, Upon the petition of king Agrippa and king Herod, who are persons very dear to me, that I would grant the same rights and privileges should be preserved to the Jews which were in all the Roman empire, which I have granted to those of Alexandria, I very willingly comply therewith; and this grant I make not only for the sake of the Jews, but also for the sake of the whole world; and those whom I have been petitioned worthy of such a favour, an account of their fidelity and friendship to the Romans. I think it also very just that no Greek city should be deprived of such rights and privileges, since they were preserved to them under the great Augustus. It will, therefore, be permitted to the Greeks, who are in all the world under us, to keep their ancient customs, without being hindered so to do. And I do charge them also to use this my kindness to them with moderation, and not to show a contempt of the superstitious observances of other nations, but to keep their own laws only. And I will that this decree of mine be engraved on tables by the magistrates of the cities and colonies, and set up in all public places, both those within Italy, and those without it, both kings and governors, by the means of the ambassadors, and to have them exposed to the public for full thirty days, in such a place, whence it may plainly be read from the ground."

CHAP. VI.

What things were done by Agrippa at Jerusalem, when he was returned back unto Judea, and what he did also for the Jews unto the inhabitants of Doris, in behalf of the Jews.

§ 1. Now Claudius Caesar, by these decrees of his which were sent to Alexandria, and to all the habitable earth, made known what opinion he had of the Jews. So he was happy in the king's favour; and if he could have taken his kingdom, now he was advanced to a more illustrious dignity than before, and sent letters to the presidents and procurators of the provinces, that they should provide for him, even when Aquila was governor of Alexandria; and that when the Jewish ethnomarch was dead, Augustus did not prohibit the making such edicts, as was his right. Accordingly he returned in haste, as was likely he would, now he returned in so much greater prosperity than he had before. He also came to Jerusalem, and all the sacrifices that he had longed to him, and omitted nothing which the law required; on which account he ordained that many of the Nazarites should have their heads shorn. And as was given him by Caius, of equal weight with that iron chain wherewith his royal hands had been bound, he hung it up within the limits of the temple, over the treasury, that it might be a memorial of the severe fate he had lain under, and a testimony of his change for the better; that it might be a demonstration how the greatest prosperity may have a fall, and how God raises up what is fallen down: for this chain, thus dedicated, afforded a document to all men, that the king Agrippa had been once bound in a chain, and for a small cause; and his former dignity again; and a little while afterward, by the gift of his bonds, and was advanced to be a more illus-
strain than he was before. Whence men may understand that all that partake of human nature, how great soever they are, may fall; and that those that fall may gain their former illustrious dignity again.

2. And when Agrippa had entirely finished all the duties of the divine worship, he removed Theophilus, the son of Ananus, from the high priesthood, and bestowed that honour of his on Simon the son of Boethus, whose name was also Cantharus, who had administered the same office as I have related above. Simon, therefore, had the high priest-hood with his brethren, and with his father, in like manner as the sons of Simon, the son of Onias, had been accustomed to be under the government of the Macedonians, as we have related in a former book.
ANTIIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

3. When the king had settled the high priesthood after this manner, he returned the kindness which the inhabitants of Jerusalem had shown him on occasion of his release from the tax upon houses, every one of whom paid it before, thinking it a good thing to requite the tender affections of those that loved him. He also made Silas the general of his forces, who was a man who had partaken with him in many of his troubles. But after a very little while, the young men of Doris preferring a rush attempt before piety, and being murderer of one who had slain the king, he led Caesar into a synagogue of the Jews, and erected it there. This procedure of theirs greatly provoked Agrippa; for it plainly tended to the dissolution of the laws of his country. So he came without delay to Publius Petronius, who was then president of Syria, and accused the people of Doris. Nor did he less resent what was done than Agrippa; for he judged it a piece of impious impiety to transgress the laws that regulate the actions of men. So he wrote the following letter to the people of Doris in an angry strain:—

"Publius Petronius, the president under Augustus Claudius Caesar Augustus Germancius, to the magistrates of Doris, ordains as follows: Since some of you have had the boldness, or madness rather, after the death of Claudius Caesar Germancius, was published for permitting the Jews to observe the laws of their country, not to obey the same, but have acted in entire opposition thereto, and by1 assembling the Jewish nation together in the synagogue, by removing Caesar's statute, and setting it up therein, and they have offended not only the Jews, but the emperor himself, whose throne is customarily placed in his own temple than in a foreign one, where is the place of assembling together; while it is but a part of natural justice, that every one should have the protection of the laws belonging to himself, and to himself, according to the determination of Caesar, to say nothing of my own determination, which it would be ridiculous to mention after the emperor's edict, which gives the Jews leave to make use of their own customs, as also gives order, that they enjoy equally the rights of citizens with the Greeks themselves. I therefore ordain, that Proculus Vitellius the centurion, bringing those men to me, who, contrary to Augustus' edict, have been so insolent as to do this thing, at which those very men, who appear to be of principal rank amongst them, have gradually and with submission, and for themselves, according to the determination of Caesar, to say nothing of my own determination, which it would be ridiculous to mention after the emperor's edict, which gives the Jews leave to make use of their own customs, as also gives order, that they enjoy equally the rights of citizens with the Greeks themselves. 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over? For the king hath not let me keep those
origined marks of the good-will I bore him,
which I once had from him; but he hath plunder-
ed me, and that unjustly also. Does he think
that I can leave off that liberty of speech, which,
unless it be to say my prayers, I shall not have
more loudly than before, and shall relate how
many misfortunes I have delivered him from;
how many labours I have undergone for him,
whereby I procured him safety and rest, and did it
as a reward for which I have borne the hardships
of bonds and a dark prison. I shall never forget
this usage. Nay, perhaps, my very soul, when it
shall come to leave my body, will remember
one of the glorious actions I did on his account." This
was the clamour he made, and he ordered the mes-
sengers to tell it to the king. So he perceived
that Sisæa was incurable in his folly, and still suf-
fered him to lie in prison.

2. As for the walls of Jerusalem, that were ad-
joining to the new city [Bezetha], he repaired
them at the expense of the public, and built them
wider in breadth, and higher in altitude; and he
had made them too strong for all human power
to demolish, unless Marcus, the then president of
Syria, had been there, and had informed Cäsar of
what he was doing. And when Claudius had
some suspicion of attempts for innovation, he
sent to Agrippa to leave off the building of these
walls, or if he would, to give the city keys; as not thinking
it proper to contradict Claudius.

3. Now, this king was by nature very benefi-
cent, and liberal in his gifts, and very ambitious
to glorify his country with large foundations; and
he made himself very illustrious by the many
chargeable presents he made them. He took
delight in giving, and rejoiced in living with
good men. He was more considerate of his fate than
Herod who reigned before him; for that Herod
was ill-natured, and severe in his punishments, and
had no mercy on them that he hated; and every one
who came to him was as much more friendly to the
Greeks than to the Jews; for he adorned foreign
cities with large presents in money; with build-
ning them baths and theatres besides; say, in
some of those places he erected temples, and
porticoes in others; but he did not vouchsafe to
raise one of the least edifices in any Jewish city,
or make them any donation that was worth men-
thinking of it. And his liberal gifts to the Jews
were equal to those to his own countrymen. He was
humane to foreigners, and made them sensible of his libe-
rrality. He was in like manner rather of a gen-
tle disposition than haughty; and he was con-
luded with the Jews, as the other kings were
loved to live continually at Jerusalem, and was
exactly careful in the observance of the laws of
his country. He therefore kept himself entirely
purs; nor did any day pass over his head without
its appointed sacrifice.

4. However, there was a certain man of the
Jewish nation at Jerusalem, who appeared to be
very accurate in the knowledge of the law. His
name was Simon. This man got together an
assembly, while the king was absent at Cass-
area, and had the insolence to accuse him as not
living holily, and that he might justly be exclu-
ded out of the temple, since it belonged only to
native Jews. But the general of Agrippa's
army informed him, that Simon had made such
a speech to the people. So the king sent for
him; and, as he was sitting in the theatre, he
bade him sit down by him, and said to him with
a low and gentle voice, "What is there done in
this city, friend? What is the matter? But be
not angry, Simon, to say for himself, but beggad
his pardon. So the king was more easily reconciled
to him than one could have imagined, as esteem
ing in him all the more because of his modesty
and knowing that moderation is more be-
coming in great men than passion. So he made
Simon a small present, and dismissed him.

5. Now, as Agrippa was a great builder in
many places he paid a peculiar regard to the
people of Berytus; for he erected a theatre for
them, superior to many other of that sort, both
in sumptuousness and elegance, as also an amphitheat-
re built at vast expenses; and besides these,
he built them baths and porticoes, and spared for
too cost in any of his works, so that he made them
both handsome and large. He also spent a great deal
upon their dedication, and exhibited shows upon
them, and brought thither musicians of all sorts,
and such as made the most delightful music of
the greatest variety. He also showed his magni-
cificence upon the theatre, in his great number of
giadators; and there it was that he exhibited
the several ages of life in order. There were
1000 spectators; no fewer indeed than seven hundred
men to fight with seven hundred other men," and
allotted all the malefactors he had for this exer-
cise, that both the malefactors might receive their
punishment, and that this operation of war might
be a recreation in peace. And thus were these
criminals all destroyed at once.

CHAP. VIII.

What other Acts were done by Agrippa until his Death: and after what manner he died.

§ 1. When Agrippa had finished what I have
above related at Berytus, he removed to Tiberi-
as, a city of Galilee. Now he was in great esteem among the other Kings. Accused came to him Antiochus, king of Commagena, Sampelgeramus, king of Emesa, and Cotys, who was king of the Lesser Armenis, and Poleno, who was king of Pontus, as also to Chalcis, who was king of Chalcis. All these he treated with agreeable entertainments, and after
an obliging manner, and so as to exhibit the great-
ness of his mind, and to appear worthy of those
respects which the kings paid to him, by coming
thus to see him. However, while these kings
stood with him, Marcus, the president of Syria
again came thither. So the king, in order to preserve
that respect that was due to the Romans, went
out of the city to meet him, as far as seven furlongs.
But this proved to be the beginning of a
difference between him and Marcus; for he took
with him in his chariot those other kings as his
assessors. But Marcus had a suspicion what the
meaning could be of so great a friendship of these kings one with another, and that there was
so close an agreement of so many potentates to
be for the interest of the Romans. He therefore
sent some of his domestics to every one of them,
and enjoined them to go no longer by land, but
out further delay. This was very ill taken by
Agrippa, who after that became his enemy. And
now he took the high priesthood away from Mat-
this, and made Eleusus, the son of Cantheris, high
priest in his stead.

2. Now, when Agrippa had reigned three years
over all Judea, he came to the city Cesarea,
which was formerly called Strato's Tower; and
there he exhibited shows in honour of Cæsar,
upon his being informed that there was a certain
festival celebrated to make vows for his safety.

4. At which festivity a great multitude was gath-
ered together of the principal persons, and such as
were of dignity through his province. On the
second day of which shows he put on a garment
made wholly of silver, and of a contexture truly
wonderful, and came into the theatre early in the
morning; at which time the silver of his garment
being illuminated by the fresh reflection of the
sun's rays upon it, shone. But being adorned in
such a manner, and was so resplendent as to spread
a horror over those that looked instantly upon him;
and presently his flatterers cried out, one from
one place, and another from yet another, "Behold
for his good,) that "he was a god," and they
added, "be thou merciful to us; for although we
* A strange number of condemned criminals to be un-
der sentence of death at once; no fewer, it seems, than
1400.
have kibero reverenced thee once as a man, yet shall we henceforth own thee as superior to mortal nature." Upon this the king did neither receive any soldiers, nor request that he might depart. But as he presently afterward looked up, he saw an owl sitting on a certain rope over his head, and immediately understood that this bird was the messenger of good tidings, for it had once been the messenger of good tidings to him; and fell into the deepest sorrow. A severe pain also arose in his belly, and began in a most violent manner. He therefore looked upon his friends, and said, "I whom ye call a god, am commanded presently to depart this life; while Providence thus reproves the lying words you now said to me, and I, who was by you called immortal, am immediately to be hurried away by death. But I am bound to accept of what Providence alloteth, as it pleases God; for we have by no means lived ill, but in a splendid and happy manner." When he had said this, his pain was become violent. Accordingly, he was carried into the palace, and the rumour went abroad throughout where, that he would certainly die in a little time. But the multitude presently sat in sackcloth, with their wives and children, after the law of their country, and besought God for his life. All places were also full of mourning and lamentation. Now the king rested in a high chamber, and as he saw them below lying prostrate on the ground, he could not himself refrain from weeping also; and when he had been quite worn out by the pain in his belly for five days, he departed this life, being in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and in the seventh year of his reign. All the four years under Calus Caesar, three of them were over Philip's tetrarchy only, and on the fourth he had that of Herod added to it, and he reigned, besides those, the realm of Samaria and Cæsarea. In which time he reigned over the foregoing-said countries, and also had Judges added to them, as well as Samaria and Cæsarea. The revenues that he received out of them were very great, no less than twelve millions of drachmae. Yet did he honor great sums from others; for he was so very liberal that his expenses exceeded his income, and his generosity was boundless. But before the multitude were made acquainted with Agrippa's being expired, Herod the king of Chalcis, and Heliceus the master of his horse, being in great fears of his life, sent Aristob, one of the king's most faithful servants, and slew Silas, who had been his enemy, as if it had been done by the king's own command.

* We have a mighty ory made here by some critics, as if the great Eusebius had on purpose falsified this account of Josephus, so as to make it agree with the parallel account in the Acts of the Apostles; because the present copies of the addition of H. Hist. Eccles. B. h. ch. 2. omit the word "that" in the place where Josephus speaks of a certain rope, which Josephus's present copies retain, and only has the explanatory word ἄγαλμα or συμφράζω, as if he meant that οὐρανός of the Lord which St. Luke mentions and calls οὐρανός, Acts xvii. 32, and not that which is called οὐρανός according to a certain rope, which Josephus's present copies retain, and only has the explanatory word ἄγαλμα or συμφράζω, as if he meant that οὐρανός of the Lord which St. Luke mentions and calls οὐρανός, Acts xvii. 32, and not that which is called οὐρανός, in the case of the great Eusebius, who is known to have so accurately and faithfully produced a vast number of other ancient records, that he was particularly not a faultless one in this case of Josephus also, without any suspicion of pretension. Now, not to allege how uncertain we are, whether Josephus's and Eusebius's copies of the fourth century are the present in these cases, we have no distinct evidence of the following words, preserved still in Eusebius, will not adopt any such exposition.

§ 1. And thus did king Agrippa depart this life. But he left behind him a son, Agrippa by name, a youth in the seventeenth year of his age, and three daughters: one of whom, Ber- nice, was married to Herod, his father's brother, and was sixteen years old; the other two, Mariamne and Drusilla, were still virgins; the former was ten years old, and Drusilla six. Now these his daughters were thus espoused by their father, Mariamne to Julius Archelaus Epaphroditus, the son of Antiochus, the son of Chalcis, and Drusilla to the king of Commagene. But when it was known that Agrippa was departed this life, the inhabitants of Cæsarea and of Sebaste forgot the kindmess he had bestowed on them, and acted the part of the bitterest enemies; for they cast such a reproach upon the deceased as were not fit to be spoken of; and so many of them as were then soldiers, which were a great number, went to his house, and hastily carried off the statues of all the gods that were in the house, and set them into the brothel houses, and, when they had set them on the tops of these houses, they abased them to the utmost of their power, and did such outrages upon them, that all men were amazed at them. They also laid themselves down in public places, and celebrated general feastsings, with garlands on their heads, and with ointments and libations, because they glorified the king for joy that the king was expired. Nay, they were not only unmindful of Agrippa, who had extended his liberality to them in abundance, but of his grandfather Herod also, who had himself rebuilt their cities, and had raised them havens and temples at vast expenses.

2. Now Agrippa, the son of the deceased was at Rome, and brought up with Claudius Cæsar. And when Cæsar was informed that Agrippa was dead, and that the inhabitants of Sebaste and Cæsarea had abused him, he was sorry for the first news, and was displeased with the ingratitude of those cities. He was therefore disposed to send Agrippa junior away presently to succeed his father in the kingdom, and was willing to confirm him in the office; but because he feared the men and friends of his, who had the greatest authority with him, disdained him from it, and said, that "it was a dangerous experiment to permit

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"διηγᾶσθαι ἐγὼ μαρτύρηται, and the following word, ὁ ἄγαλμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ," be inserted, Eschaton's text will truly represent that in Josephus. But this interpolation seems to be somewhat harsh, that was in good sense with our modern critics, they would readily correct it now, and the sense of the passage, and that of an ancient Christian writer, not so well rejected by many of these critics, nothing will serve but the 3rd-grounded sup- pression of verbal correction and preservation.
BOOK XIX.—CHAP. IX.

so large a kingdom to come under the government of so very young a man, and one hardly yet arrived at years of discretion, who would not be able to take sufficient care of his administration; while the weight of a kingdom is heavy enough to a grown man." So Cæsar thought what they said to be reasonable. Accordingly, he sent Cæpius Fadus to be procurator of Judea, and of the entire kingdom; and paid that respect to the deceased, as not to introduce Marcus, who had been at variance with him, into his kingdom. But he determined, in the first place, to send orders to Fadus, that he should chastise the inhabitants of Cesarea and Sebaste for those abuses which they offered him that was deceased, and their madness towards his daughters that were still alive; and that he should remove that body of soldiers that were at Cesarea and Sebaste, with five regiments, into Pontus, that they might do their military duty there, and that he should choose an equal number of soldiers out of the Roman legions that were in Syria, to supply their place. Yet were not those that had such orders actually removed; for by sending ambassadors to Claudius, they unbound him, and got leave to abide in Judea still; and these were the very men that became the source of very great calamities to the Jews in after times, and sowed the seeds of that war which began with them, whence it was, that when Vespasian had subdued the country, he removed them out of his province, as well as we shall relate hereafter.*

* This history is now wanting.

BOOK XX.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWENTY-TWO YEARS.—FROM FADUS THE PROCURATOR, TO FLORUS.

CHAP. I.

A Relation of the Philadelphians against the Jews; and also concerning the Vestments of the High Priest.

§ 1. Upon the death of king Agrippa, which was of the House of Herod, as is commonly reported, Cæsar sent Cæsius Longinus as successor to Marcus, out of regard to the memory of king Agrippa, who had often desired of him by letters, who were transmitted, that he would not suffer Marcus to be any longer president of Syria. But Fadus, as soon as he was come procurator into Judea, found quarrelsome doings between the Jews and the inhabitants of Philadelphia, about their borders, at a village called Misia, that was filled with men of a warlike temper; for the Jews of Persa had taken up arms without the consent of their principal men, and had destroyed many of the Philadelphians.—When Fadus was informed of this procedure, he provoked him very much that they had not left the determination of the matter to him. If they thought that the Philadelphians had done them any wrong, but had rashly taken up arms against them. So he seized upon three of their principal men, who are also the causes of this sedition, and ordered them to be bound, and afterward had one of them slain, whose name was Hannibal, and he banished the other two, Ausmus and Exeas. The archbishop, the apostle, was, after some time, brought to him bound, and slain, but not till he had done a world of mischief to Idumea and the Arabians. And indeed, from that time, Judea was cleared of robberies by the care and providence of Fadus. He also at this time sent for the high priests and the principal citizens of Jerusalem, and this at the command of the emperor, and admonished them, that they should lay up the long garment, and the sacred vestments, which it is customary for nobody but the high priest to wear, in the tower of Antonia, that it might be under the protection of the temple, as it used to be formerly. Now the Jews durst not contradict what he said, but desired Fadus, however, and Longinus, (which last was come to Jerusalem, and had brought a vast army with him) out of a fear that the rigourous injunctions of Fadus should force the Jews to rebel, that they might, in the first place, have leave to send ambassadors to Cæsar; to persuade him that they may have the sacred vestments under their own power, and that, in the next place, they would tarry till they knew what answer Claudius would give to that their request. Fadus agreed to that proposal; and sent them leave to send their ambassadors, provided they would give them their sons as pledges (for their peaceable behaviour.) And when they had agreed so to do, and had sent the said pledges to Cæsars, the ambassadors were sent accordingly. But when, upon their coming to Rome, Agrippa junior, the son of the deceased, understood the reason why they had dwelt with Claudius Cæsar, as we said before, he besought Cæsar to grant the Jews their request about the holy vestments, and to send a message to Fadus accordingly. 2. Hereupon Claudius called for the ambassadors, and told them, that "he granted their request," and bade them to return their thanks to Agrippa for the trouble which he had bestowed on them upon this entreaty. And besides these answers of his, he sent the following letter by them: "Claudius Cæsar Germanicus, tribune of the people the fifth time, and designed consul the fourth time, and imperator the tenth time, the father of his country, to the magistrates, senate, and people, and the whole nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting. Upon the presentation of your ambassadors to me by Agrippa, my friend, whom I have brought up, and have now with me, and who is a person of very great piety, wisdom, and prudence, and whom I have taken of your nation, and to entreat me, in an earnest and obliging manner, that they may have the holy vestments, with the crown belonging to them, and the power of demanding a request, as that excellent person Vительнalis, who is very dear to me, had done before me. And I have complied with your desire, in the first place, out of regard to that piety which I profess, and because I would have every one worship God according to the laws of their own country; and this I do also because I shall hereby highly gratify king Herod, and Agrippa junior, whose accredited regards to me, and earnest good-will to you, I am well acquainted with, and with whom I have the greatest friendship, and whom I highly esteem, and look on as persons of the best character. Now I have written about these affairs to Cæpius Fadus, my procurator. The names of those that brought me your letter are, Cornelius the son of Cero, Trypho the son of Theodotus, Dorotheus the son of Nathaniel, and John the son of John. This was dated before the fourth of the kalends of July, when Rufus and Pompeius were consuls." 3. Herod also, the brother of the deceased Agrippa, who was then possessed of the royal authority over Chalcis, petitioned Claudius Cæsar for the authority over the temple, and the money of the decree, and the choice of the high priests, and obtained all that he peti-
tioned her. So that after that time this authority continued among all his descendants till the end of the war. Accordingly, Herod removed the last high priest, called Canterbury, and bestowed that dignity on his successor Joseph, the son of Camus.

CHAP. II.

How Helena, the Queen of Adiabene, and her son Izates, embraced the Jewish Religion; and how Helena supplied the Poor with Corn, when there was great famine at Jerusalem.

1. About this time it was that Helena, queen of Adiabene, and her son Izates, changed their course of life, and embraced the Jewish customs, and this on the occasion following: Monobazus, the king of Adiabene, who had also the name of Bazeus, fell in love with his sister Helena, and took her to be his wife, and bezea her with child. But as he was in bed with her one night, he laid his hand upon his wife’s belly, and fell asleep, and seemed to hear a voice, which bade him take his hand off his wife’s belly, and not hurt the infant that was therein, which, by God’s providence, would be greater than he, and have a happy end. This voice put him into disorder; so he awaked immediately, and told the story to his wife; and when his son was born, he called him Izates, after his eldest brother, by Helena also, as he had other sons by other wives besides. Yet did he openly place all his affections on this his only begotten son Izates, which was the origin of that envy, while on this account they hated him more and more, and were all under great affliction that their father should prefer Izates before all them. Now after his father was very sensible of these their passions, yet did he forgive them, as not indulging those passions out of an ill disposition, but out of a desire each of them had to be beloved more than Izates. However, he sent Izates with many presents to Abner, the king of Charrax-Spasini, and that out of the great dread he was in about him, lest he should come to some misfortune by the hatred his brethren bore him; and he committed his son’s preservation to him. Upon which Abner gladly received the young man, and had a great affection for him, and married him to his own daughter, whom his name was Samachas: he also bestowed a country upon him, from which he received great revenues.

2. But when Monobazus was grown old, and saw in a little time to live, he had a mind to come to the sight of his son before he died. So he sent for him, and embraced him after the most affectionate manner, and bestowed on him his own country called Caris; it was a sort of soil that bare amomum in great plenty; there are also in it the remains of that ark, wherein it is reputed that Noah escaped the deluge, and where they are still shown to such as are desirous to see them. Accordingly, Izates abode in that country until his father’s death. But the very day that Monobazus died, queen Helena sent for all the grandees, and governors of the kingdom, and told those that had the armies committed to their command; and when they were come, she made the following speech to them: “I believe you are not unacquainted that my husband was desirous Izates should succeed me in the government, and thought him worthy so to do. However, I wait your determination; for happy is he who receives a kingdom not from a single person, but from the whole people of a great many.” This she said in order to try those that were invited, and to discover their sentiments. Upon the hearing of which, they first of all paid their homage to the queen, as their custom was, and then they said that “they confirmed the declaration of Izates’ determination and wished it, and that they rejoiced that Izates’ father had preferred him before the rest of his brethren, as being agreeable to all their wishes; but that they were desirous first of all to slay his brethren and kinsmen, that so the government might come securely to Izates; because if they were once destroyed, all that fear would be over which might arise from the hatred and envy to him; and that Helena replied to that, that “she returned them her thanks for their kindness to herself, and to Izates; but desired that they would however defer the execution of this slaughter of Izates’ brethren till he should be there himself, and give his approbation to it.” So, since these men had not prevailed with her when they advised her to slay them, they exhorbed her at least to keep them in bonds till he should come, and that for their own security; they also gave her counsel to set up some one whom she should put in the government, and leave him, in the mean time. So queen Helena consulted with this counsel of theirs, and set up Monobazus, the eldest son, to be king, and put the dominion in his hands, giving him the ring, with its signet; as also the ornament which they call Samper, and exhorbed him to administer the affairs of the kingdom till his brother should come; who came suddenly upon hearing that his father was dead, and succeeded his brother Monobazus, who resigned up the government to him.

3. Not long after the time Izates abode at Charrax-Spasini, a certain Jewish merchant, whose name was Ananias, got among the women that belonged to the king, and taught them to worship God in the Jewish religion. He, moreover, by their means, became known to Izates, and persuaded him in like manner to embrace that religion: he also, at the earnest entreaty of Izates, accompanied him when he was sent for by his father to come to Adiabene. It also happened that Helena, about the same time, was instructed by a certain other Jew, and went over to them, and gave them informations to the king, and was come to Adiabene, and there saw his brethren and other kinsmen in bonds, he was disappoised at it; and as he thought and spoke to himself on that, he resolved not to set them, but still thought it a hazardous thing for to let them have their liberty with the remembrance of the injuries that had been offered them, and sent them to Rome, to Claudius Caesar, and sent the others to Arthabasus, the king of Parthia, with the like intentions.

4. And when he perceived that his mother was highly pleased with the Jewish customs, he made haste to change, and to embrace them entirely; and, as he supposed that he could not be thoroughly a Jew unless he were circumcised, he was ready to have it done. But, when his mother understood what he was about, she endeavoured to hinder him from doing it, and said to him, that “this thing would bring him into danger, and his life might never be ruled over by a Jew.” This it was that she said to him, and ten vero, for no other than one best beloved, do none both the Old and New Testament, I mean where there were one or more some besides, Gen. xxii. 2, Heb. xii. 11. See also chap. ii. sect. 11, for one saying. 

† It is very remarkable, that the remains of Noah’s ark were believed to be still in being in the days of Josephus. See the note on ch. ii. 13. sect. 3.
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for the present persuaded him to forbear. And when he had reason what she had claimed, he confirmed what his mother had said, and when he had also threatened to leave him, unless he complied with him, he went away from there. But when he saw that his leg was no better, and that such an action being once made public to all, he should himself be in danger of punishment, for having been the occasion of it, and having been the first to assert for want of what was of any reputation; and he said, that he might worship God without being circumcised, even though he did resolve to follow the Jewish law entirely, which would have been a sin to our sect or those who were circumcised. He added, that God would for give him, though he did not perform the operation, while it was omitted out of necessity, and for fear of his subjects. So that at last, having come into good fame by this, he was not much allowed to be circumcised. But afterward, as he had not quite left off his desire of doing this thing, a certain other Jew that came out of Galilee, whose name was Aana- sar, and who was esteemed very skilful in the learning of his country, persuaded him to do the thing; for as he entered into his palace to salute him, and found him reading the law and doing good works, he said to him, "Thou dost not consider, O king: that thou unjustly breakest the principal of those laws, and art injurious to God himself, [by omitting to be circumcised:] for thou oughtest not only to do these things, but chiefly those that they enjoin thee. How long wilt thou continue uncircumcised? But, if thou hast not yet read the law about circumcission, and do not know how great a sin thou art guilty of by neglect ing it, read it now." When the king had heard what he said, he delayed the thing no longer, but retired to another room, and sent for a scribe, and showed him what he was commanded to do. He then sent for his mother, and Aanaias, his tutor, and informed them that he had done the thing, upon which they were presently struck with astonishment, and said to him, "And to a great degree, lest the thing should be openly discovered and censured, and the king should hazard the loss of his kingdom, while his subjects would not bear to be governed by a man who was so zealous in another religion; and lest they should them selves run some hazard, because they would be supposed the occasion of his so doing. But it was the more acceptable to God, as he was enabled from taking effect; for he preserved both Izares himself, and his sons, when they fell into many dangers, and procured their deliverance when it seemed to be impossible. And so it is manifest that the fruit of piety does not perish as to those that have regard to him, and fix their faith upon him only." But these events we shall relate hereafter.

5. But as to Helena, the king's mother, when she saw that the affairs of Izares's kingdom were in peace, and that her son was a happy man, and admired among all men, and even among foreigners, by the means of God's providence over him, she had a mind to go to the city of Jerusalem, in order to worship at that temple of God which was so very famous among all men, and to offer her thank offerings there. So she desired her son to give her leave to go thither, and which he gave his consent to; and she departed very wisely, and made great preparations for her dismissal, and gave her a great deal of money, and she went down to the city of Jerusalem, her son conducting her on the journey. And there her coming was of very great advantage to the people of Jerusalem, for whereas a famine did oppress them at that time, and many people died of hunger, and for want of what was necessary to their preservation, where withal, queen Helena sent some of her servants to Alexandria with money to buy a great quantity of corn, and others of them to Cyprus, to bring back a cargo of dried figs: which when they were back, and had brought those provisions which was done very quickly, she distributed food to those that were in want of it, and left an excellent memory among the people of Jerusalem, which she bestowed on our whole nation. And when her son Izares was informed of this famine, he sent great sums of money to the principal men in Jerusalem. However, what favours this king and queen conferred upon our city of Jerusalem, shall be further related hereafter.

CHAP. III.

How Artabanes, the King of Parthia, on the Fear of the secret Correspondence of His Subjects against him, sent to Izares, and was by him reinstated in his Government; as also how Bardanes, his Son, denounced War against Izares.

1. But now Artabanes, king of the Parthians, perceiving that the governors of the provinces had framed a plot against him, did not think it safe for him to continue among them, but resolved to go to Izares, in hopes of finding some way for his preservation by his means, and if possible, for his return to his own kingdom. So he sent a messenger to Izares, and brought a thousand of his kindred and servants with him, and met him upon the road, while he well knew Izares, but Izares did not know him. When Artabanes saw him bear him, and, in the first place, worshipped him, according to the custom, he then said to him, "O king! do not thou overlook me thy servant, nor do thou proudly reject the suit I make thee: for, as I am reduced to a low estate by the change of fortune, and of a king am become a private man, I stand in need of thy assistance. Have regard, therefore, unto the uncleanness of God, and esteem the care thou shalt take of me to be taken of thy self also; for if I be neglected, and my subjects go off unpunished, many other subjects will become more insolent to one another than before. And this speech Artabanes made with tears in his eyes, and with a dejected countenance. Now as soon as Izares heard Artabanes's name, and saw him stand as a suppliant before him, he leaped down from his horse immediately, and said to him, "Take courage, O king! nor be disturbed at thy present calamity, as if it were insurmountable; for the change of thy sad condition shall be sudden, for thou shalt find me to be mothe rly friend and thy assistant than thy hopes can promise thee; for I will either re-establish thee in the kingdom of Parthia, or lose my own." 2. When he had said this, he set Artabanes upon Eusebiius, p. 174. Now when Josephus had said a little afterward, chap. v. sect. 3, that "Tiberias Alexander succeeded Caspius Fadius as procurator," he immediately added, "That was the last procurator, notwithstanding the strongest political motives to the contrary.

This account of the sufferings of Izares and Helena to the Jewish Jews, which Josephus here promises, is, I think, nowhere performed by him in his present history, which relates only to the last five years of Claudius, and in those he takes Dr. Hodge's note here—"This (says he) is that famine foretold by Agabus, Acts xi. 28," which happened under Claudius, and was foretold by him. The other which happened when Claudius was consul the second time, and Cestius was his colleague, as Scaliger says upon Eusebiius, p. 164, 165, where it is observed in the notes, that Pseu- dasms her monument also.
upon his horse, and followed him on foot, in honour of a king whom he owned as greater than himself. Artabanus saw, he was very uneasy at it, and swore by his present for-
tune and honour, that he would get down from his horse, unless Ixates would get upon his horse again. He complied with his desire, and leaped upon his horse: and when he had brought him to his royal palace, he showed him all sorts of respect, when they sat together, and gave him a place at the upper stage at festivals also, as regarding not his present fortune, but his former dignity, and that upon this con-
deration also, that the changes of fortune are common to all men. He also wrote to the Par-
thians, to persuade them to receive Artabanus again; and gave them his right hand and his faith, that he should forget what was past and done, and that he would undertake for this as a mediator between them. Now the Parthians did not themselves refuse to receive him again, but pleased that it was not now in their power so to do; because they had committed the government to a stranger person, who had despised of it, and whose name was Cinnamus, and that they were afraid lest a civil war should arise on this ac-
count. When Cinnamus understood their intention, he sent his son, and informed Artabanus himself; for he had been brought up by him, and was of a nature good and gentle also, and desired him to put con-
fidence in him, and to come and take his own dominions. Accordingly Artabanus trusted in him, and returned home; when Cinnamus met him, worshipped him, and saluted him as king, and took the diadem off his own head, and put it on the king of Arsaces. He, on the other hand, trusted in Artabanus himself, and promised him great sums of money, if he would make an expedition against their king; and they further promised him, that on the first onset they would have the advantage of him, being unac-
scious to punish him, by reason of the hatred he had to their religious worship; then they obliged themselves, by oaths, to be faithful to each other, and agreed that he should be king in this design. The king of Arabia complied with their desires, and brought a great army into the field, and marched against Ixates: and in the begin-
ing of the first onset, and before Ixates was a close fight, those grandees, as if they had a panic terror upon them, all deserted Ixates, as they had agreed to do, and turning their backs upon him, went away. Accordingly these Ixates dismayed at this: but when he understood that the grandees had betrayed him, he also re-
turned into his camp, and made inquiry into the matter; and as soon as he knew who they were that made this conspiracy with the king of Ara-
bica, he cut off those that were found guilty; and renewing the fight on the next day, he slew the greatest part of his enemies, and forced all the rest to betake themselves to flight. He also pur-
sued their king, and drove him into a fortress called Arasaces, and following on the siege vige-
rously, he forced the gates of that fortress. And Ixates plundered it of all the prey that was in it, which was not small, he returned to Adiabene; yet did he not take Abisava alive; because, when he found him-
selv alive, he made himself a king of the country.

2. But although the grandees of Adiabene had failed in their first attempt, as being delivered up by God into their king's hands, yet would they not even then be quiet, but wrote again to Volog-
gases, who was then king of Parthia, and desired that he would kill Ixates, and set over them some other potentate, who should be of a Parthian fam-
ily; for they said, that "they hated their own king for arrogating the laws of their forefathers, and embracing foreign customs." When the king of Parthia heard this, he boldly made war upon Ixates; and as he had just pretence for this war, he sent him to his army, and demanded back all the recoverable privileges which had been bestowed on him by his father, and threatened, on his refusal, to make war upon him. Upon hearing of this, Ixates was uneasy; and having some small troubles of mind at this his behav-
ior, and denounced war immediately against Ixates. Yet did he gain no advantage by this war, because God cut off all his hopes therein; for the Parthic king, by his brother's pretension, and how he had determined to make war with the Romans, slew him, and gave his king-
dees to his brother Gotarzes. He also in no long
time perished by a plot made against him, and Vologases, his brother, succeeded him, who com-
mitted two of his provinces to two of his bro-
thers, the same fathers of that of the Medes to the elder, Pacorus, and Armenia to the younger, Tiridates.

CHAPTER IV.

How Ixates was betrayed by his own kinsmen, and how he was put to death by the Aramians; and how the king of Para-
thia, by the Providence of God, was delivered out of their Hands.

§ 1. Now when the king's brother, Memadanes, and his other kindred, saw how Ixates, by his piety to God, was become greatly esteemed by all men, they made a scheme to destroy the religion of their country, and to embrace the customs of the Jews; but that act of theirs was discover-
ed by Ixates's subjects. Whereupon the grand-
dees were much displeased, and could not con-
tain their anger at them: but had an intimation, when they should find a proper opportunity, to inflict a punishment upon them. Accordingly, when they found them to be out, they, the king of the Medes, promised him great sums of money, if he would make an expedition against their king; and they further promised him, that on the first onset they would have the advantage of him, being unac-
scious to punish him, by reason of the hatred he had to their religious worship; then they obliged themselves, by oaths, to be faithful to each other, and agreed that he should be king in this design. The king of Arabia complied with their desires, and brought a great army into the field, and marched against Ixates: and in the begin-
ing of the first onset, and before Ixates was a close fight, those grandees, as if they had a panic terror upon them, all deserted Ixates, as they had agreed to do, and turning their backs upon him, went away. Accordingly these Ixates dismayed at this: but when he understood that the grandees had betrayed him, he also re-
turned into his camp, and made inquiry into the matter; and as soon as he knew who they were that made this conspiracy with the king of Ara-
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2. But although the grandees of Adiabene had failed in their first attempt, as being delivered up by God into their king's hands, yet would they not even then be quiet, but wrote again to Volog-
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ior, and denounced war immediately against Ixates. Yet did he gain no advantage by this war, because God cut off all his hopes therein; for the Parthic king, by his brother's pretension, and how he had determined to make war with the Romans, slew him, and gave his king-
dees to his brother Gotarzes. He also in no long

"This privilege of wearing the tunic upright, or with the tip of the cross erect, is known to have been of old po-

other to (great) kings, from Xerxes and others, as Dr. Hudson observes here.
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le, and as he esteemed him to be his principal assistant, he instructed his children and his wife to be brought up to the best of education, and to become born in his city, and set the hay and the grass on fire. And when he had thus put things in order as well as he could, he awaited the coming of the news. And when the king of Parthia came with a great army of footmen and horsemen, which he did sooner than was expected, (for he marched in great haste,) and had cast up a bank and ditches on the bank of the river Euphrates, Izzates also pitched his camp not far off, having with him six thousand horsemen. But there came a messenger to Izzates, sent by the king of Parthia, who announced that the word of war was, as reaching from the river Euphrates to Bactria, and enumerated that king's subjects: he also threatened him, that he should be punished, as a person ungrateful to his lords; and said, that the God whom he worshipped could not deliver him out of the king's hands. When the messenger had delivered this his message, Izzates replied, that "he knew the king of Parthia's power was much greater than his own; but that he knew also, that God was much more powerful than all men." And when he had returned this answer, Izzates sent to God a supplication, and threw himself upon the ground, and put his hands upon his head, in testimony of his conversions, and fasted, together with his wives and children, forty days; and said: "O Lord and Governor, if I have not in vain committed myself to thy goodness, but have justly determined that thou only art the Lord and Governor of all things, I entreat thee now to save a garrison of priests and other wise and pious men from the hands of that persecutor, and defend me from my enemies, not only as my own account, but on account of their insolent behaviour with regard to thy power; while they have made up their minds to use a base and arrogant tongue against thee."

Thus did he lament and bewail himself, with tears in his eyes, when upon God his prayer. And immediately, that very night, Vologases received letters, the contents of which were these, that a great band of Dahae and Sacae, despising him, now he was gone so long a journey from home, had made an expedition, and laid Parthia waste; so that he was forced to retire back, without doing any thing. And thus it was that Izzates ceased to be the leader of the Parthians, by the providence of God.

2. It was not long ere Izzates died, when he had completed fifty-five years of life, and had ruled Parthia a number of years, with Hermicius, who had become his son-in-law. He left behind him twenty-four sons and twenty-four daughters. However, he gave orders that his brother Monobazus should succeed in the government; for requiring him to come, while he was himself absent after their father's death, he had faithfully preserved the government for him. But when Helena his mother, heard of her son's death, she was in great heaviness, as was but natural upon her loss of such a most dutiful son; yet was it a comfort to her, that she heard the succession came to her eldest son. Accordingly she went to him in haste, and when she came into Adiabene, she did not long outlive her son Izzates. But Monobazus sent her bones, as well as those of Izzates, his brother, to Jerusalem, and laid them in the temple chambers, to respect the pyramidal which their mother had erected: they were three in number, and distant no more than three furlongs from the city of Jerusalem. But for the actions of Monobazus the king, which he did during the rest of his life, we will relate them hereafter.

CHAP. V.

Concerning Thedas, and the Sons of Judas the Gillemot: as also what Calamities fell upon the Jews on the Day of the Passover.

§ 1. Now it came to pass, while Hadassus was procurator of Judea, that a certain magician, whose name was Thedas, persuaded a great part of the people to take their effects with them, and to follow him to the river Jordan; for he told them that he was a prophet, and that he would, by his own command, divide the river, and afford them an easy passage over it: and many were deluded by his words. However, Hadassus did not permit them to make any advantage of his wild attempt, but sent a troop of horsemen out against them: who, falling upon them unexpectedly, slew many of them, and took many of them alive. They also took Thedas alive, and cut off his head, and carried it to Jerusalem. This was what befell the Jews in the time of Cyprian Flavus' government

2. Then came Tiberius Alexander as successor to Hadassus; he was the son of Alexander the scribe of Alexandria, which Alexander was a principal person among all his contemporaries, both for his family and for his piety; and he was also more eminent for his piety than this his son Alexander, for he did not continue in the religion of his country. Under these procurators that great famine happened in Judea, in which a queen of seven years' age was carried off to Egypt, at a very great expense, and distributed it to those that were in want, as I have related already. And besides this, the sons of Judas of Galilee were made to pay such a sum of that Judas who caused the people to revolt, when Cyrenius came to take an account of the estates of the Jews, as we have showed in a foregoing book.

The names of those sons were James and Simon, whom Alexander commanded to be crucified. But now Herod, king of Chalcis, removed Joseph, the son of Camysus, from the high priesthood, and made Ananias, the son of Neboeas, his successor. And now it was that Cumanas came as successor to Tiberius Alexander; as also that Herod, brother of Agrippa, the grandson of Herod the Great, departed this life, in the eighth year of the reign of Claudius Caesar. He left behind him three sons, Aristobulus, whom he had by his first wife, and two by his second, Bernice, and his daughter. But Claudius Caesar bestowed his dominions on Agrippa junior.

3. Now, while the Jewish affairs were under the administration of Cumanas, there happened a great tumult at the city of Jerusalem, and many of the Jews perished therein. But I shall first explain the occasion when it was derived. When that feast which is called the Passover was at hand, at which time our custom is to use unleavened bread, and a great multitude was gathered together from all parts to that feast, a great fear lest any attempt of innovation should then be made by them; so he ordered that one regiment of the army should take their arms, and guard the city, and be but few in the temple chambers, to prevent all attempts of innovation, since purchase any such should begin: and this was no more than what

* This mourning, and fasting, used by Izzates, with prayer of his body, and ashes upon his head, are plain signs that he was become either a Jew, or an Elysean Chrestian, pious and repentant, in the days of the Passover. See ch. vi. sect. 1. However his supplications were heard, and he was providentially delivered from that imminency; he was not then converted to the Jewish faith. For it was an abominable sin for the king of Parthia, and his court, to become Jews. See ch. vi. sect. 1. However his supplications were heard, and he was providentially delivered from that imminency; he was not then converted to the Jewish faith.

1 These pyramids, or pillars, erected by Helena, queen of Adiabene, near Jerusalem, in three numbers, are mentioned in the Ecclesiastical Hist. ii. ch. 15; for which Dr. Hales refers us to Valens's notes upon that place. They are also mentioned by Pliny, as being already noted, chap. ii. sect. 6. Roland guesses that they referred to great, and that more than one of them.

2 This account is now wanting.
and to Confiscate the Property of the Samarians; and at this time there lay, in the road they took, a village that was called Gilead, which was situated in the limits of Samaria and the great plain, where certain persons having heard that there was a great disturbance with the Samaritans, had done to repress them, but God himself; nay, some of them reproached Cummans, and pretended that the soldier was set on by him, which, when Cummans heard, he was also himself not a little provoked at such reproaches laid upon him; yet did he exhort them to leave off such seditions attempts, and not to raise a tumult at the festival. But they were not disposed to be quiet; for they still went on in their reproaches to him, he gave order that the whole army should take their entire armour, and come to Antonia, which was a fortress, as we have said already, which overlooked the temple; but when the multitude saw the soldiers there, they were affrighted at them, and ran away hastily: but as the passages out were but narrow, and as they thought their enemies followed them, they were crowded together in their flight, and a great number were pressed to death in these narrow passages; nor indeed were there twenty thousand souls that perished in this tumult. So, instead of a festival, they had at last a mournful day of it; and they all of them forgot their prayers and sacraments that were performed, and lamented causes, and weeping; so great an affliction did the impendent obsecessions of a single soldier bring upon them.  

4. Now before this their first mourning was over, another mischief befell them also; for some of those that raised the foregoing tumult, when they were travelling along the public road, about a little distance from the city, robbed Cethus, a servant of Cesar, as he was journeying, and plundered him of all that he had with him. Which thing when Cummans heard of, he sent soldiers immediately, and ordered them to plunder the neighbouring villages, and to bring the most eminent persons among them in bonds to him. Now, as this devastation was making, one of the soldiers seized the laws of Moses that lay in one of those villages, and brought them out before the eyes of all present, and tore them to pieces; and this was done with reproachful language, and much scurrility. Which things when the Jews heard of, they ran together, and that in great numbers, and came down to Cesareas, where Cummans then was, and besought him that they might get the laws, but Cummans, himself, whose laws had been affronted; for that they could not bear to live any longer, if the laws of their forefathers must be affronted after their death, while the Romans, of old, had lost the multitude should go into a sedition, and by the advice of his friends also, took care that the soldier who had offered the affront to the laws should be beheaded, and thereby put a stop to the sedition which was ready to be kindled a second time.

Chapter VI.

How there happened a Quarrel between the Jews and the Samaritans, and how Claudius put an End to their Differences.

§ 1. Now there arose a quarrel between the Samarians and the Jews, on the occasion following: It was the custom of the Galileans, when they came to the holy city at the festivals, to take their persons and the property of the Samarians; and at this time they lay, in the way they took, a village that was called Gilead, which was situated in the limits of Samaria and the great plain, where certain persons having heard that there was a great disturbance with the Samaritans, had done to repress them, but God himself; nay, some of them reproached Cummans, and pretended that the soldier was set on by him, which, when Cummans heard, he was also himself not a little provoked at such reproaches laid upon him; yet did he exhort them to leave off such seditions attempts, and not to raise a tumult at the festival. But they were not disposed to be quiet; for they still went on in their reproaches to him, he gave order that the whole army should take their entire armour, and come to Antonia, which was a fortress, as we have said already, which overlooked the temple; but when the multitude saw the soldiers there, they were affrighted at them, and ran away hastily: but as the passages out were but narrow, and as they thought their enemies followed them, they were crowded together in their flight, and a great number were pressed to death in these narrow passages; nor indeed were there twenty thousand souls that perished in this tumult. So, instead of a festival, they had at last a mournful day of it; and they all of them forgot their prayers and sacraments that were performed, and lamented causes, and weeping; so great an affliction did the impendent obsecessions of a single soldier bring upon them.

§ 2. But the principal of the Samarians went to Ummidius Quadratus, the president of Syria, who at that time was at Tyre, and accused the Jews of treachery and sedition, and Claudius put an end to their differences.

§ 3. This, and many more tumults and seditions, which arose at the Jewish festivals, and among the members of the Jewish government, when they said, Matt. xxvi. 5. "Let us not take Jesus on the fourth day of the month, and among the people," as Re- longwell observes on this place. Josephus also takes notice of the same thing, Of the War, B. 1. ch. iv. sect. 3.
should have a more exact knowledge of the truth of that matter. So these men went away without success. Yet was it not long ere Claudius came to Jerusalem, where, upon some cause, he supposed that the Samaritans were the authors of that disturbance. But, when he was informed that certain of the Jews were making innovations, he ordered them to be crucified, whereupon the Samaritans had taken captives. From whence he came to a certain village called Lydda, which was not less than a city in largeness, and some eight miles distant from Jerusalem, where Celsus, the procurator, had been before his tribunal, and there learned from a certain Samaritan, that one of the chief of the Jews, whose name was Dositheus, and some other innovators with him, four in number, persuaded the multitude to a revolt from the Romans, whom Claudius ordered to be put to death; but still he sent away Ananias the high priest, and Anas, the commander of the temple, to Rome, to give an account of what they had done to Claudius Caesar. He also ordered the principal men, both of the Samaritans and of the Jews, as also Celsus the procurator, and the other tribune, to go to Italy to the emperor, that he might hear their cause, and determine their differences one with another. But he came again to Jerusalem, and seeing what the Father and the multitude of the Jews should attempt some innovations; but he found the city in a peacable state, and celebrating one of the usual festivals of the Jews, he gave his name the third day of the feast, that they would not attempt any innovations, and left them at the celebration of the festival, and returned to Antioch.

3. Now the Samaritans, and the principal of the Samaritans, who were sent to Rome, had a day appointed them by the emperor, whereason they were to have pleaded their cause about the quarrel that arose between the Jews and the Samaritans, and his friends, were very zealous on the behalf of Cumanus and the Samaritans; and they had prevailed over the Jews, unless Agrippa junior, who was then at Rome, had seen the principal of the Jews hard set, and had earnestly entreated Agrippa, the emperor's wife, to persuade her husband to hear the cause, so as was agreeable to his justice, and to condemn those to be punished who were really the authors of this revolt from the Roman government—Whereupon Claudius was so well disposed before having any consultation with her, as he had found that the Samaritans had been the ring-leaders in those mischievous doings, he gave order, that those who came up to him should be heard. Celse being there, he also gave order, that Celer the tribune should be sent back to Jerusalem, and should be drawn through the city in the sight of all the people, and then should be slain.

1 This Simon, a friend of Felix, a Jew, born in Cyprus, though he pretended to be a magician, and seems to have been wicked enough, could hardly be so famous Simon the magician, in the Acts of the Apostles, viii. 5, &c. as is here said of him. The place in the Acts was not properly a Jew, but a Samaritan, of the town of Gaba, in the country of Samaria, as the Apostolical Constitutions, vii. 4, Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. i. 34, inform us. He was also the author, not of any book called the Acts of Simon, but of a work called a History of Simon, as the same Eusebius assures us. So I suppose him a different person from the other. I mean this only upon the supposition, as some do, that he being a Cyriotic Jew; for otherwise the time, the name, the profession, and the wickedness of both were too different; and as concerning his being a Cyriotic, as to that Drusilla, the sister of Agrippa junior, as Josephus informs us here, and a Jewess, as St. Luke informs us, and a friend of Felix, as Josephus, Hist. Eccl. v. 9, supposed person, to leave her former husband, Agrippa, king of Emesa, a proseph of justice, and to marry Felix, the heathen procurator of Judea; Tacitus, Hist. v. 9, supposed her to be a heathen, and the grand daughter of Antiochus and Cleopatra, contrary both to St. Luke and Josephus. Now Tacitus lived somewhat too remote, both as to time and place, to be compared with either of those Jewish writers, in a matter concerning the Jews in Judea in their own days, and concerning a sister of Agrippa junior, with which Agrippa Josephus was himself so well acquainted. It is probable that Tacitus may say true when he informs us that this Felix (who had in all three wives or queens, as Suetonius in Claudius, sect. 29, assures us,) did once marry Basilia, daughter of a certain chief of the Jews, by the name of one of them to have been Drusilla, he mistook her for that other wife, whose name he did not know.

2 This empire of the Samaritans was one of the greatest we have in history. See Bielofius's curious and important observations on this Vess; and its seven great states, of which the authors, with the Jews, conceive, was in so many different strates under ground, all the diggers came to the antiembullion strates, with their propositions of interesting themselves. He supposed that above 2,000 years before the Christians were, according to our ancient chronology.

3 This is now wanting.
matrimony, and the Jewish religion: and, at the same time, Mariamne put away Aristobulus, and was married to Demetrius, the principal man among the Alexandrian Jews, both for his family and his wealth; and indeed he was then their alabarch. So she named her son whom she had by him Agrippinus. But all of those particulars we shall hereafter treat more exactly.*

CHAP. VIII.

After what manner, upon the Death of Claudius, Nero succeeded in the Government; as also what proceedings he took Concerning the Robber, Murderers, and Impostors that were while Felix and Festus were Procurators of Judea.

§ 1. Now Claudius Cæsar died when he had reigned thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days, and a report went about that he was poisoned by his wife Agrippina. Her father was Germanicus, the brother of Cæsar. Her husband was Domitius Aënobarbus, one of the most illustrious persons that was in the city of Rome; after whose death, and her long continuance in widowhood, Claudius took her to wife: she brought along with her a son, Domitius, of the same name with his father. He had before this slain his brother Claudius, out of jealousy, by whom he had his children Britannicus and Octavia; their eldest sister was Antonia, whom he had by Pelina his first wife. He also married Octavia to Nero; for that was the name that Cæsar gave him afterward, upon adopting him for his son.

2. But now Agrippina was afraid, lest, when Britanicus should succeed to his father's estate, he should succeed his father in the government, and desired to seize upon the principality beforehand for her own son [Nero] upon which the report went, that he was poisoned in the death of Claudius. Accordingly, she sent Burrhus, the general of the army, immediately, and with him the tribunes, and such also of the freed-men as were of the greatest authority, to bring Nero away into the camp, and to salute him emperor. And when Nero had thus obtained the government, he got Britannicus to be so poisoned, that the multitude should not perceive it; although he publicly put his own mother to death not long afterward, making her this requital, not only for being born of her, but by bringing it so about by her command that the name was born. He also slew Octavia his own wife, and many other illustrious persons, under the pretense that they plotted against him.

3. These are many other discourses about these affairs, for there have been a great many who have composed the history of Nero; some of whom have departed from the truth of facts out of favor, as having received benefits from him; while others, out of hatred to him, and the great ill-will which they bore him, have so impudently raved against him with their lies, that they justly deserve to be condemned: nor do I wonder at such as have told lies of Nero, since they have not in their writings preserved the truth of his misdeeds. But the Alexandrian Jews, both for his family and his wealth; and indeed he was then their alabarch. So she named her son whom she had by him Agrippinus. But all of those particulars we shall hereafter treat more exactly.*

* This also is now wanting.

† This duration of the reign of Claudius agrees with Dio, as Dr. Huxham observes, that Nero's name, which was at first L. Domitius Aënobarbus, after Claudius had adopted him, was Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus.

‡ This Becanus is a see where mentioned [by Josephus] in his own Life, sect. 11, as also) by Dio Cassius and Tacitus, as Dr. Huxham informs us.

§ This agrees with Josephus's frequent accounts elsewhere in his own Life, that Tibérius, and Tarquinius, and Cæsar, and Agrippa, till Jesus, the son of Piatus, saith unless for the Jews upon the breaking out of the war. And the barbarous and barbarous murder of the good high priest Jonathan, by the contrivance of this wicked procurator Felix, was the immediate occasion of the same. If we may judge by the Sicarian history, and all the great causes of the following horrible cruelties and miseries of the Jewish nation, as Josephus here supposes, whose excellent reflection on the gross wickedness of that nation, as the direct causes of their terrible destruction, is well worthy of the attention of all who shall be able to read and understand. And, since we are now coming to the catalogue of the Jewish high priests, it may not be amiss, with Ezekiel employed among them, to give a glance at his particular catalogue of the last twenty-eight high priests, taken out of Josephus, and begin with Ammius, who was made by Herod the Great. See Antiqu. book iv. sect. 4, and the note there.

1. Ammius.
2. Ammius, the son of Ammius.
3. Jesus, the son of Fabas.
4. Joses, the son of Fabas.
5. Simon, the son of Boethus.
6. Amsen, the son of Boethus.
7. Jesus, the son of Boethus.
8. John, the son of Boethus.
9. Jesus, the son of Boethus.
10. Joseph, the son of Fabas.
greatest security at the festivals after this time, and having weapons concealed in like manner as before, and mingling themselves among the multitude, they slew certain of their own enemies, and, though though they were not so many, and slew others, not only in remote parts of the city, but in the temple itself also; for they had the boldness to murder men there, without thinking of the impiety of which they were guilty. And this seems to me to have been the reason why God, out of his hatred of these men's wickedness, rejected our city, and as for the temple, he had destroyed it, as if sufficiently pure for him to inhabit therein, but brought the Romans upon us, and threw a fire upon the city to purify it, and brought upon us, our wives and children, slavery, as decrees to make us wiser by our calamities.

6. These works that were done by the robbers, filled the city with all sorts of impiety. And now these impostors* and deceivers persuaded the multitude to follow them into the wilderness, and pretended that they would exhibit manifest wonders and signs that should be performed by the providence of God. And many that were persuaded joined them, and, in order to oblige their followers, for Felix brought them back, and then punished them. Moreover, there came out of Egypt, about this time, to Jerusalem, one that was called Judas of the tribe of Abasa, and was the multitude of the common people to go along with him to the Mount of Olives, as it was called, which lay over against the city, and at the distance of five furlongs. He said further, that he would show them from thence, how, at his command, the walls of Jerusalem would fall down; and he promised them, that he would procure their enemies, the Romans, and the multitude that had marched through those walls, when they were fallen down. Now, when Felix was informed of these things, he ordered his soldiers to take their weapons, and came against the multitude and number of horsemen and footmen from Jerusalem, and attacked the Egyptians and the people that were with him. He also slew four hundred of them, and took two hundred alive. But the Egyptian himself escaped out of the fight, but did not appear any more. And again the robbers stirred up the people to make war with the Romans, and said, that they ought to pay them at all; and when any person would not comply with them, they set fire to their villages, and plundered them.

7. And now it was that a great sedition arose between the Jews and the Romans, and the Syrians who dwelt there also, concerning their equal right to the privileges belonging to citizens, for the Jews claimed the pre-eminence, because they were the first that resided in the land of Canaan, and because he was by birth a Jew. Now, the Jews did not deny what was alleged against Hrod; but they said, that Cæsarea was formerly called Strato's Tower, and that there was not one Jewish inhabitant. When the presidents of that country heard of these disorders, they caught the authors of them on both sides, and torned them with stripes, and by that means put a stop to the disturbance for a time. But the Jewish citizens, depending on their wealth, and on that account despising the Syrians, reproached them again, and hoped to provoke them by such reproaches. However, the Syrians, and the Jews, were both so accustomed to such reproaches, that the greatest part of the Roman soldiers that were there, were either of Cæsarea or Sebaste, they also for some time used reproachful language to the Jews also; and thus it was, till at length they came to throwing stones at one another, and several were wounded, and fell on both sides, though still the Jews were worsted. But when Felix heard that this quarrel was become a kind of war, he came upon them on the sudden, and desired the Jews to desist, and when they refused so to do, he armed his soldiers, and sent them out upon them, and slew many of them, and took more of them alive, permitted his soldiers to plunder some of the houses of the citizens, which were full of riches. Now those Jews that were more moderate, and of principal dignity among them, were afraid of themselves, and desired of Felix that he would sound a retreat to his soldiers, and promised for the future that they would have the same respect for repentance for what they had done; and Felix was prevailed upon to do so.

8. About this time king Agrippa gave the high priesthood to a Jew of Cæsarea. And now arose a sedition between the high priests and the principal men of the multitude of Jerusalem, each of whom got them a company of the boldest sort of men, and of those that loved innovations, about them, and became leaders to them; and when they struggled together, they did it by casting reproachful words one against another, and by throwing stones also. The Jews were nobody to reproach them; but these disorders were done after a licentious manner in the city, as if it had no government over it. And such was the impudence of the men that were thus seduced on the high priests, that they had the hardiness to send their servants into the thrashing-floors, to take away those tiles that were due to the priests; insomuch that it so fell out that the poorest sort of the priests died for want. To this degree did the violence of the seditious prevail over all right and justice!

9. Now, when Porcius Festus was sent as successor to Felix by Nero, the principal of the Jewish inhabitants of Cæsarea went up to Rome to accuse Felix; and he had certainly been brought to punishment, until Nero had sent the importunate solicitations of his brother Pallæus, who was at that time had in the greatest honour by him. Two of the principal Syrians in Cæsarea persuaded Barabbas, who was the interpreter, and secretary for his Greek epistles, by giving him a great sum of money, to dissuade that equality that the Jewish privileges of citizens which they hitherto enjoyed. So Barabbas, by his solicitations, obtained leave of the emperor that an epistle should be written to that purpose. This epistle became the occasion of the following miseries that befell our nation; for, when the Jews of Cæsarea were informed of the contents

As for Annas and Josephus Caiaphas, here mentioned about the middle of this catalogue, they are no other than those Annas and Caiaphas, so often mentioned in the former parts; and that Annas, the son of Nebedus, as that Josephus Caiaphas, the father of the high priest Caiaphas, has been already mentioned in the Act. xxiv.

* Of these Jewish impostors and false prophets, with many other circumstances and miseries of the Jews, till their utter destruction, foretold by our Saviour, see Lit. Account. of Prop. p. 392.

† Of this Egyptian impostor, and the number of his followers, see Acts xxi. 36.

‡ The wickedness was very peculiar and extraordinary, that the high priest should so oppress their brethren the priests, as to starve the poorest of them to death. See the like present, 1 Th. iv. 4 &c. Seek such cases of extreme cruelties and tyranny in the clergy, as well as in the laity, in all ages.
of the Jews, coming into Judea, it hap-
pved that Judea were affrighted by the robbers, while all the villages were set on fire, and plunder-
d by them. And then it was that the Sicarii, as they were called, who were robbers, grew more
courageous. They made use of small crowds, not much different in length from the Persian sci-
cens, but somewhat crooked, and like the Ro-
mans rise [or sicks], as they were called: and from these these robbers got their den-
nomination, and with those weapons they slew a great many; for they mingled themselves among the multitude at their festivals, when they were coming from the cities, or from the villages, or from the cities to the city, and worship God, as we said before, and easily slew those that they had a mind to slay. They also
came frequently upon the villages belonging to their enemies, with their weapons, and plundered
them, and set them on fire. So Festus sent forces, both horsemen and footmen, to fall upon
those that had been seduced by a certain im-
possible, who promised them deliverance and freedom from the miseries they were under, if they
would but follow him as far as the wilderness. Accordingly those forces that were sent destroy-
eg the villages and stone the inhabitants, and those
that were his followers also.
11. About the same time king Agrippa built himself a very large dining-room in the royal

temple, near to the portico. Now this palace had been erected of old by the chil-
dren of Asmoneus, and was situated upon an ele-
vation, and afforded a most delightful prospect on to the city, which passed by the manor;
and there he could lie down, and eat, and thence observe what was done in the temple; which
thing, when the king and the king of Jerusalem and some of his companions knew, they were very much displeased at it; for it was not agreeable to the institutions of our country or
laws, that what was done in the temple should be view by others, especially what belonged to
the sacrifices. They therefore erected a wall upon the uppermost building which belonged to
the inner court of the temple towards the west, which wall, when it was built, did not only inter-
cept the prospect of the dining-room in the palace, but also of the western cloisters that be-
longed to the outer court of the temple also, which place the king kept guards for the pre-
vent of the temple at the festivals. At these doings both king Agrippa, and principally Festus the pro-
curator, were much displeased; and Festus or-
ded, that unless they were taken down again; but when the Jews petitioned him to give them leave to send
an embassage about this matter to Nero; for they
said they could not endure to live, if any part of
the temple should be demolished; and when Festus
gave them permission to do so, they sent
seven of their principal men to Nero, as also Iasemal the high priest, and Helcias, the keeper of the
sacred treasure. And when Nero had heard what
they had to say, he not only forgave them what
they had already done, but also gave them leave to let the wall they had built stand. This
was granted them, in order to gratify Poppea, Nero's wife; and he also gave order to the ten embassad-
ors of Nero, who were chosen to give the word to the
people; but retained Helcias and Iasemal as hostages with himself. As soon as he did this, he gave this high priesthood to Joseph, who was called Cabi, the son of Simon, formerly high priest.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning Albinus, under whose Procuratorship James was slain: as also what Edifices were built by Agrippa.

§ 1. And now Caesar, upon hearing of the death of Festus, sent Albinus into Judea, as procur-
ator. But the king deprived Joseph of the high
priesthood, and bestowed the succession to that
dignity on the son of Ananus, who was also him-
selves called Ananus. Now the report goes, that this
elder Ananus proved a most fortunate man; for he
had free and open speech, and all performed the office of a high
priest to God, and he had himself enjoyed that
dignity formerly, a long time, which had never
happened to any other of our high priests. But
this was, as it were, the ruin of Ananus, who, as we
already said, took the high priesthood, was a bold
man in his temper, and very insolent; he was also of the sect of the Sadducees, who are very
rigid and strict in their religious duties. The Jews, as we have already observed: when, there-
fore, Ananus was of this disposition, he thought
he had now a proper opportunity to exercise his
authority, and so he caused Albinus to build a new
Temple, and Ananus was but upon the road; so he assembled the sanhedrin of judges, and brought before them the brother of Jesus, who was called Caris, whose name was James; and then said, in
some of his companions.] And when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers
of the law, he delivered them to be stoned; but as for those who seemed the most equable of
the citizens, and such as were the most uneasy at the breach of the laws, they disliked what was
done; they also sent to the king, [Agrippa, de-
siring him to send to Ananus that he should set no
more, for that what he had already done was not to be justified: say, some of them went also to
meet Albinus, as he was upon his journey from
Alexandria, to accuse him. But they were not lawful for Ananus to assemble a sanhedrin with-
out his consent. Whereupon Albinus complied with what they said, and wrote in anger to Annus,
that he must not send a high priest to Jerusalem, as if it were lawful; but that the high priest
was but upon the road; so he assembled the
sanhedrin of judges, and brought before them the
brother of Jesus, who was called Caris, whose name was James; and then said, in some of his compa-
nions.] And when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned; but as for those who seemed the most equable of the citizens, and such as were the most uneasy at the breach of the laws, they disliked what was done; they also sent to the king, [Agrippa, des-
siring him to send to Ananus that he should set no
more, for that what he had already done was not to be justified: say, some of them went also to
meet Albinus, as he was upon his journey from
Alexandria, to accuse him. But they were not lawful for Ananus to assemble a sanhedrin with-
out his consent. Whereupon Albinus complied with what they said, and wrote in anger to Ananus,
that he must not send a high priest to Jerusalem, as if it were lawful; but that the high

2. Now as soon as Albinus was come to the city of Jerusalem, he used all his endeavours and
care that the country might be kept in peace, and this by destroying many of the Sicarii. But
as for the high priest Annanias, he increased is

* We here have here one eminent example of Nero's mild-
ness and goodness in his government towards the Jews,
during the five first years of his reign, so famous in antici-
pated history; but justly not in Josephus, in Lucilius sect. 3; and a third, though of a very different nature,
here, in sect. 9, just before. However, both the generous
acts of kindness were obtained of Nero by his queen Pop-
pes, who was a religious lady, and perhaps privately a
Jewish proselyte, and so were not owing entirely to Ne-
ro; but they are mention'd here, as follows:

It here evidently appears, that Sadducees might be high priests in the days of Josephus, as these Sad-
duces are called, being the same that were cast out of the
mosaic, and their names are amongst the names of those who lived in the 9th in the catalogue, and who had been esteemed high
priest for a long time, and, besides Caipheus his two
brothers, had also a number of their names inscribed in the
mosaic, and others of those numbers 11, 13, 15, 17, 18, in the foregoing cata-
logue. Nor ought we to pass slightly over what Josephus
here mention's, as if he had no care to distinguish the times of that long time before his children were so; he was the son of Bith, and is set down first for high priest in the foregoing catalogue, under number 9. He was made by Quinctus
5. But when Albina heard that Gamaliel Florus was coming to succeed him, he was desirous to appear to do somewhat that might be grateful to the people of Jerusalem; so he brought out all those princes of the seed of priests who were most truly worthy of death, and ordained them to be put to death accordingly. But as to those who had been put into prison on some trifling occasions, he took money of them, and discharged them; by which means the prisons were emptied, but the country was filled with robbers.

6. Now, as many of the Levites, which is a tribe of ours, as were singers of hymns, persuaded the king to assemble a sanhedrim, and to give them leave to wear linen garments, as well as the priests; for they said, that this would be a work worthy the times of his government, that he might have a memorial of such a novelty, as being his doing. Nor did they fail of obtaining their desire; for the king, with the suffrages of those that came into the sanhedrim, granted the singers of hymns this privilege, that they may lay aside their former garments, and wear such a linen one as they desired; and as a part of this grace, he also permitted them to learn those hymns as they had besought him for. Now all this was contrary to the laws of our country, which, whenever they have been transgressed, have been made to avoid the punishment of such transgressions.

7. And now it was that the temple was finished. So when the people saw that the workmen were unemployed, they came together, with all the thousand, and that they, receiving no wages, were in want, because they had earned their bread by their labours about the temple, and while they were unnerving to lay up treasures that were there deposited, out of fear of [their being carried away by] the Romans; and while they had a regard to the making provision for the Bema, and to expend those treasures upon them; for if any one of them did but labour for a single hour, he received his pay immediately; so they persuaded him to rebuild the eastern cloisters. These cloisters belonged to the outer court, and were situated in a deep valley, and had walls that reached four hundred cubits in length, and were of square stone and very white stones, the length of which stones was twenty cubits, and their height six cubits. This was the work of king Solomon, who first of all built the entire temple. But the other cloisters of the temple committed to him by Claudius Caesar, considering that it is easy to demolish any building, but hard to build it up again, and that it was advantageous to the priests, which would require a considerable time and great sums of money, he denied the petitioners their request about that matter; but he did not obstruct them when they desired the city might be paved with white stone. He also ordained Jesus the son of Gamaliel of the high priesthood, and gave it to Matthias, the son of Theophilus, under whom the Jews' war with the Romans took its beginning.

CHAP. X.

An Enumeration of the High Priests.

§ 1. And now I think it proper and agreeable to this history, to give an account of our high priests; how they began, who those are which are capable of that dignity, and how many of them have been introduced into the sacred office, some through violence, and some through persuasion and consent; and how the honors and dignity of this high priesthood have been divided among some few select persons. And it is very observable that none of those that were high priests have been of the purest sect of the Pharisees. But I shall now consider the qualifications of the high priests, and the order of succession among the priests, which has been in the same temple since the times of the Patriarch, when they were led up into it; of which see ch. xxvii. sect. 1; and ch. ix. sect. 2.

1. Of this finishing, not of the Nessi, or holy house, but of the levitam, or course, about it, called in general the temple, see the notes at the end of ch. vii. and ch. viii. sect. 2.

2. Of these cloisters of Solomon, see the description of the temple, ch. xvi. They may, by Josephus's words, to have been built from the bottom of the valley.
ANTIOCHUDES OF THE JEWS.

...and when he was destroyed at a feast by the treachery of his son-in-law, his own son, whose name was Hyrcanus, succeeded him, after he had held the high priesthood one year longer than his brother. This Hyrcanus enjoyed that dignity seven years, and then was of the family of the Hasmonaei, and of the succession to Judas, who was also called Aristobulus, whose brother Alexander was his heir; which Judas died of a sore distemper, after he had sat but the single year, together with the royal authority, (for this Judas was the first that put on his head a diadem,) for one year. And when Alexander had been both king and high priest, and had reigned seven years, he died, and permitted his wife Alexandra to appoint him that should be high priest; so she gave the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, but retained the kingdom herself nine years, and then departed this life. The like duration [and no longer] did her son Hyrcanus enjoy the high priesthood; for after her death his brother Aristobulus fought against him, and beat him, and deprived him of his principality; and he did himself both reign, and perform the office of high priest to God. But when he had reigned three years and as many months, Pompeius took Jerusalem, and, by the city of Jerusalem by force, but put him and his children in bonds, and sent them to Rome. He also restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, which hurt and vexed him, but he forbade him to wear a diadem. This Hyrcanus, besides his first nine years, twenty-four years more, when Barzaphanues and Pascorus, the generals of the Parthian, had passed over Esphates, and fought with Hyrcanus, and took him alive, and made Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, king; and when he had reigned three years, three months, and five days, he besieged him, and took him, when Antony had brought him to Antioch, and slain them. Herod was then made king by the Romans, but did no longer appoint high priests out of the family of Asmonaeus; but made certain men to be so that were of no eminent families, but barely of those that were priests, excepting that he gave that dignity to Aristobulus; for when he had made this Aristobulus, the grandson of that Hyrcanus who was then taken by the Parthians, and had taken his sister Mariamme to wife, he thereby aimed to win the affection of the people who had a great remembrance of Hyrcanus [his grandfather]. Yet did he afterward, out of his fear lest they should all bend their inclinations to Aristobulus, Aristobulus, who had put him to flight by conquering Antiochus, and Lycas the general of his army, deprived Onias, who was also called Mânasus, of the high priesthood, and slew him at Beth-shean: the third, put Jâcimus into the place of the high priest, one that was indeed of the stock of Aaron, but not of the family of Onias. On which account, Onias, who was the nephew of Onias that was dead, and bore the same name with his father, came into Egypt, and got into the friendship of Ptolemy Philometer, and Cleopatra his wife, and persuaded them to take him the high priest of that temple which he built to God in the prefecture of Heliopolis, and this in imitation of that at Jerusalem; but as for that temple which was built in Egypt, we have spoken of it frequently already. Now, when Jâcimus had retained the high priesthood three years, he died, and there was no one that succeeded him, but the city continued seven years without a high priest; but then the posterity of the sons of Asmonaeus, who had the government of the nation conferred upon them, when they had beaten the Macedonians, and, as it were, appointed Jonathan to be their high priest, who ruled over them seven years. And when he had been slain by the treacherous emissaries of Tryphon, as we have related somewhere, Simon his brother took the high priest-
have composed this history with sufficient accuracy in all things. I have attempted to examine those high priests that we have had during the interval of the two thousand years since the death of Jesus, who carried down the succession of our kings, and related their actions, and political administration, without [considerable] errors, as also the power of our monarchs; and all according to what is written in our sacred books; for this it was that I promised to do in the beginning of this history. And I am so bold as to say, now I have so completely perfected the work I was proposed to, I will do, that no other person, whether he were a Jew or a foreigner, had he ever so great an inclination to it, could so accurately deliver these accounts to the Greeks as is done in these works. For those of my own nation freely acknowledges, that I far exceed them in the learning belonging to Jews; I have also taken a great deal of pains to obtain the learning of the Greeks, and understand the elements of the Greek language, although I have so long accustomed myself to speak our own tongue, that I cannot pronounce Greek with sufficient exactness; for the nation does not encourage those that learn the languages of many nations, and so adorn their discourses with the smoothness of their periods; because they look upon this sort of accomplishment as common, not only to all sorts of free men, but to as many of the servants as please to learn them. But they give him the testimony of being a wise man, who is fully acquainted with our laws, and is able to interpret their meaning; on which account, as there have been many who have done their endeavours with great patience to obtain this learning, there have yet barely been so many as two or three thousand. And if God permit me, I will briefly run over this war again, with what befell us therein to this very dry, which is the thirteenth year of the reign of Caesar Domitian, and the fifty-sixth year of my own life. I have also an intention to write three books concerning our Jewish opinions about God and his essence, and concerning our laws; why, according to them, some things are permitted us to do, and others are prohibited.

works, including himself as well as others, ever write such an abridgment, I am forced rather to suppose that he never did publish any such work at all. I mean as distinct from his own life, written by himself, for an Appendix to these Antiquities, and this at least seven years after those Antiquities were finished. Nor indeed does it appear to me, that Josephus ever published that other work he has mentioned, as intended by him for the public also. I mean the three or four books concerning God and his essence, and concerning the Jewish laws, and according to them some things were permitted the Jews, and others prohibited; which last seems to be the same work which Josephus had also promised, if God permitted, as the conclusion of his preface to these Antiquities; nor do I suppose that he ever published any of them. The death of all his friends at court, Vespasian and Domitian and the coming of those he had no acquaintance with to the crown, I mean Nero and Trajan, together with his removal from Rome to Judea, might have interfered with his abridgment, and he interrupted such his intentions, and prevent his publication of such works.
THE WARS OF THE JEWS;
OR, THE HISTORY OF THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

PREFACE.

1. Whereas the war which the Jews made with the Romans hath been the greatest of all those, not only that have been in our times, but, in a manner, of those that ever were heard of; both of those wherein cities have fought against cities, or nations against nations; while, in some places, the Romans were greatly suffering in the wars, or the might of the commanders; whose great labours about Jerusalem will be deemed inglorious, if what they achieved be reckoned but a small matter.

2. However, I will not go to the other extremes of opposition to those men who extol the Romans, nor will I determine to raise the actions of the Jews as not deserving of observation, but that those must appear to be great who have only conquered those that were little. Nor are they ashamed to overlook the length of the war, the number of the nations; while, in some, the Romans were greatly suffering in the wars, or the might of the commanders; whose great labours about Jerusalem will be deemed inglorious, if what they achieved be reckoned but a small matter.

3. Now at the time of this great confusion of affairs happened, the affairs of the Romans were themselves in great disorder. Those Jews also, who were for innovations, then arose when the times were disturbed; they were also in a flourishing condition for strength and riches, in such a manner that the affairs of the east were then exceedingly tumultuous, while some hoped for gain, and others were afraid of loss. In such trouble, and while the Jews hoped that all of their nation who were beyond Euphrates would have raised an insurrection together with them. The Gauls also, to the number of those of the Romans, were in motion, and the Celts were not quiet; but all was in disorder after the death of Nero. And the opportunity now offered induced many to aim at the kingdom; and the soldiers were eager to come out of the hopes of getting money. I thought it, therefore, an absurd thing to see the truth falsified in affairs of such great consequence and to take no notice of it; but to suffer those Greeks and Romans that were not in the wars to be ignorant of these things, and to read either histories or fictions, while the Parthians and the Babylonians, and those against Arabs, and those of our nation beyond Euphrates, with the Adiabeni, by my means, knew accurately both whence the war begun, what miseries it brought upon us, and what it ended.

4. It is true, those writers have the confidence to call their accounts histories, wherein yet they seem to me to fall of their own purpose, as well as to relate nothing that is sound. For they have a mind to demonstrate the greatness of the Romans, while they still diminish and lessen the actions of the Jews, as not deserving of observation, but that those must appear to be great who have only conquered those that were little. Nor are they ashamed to overlook the length of the war, the number of the nations; while, in some places, the Romans were greatly suffering in the wars, or the might of the commanders; whose great labours about Jerusalem will be deemed inglorious, if what they achieved be reckoned but a small matter.

5. However, I may justly blame the learned men among the Greeks, who, when such great actions have been done in their own times, which, upon the comparison, quite eclipsed the old wars, do yet assign judges of those affairs, and most bitter censures upon the labours of the best writers of antiquity; which moderns, although they may be superior to the old writers in eloquence, yet are they inferior to them in the exactness of what they intended to do. While these also write...

* I have already observed more than once, that this history of the Jewish war was Josephus's first work, and published about A. D. 75, when he was but 32 years of age; and a priest also, as was one who was first at war against the Romans myself, and was forced to be present at what was done afterward, [I am the author of this work.]

† Those Barbarians, remote from the sea, were, Josephus himself will inform us, sect. 2, v. the Parthians and Babylonians, and remote Arabs, and the Adiabeni and the Assyrians. According to him, those Parthians, and Babylonians, and remote Arabs, and the Adiabeni and the Assyrians, must have been added, and of the facts therein related, and honestly corrected the or...
new histories about the Assyrians and Medes; as if the ancient writers had not described their affairs, and by force and otherwise, although they be as far inferior to them in abilities, as they are different in their notions from them. For of old, every one took upon them to write what he could, and by the time of the immediate concern in the actions made their promises of value; and where it must be reproachful to write lies, when they must be known by the public. But then, an undertaking to preserve the memory of what hath not been before recorded, and to represent the affairs of one's own time to those that come afterward, is necessary in our commonwealth. Now, he is to be esteemed to have taken good pains in earnest, not who does no more than change the disposition and order of other men's works, but he, not only because many Jews before talked before, but composes an entire body of history of his own; accordingly, I have been at great charges, and have taken very great pains [about many] matters; how Herod also, for son of Antipater, did write this work, as a memorial of great actions, both to the Greeks and to the Barbarians. But, for some of our own principal men, their mouths were made open, and their tongues loosened presently, for me to hear, but quitted one up when they are to write history, where they must speak truth and gather facts together with a great deal of pains; and so they leave the writers for future times to write what state they are not acquainted with the actions of princes. Yet shall the real truth of historical facts be preferred by us, how much soever it be neglected among the Greek historians; among the Jews, because many Jews before have composed the histories of our ancestors very exactly; as have some of the Greeks done it also; and have translated our histories into their own tongue; and have not much mistaken the truth in their histories. But then, where the writers of these affairs, and our prophets leave off, hence shall I take my rise, and begin my labours. For the records of this war to me, which happened in my own time, I will go over very largely, and with all the diligence I am able; but for what preceded mine own age, that I have omitted. If I, therefore, shall relate how Antiochus, who was named Epiphanes, took Jerusalem by force, and held it three years and three months; and how Herod, for son of Antipater, dissolved their government, and brought Sosius upon them; as also how our people made a sedition upon Herod's death, while Augustus was the Roman emperor, and Quintillus Varus was in that country; and how the war broke out in the twelfth year of Nero, with what happened to Cestius; and what places the Jews assaulted in a hostile manner in the first sallies of the war. 8. As also, [I shall relate] how they built walls about the neighbouring cities; and how Nero, upon Cestius's defeat, was in fear of the entire enemy of war, and postponed the battle till Aspasia, he was general in this war; and how this Vespasian, with the elder of his sons, [Titus] made an expedition into the country of the Jews; what was the number of the Roman army, that be made use of; and how many of his auxiliaries were cut off in all Gallia; and how he took some of its cities entirely, and by force and otherwise, although he be as far inferior to them in abilities, as they are different in their notions from them.

9. After this, [I shall relate] how, when the Jews' affairs were become very bad, Nero died, and Vespasian, when he was going to attack Jerusalem, was taken ill, and died. And, besides this, I shall particularly go over what is peculiar to the country, the lakes and fountains that are in them, and what miseries and calamities have happened to every city as a punishment of God. But now, I shall commence the time, and set this all this with accuracy as I saw the things done, or suffered in them. For I shall not conceal any of the calamities I myself endured, since I shall relate them to such as know the truth of them.

10. Moreover, [I shall relate] how Titus marched out of Egypt into Judea the second time; as also how, and where, and how many forces he got together, and what stratagems he attempted and contrived; of the means of the seditious, at his coming; what attacks he made, and how many ramparts he cast up; of the three walls that compassed the city, and of their measures; of the strength of the city, and the structure of the temple, and holy house; and besides, the measures of those edifices, and of the altar, and all accurately determined. A description also of certain costly rites and festivals, and seven purifications of purity, and the sacred ministrations of the priests, with the garments of the priests, and of the high priests, and of the nature of the most holy places of the temple, without concealing any thing, or adding any thing to the known truth of things.

11. After this, I shall relate the barbarity of the tyrants toward the people of their nation, as well as the indulgence of the Romans in sparing foreigners; and how often Titus, out of his desire to preserve the city and the temple, invited the sedition to come to a conclusion, at his own expence, and without moderation. I shall also distinguish the sufferings of the people, and their calamities; how far they were afflicted by the sedition, and how far by the famine, and how they were taken, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were detained, and how they were det
WARS OF THE JEWS.

BOOK I.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SEVEN YEARS—FROM THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY ANTIQUOS, EPHPHANES, TO THE DEATH OF HEROD THE GREAT.

CHAP. I.

How the City of Jerusalem was taken, and the Temple pillaged [by Antiqous Ephphanes.] As also concerning the Actions of the Maccabees, Matthias, and Judas; and concerning the Death of Judas.

4. At the same time that Antiochus, who is called Ephphanes, had a quarrel with the sixth Ptolemy about his right to the whole country of Syria, a great sedition fell among the men of power in Judas; and they had a contention about the government; while each of those that were of dignity could not endure to be subject to their equals. However, Onias, one of the high priests, got the better, and cast the sons of Tobias out of the city; who fled to Antiochus and besought him to make use of them for his leaders, and to make an expedition into Judaea. The king being thereto disposed beforehand, complied with them, and sent the sons of Tobias with a small garrison, and took their city by force, and slew a great multitude of those that favoured Ptolemy; and sent out his soldiers to plunder them without mercy. He also spoiled the temple, and put a stop to the constant practice of offering a daily sacrifice of expiation for three years and six months. But Onias, the high priest, fled to Ptolemy, and received a body of troops from him, and marched into Jerusalem, where he built a city resembling Jerusalem, and a temple that was like its temple; concerning which we shall speak more in its proper place hereafter.

2. Now Antiochus was not satisfied either with his unexpected taking the city, or with his pillage, or with the great slaughter he had made there; but being overcome with his violent passions, and remembering what he had suffered during the siege, he compelled the Jews to dissolve the laws of their country, and to keep their meals in the temple, and to sacrifice swine's flesh upon the altar; against which they all opposed themselves, and the most approved among them were put to death. Bacchides also, who was sent out to the fortress, having these wicked commands, joined to his own natural barbarity, indulged all sorts of the extremest wickedness, and tormented the worthiest of the inhabitants, and menaced, and threatened the city every day with open destruction; till at length he provoked the poor sufferers, by the extremity of his wicked doings, to avenge themselves.

3. Accordingly, Matthias, the son of Asmoneas, one of the priests who lived in a village called Medin, armed himself, together with his own family, which had five of his own sons in it, and slew Bacchides with daggers; and thereupon, out of the fear of the many garrisons [of the enemy,] he fled to the mountains; and so many of the people followed him, that he was encouraged to come down from the mountains, and to give battle to Antiochus's generals, when he beat them, and drove them out of Judaea. So he came to the government by this his success, and became the prince of his own people, by their own free consent, and then died, leaving the government to Judas, his eldest son.

4. Now Judas, supposing that Antiochus would not lie still, gathered an army out of his own countrymen, and was the first that made a league of friendship with the Romans, and drove Ephphanes out of the country when he had made a second expedition into it, and this by giving him a great defeat there; and when he was enraged by this great success, he made an assault upon the garrison that was in the city, for it had not been cut off at Sitherto; so he ejected them out of the Upper City, and drove the soldiers into the Lower, which part of the city was called the Citadel. He then got the temple under his power, and cleansed the whole place, and walled it round about, and made new vessels for sacred ministrations, and brought them into the temple, because the former vessels had been profaned. He also built another altar, and began to offer the sacrifices and burn the incense, and when he had received its sacred constitution again, Antiochus died; whose son Antiochus succeeded him in the kingdom, and in his hatred to the Jews also.

5. So, after he had died, Antiochus, which was a small city, but at a place called Bethzacharia, where the passage was narrow, Judas met him with his army. However, before the forces joined battle, Judas's brother, Eleazar, in the Vanities of Helaopolis, where he built a city resembling Jerusalem, and a temple that was like its temple; concerning which we shall speak more in its proper place hereafter.

6. Now after the king was departed, Judas was not idle; for as many of his own nation came to him, so did he gather those that had escaped out of the battle together, and gave battle again to Antiochus's generals at a village called Felix, and so many of them as escaped, and were not sufficient to keep the place, but drew the rest of his army off, to take their winter quarters in Syria.

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I see little difference in the several accounts in Josephus of the Egyptian war; Onias, which his commentators, Onias, it seems, hoped to have made very like that at Jerusalem, and of
afterward that his brother John had a plot laid against him by Antiochus's party, and was slain by them.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Successors of Judas, who were Jonathan, Simon, and John Hyrcanus.

§ 1. When Jonathan, who was Judas's brother, succeeded him, he behaved himself with great circumspection in other respects, with relation to other people; and he refor- mered his authority by preserving his friendship with the Romans. He also made a league with An- tiochus the son. Yet was not all this sufficient for the tyrant Trypho, who was a guardian to Antiochus's son, laid a plot against him; and, besides that, endeavoured to take off his friends, and caugth Jonathan by a ruse, as he was supposed to be a sort of chief in an army which he had in his company, and put them in bonds, and then made an expedition against the Jews; but when he was afterward driven away by Sim- on, to one of the borders, and was again raged at his defeat, he put Jonathan to death.

2. However, Simon managed the public affairs after a courageous manner, and took Gazara, and Samaria, which was in the neighbourhood. He also got the garrison under, and demolished the citadel. He was afterward an auxiliary to Antiochus, against Trypho, whom he besieged, and he was a general in his expedi- tion against the Medes; yet could not he make the king satisfied of his ambition, though he had assisted him in killing Trypho; for it was not long ere Antiochus called Calabos a general, and sent him with a large army to lay waste Judea, and to subdue Simon; yet he, though he were now in years, conducted the war as if he were a much younger man. He also sent him with a strong army against Antiochus, while he took part of the army himself with him, and fell upon him from another quarter: he also laid a great many men in ambush in many places of the mountains, and he came upon them, and when he had been conqueror after so glorious a manner, he was made high priest, and also freed the Jews from the dominion of the Macedonians, and one hundred and seventy years of the empire of the Seleucids.

3. This Simon had also a plot laid against him, and was slain at a feast by his son-in-law Ptolemy, who was about the same time which in the city Jericho, that some persons to kill John, who was also called Hyrcanus. But when the young man was infor- med of their coming beforehand, he made many provisions for the safety of the city, and he had a very great confidence in the people there, both on ac- count of the memory of the glorious actions of his father, and of the hatred they could not bear to the injustice of Ptolemy. He also made an attempt to get into the city by another gate; but was repelled by the people, who had just then admitted Hyrcanus; so he retired pre- sumably, not to come by him as to the just affection (he had for his relations); for when Ptolemy was dis- proved, he brought forth his mother and his broth- ers, and slain not in the sight of every body's sight, and threatened, that unless he would go away immediately, he would throw them down headlong; at which sight Hyrcanus's commotion and concern were too hard for his anger. But his mother was not dis- mayed, neither at the stripes she received, nor at the death with which she was threatened; but strothed out her hands, and prayed that she might be moved with the injuries that she had suffer- ed to spare the wretch, since it was to her better to die by the means of Ptolemy than to live ever so long, provided he might be punished for the injuries he had done to their family. Now John's case was this; when he considered the course of his mother, and heard her entreaty, he set about his affairs, but when he heard the sight of the stripes, he grew fee- ble, and was entirely overcome by her affection. And as the siege was delayed by this means, the year of their captivity was every seventh year, as they do on every seventh day. On this year, therefore, Ptolemy was freed from being besieged, and slew the brethren of John, with the other towns in their neighbourhood, as also Shechem and Gerizim and besides these [he subdued] the nation of the Cuthheans, who dwelt round about that temple which was built in imitation of the temple at Jeru- salem; he also took a great many other cities of Judaea, with Adoreon and Marissa.

7. He also proceeded as far as Samaria, where recrimination was, which in the city Sebasti- on. But still he continued, and encompassed it all round with a wall, and set his son Aristobulus and Antio- chus over the siege; who pushed it on so hard, that a famine was so great, that they were forced to eat even the stones of the wall. But the young man also on this occasion, to come to their assistance; whereupon they got ready, and complied with their invitation, but was beaten by Aristo- bulus and Antiochus; and indeed he was pursued as far as Scythopolis by these brethren, and fled away from them, and returned back to Sa- maria, and sent the multitude again within the wall; and when they had taken the city, they de- molished it, and made slaves of its inhabitants. And, as they had still great success in their un- dertakings, they did not suffer their zeal to cool, but marched with an army as far as Scythopolis, and made an incursion upon it, and laid waste all the country that lay within Mount Carmel.

8. But then, these successes of John and of his sons were pursued, and occupied a se- dition in the country, and many there were who got together, and said that they should break out into open war, in which war they were son of the book here abridged by Josephus, or of the chronicles of this John Hyrcanus; then extant, assures us that he was called Hyrcanus, from his conquest of one of that race. See Antiqu. Rec. part i. p. 97. But of this younger Antiochus, see Daniel Abraham's note here.
trived the matter with those that plotted his ruin, for she persuaded those that were sent, to conceal the king's message; but to tell Antigonus how he was to be apparelled, leaving him, like a suit of armour made, with fine martial ornaments, in Galileæ; and because his present sickness hindered him from coming and seeing all that fasify, he very much desired to see him new apparelled in his armour; "because," (said he), "in a little time thou art going away from me." 

4. As soon as Antigonus heard this, the good temple kept his brother out, allowing him to suspect any harm from him, he came along with his armour on, to show it to his brother; but when he was going along that dark passage, which was called Strato's Tower, he was slain by the body guards, and became an eminent instance how calumnies destroys all good-will and natural affection, and how none of our good affections are strong enough to resist envy perpetually.

5. And truly any one would be surprised at Judas upon this occasion. He was of the sect of the Essenes, and had never failed or deceived men in his predictions before. Now, this man saw Antigonus as he was passing along by the temple, and cried out to his acquaintance, (they were not a few who attended upon him as his scholars), and said, "Now tell me, is it true that the Lord has set me to die now, since truth is dead before me, and somewhat that I have foretold hath proved false: for this Antigonus is this day alive, who ought to have died; and he has cause to be slain, according to that fatal decree, was Strato's Tower, which is at the distance of six hundred furlongs from this place; and yet four hours of his life remain, which event in time renders the prediction impossible to be fulfilled." And, when the old man had said this, he was deserted in his mind, and so continued. But, in a little time, the news came that Antigonus was slain in a subterraneous place, which was itself also called Strato's Tower, by the same name with that of Cesarea which lay by the sea-side, and this ambigidity it was which caused the prophet's disorder.

6. Hereupon Aristobulus repeated of the great crime he had been guilty of, and this gave occasion to the increase of his disturber. He also grew worse and worse, and his soul was constantly disturbed at the thoughts of what he had done, till his very bowels were torn to pieces by the inward anguish, so that he would vomit a great quantity of blood. And, as one of those servants that attended him carried out that blood, he, by some supernatural providence, slipped and fell, and so the blood which had been slain; and so he spilt some of thearer's blood upon the spots of the blood of him that had been murdered, which still appeared. Hereupon a lamentable cry arose among the spectators, as if the servant had spilled the blood on purpose in that place; and as the king heard that cry, he inquired what was the cause of it! and while nobody durst tell him, he pressed them so much the more to let him know what was the matter; so, at length, when he had threatened them, and forced them to speak out, they told him, whereupon he burst into tears, and groaned, and said, "So I perceive I am not like to escape the all-seeing eye of God, as to the great crimes I have committed; but the vengeance of the blood of my kinsmen pursues me hastily. Oh thou most impudent body! how long wilt thou retain a soul that ought to die on account of that punishment it ought to suffer for a mother and a brother thus cruelly slain! how long shall I suffer this drop by drop? let them take it all at once, and let their ghosts no longer be disappointed by a few parcels of my bowels offered to them." As he said he had said these words, he presently died, when he had reigned no longer than a year.
Yet did Alexander meet both those forces with one thousand horsemen, and eight thousand mercenaries that were on foot. He had also with him that part of the Jews which he had been the more to them, in great esteem, as loving a quiet life, without meddling with public affairs.

2. Now it happened that there was a battle between the Greeks and the Jews, which was with Dositheus, who had taken the city Ascalon. He indeed slew a great many of his enemies, but the victory rather inclined to Pilate. But when the Greeks, on the calumny that he was under arms, had divided his forces, the principal of the possessions of the Thracians, the son of Zeno. Whenceupon the Macedonians marched against him, and took what belonged to himself as well as the rest of the country, and came over into the ten thousand of the Jews. However, Alexander, discovering this blow, and turned his force towards the maritime parts, and took Raphia and Gaza, with Antipater, also, which was afterward called Agrippias by king Herod.

3. But when he had made slaves of the citizens of all these cities, the nation of the Jews made an insurrection against him at a festival, so that all was on fire. As theJews were generally begun, and it looked as if he should not be able to escape the plot they had laid for him, and had not foreign auxiliaries the Parthians and Cilicians, assisted him; for, as to the Syrians, he never admitted them among his mercenaries troops, on account of their innate enmity against the Jewish nation. And when he had slain more than six thousand of the rebels, he made his way to Antipatris, and when he had taken that country, together with the Galileans and Moabites, he enjoined them to pay him tribute, and returned to Ascalon; and as he had never seen of his great success, he took the fortress, and demolished it.

4. However, when he fought with Obodas, king of the Arabsians, who laid an ambush for him near Golan, and a plot against him, he lost his entire army, which was crowded together in a deep valley, and broken to pieces by the multitudes, and killed, and when he made his escape to Jericho, he provoked the multitude, who hated him before, to make an insurrection against him, and this on account of the greatness of his success. And he was thus ready for them, and in the several battles that were fought on both sides, he slew no fewer than fifty thousand of the Jews, in the face of the enemy. Yet he had no reason to rejoice in these victories, since he did but consume his own kingdom; till at length he fell off fighting, and endeavoured to come to a compact with them, with a view to the union. But this mutability and irregularity of his conduct made them hate him still more. And, when he asked them why they so hated him, and what he could do in order to appease them? they said, by killing himself; for that it would be then all they could do to be reconciled to him, who had done such tragic things to them, even when he was dead. And when Dositheus, who was called Eucerus, to assist them; and as he readily complied with their request, in hopes of great advantages, and came with his army, he made use of those with those auxiliary

* Josephus here calls this Antiochus the last of the Seleucids, although there remained still a shadow of another king of that family, Antiochus Eupator, or Commagenes.
greatest part of his army was destroyed, either in battle or by starvation, and the rest, who fled to the village of Cane, it happened that they were all consumed by want of necessaries, a few only excepted.

6. About this time it was that the people of Damascus, out of their hatred to Ptolemy, the son of Mesennes, invited Aratas [to take the government], and made him king of Cilicia. This man also made an expedition against Judaeas, and beat Alexander in battle; but afterwards retired by mutual agreement. But Alexander, when he had taken Pella, marched to Garasa again out of the covetous desire he had of Theodorus's possessions. And since he had built a triple wall about the garrison, he took the place by force. He also demolished Golan, and Seleucia, and what was called the valley of the Phobus; besides which, he took the strong fortress of Gamala, and stripped Demetrius, who was governor there, of what he had, on account of the many crimes laid to his charge, and then returned to Judaeas, after he had been three whole years in this expedition. And now he was kindly received of the nation, because of the good success he had. So, when he was at rest from war, he fell into dissipation and debauchery with a quartan ague, and supposed that by exercising himself again in martial affairs, he should get rid of this distemper; but, by making such expenses he was in fear of his health, and taxing his body to undergo greater hardships than it was able to bear, he brought himself to his end. He died, therefore, in the midst of his troubles, after he had reigned seven and twenty years.

CHAP. V.
Alexandria reigns nine Years, during which time the Pharisees were the real Rulers of the Nation.

§ 1. Now Alexander left the kingdom to Alexander his wife, and depopulated upon it that the Jews would not very readily submit to her, because she had been very averse to such cruelty as he had treated them with, and had opposed his violation of their laws, and had thereby got the good-will of the people. Nor was she mistaken as to his expectations; for this woman kept the dominion, by the opinion that the people had of her piety; for she chiefly studied the ancient laws of her country (and, I may say, these were most of the government that offended against their holy laws. And, as she had two sons by Alexander, she made Hyrcanus the elder high priest, and Flavius the son of his house, also on account of his inactive temper, which now disposed him to disturb the public. But she retained the younger, Aristobulus, with her, as a private person, by reason of the warmth of his temper.

2. And now the Pharisees joined themselves to her, to assist her in the government. They are a certain sect of the Jews that appear more religious than others, and seem to interpret the laws more accurately. Now, Alexander hearkened to them to an extraordinary degree, as being herself a woman of great piety towards God. But these Pharisees artfully instigated themselves into her favour by little and little, and became themselves the real administrators of the public affairs: they banished and reduced when they pleased; they bound and loosed [men] at their pleasure. And, to say all at once, they had the enjoyment of the royal authority, whilst the expenses and the difficulties of it belonged to Alexandria. She was a sagacious woman in her management of the government, and gave order to muster together in arms upon any occasion, a great body of foreign troops, till her own nation became not only powerful at home, but terrible abroad. And she governed other people, and the Pharisees governed her.

3. Accordingly they themselves slew Diogenes, a person of figure, and one that had been a friend to Alexander: and accused him as having assisted the king with his advice, for crucifying the eight hundred men [before mentioned]. By this means, the king ordered the body of Alexander to be publicly exposed to the sight of those who had irritated him against them. Now, she was so superstitious as to comply with their desires, accordingly they slew those they pleased themselves; but the principal of those that were in danger fled to Aristobulus, who persuaded his mother to spare the men on account of their dignity, but to expel them out of the city, unless she took them to be innocent so they were suffered to go unpunished, and were dispersed all over the country. But when Alexander sent out his army to Damascus, under presence of performing a great sacrifice in the city, she got possession of it; nor did it make any considerable resistance. She also prevailed with Tigranes, king of Armenia, who lay with his troops near Damascus, to give her body and forces, for fear of his enmity, to agree with her, on terms of peace, by agreements and presents, to go away. Accordingly, Tigranes soon arose from the siege, by reason of those domestic tumults which happened upon Hyrcanus's expedition into Idumaea.

4. In the meantime, Alexandria fell sick, and Aristobulus, her younger son, took hold of this opportunity with his dominions, of which he had a great many, who were all of them dependent on account of the warmth of their youth, and got possession of all the fortresses. He also used the sums of money he found in them, to get together a number of foreign mercenaries, and made himself king; and besides this, upon Hyrcanus's complaint to his mother, she compassionated his case, and put Aristobulus's wife and sons under restraint in Antonia, which was a fortress that joined to the north part of the temple. It was, as I have already said, of old called the Citadel; but afterward got the name of Antonia, when Antonius Caesar [formed it]. There were two cities, Sebastae and Agrippa, had their names changed, and these given them, from Sebastus and Agrippa. But Alexandria died before she could do much for her brother, after she had reigned nine years.

CHAP. VI.
When Hyrcanus, who was Alexandria's Heir, received his Father's Claim of the Crown; Armenia is made King, and afterward the same Hyrcanus, by the means of Antipater, is brought back by Aratas. At last Pompey is made the Arbitrator of the Dispute between the Brothers.

§ 1. No Hyrcanus was heir to the kingdom, and to him did his mother commit it before she died; but Aristobulus was superior to him in power and magnanimity; and when there was a battle between them, to decide the dispute about the kingdom, near Jericho, the greatest part deserted Hyrcanus, and went over to Aristobulus: but Hyrcanus, with those of his party who stood with him, fled to Antonia, and got into his power; he put her to death. Dean Aldrich supposes here that Strabo contradicts Josephus, which does not appear to me; but these things are not very well known by the Antiquities. B. xii. ch. vii. sect. 4, that Tigranes besieged her now in Ptolemais, and that he took the city, as the Antiquities. B. xii. ch. vii. 4, relates, that this Seleucus Cispatra was besieged by Tigranes, not in Ptolemais, as here, but that he had left Syria in Seleucia, a city in Mesopotamia; and makes, that when he had kept her awhile in
the hostages that might be for his preservation (as was the case with Herod the Great, who gave one of his own sons as a hostage); but they came to an agreement, before things should come to extremities, that Aristobulus should be king, and Hyrcanus should rule as his deputy and high priest, as being the king's brother. Hereupon they were reconciled to each other in the temple, and embraced one another in a very kind manner, while the people stood round them: they also changed their houses, while Aristobulus went to the royal palace, and Hyrcanus retired to the house of Aristobulus.

2. When Scæurus had heard that he was also there himself, and adorned himself after a manner the most agreeable to royalty that he was able. But he soon thought it beneath him to come in such an appearance. He was not endure to serve his own ends in a way so much more abject than he was used to, so he departed from Diospolis.

3. At this his behaviour Pompey had great indignation; Hyrcanus also and his friends made great intercession to Pompey; so he took not only his Roman forces, but many of his Syriac auxiliaries, and went against Scæurus, gave great commendations to Hyrcanus, and exhorted Aristobulus to receive him, and told him how becoming a thing it would be for him, who reigned so great a kingdom to afford an example to all kings and governors to set a just and honest example. Allowing that Hyrcanus was treated unjustly, by being deprived of that dominion which belonged to him by the prerogative of his name and the predilection of his inheritance, his inclination was to try his fortune in a battle, since he was called in such an imperious manner, rather than to comply with that call. However, he saw the multitudes were in great fear, and his friends exhorted him to consider what the power of the Romans was, and how it was irresistible; so he complied with their advice, and came down to Pompey; and when he had made a long apology for himself, and for the justness of his cause in taking the government, he returned to the fortress. And when his brother invited him to plead his cause, he came down and spoke about the justice of it, and then went away without any hindrance from Pompey: so he was between hope and fear. And when he came down it was to prevail with Pompey to allow him the government entirely; but when he was driven out to Armenia by Pompey the Great, when he fought against Tigranes: so Scæurus came to Damasus, which had been lately taken by Artabanus and Artaxias, and had made an agreement of peace, and, upon his hearing how the affairs of Judea stood, he made haste thither as to a certain booty.

4. As soon therefore as he was come into the country, he went to those that had been ambassadors from both the brothers, each of them desiring his assistance; but Aristobulus's three hundred talents had more weight with him than the justice of the cause; which aided him to make a treatie, and retired, and with the consent of both the government of Judæa, as was the case with Herod the Great, who gave one of his sons as a hostage; but they came to an agreement, before things should come to extremities, that Aristobulus should be king, and Hyrcanus should rule as his deputy and high priest, as being the king's brother. Hereupon they were reconciled to each other in the temple, and embraced one another in a very kind manner, while the people stood round them: they also changed their houses, while Aristobulus went to the royal palace, and Hyrcanus retired to the house of Aristobulus.

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also promised him money, and that he would deliver up both himself and the city into his disposal, and thereby mitigated the anger of Pompey. Yet did not he perform any of the conditions he had agreed to; for Aristobulus's party would not so much as admit that he was in the city, who was sent to receive the money that he had promised.

CHAP. VII.

How Pompey had the City of Jerusalem delivered up to him, but took the Temple [by force.]

How he set up the Image of Jupiter Italianus, on which he had his other Epitaphs in Judæa.

41. At this treatment Pompey was very angry, and took Aristobulus into custody. And when he was come to the city, he looked about where he might take his attack; for he saw the walls were so firm, that it would be hard to overcome them, and that the valley before the walls was terrible; and that the temple, which was within that valley, was compassed with a very strong wall, insomuch that if the city were taken, the temple would be a second place of refuge for the enemy to retire to.

But, desiring their sentence, a sedition arose among the people within the city: Aristobulus's party being willing to fight, and to set their king at liberty, while the party of Hyrcanus was for opening the gates to Pompey; and the dread people were in occasioned those last to be a very numerous party, when they looked upon the excellent order the Roman soldiers were in. So Aristobulus's party was worsted, and retired into the temple, and cut off the communication between the temple and the city, by breaking down the bridge that joined them, and prepared to make an opposition to the utmost; but as the others had received the Romans into the city, and had delivered up the palace to him, Pompey sent Piso, one of his generals, into the palace with an army, who distributed a garrison about the city, because he could not persuade any one of those that had fled to the temple to come to terms of accommodation; he then disposed all those that were round about them so as might favour their attacks, as having Hyrcanus's party very ready to afford them both counsel and assistance.

3. But Pompey himself filled up the ditch that was on the north side of the temple, and the entire valley also, the army itself being obliged to carry the materials for that purpose. And indeed it was a hard thing to fill up that valley, by reason of the height of its walls, especially as the Jews used all the means possible to repel them from their superior station; nor had the Romans succeeded in their endeavours, had not Pompey taken notice of the seventh day, on which the Jews abstain from all sorts of work on a religious account, and raised his bank, but restrained his soldiers from fighting on those days; for the Jews only acted defensively on Sabbath-days. But as soon as Pompey had filled up the valley, he erected high towers upon the bank, and brought those engines which they had fetched from the sea, and wall, and tried to batter it down, and the slingers of stones bent off those that stood above them, and drove them away; but the towers on this side of the city made very great resistance, and were indeed extraordinary both for largeness and magnificence.

4. Now here it was, that upon the many hardships which the Romans underwent, Pompey could not but admire, as also the fortitude and resolution of the Jews in this city. But he was also astonished at the sight of conquest, Hist. B. v. ch. 11; nor did he touch any of its riches, as has been observed on the parallel place of the Antiquities, B. vi. ch. 4. sect. 4; out of Ciceros himself

darts on all sides; for, as if the city were in full peace, they daily witnessed and partook of, and every branch of their religious worship, was still performed to God with the utmost exactness. Nor indeed, when the temple was actually taken, did they leave off the instances of their divine worship that were appointed by their law; for it was in the third month of the siege before the Romans could even with great difficulty overthrow one of the towers, and get into the temple. Now he that first of all ventured to get over the wall was Fanuus Cornelius, the son of Sylla; but after he were two, Furius and Fabius; and every one of these was followed by a cohort of his own, who encompassed the Jews on all sides, and slew some of them as they were running for shelter to the temple, and others as they, for a while, fought in their own defence.

5. And now did many of the priests, even when they saw their enemies assailing them with swords in their hands, without any disturbance, go on with their divine worship, and were slain while they were offering their drink-offerings, and in the midst of all they burnt their sacrifice, and maintained the duties about their worship to God, before their own preservation. The greatest part of them were slain by their own countrymen, of whom the common report was, that they had cast off the yoke of bondage, and threw themselves down precipices; and some there were who were so distracted among the insuperable difficulties they were under, that they killed one another, and fell upon the wall, and were burnt together with them. And now of the Jews were slain twelve thousand; but of the Romans very few were slain, but a great number were slain.

6. But there was nothing that affected the nation so much, in the calamities they were then under, as that their holy place, which had been hitherto seen by none, should be laid open to strangers; for Pompey," and those that were about him, went into the temple itself, whether it was not lawful for any to enter but the high priest, and saw what was reposed therein, the candlestick with its lamps, and the table, and the pouring vessels, and the censers, all made entirely of gold, as also, a great quantity of spices heaped together with the talmak and tetois of sacred smoke.

Yet did not he touch that which was any thing else that was there reposed; but he commanded the ministers about the temple, the very next day after he had taken it, to cleanse it, and change the vessels; and so the temple was cleansed. Moreover, he made Hyrcanus high priest, as one that not only in other respects had showed great alacrity on his side during the siege, but also had been the means of hindering that last assault that was in the country from fighting for Aristobulus, which they were otherwise very ready to have done; by which means he acted the part of a good general, and reconciled the people to him more by benevolence than by terror. Now, among the captives, Aristobulus's father-in-law was taken, who was as much admired as those that were near he was guilty he punished with decimation; but rewarded Faustus, and those with him that had fought so bravely, with glorious presents, and laid a tribute upon the country, and king himself.

7. He also took away from the nation all those cities they had formerly taken, and that belonged to Cophæa, and made them subject to him last was at that time appointed to be a consul under that; and reduced Jaddua within its proper bounds. He also rebuilt Gadara, that had been demolished by the Jews, in order to gratify the coast of the Gadara still extant, with its date from this era. It is certain evidences of its rebuilding by Pompey, as Stephanus here assures us.
one Destries, who was of Gadara, and was one of his own freed-men. He also made other cities free from their dominion, that lay in the midst of the sea, and had not been demolished before that time, Hippo, and Sicytopolitis, as also Pella, and Samaria, and Marsias; and besides these, Ashdod, and Jamnia, and Arethusa, and all that was within the maritime cities, Gaza, and Joppa, and Dora, and that which was anciently called Strato's Tower; but was afterward rebuilt with the most magnificent offices, and had its name changed to Caesarea by king Herod. All which he restored to their own citizens, and put them under the province of Syria; which province, together with Judea, and all the country that lay between Egypt and Ethiopia, he committed to Scæurus as his governor, and gave him two legions to support him; while he made all the haste he could himself to get away; but the younger, Antigonus, with his sisters, were carried to Rome.

CHAP. VIII.

Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, who ran away from Pompey, makes an expedition against Syria; but being overcome by Scæurus, he delivers up the Fortresses to him. After this Aristobulus escapes from Rome, and gathers an Army together; but being beset by the Romans, he is brought back to Rome; with other things relating to Gabinius, Cressus, and Cassius.

1. In the mean time, Scæurus made an expedition into Arabia, but was stopped by the difficulty of the places about Petra. However, he laid waste the country about Pella, though even there, he was not without some assistance, and was thus well supplied with corn, which the army was afflicted with famine. In order to supply which want, Hyrcanus afforded him some assistance, and sent him provisions by the means of Antipater; whom also Scæurus sent to Arretas, as one well acquainted with him, to induce him to pay him money to buy his peace. The king of Arabia, compiled with the proposal, and gave him five hundred talents, and the fourth to Jeroboam, the fifth to which Scæurus drew his army out of Arabia.

2. But as for Alexander, that son of Aristobulus who ran away from Pompey, in some time he got a considerable body of men together, and lay heavy upon Hyrcanus, and overran Judea, and was likely to overturn him quickly; and indeed he had come to Jerusalem, and had ventured to retailer the country there both by Pompey, had not Gabinius, who was sent as successor to Scæurus into Syria, showed his bravery, as in many other points, so in making an expedition against Alexander; so that he was as well furnished as he would attack him, as he got together a large army, composed of ten thousand armed footmen, and fifteen hundred horsemen. He also built walls about proper places, Alexandria, and Hyrcanus, and Macherus, that lay upon the mountains of Arabia.

3. However, Gabinius sent before him Marcus Antonius, and followed himself with his whole army; but for the select body of soldiers that were about Antipater, and another body of Jews under the command of Malchus and Pitikeus, those joined themselves to those captains that were about Marcus Antonius, and met Alexander; to which body came Gabinius with his main army soon afterward, and as Alexander was not able to sustain the charge of the enemies' forces, now they were joined, he retired. But when he was come near to Jerusalem, he was forced to fight, and lost six thousand men in the battle, of whom three thousand fell down dead, and three thousand were taken alive; so he fled with the remainder to Alexandria.

4. Now, when Gabinius was come to Alexandria, because he had found a great many there encamped, he tried, by promising them pardon for their former offences, to induce them to come over to him, before it came to a fight; but when they would hear nothing to terms of accommodation, he slew a great number of them, and thus made up a great number of them in the citadel. Now Marcus Antonius, their leader, signified himself in this battle, who, as he always showed great courage, so did he never show it so much as now; but Gabinius, leaving forces to take the citadel, went away himself, and settled the cities that had not been demolished, and rebuilt those that had been destroyed. Accordingly, upon his injunction, the following cities were restored: Sicytopolitis, Samaria, Antebos, Apol- lonis, Jamnia, Raphia, Marissa, Adoreus, Umeza, Ashdod, and many others; while the greatest number of men readily ran to each of them, and became their inhabitants.

5. When Gabinius had taken care of these cities, he returned to Alexandria, and prosecuted on the siege. So when Alexander despaired of ever obtaining the government, he sent ambassadors to him, and prayed him to forgive what he had offended him in, and gave up to him the remaining fortresses, Hyrcanus and Macherus, as he put Alexandria into his hands afterward: all which Gabinius demolished, at the persuasion of Alexander's mother, that they might not receive recompenses of men in a second war. She was now there in order to mollify Gabinius, out of her concern for her relations that were captives at Rome, which were husband and her other children. After this Gabinius brought Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, and committed the care of the temple to him; but ordained the other political government to be by an aristocracy. He also parted the whole nation into five convents, as signing one portion to Jerusalem, another to Gadara, that another, should belong to Amathus, a third to two thirds of the whole, assigned to the fifth. So the people were glad to be thus freed from monarchial government, and were governed for the future by an aristocracy.

6. Yet did Aristobulus afford another foundation for new disturbances. He fled away from Rome, and got together again many of the Jews that were deserters from Pompey. When he had borne an affection to him of old; and when he had taken Alexander in the first place, he attempted to build a wall about it; but as soon as Gabinius had sent an army against him under Sisenna, Antonius, and Servilis, he was aware of it, and retreated to Macherus. And as for the unhappy pitifulness, they dismissed them, and only marched on with those that were armed, being to the number of eight thousand, among them who was Pitholeus, who had been the lieutenant at Jerusalem, but deserted to Aristobulus with a thousand of his men: so the Romans followed him, and when it came to a battle, Aristobulus took the men's rank for a long time fought courageously: but at length they were overborne by the Romans, and of them five thousand fell down dead, and about two thousand fled to a certain little hill, but the thousand that remained with Aristobulus broke through the Roman army, and marched together to Macherus; and, when the

* Take the like attention to the truth of the substitu-
tions of these men, such as we have found them gen-
eral, in the words of Dean Aldrich. * Hence,* says he, * is derived that old and famous Derisarius belonging to the Roman senators, (represented in Herodotus's edition,)
king had lodged the first night upon its ruins, he was in hopes of raising another army. If the war would but cease a while; accordingly, he fortified that strong hold, though it were done after a poor manner. But, the Romans falling upon him, he was overtaken, driven beyond his abidings, for two days, and then was taken, and brought a prisoner to Gabinius, with Antigonus his son, who had fled away together with him from Rome, and from Gabinius he was carried to Rome again. Wherefore the senate put him under confinement, but returned his children back to Judea, because Gabinius informed them by letters, that he had promised the Parthians a position to sit for her delivering the fortresses up to him.

7. But now, as Gabinius was marching to the war against the Parthians, he was hindered by Ptolemy, whom, upon his return from Ephesrates, he brought back into Egypt, making use of Hyrcanus and Antipater to provide every thing that was necessary for this expedition; for Antipater furnished him with moneys, and weapons, and corn, and auxiliaries; he also prevailed with the Jews that were there, and guarded the avenues at Pelusium, to let them pass. But now, upon hearing of the other part of Syria was in motion, and Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, brought the Jews to revolt again. Accordingly, he got together a very great army, and set about killing those that were in the cities. Hereupon Gabinius was afraid, (for he was come back already out of Egypt, and obliged to come back quickly by these tumults,) and sent Antipater, who prevailed with some of the revolters to be quiet. However, thirty thousand still continued with Alexander, who was himself eager to fight also; accordingly, Gabinius went out to fight with him; but when he saw that this band was defeated, Gabinius put up Mount Tabor, ten thousand of them were slain, and the rest of the multitude dispersed themselves, and fled away. So Gabinius came to Jerusalem, and settled the government as Antipater would have it; thence he marched, and fought and beat the Nabateans. As for the Mithridates and Oranes, who fled out of Parthia, he sent them away privately, but gave him out among the soldiers that they had run away.

8. In the meantime, Crassus came as successor to Gabinius in Syria. He took away all the rest of the troops to the camp of Antipater, in order to furnish himself for his expedition against the Parthians. He also took away the two thousand talents which Pompey had not brought away when he had sailed over from Ephesrates, he perished himself, and his army with him; concerning which affairs this is not a proper time to speak [more largely].

9. Thus was, after Crassus, a stop to the Parthians, who were marching in order to enter Syria. Cassius had fled into that province, and when he had taken possession of the same, he made a hasty march into Judea; and, upon his taking Tarichee, he carried thirty thousand Jews into slavery. He also slew Pithoalus, who had supported the seditious followers of Aristobulus and it was Antipater who advised him so to do. Now this Antipater married a wife of an eminent family among the Arabians, whose name was Cypros, and had four sons born to him by her, Phanaseus and Herod, who was afterward king, and, besides these, Joseph and Pheroras; and he had a daughter whose name was Salome. Now, as he made himself friends among the men of power every where, by the kind offices he did them, and the hospitable manner that he treated them; so did he contract the greatest friendship with the king of Arabia, by marrying his relation; and when he made war with Aristobulus, he sent and intrusted his children with him. So, when Cassius had forced Alexander to come to terms and to be quiet, he returned to Ephesrates, in order to prevent the Parthians from repassing it; concerning which matter we shall speak elsewhere.

CHAPTER IX.

Aristobulus is taken off by Pompey's friends, as in his son Alexander by Scipio. Antipater cultivates a correspondence with Csesar; Pompey's Death; he also performs great Actions in that War, wherein he assisted Mithridates.

§ 1. Now, upon the flight of Pompey, and at the senate, beyond the Ionian Sea, Caesar got Rome and the empire under his power, and released Aristobulus from his bonds. He also committed two legions to him, and sent him in haste into Syria, as hoping that by his means he should easily conquer that country, and the gaining joining to Judea. But envy prevented any effect of Aristobulus's alacrity, and the hopes of Caesar; for he was taken off by poison given him by those of Pompey's party, and, for a long while, he had not so much as a burial vouchsafed him in his own country; but his dead body lay [above ground,] preserved in honey, until it was sent to the Jews by Antony, in order to be buried in the royal sepulchre.

2. His son Alexander also was beheaded by Scipio at Antioch, and that by the command of Pompey, and upon an accusation laid against him before the senate, who had done to the Romans. But Ptolemy the son of Ptolemy, who was then ruler of Chalec on Lebra, took his brethren to him, by sending him Philadelphia for them to Alex and, as also Erigonas, as well as his sisters, away from Aristobulus's wife, and brought them to his father; and falling in love with the younger daughter, he married her, and, as also his father, on her account; for Ptolemy himself, after he had slain his son, married her, whose name was Alexander; on account of which marriage, he took the greater care of her brother and remaining.

3. Now, after Pompey was dead, Antipater changed sides, and cultivated a friendship with Caesar. And, since Mithridates of Pergamus, with the forces he led against Egypt, was excluded from the avenues about Pelusium, and was forced to stay at Ascalon, he persuaded the Arabsians, whom among whom he had lived, to assist him, and sent to him, at the head of three thousand armed men. He also encouraged the men of power in Syria to come to his assistance, as also of the inhabitants of Lebra, Ptolemy and Mithridates of Chalec on by which means the cities of that country came readily into this war; insomuch that Mithridates ventured now, in dependence upon the additional strength of those three thousand men, to march forward to Pelusium; and when they refused him a passage through it, he besieged the city: in the attack of which place, Antipater principally signalized himself; for he brought down that part of the wall which was over against him, and leaped first of all into the city, with the men that were about him.

4. Thus was Pelusium taken. But still, as they were marching on, those Egyptian Jews that inhabited the country, called the country of Chalec on, stopped them. Then did Antipater not only persuade them not to stop them, but to afford provisions for their army; on which account even the people about Memphis would not fight against them, but of their own accord joined Mithridates. Whereupon he went round about Delta, and fought the rest of the Egyptians at a place called the Jews' Camp: nay, when he was in danger in the battle with all his right wing, Antipater wheeled about, and threw the right wing of the river to him: for he had beaten those that opposed him as he led the left wing. After which success he fell upon those that pursued Mithridates.
authority he pleased; but he left the determination of such dignity to him that bestowed the dignity upon him; so he was constituted procurator of all Judea, to have, manage, to rebuild those walls of his country that had been thrown down." These honorary grants Caesar sent orders to have engraved in the Capitol, that they might stand there as testimonies of his own justice, and of the virtue of Antipater.

4. But as soon as Antipater had conducted Caesar out of Syria, he returned to Judea, and was the first thing he did was to swear, before his own country, [Jerusalem,] which Pompey had overthrown, and then to go over the country, and to quiet the tumults that were therein, where he partly threatened, and partly advised every one, and told them, that, "in case they would submit to Hyrcanus, they would live happily and peaceably, and enjoy what they possessed, and that with universal peace and quietness; but that, in case they hearkened to such as had some frigid hopes, by raising new troubles, to get themselves some gain, they should then find him to be their lord instead of their procurator; and find Hyrcanus to be a tyrant instead of a king; and both the Romans and Caesar to be their enemies, instead of rulers; for that they would accustom him to be as entirely judged by the government, whom they had made their governor." And, at the same time that he said this, he settled the affairs of the country by himself, because he saw the Hyrcanians sufficiently equipped and not fit to manage the affairs of the kingdom. So he constituted his eldest son, Phasaelus, governor of Jerusalem, and of the parts about it; and the next son, he also sent his, who was very young, with equal authority into Galilee.

5. Now Herod was an active man, and soon found proper materials for his active spirit to work upon. As the Pharisees, the head of the robbers, ran over the neighboring parts of Syria with a great band of men, he caught him and slew him, and many more of the robbers with him; which exploit was chiefly grateful to the Syrians, insomuch that hymns were sung in Herod's commendation, both in the cities and in the villages, as having preserved what they possessed to them; on which occasion he became acquainted with Sextus Caesar, a kinsman of the great Caesar, and president of Syria. A just emulation of his glorious actions, Phasaelus also to imitate him. Accordingly, he procured the good-will of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, by his own management of the city affairs, and did not put himself in public views in an agreeable manner; whence it came to pass, that the nation paid Antipater the respects that were due only to a king, and the honors they all yielded him were equal to the honors due to an absolute lord; yet did he not abate any part of that good-will or fidelity which he owed to Hyrcanus.

6. However, it found impossible to escape envy in such his prosperity; for the glory of these young men affected even Hyrcanus himself already privately, though he said nothing of it to any body: but what he principally was grieved at, was the great actions of Herod, and that so many messengers came one before another, and informed him of the great reputation he got in all his undertakings. There were also many people in the royal palace itself who inflamed his envy at him: those I mean, who were obstructed in their designs by the prudence either of the young men or of Antipater. These men said, that by committing the public affairs to the sister: although he afterward made a cipher of Hyrcanus, he had given great occasion of behavior to his own authority to himself.

* What is here noted by Hause and Splanhelm, that Herod, in his desire of governing public affairs, was not so much because he was in want of it, but because, if he could once obtain the same, he might stir up sedition among the Jews, and use what they should gain from the Romans, to the disservise of those that gave it him."
management of Antipater and his son, he sat down with nothing but the bare name of a king, without any of its authority; and they asked him how long he would so far mistake himself, as to breathe the air of any sort of authority in the name of a king, as he was then. And therefore that they did not now conceal their government of affairs any longer, but were plainly lords of the nation, and had thrust him out of his authority; and that his case was the case when Herod slew so many men without his giving him any command to do it, either by word of mouth, or by his letter, and this in contradiction to the law of the Jews; who, to this very moment, maintain he is no king, but a private man, still ought to come to his trial, and answer it to him, and to the laws of his country, which do not permit any one to be killed, till he hath been condemned in judgment.

7. Now Hyrcanus was by degrees inflamed with these discourses, and at length could bear no longer, but summoned Herod to take his trial. Accordingly, by his father's advice, and as soon as the affairs of Galilee would give him leave, he came up [to Jerusalem] when he had first planted garrisons in Galilee; however, he came with a small condition, so many, indeed, that he might not appear to have with him an army able to overthrow Hyrcanus's government, nor yet so few as to expose him to the insults of those few. However, Sextus Caesar was in fear for the young man, lest he should be taken by his enemies, and brought to punishment, so he sent some to denote expressly to Hyrcanus, that he should acquit him of the capital chargers against him; who acquitted him accordingly, as being otherwise inclined also so to do, for he loved Herod.

8. But Herod, supposing that he had escaped punishment without the consent of the king, retired to Sextus, to Damascus, and got every thing ready, in order not to obey him, if he should summon him back, as he was afraid those that were before disposed irritated Hyrcanus, and told him, that Herod was gone away in anger, and was prepared to make war upon him; and as the king believed what they said, he knew not what to do, since he saw that his antagonist was stronger than he himself. And now, since Herod was made general of Cæsarea and Samaria by Sextus, a man not to be despised, not only from the good-will which the nation bore him, but by the power he himself had; insomuch, that Hyrcanus fell into the utmost degree of terror, and expected he should presently march against him with his army.

9. Nor was he mistaken in the conjecture the he made, for Herod got his army together, out of the country, and sent him back for his threatening him with the accusation in a public court, and led it to Jerusalem, in order to throw Hyrcanus down from his kingdom: and this he had soon done, unless his father and brother had gone out together, and broken the force of his fury, and this by exhorting him to carry his revenge no farther than to threatening and affrighting, but to spare the king, under whom he had been advanced to such a degree of power; and that he ought not to be so much provoked at his being tried, as to forget to be thankful that he was acquitted; nor so long to think upon what was of a melancholy nature, as to be ungrateful for his deliverance; and if we ought to reckon that God is the arbiter of success in war, an unjust cause is more disadvantage than an army, can be of advantage; and that therefore he ought not to be entirely confident of success in a case, where he is to fight against his king, his supporter, and one that had often been his benefactor, and that had never been severe to him for any such purpose, lest his own interest; and therefore they did not now conceal their government of affairs any longer, but were plainly lords of the nation, and had thrust him out of his authority; and that his case was the case when Herod slew so many men without his giving him any command to do it, either by word of mouth, or by his letter, and this in contradiction to the law of the Jews; who, to this very moment, maintain he is no king, but a private man, still ought to come to his trial, and answer it to him, and to the laws of his country, which do not permit any one to be killed, till he hath been condemned in judgment.

10. In the mean time, there was a disturbance in the war occasioned by the treacherous slaughter of Sextus Caesar, by Cicilius Basanus, which he perpetrated out of his good-will to Pompey; he also took the authority over his forces: but as the rest of Caesar's commanders attacked Basanus with their whole army, in order to punish him for the murder of Caesar; Antipater also sent them assistance by his sons, both on account of him that was murdered, and on account of that Caesar who was still alive, both of whom were their friends: and as this war grew to be of a considerable length, Marcus came from Italy as successor to Sextus.

CHAP. XI.

Herod is made Procurator of all Syria: Malichus is afraid of him, and takes Antipater of by Poison; whereason the Tribunes of the Ides of March prevailed with him to be slain.

§ 1. There was at this time a mighty war raised among the Romans, upon the sudden and treacherous slaughter of Caesar by Cassius and Brutus, after he had held the government for three years, and many months. Upon them there were very great agitations, and the great men were mightily at difference one with another, and every one betook himself to that party which they thought would be the more able for the time, when they were about to be finally engaged with themselves. Accordingly, Cassius came into Syria, in order to receive the forces that were at Apamia, where he procured a reconciliation between Cassius and Marcus, and the legions which were at difference with him; so he raised the siege of Apamia, and took upon him the command of the army, and went about exacting tribute. But Herod, being not only such a degree as they were not able to bear.

2. So he gave command that the Jews should bring in seven hundred talents; whereupon Antipater of his dread of Cassius's threats, parted the raising of this sum among his sons, and among others of his acquaintance, and to be done immediately, and among them he required that it should be made ready for his part also, which necessity forced him to do. Now Herod, in the first place, mitigated the passion of Cassius, by bringing his share out of Galilee, which was a hundred talents, on which account he was in the highest favour with him, and when he reproached the rest for being tardy, he was angry at the cities themselves; so he made slaves of Gophna and Eumenes, and two others of less note; and he proceeded as if he would kill Malichus, because he had not made greater haste in exacting his tribute, but Antipater prevented the ruin of this man, and of the other cities, and got into Cassius's favour, by bringing in a hundred talents immediately.

3. However, when Cassius was gone, Malichus forgot the kindness that Antipater had done him, and laid frequent plots against him that had been condemned in judgment.

1 Many writers of the Roman history give an account of the murder of Sextus Caesar, and of the war at Apamia, upon that occasion. They are cited in Deo Aelidrio's note to this place.

2 In the Antiquities, B. xiv. ch. x. sect. 1, the duration of the reign of Julius Caesar is 3 years 4 months, but here it is 3 years 6 months. However, Deo Aelidri's note to this place, and the Armenian, says 3 years 6 months. It is probably the real dates are 3 years and between 6 and 7 months.
saved him, as making haste to get him out of the way, who was an obstacle to his wicked designs; but his doom was the effect of the power and cunning of the man, that he went beyond Jordan, in order to get an army to guard himself against his treacherous designs; but when he perceived that shame was the only thing that could induce him to put Antipater’s sons by his impudence; for he thoroughly detested Phasaelus, who was the guardian of Jerusalem, and Herod, who was instructed with the weapons of war, and this by a great many excesses and oaths, and persuaded them to procure his reconciliation to their father. Thus was he preserved again by Antipater, who dissuaded him from this, and said against the rest of Syria, that from his resolution of killing Malichus on account of his attempts for innovation.

4. Upon the war between Cassius and Brutus, on one side, against the younger Caesar [Augustus] and Antony, on the other, Cassius and Marcus got together an army out of Syria; and because Herod was likely to have a great share in procuring necessaries, they then made him a procurator of all Syria, and gave him an army of foot and horse. Cassius promised him also, that after the war was over, he would make him king of the Jews, for the power of Cassius, and the hopes of his son became the cause of his perdition; for as Malichus was afraid of this, he corrupted one of the king’s cupbearers with two hundred talents, that he might be killed; he could not prevent it, so he became a sacrifice to Malichus’s wickedness, and died at a feast. He was a man in other respects active in the management of affairs, and assisted the government to Hyrcanus, and preserved it in his hands.

5. However, Malichus, when he was suspected of poisoning Antipater, and when the multitude were弟兄 with him for it, denied it, and made the people believe he was not guilty. He also prepared to make a great figure, and raised soldiers; for he did not suppose that Herod would be quiet, who indeed came upon him with an army presently, in order to revenge his father’s death; but upon hearing the advice of his brother, Phasaelus, not to punish him in an open manner, lest the multitude should fall into a sedition, he admitted of Malichus’s apology, and professed that he cleared him of the suspicion; he also made a pompous funeral for his father. 5. So Herod returned to Jerusalem, but he met with a tumult, and settled the city in peace after which, at the [Pentecostal] festival, he returned to Jerusalem, having armed his men with him; whereasupon Hyrcanus, at the request of Malichus, warned Herod, in order to introduce foreigners to mix themselves with the people of the country, while they were purifying themselves; but Herod despised the pretext, and him by force, gave that command, and came in by might. Upon which Malichus came to him, and bewailed Antipater; Herod also made him believe he admitted of his lamentations as real, and although he had much ado to restrain his passion at him; however, he did himself bewail the murder of his father, in letters to Cassius, who, on other accounts, also hated Malichus; Cassius answered, that he had ordered the body of the father’s death upon him, and privately gave orders to the tribunes that were under him, that they should assist Herod in a righteous action he had begun.

7. And because, upon the taking of Laodicea by Cassius, the men of power were gathered together from all quarters, with presents and crowns and in order to withdraw his son privately from among the Tyrians, who was a hostage there, while he got ready to fly away into Judea; the despair he was in of escaping excited him to think of greater things; so he rose up, and showed the nation to a revolt from the Romans, while Cassius was busy about the war against Antony, and that he should easily depose Hyrcanus, and get the crown for himself.

8. But fate laughed at the hopes he had; for Herod foresaw what he was so zealous about, and invited both Hyrcanus and him to supper; but calling one of the principal servants that stood by him, to him, he sent him out, as though it were to get things ready for supper, but in reality to give notice beforehand, about the plot that was then to be executed. Cassius, on the other hand, kept in mind what orders Cassius had given them, went out of the city with their swords in their hands upon the seashore, where they encompassed and surrounded Malichus, and killed him with many wounds. Upon which Hyrcanus was immediately aitghtened, till he swooned away, and fell down, at the surprise he was in; and it was with difficulty that he was recovered, when he was asked who it was that had killed Malichus? and when one of the tribunes replied that it was done by the command of Cassius, “Then, said Cassius, let him be cut down by cutting off one that was laying plots against them both.” Whether he spoke according to his own sentiments, or whether his fear was such, he is not safe to say; he was eternally reproved by saying so, is uncertain; however, by this method Herod inflicted punishment upon Malichus.

CHAP. XII.

Phasaelus is too hard for Felix; Herod also overcomes Antigonus in battle; and the Jews accuse both Herod and Phasaelus, but Antony acquits them, and makes them Tetrarchs.

§ 1. When Cassius was gone out of Syria, another sedition arose at Jerusalem, wherein Felix assaulted Phasaelus with an army, that he might avenge the death of Malichus upon Herod, by falling upon his brother. Now Herod happened then to be with Fabius, the governor of Damascus, and as he was going to his brother’s assistance, he was detained by sickness; in the meantime, Phasaelus was by himself too hard for Felix, and reproached Hyrcanus on account of his ingratitude, both for what he had afforded Malichus, and for overlooking Malichus’s brother, when he possessed himself of the forresses; for he had gotten a great many of them already, and among them the strongest of them all, Malichus.

2. However, nothing could be sufficient for him against the forces of Herod, who, as soon as he was recovered, took the other forresses again, and drove him out of Damascus in the posture of a suppliant; he also drove away Maron, the tyrant of the Tyrians, out of Galilee, when he had already possessed himself of three fortified places; but as to the Tyrians whom he had caught, he preserved them all alive; nay, some of them he gave presents to, and sent them away, and thereby procured good affects to himself from the city, and the Tyrians; and Maron had indeed obtained that tyrannical power of Cassius, who set tyrants over all Syria; and out of hatred to Herod it was that he took the title of Antigonus, also he made Aristobulus and principally on Fabius’s account, whom Antigonus had made his assistant by money, and had him so cordially on his side when he made his descent; but it was Phasaelus, the kindest of Antigonus, that supplied all that he wanted.

3. When Herod had fought against those in the avenues of Judea, he was conqueror in the battle, drove away Antigonus, and returned to
Jerusalem beloved by every body, for the glorious action he had done; for, those who did not before favour him, did join themselves to him now, because of his marriage into the family of Hyrcanus; for as he had formerly married a wife out of his own country of no ignoble blood, who was a sister of Aristobulus, the son of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, and the granddaughter of Hyrcanus, and was become thereby a relation of the king.

4. But when Caesar and Antony had slain Cassius near Philippi, and Caesar was gone to Italy, and Antony to Asia, amongst the rest of the cities which belonged to Antony, into Bithynia, the great men of the Jews came also, and accused Phasaelus and Herod, that they kept the government by force, and that Hyrcanus had no more than an honourable name. Herod appeared ready to answer this accusation, and, having made Antony his friend by the large sums of money which he gave him, he brought him to such a temper as not to hear the others speak against him, and thus did they part at this time.

5. However, after this there came a hundred of the principal men among the Jews to Daphne by Antony, who was already in love with Cleopatra to the degree of slavery; these Jews put those men that were the most potent, both in dignity and eloquence, foremost, and accused the king. But Masala, opposed to him, and defended the brethren, and that while Hyrcanus stood by him, on account of his relation to them. When Antony had heard both sides, he said that the Jews were the party that was the fittest to govern; who replied, that Herod and his party were the fittest. Antony was glad of that answer, for he had been formerly treated in a hospitable manner by his father Antonius, when he marched into Judæa with Gabinius; so he constituted the brethren tetrarchs, and committed to them the government of Judæa.

6. But when the ambassadors had indignation at this procedure, Antony took fifteen of them, and put them into custody, whom he was also going to kill presently, and the rest he drove away with disgrace, on which occasion a still greater tumult arose at Jerusalem: so they sent again a thousand ambassadors to Tyre, where Antony now abode, as he was marching to Jerusalem; and the men, who made a city of idleness, he sent out the governor of Tyre, and ordered him to punish all that he could catch of them, and to settle those in the administration whom he had under his sight.

7. But before this, Herod and Hyrcanus went out upon the seashore, and earnestly desired of those ambassadors that they would neither bring ruin upon themselves, nor war upon their native country, by their rash contentions; and when they grew still more outrageous, Antony sent sent armed men, and slew a great many, and wounded more of them; of whom those that were slain were buried by Hyrcanus, as were the wounded put under the care of physicians by him; yet would not those that had escaped be quiet, but put the affairs of the city into such disorder, and so provoked Antony, that he slew those whom he had in bonds also.

CHAP. XIII.

The Parthians bring Antigonus back into Judæa, and cast Hyrcanus and Phasaelus into Prison.

§ 1 Now two years afterward, when Barzapharnes, a governor among the Parthians, and

* Phasaelus and Herod.

† This large and noted wood or woodland belonging to Cassius, was a celebrated spot, which, as it is mentioned in the Old Testament, 2 Kings xix. 33, and Isaiah x. 18, and by Strabo, B. xvi. p. 758, as both Aldrich and Symes have remarked very properly.

1 These accounts, both here and Antig. B. v. cii. sect. 5, that the Parthians fought chiefly on horseback, and that the Armata, or horsemen, as they are called, are mentioned among the auxiliaries of Tigranes against Vologaeses, have perfectly agree with Trogus Pomponius, in Justin. B. ii. xii. 3, 4, as Dean Aldrich well observes on this place.
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ingly to their leader, and sozzezg them to con-
gain their treacherous intentions by an obliging be-
haviour to them; accordingly, he at first made
them presents, and afterward, as they went away,
lay ambushes for them; and, when the guezrs
were about to enter one of the maritame called
Edicopas, they perceived that a plot was laid for
them; for they were there informed of the
promise of a thousand talents, and how Anti-
gonus had extorted the greatest number of the
women that were there with them, among the
five hundred, to the Parthians; they also per-
eceived that an ambush was always laid for them
by the barbarians in the midst of the desert, and
that they had also been seized on before this, unless they
had waited for the seizure of Herod first at Jeru-
salem, because if he were once informed of this
treachery of theirs, he would care to his self,
or was this a mere report, but they saw
the guards not far off them.

3. Nor would Phasaelus think of forsaking
Hyrcanus and flying away, attend, although Ophelias
earnestly persuaded him to it: for this man had
learned the whole scheme of the plot from Sara-
ma, the richest of all the Syrians. But Pha-
saelus was more than ever resolved and re-
proached him to his face for laying this trea-
cherous plot against them, and chiefly because he
had done it for money; and he promised him, that
he would not use in the matter of the preser-
vation than Antigonus had promised to give
for the kingdom. But the sly Parthian en-
deavoured to remove all this suspicion by apo-
logetics, and to have what was not said; and this
Phasaeus; immediately after which those Par-
thians who were left, and had it in charge,
seized upon Phasaelus and Hyrcanus, who could
do no man curse their perfidiousness and
their perjury.

5. In the meantime the cupbearer was sent
[back] and laid a plot how to seize upon Herod,
by deluding him, and getting him out of the city,
as he was commanded to do. But Herod sus-
ppected the barbarians from the beginning,
and having then received intelligence that a mes-
senger, who was to bring him the letters that in-
formed him of the treachery intended, had fallen
among the enemy, he would not go out of the
city; though Pausory said very positively, that
he ought to go out, and meet the messengers
that brought him the letters that had the number of
not taken them, and that the contents of them
were not accounts of any plots upon them, but
of what Phasaelus had done; yet he had heard
from other officers who received letters; and,
Alexandria, the shrewdest woman in the world,
Hyrcanus's daughter, begged of him that he
would not go, nor trust himself to those bar-
barians: who now come to make an attempt
upon him openly.

6. Now as Pausory and his friends were con-
sidering how they might bring their plot to bear
private, but that it was not possible to cir-
sumvent a man of so great prudence, by openly
attacking him, Herod prevented them, and went
off with the persons that were the most nearly
related to him, to the young woman who was betroth-
et to him, with her mother, and his youngest
brother, to make the best of their way, he himself,
with his servants, took all the care they could to
lead off the barbarians; and so they entered the
large wilderness, he had slain a great many of them, he
came to the strong hold of Masada.

7. Nay, he found by experience that the Jews
fell upon him, and so speedily upon the Parthi-
s, and creased him troubles perpetually, and
this ever since he was gotten sixty furions from

the city; these sometimes brought it to a sort of
regular battle. Now, in the place where Herod
beat them, and killed a great number of them, there
he afterward built a citadel, in memory of
the great actions of those days, and adorned it
with the most costly palaces, and erected very strong
fortifications, and called it from his own name He-
rodium. Now, as they were in their flight, many
joined themselves to him; and every day, and at
one place called Threstas of Idumea, his brother Jo-
seph met him, and advised him to cease himself
of a great number of his followers; because
Masada would not contain so great a multitude,
which were above nine thousand. Herod com-
plied with this advice, and sent away the most
embarrassing part of his retinue, that they might
go into Idumea, and gave them provisions sufficient
for a siege, but he made haste to Petra
of Arabia.

9. As for the Parthians in Jerusalem, they be-
took themselves to plundering, and fell upon the
houses of those that were fled, and upon the
king's palace; and spared nothing but Hyrcanus's
money, which was not above three hundred ta-
uenta. They burnt on of the buildings, but not so much as they hoped for; for Herod,
having a long while had a suspicion of the per-
fidiousness of the barbarians, had taken care to
have what was not said. And so was conveyed into Idumea, as every one belonging to
him had in like manner done also. But the Par-
thians proceeded to that degree of injustice, as
to fill all the country with war, ravaging it, and to demolish the city Marissa, and not
only to set up Antigonus for king, but to deliver
Phasaeus and Hyrcanus bound into his hands, in
order to their being tormented by him. Antig-
onus himself also bid off Hyrcanus's ears with his
own teeth, as he fell down upon his knees to him,
that he might never be able, upon any muta-
tion of affairs, to take the high priesthood again,
for the high priests, that officiated were to be com-
plete and without blemish.

10. However, he failed in his purpose of abusing
Phasaeus by reason of his courage; for Phasaeus
neither had any regard to his own nor to his
hands, he prevented all abuses by dashing his
head against a stone; so he demonstrated him-
self to be Herod's own brother, and Hyrcanus a most
degenerate of kin to him; and, besides his
courage, and the end of his life agreeable to
the actions of it. There is also another report
about his end, viz. that he recovered of that
stroke, and that a surgeon, who was sent by An-
tigonus to heal him, filled the wound with poison-
ous ingredients, and so killed him; whichever
of these deaths he came to, the beginning of it
was glorious. It is also reported, that before he
expired he was informed by a certain poor wo-
man how Herod had escaped out of their hands,
and that he said thereupon, "I now die with com-
fort, since I leave none alive, that will avenge
me of mine enemies."

11. This was the death of Phasaeus: but the
Parthians, although they had failed of the wom-
en they chiefly desired, yet did they put the
government of Jerusalem into the hands of An-
tigonus, and took away Hyrcanus, and bound
him, and carried him to Parthia.

CHAP. XIV.

When Herod is rejected in Arabia, he makes haste to
Rome, where Antony and Caesar join their Interest to
make him King of the Jews.

§ 1. Now Herod did the more weakly pursue
his journey into Arabia, as making haste to
get
money of the king, while his brother was yet alive, by which money alone it was that he hoped to appease the furious temper of the barbarians to spare Phæætus; for he reasoned thus with himself, that if the Arabian king was too forgetful of his father's friendship with him, and was too covetous to make him a free gift, he would not be more forgetful of him, much as mangled he might be, as to redeem his brother, and put into his hands, as a pledge, the son of him that was to be redeemed; accordingly he led his brother's son along with him, who was of the age of seven years. Now he was ready to give three hundred talents for his brother, and intended to desire the intercession of the Tyrians to get them accepted; however, fate had been too quick for his diligence; and since Phæætus was dead, Herod's brotherly love was now in vain. Moreover, he was not able to find any lasting friendship among the Tyrians, because of these sudden and peremptory demands; and he, before he went back out of his country, and used the name of the Parthians as a pretence for so doing, as though they had been launched to him by their ambassadors to cast Herod out of Arabia; while in reality they had a mind to keep back what they owed to Antipater, and not to be obliged to make requital for what they had actually done for the Romans. He also took the imprudent advice of those who, equally with himself, were willing to deprive Herod of what Antipater had done for them, and by whom the men were the most potent of all whom he had in his kingdom.

2. So when Herod had found that the Arabs were his enemies, and this for those very reasons whereof they would have been most friendly, and had given them such an answer as his passion suggested, he returned back and went for Egypt. Now he lodged the first evening at one of the temples of that country, in order to meet with those whom he had left behind; but on the next day word was brought him as he was going to Rhinocorura, that his brother was dead, and how he came by his death; and when he had received that message, and his present circumstances could bear it, he soon laid aside such cares, and proceeded on his journey. But now, after some time, the king of Arabia repented of what he had done, and sent great men and costly presents to call him back: Herod had prevented them, and was come to Pelusium, where he could not obtain a passage from those that lay with him, and the land was so hot, that he himself could not let him go by them; accordingly, out of the reverence they bore to the fame and dignity of the man, they conducted him to Alexandria; and when he was there at the city he was received by Cleopatra with great splendor, who hoped he might be persuaded to be commander of her forces in the expedition she was now about; but he rejected the queen's solicitations, and being neither affrighted at the height of that storm which then happened, nor at the tumults that were now in Italy, he sailed for Rome.

3. Then he went to Pamphylia, and obliged to cast out the greatest part of the ship's lading, he, with difficulty, got safe to Rhodes, a place which had been grievously harassed in the war with Cassius. He was there received by his friends, Ptolomy and Sapphion; and, although he was then in want of money, he fitted up a three-decked ship of very great magnitude, where he and his friends sailed to Brundisium, and went thence to Rome with all speed: where he first of all went to Antony, on account of the friendship his father had with him, and last of all, to the tribunals of himself and his family, that he had left behind him relations besieged in a fortress, and had sailed to him through a storm, to make supplication to him for his assistance.

4. But Antony was moved to compassion at the change that had been made in Herod's affairs, and this both upon his calling to mind how hospitably he had been treated by Antipater, but more especially on account of Herod's own virtues, and the respect and honor paid to him by all the king of the Jews, whom he had himself formerly made tetrarch. The context also that he had with Antigonus was another inducement, and that of no less weight than the great regard he had for Herod; for he looked upon Antigonus as a sedulous person, and an enemy of the Romans; and as for Cæsar, Herod found him better prepared than Antony, with whom he had been from the very first, when he had gone through together with his father, the hospitable treatment he had met with from him, and the entire good will he had shown him; besides the activity which he saw in Herod himself. So he called the senate together, where in Messales, and after him Attalus, proposed Herod before them, and gave a full account of the means of his office, and the men the most potent of all whom he had in his kingdom.

CHAP. XV.

Antigonus besieges those that were in Masada, whom Herod frees from Confinement, when he comes back from Rome, and presently marches to Jerusalem, where he finds Bibo corrupted by Bribes.

§ 1. Now during this time Antigonus besieged those that were in Masada, who had all other necessaries in sufficient quantity, but were in want of water; on which account Joseph, Herod's father, sent his captain to let him go by them; but the Arabs, with two hundred of his own friends, because he had heard that Malichus repented of his offences, with regard to Herod; and he had also being by the city he was received by the fortress already, unless on that very night when he was going away, there had fallen a great deal of rain, insomuch that his reservoirs were full of water, and the men were under no necessity of running away. After which, therefore, they made an irruption upon Antigonus's party, and slew a great many of them, some in open battles, and some in their attempts, for sometimes they were beaten and ran away.

2. In the mean time Vestidus, the Roman general, was sent out of Syria, to restructure the incursions of the Parthians, and after he had done that, he came into Judæa, in pretence indeed to assist Joseph and his party, but in reality to get his money of Antigonus: and when he had pitched his camp very near to Jerusalem, as soon as he had got money enough, he went away with the greatest part of his forces; yet still did he leave Bibo with some of them, lest they might any way, by their taking of bribes, might have been too openly discovered. Now Antigonus hoped that the Parthians would come again to his assistance, and therefore cultivated his understanding with Bibo at the same time, but any interruption should be given to his hopes.
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2. Now by this time Herod had sailed out of Italy, and was come to Ptolemais; and as soon as he had gotten together no small army of foote and horse, he set forth through Galilee against Antigonus, wherein he was assisted by Ventidias and Silo, both whom Delfin, a person sent by Antony, persuaded to go with him; and he did it at the time of the Passover. Afterwards he was at this time among the cities, and composing the disturbances which had happened by means of the Parthians, as was Silo in Judea corrupted by the bribe of five thousand talents; and in order to procure that he should not make war, he did no more than he was not Herod himself destitute of power, but the number of his forces increased every day as he went along, and all Galilee, with few exceptions, joined themselves to him. So he proposed to himself to set about his most necessary enterprise, and that was Masada, in order to deliver his relations from the siege they endured. But still Joseph, in his way, and the manner of his going thither; for it was necessary to take that city first, which was in the enemies' hands, that when he should go to Jerusalem, no fortress might arise in order to his forces to beat him. Silo also willingly joined him, as having now a plausible occasion of drawing off his forces from Jerusalem; and when the Jews pursued him and fell upon him and took him, he made an excuser upon them with a small body of his men, and soon put them to flight, and saved Silo when he was in distress.

3. Now when this had been, he took them, and then made haste to Masada, to foil his relations. Now as he was marching, many came in to him; some induced by his friendship to his father, some by the reputation he had already gained himself, and some in order to repay the benefits he had received from them both; but still what engaged the greatest number on his side, was the hopes from him, when he should be established in his kingdom, so that he may gotten together a small army hard to be conquered. But Antigonus laid an ambush for him as he marched out, in which he did little or no harm to his enemies. However, he cast him against his relations again that were in Masada, as well as the fortress Rosen, and then marched to Jerusalem, where the soldiery that were with Silo joined themselves to his own, as soon as they came out of the city, from a dread of his power.

4. Now when he had pitched his camp on the west side of the city, the guards that were there shot against them with arrows and stones, while others ran out in companies, and attacked those in the forefront; but Herod commanded proclamation to be made at the wall, that he was come to the good of the city and the preservation of the city, without any design to be assaughed on his open enemies, but to grant liberties to them, though they had been the most obdurate in the city. So now the soldiers that were for Antigonus made a contrary clamour, and did neither permit any body to hear that proclamation, nor to change their party; so Antigonus, in order to his forces to beat him, made away from the walls; accordingly, they soon threw their darts at them from the towers, and put them to flight.

5. Now here it was that Silo discovered he had taken bribes; for he set many of the soldiers to clamour about their want of necessaries, and to require their pay, in order to buy themselves to him; and to demand that he would lead them into places convenient for their winter quarters; because all the parts about the city were laid waste by the means of Antigonus' army, which had taken all things away. By this he moved the army, and attempted to get them off the siege; but Herod went to the captains that were under Silo, and to the chief men of the city, and begged of them not to leave him who was sent hither by Caesar, and Antony, and the senate; for that he would take care to have their wants supplied that they demanded. After which treaty, he went hastily into the country, and brought thither so great an abundance of necessaries, that he cut off all Silo's pretenses; and in order to procure that they for a few days they should not want supplies, he sent to the people that were about Samaria, (which city had joined itself to him,) to bring corn, and wine, and oil, and cattle; and Jericho. When Antigonus heard of this, he sent some of his party with orders to hinder, and lay ambushes for these collectors of corn. This command was obeyed, and a great multitude of armed men were gathered together about Jericho, and lay upon the mountains to watch those that brought the provisions. Yet was Herod not idle, but took with him ten thousand men in cohorts, five thousand in Jewish cohorts, together with some mercenariy troops intermixed among them, and besides those a few horsemen, and came to Jericho; and when he came he set up the city defenses; and there were five hundred men, with their wives and children, who had taken possession of the tops of the mountains; these he took and dismissed them, while the Romans fell upon the rest of the city, and plundered it, having found the houses full of all sorts of good things. So the king left a garrison at Jericho, and came back and sent the Roman army into those cities which were come over to him, to take their winter quarters there; viz. in Judea, [or Idumaea,] and Galilee, and Samaria. Antigonus also by bribes obtained of Silo to let a part of his army be received at Lydda, as a compliment to Antonius.

CHAP. XVI.

Herod takes Sepphoris, and subdues the Robbers that were in the Caves; he after that avenges himself upon Maccarius, as upon an Enemy of his, and goes to Antony as he was besieging Samosatta.

§ 1. So the Romans lived in plenty of all things, and rested from war. However, Herod did not lie at rest, but seized upon Idumaea, and kept it, with two or three thousand horsemen, and trod horsemen; and this he did by sending his brother Joseph thither, that no innovation might be made by Antigonus. He also removed his mother, and all his family, who were at Masada, to Jerusalem; and when he had settled them securely, he marched to take the remaining parts of Galilæa, and to drive away the garrisons placed there by Antigonus.

2. But when Herod had reached Sepphoris, in a very great snow, he took the city without any difficulty, the guards, that should have kept it. Flying away before it was assailed; whereas he gave an opportunity to his followers that had been in distress to refresh themselves, there being in that city a great abundance of necessaries. After which he hastened to the robbers that were in the caves, who overran a great part of the country, and did great mischief to its inhabitants as a war itself could have done. Accordingly, he sent beforehand three cohorts of footmen, and one troop of horsemen to the village Arbel, and came himself forty days afterward with the rest of his forces. Yet were
not the enemy affrighted at this assault, but met
him in arms, for their skill was not that of warri-
ers, but that of rambling house-breakers of robbers.
When, therefore, it came to a pitched battle, they
put to flight Herod's left wing with their right
one; but Herod, wheeling about on the sudden
from the rest of the wing, came in to their as-
sistance, and both made his own left wing return
back from its flight, and fell upon the purvers,
and cooled their courage, till they could not hear
the war-cry that inces [incess] made directly upon them,
and so turned back and ran away.
3. But Herod followed them, and slew them as
he followed them, and destroyed a great part of
them, till the rest that remained were scattered be-
yond the river [Jordan] and Galilee was freed
from the terror they had been under, excepting
from those that remained, and lay concealed in
the deserts, till the rest of them were made to be
conquered.
In order to which, Herod, in the
first place, distributed the fruits of their former
labours to the soldiers, and gave every one of
them a hundred gold pieces, and then, after he had
expedition himself against those that lay
in the caves. Now these caves were in
the precipices of craggy mountains, and could not be
come at from any side, since they had only some
winding pathways, very narrow, by which they
got up to them; but the rock that lay on their
front had beneath it valleys of a vast depth, and
of an almost perpendicular declivity; insomuch
that the king was desirous for a more time what
to do, by reason of a kind of impossibility there
was of attacking the place. Yet did he at length
make use of a contrivance that was subject to the
useless hazarding for he set down the most
hardy of his men in chains, and set them at the
months of the dens. Now these men slew the
robbers and their families, and when they made
memorial for their being upon them; and as Herod was desirous of saving some
of them, he had proclamation made, that they
should come and deliver themselves up to him;
set them free, and give him and the other
for which they were compelled to come, many
preferred death to captivity. And here a certain old
man, the father of seven children, whose child-
ren, together with their mother, desired him
to give them leave to go out, upon the assurance
and right hand that was offered them, slew them
after the following manner: he ordered every
one of them to go out, while he stood himself at
the cave's mouth, and slew that son of his per-
petually who went out. Herod was near enough
to see this sight, and his bowels of compassion
were moved at it, and he stretched out his right
hand to the old man, and besought him to spare
his children, yet did he not relent at all upon
what he said, but over and above reproached
Herod on the lowness of his descent; and slew
his wife as well as his children; and when he
had thrown their dead bodies down the preci-
pice, he at last threw himself down after them.
5. But he had watched and guarded these caves,
and the robbers that were in them. He then left
there a part of his army, as many as he thought
sufficient to prevent any sedition, and made Pro-
ny his general, and returned to Samaria: he
led also with him three thousand armed footmen,
and six hundred horsemen, against Antigonus.
Now here, those that used to reuse tumults in Ge-
nisala, he came, and his general to their as-
sistance, and they fell unexpectedly upon Ptolemy, the general of
his forces, and slew him: they also laid the coa-
try waste, and then retired to the towns, and to
the country, that inces [incess] made directly upon them, and so turned back and ran away.
5. But Herod, the Parthians being already
driven out of the country, and Ptolemais, Byblos,
Ve-
tidius, by Antony's command, sent a thousand
horsemen and two legions, as auxiliaries to He-
rod, against Macheras, who was as his general, by letters, to
come to his assistance, and made a great many
mournful complaints about Herod's violence, and
promised to give him money for such his assist-
cance: but he complied not with his invitation to
betray his trust, for he did not commit himself
that he might sell him more money [than the other offered.] So he pre-
tended friendship to Antigonus, but came as a
spy to discover his affairs, although he did not
herein comply with Herod, who dissuaded him
from so doing. But Antigonus perceived what
his intentions were beforehand, and excluded him
out of the city, and defended himself against him,
as against an enemy from the walls; and Macra-
chas was informed of what he had done, and re-
tired to Emmas to Herod; and, as he was in a
rage at his disappointment, he slew all the Jews
whom he met with, without sparing those that
were not his own; and using them all as if they
were for Antigonus.
7. Hereupon Herod was very angry at him,
and was going to fight against Macheras as his enem-
y, but he restrained his indignation, and marched to Antioch to accuse Macheras of 'mal-
amadministration. But Macheras was made asse-
ible of his offences, and followed after the king
immediately, and laid his case before him, and that he would be reconciled to him. However,
Herod did not desist from his resolution of going
to Antioch, but when he heard that he was be-
sindicated against the Kings of Samosatis, and
that he was in a strong city near to Euphrates, he made the great-
er haste, as observing that this was a proper
opportunity for showing at once his courage, and
for doing what would greatly oblige Antony. In
deed, when he came, he soon made an end of
that siege, and slew a great number of the bar-
barians, and took from them a large prey; insom-
uch that Antony, who admired his courage
formerly, did now admire it still more. Accord-
ingly, he heaped many more honours upon him,
and gave him more assured hopes that he should
maintain his kingdom, and that no one was
more powerfully to be forced to deliver up Samosata.

CHAP. XVII.

The Death of Joseph, [Herod's Brother] which had been
signified to Herod in Dream. How
Herod was preserved by the
fulfilling of Marcus to cut off the Head of Pup-
bus, who was the Murderer of his Brother, and
known from its cognos, as Scipione here at to w.-m., Dau-
Aldrich also confirms what Josephes here notes, that He-
rocd was a great means of taking the city by Antony, and
that from Punicus and Dico.
7. Now when the evening had already passed, he finely dispensed his honors and refreshed himself after their fatigue, and when he was gone himself, while he was still hot in his arms, like a common soldier, to bathe himself, and had but one servant to attend him, and because he was gotten into the bath, one of the enemies met him in the face with a sword in his hand, and then a second, and then a third, and after that more followed him, those who had gone out of the battle into the bath in their armor, and they had lain there for some time in great distress, and in privacy; and when they saw the king, and he thought that they trembled in fear by reason of his nakedness (although he were naked) and endeavored to get off into the public road: now there was by chance nobody else at hand that might seize upon these
men, and as for Herod, he was contented to have come to no harm himself, so that they all got away in safety.

3. But on the next day Herod had Peppera's head cut off, who was the general for Antigonus, and sent it on a wheel to his brother Pherorus by way of punishment for their slalum brother, for he was the man that slew Joseph. Now as winter was going off, Herod marshalled his army, and brought his army to the walls of it; this was the third year since he had been made king at Rome; so he pitched his camp before the temple, for on that side it might be sheltered. It was that Pompey took the command of the victor to remain; so they were cut to pieces by great multitudes, as they were crowded together in narrow streets, and in houses, or were running away to the temple, or to the aged, or to the weaker sex; insomuch, that although the king sent about and desired them to spare the people, nobody could prevail upon him to the least moderation; and they did sow the streets with blood, from slaughter, but they slew people of all ages like madmen. Then it was that Antigonus, without any regard to his former fortune or to his present, did not moderate his fury, but went on to the temple and drew off the strongholds by the Aedes of Solon, and of Solon, and close to his feet, who, without pitying him at all upon the change of his condition, laughed at him beyond measure, and called him Antigonus. Yet did he heap coals upon them, as a woman, or let go free, but put him into bonds, and kept him in custody.

3. But Herod's concern at present, now he had gained his enemies, was to restrain the zeal of his foreign auxiliaries; for the multitude of the strange people were very eager to see the temple, and what was sacred in the holy house itself; but the king endeavored to restrain them, partly by his severities, partly by his threatenings, and, partly by force, as thinking the victory worse than a defeat to him, if any thing that ought not to be seen were seen. He also forbade, at the same time, the spoiling of the city, asking Solines, in the most earnest manner, whether the Romans, by thus emptying the city of money and stores, in a mind to put him king of a desert; and he said, 'That he judged the dominion of the habitable earth too small a compensation for the slaughter of so many citizens.' And when Solines said, 'That the city was plundered, as a reward for what they suffered during the siege,' Herod made answer, that 'he would give every one of the soldiers a reward of ten talents. So he ordered the city to be restored to the deliverance of his country, and performed his promises to them, and made presents after a magnificent manner to each soldier, and proportionably to their commanders, and what was royal bounty to Solines himself, whereby nobody went away but in a wealthy condition. Hereupon Solines dedicated a crown of gold to God, and then went away from Jerusalem, leading Antigonus away in bonds to Antony; thus did the axe bring him to his end, who still had a fixed desire of life, and some frigid hopes of it to the last, but his cowardly behaviour well deserved to die by it.

4. Hereupon king Herod distinguished the multitude that was in the city; and for those that were of his side, he made them still more his friends by the honours he conferred on them; but for those of Antigonus's party, he slew them; and as his money ran low, he turned all the ornaments he had into money, and sent it to Antony, and to those about him. Yet could he not hereby purchase an exemption from all suffering; for Antony was now bewitched by his love to Cleopatra, and was entirely conquered by her charms.
BOOK I.—CHAP. XIX.

Now, Cleopatra had put to death all her kindred, till no one near her in blood remained alive, and after that she fell to slaying those nowary related to her. She put to death the principal men among the Syrians to Antony, and persuaded him to have them slain, that so she might easily gain to be mistress of what they had; nay, she contrived her orders to be obeyed, if not amongst the Jews, yet amongst the Arabians, and secretly laboured to have Herod and Macebus, the kings of both those nations, slain by his order.

5. Now as to these her injunctions to Antony, he complied in part: for though he esteemed it too abominable a thing to kill such good and great kings, yet was he thereby alienated from the confidence he had had of them. He took away a great deal of their country: nay, even the plantation of palm-trees at Jericho, where she grew the basam-tree, and bestowed them upon her: as also all the cities on this side the river Eleutherus, Tyre and Sidon excepted. And when she became mistress of these, and had conducted Antony in his expedition against the Arabs, afterwards, and had had the help and assistance of Aphanis and Damascus into Judea: and there did Herod pacify her indignation at him by large presents. He also hired of her those places that had been in the hands of Brutus, the yeartimes of two hundred talents. He conducted her also as far as Pelusium, and paid her all the respect possible. Now it was not long after this that Herod had escaped, and had taken his army, and led with him Artabazes, Tigranes’ son, captive, as a present for Cleopatra; for this Parthian was presently given her, with his money, and all the prey that was taken with him.

CHAP. XIX.

How Antony, at the Persuasion of Cleopatra, sent Herod to fight against the Arabians; how, after several Battles, he at length got the Victory. As also concerning a great Earthquake.

§ 1. Now when the war about Actium was begun, Herod prepared to come to the assistance of Antony, as being already freed from his troubles in Judea, and having gained Hyrcania, which was a place that was held by Antigonus’ sister. However, he was cunningly hindered from partaking of the hazards that Antony went through by Cleopatra; for since, as was noted already, he was both against the kings of Judea and Arabia, she prevailed upon Antony to commit the war against the Arabians to Herod; that so, if he got the better, she might become mistress of a country, or, which was more, of Judea, and that she might destroy one of those kings by the other.

2. However, this contrivance tended to the advantage of Herod; for at the first he took hostages from the enemy, and got together a great body of horse, and ordered them to march against them about Eleusis, and he conquered that town, with the destruction of the whole army, with two thousand men, and pursued them with a great slaughter. After which defeat, the Arabians were in great confusion, and assembled themselves together at Kanatha, a city of Cœle Syria, in vast multitudes, and waited for the Jews. And when Herod was come that way, he tried to manage this war with particular prudence, and gave orders that they should build a wall about their camp; yet did not the multitude comply with those orders; but were so embold and by their following victory, that they presently attacked the Arabians, and beat them at the first onset, and then Herod took the command of the principal men among the Syrians to Antony, and persuaded him to have them slain, that so she might easily gain to be mistress of what they had; nay, she contrived her orders to be obeyed, if not amongst the Jews, yet amongst the Arabians, and secretly laboured to have Herod and Macebus, the kings of both those nations, slain by his order.

3. In a little time after this calamity, Herod came to bring them succours; but he came too late. Now the occasion of that blow was this, that the officers would not obey orders; for had not the fight begun so suddenly, Athieno had not found a proper season for the snares he laid for Herod: however, he was even with the Arabians afterward, and made them take away a great deal of the country: nay, even the plantation of palm-trees at Jericho, where she grew the basam-tree, and bestowed them upon her: as also all the cities on this side the river Eleutherus, Tyre and Sidon excepted. And when she became mistress of these, and had conducted Antony in his expedition against the Arabs, afterwards, and had had the help and assistance of Aphanis and Damascus into Judea: and there did Herod pacify her indignation at him by large presents. He also hired of her those places that had been in the hands of Brutus, the yeartimes of two hundred talents. He conducted her also as far as Pelusium, and paid her all the respect possible. Now it was not long after this that Herod had escaped, and had taken his army, and led with him Artabazes, Tigranes’ son, captive, as a present for Cleopatra; for this Parthian was presently given her, with his money, and all the prey that was taken with him.

4. "The present dread you are under, seems to me to have seized upon you very unreasonably. It is true, you might justly have feared some providential change which hath befallen you; but to suffer yourselves to be equally terrified at the invasion of men, is unmanly. As for myself, I am so far from being affrighted at our enemies after it, that I imagine that God hath thereby laid a bait for the Arabians, that we may be avenged on them; for their present invasion proceeds more from our accidental unfortunes, than that they have any great dependence on their weapons, or their own fitness for action. Now that hope which depends not on men’s own power, but on others’ all success, is a very ticklish thing: for there is no certainty among men, either in their bad or good fortunes; but we may easily observe that fortune is mutable, and goes from one side to another; and this you may see the year before last, and the year before that, when we were once victors in the former fight, your enemies overcame you at last; and very likely it will now happen so, that those who think themselves sure of beating between Octavius and Antony, and which is known from the Roman historians, both Plutarch and Cassius Dio. In B. xiv. ch. 4. sect. 1., is confirmed by the testimony of Strabo, & c. 727, as Deas Aldrich remarks; although, as he justly says, Deas did not distinguish the little while longer, when Augustus took it away from them. This seventh year of the reign of Herod from the commencement of the common race of Laban, was the beginning of the same spring, which are here fully symbolized to be not much before the fight of Actium, be-
You will yourselves be beaten. For, when men are very confident, they are not upon their guard, while fears are apt to act with caution; in short, that I venture to prove from your very timorousness, that you ought to take courage: for when you were more bold than you ought to have been, and than I would have had you, and that man would have had you, and that man would have had you, and a great many took place; but your present slowness and seeming dejection of mind, is to me a pledge and assurance of victory. And indeed it is proper beforehand to be vigilant; but when we come to action, we ought to erect our minds, and to make our enemies, be they ever so wicked, believe, that neither any human, nor any providential means can ever daunt the courage of Jews while they are alive; nor will any of them ever overlook an Arab, or suffer such a one to become lord of his good things, whom he has in manner taken captive, and that at many times also. And do not you disturb yourselves at the quaking of inanimate creatures, nor do you imagine that this earthquake is a sign of another calamity; for such affectionations of the elements are according to the course of nature, nor does it import any thing farther to men, than what mischief it does immediately of itself. Perhaps it may come some short sign behi- hand in the case of pestilences, and famines, and earthquakes; but these calamities themselves have their force limited by themselves, [without furnishing any other calamity]. And indeed what greater mischief can the war, though it should be a violent one, do to us, than the earth- quake has done? Nay, there is a signal of our enemies destruction visible, and that a very great one also; and this is not a natural one, nor derived from the hand of foreigners neither, but it is this, that they have barbarously murdered our army, contrary, contrary to the common law of mankind, and they have destroyed so many, as if they esteemed them sacrifices for God, in relation to this war. But they will not avoid his great eye, nor his invincible right hand; and we shall be revenge of them presently, in case we still retain any of the courage of our forefathers, and rise up boldly to punish these covenant breakers. Let every one therefore go on and fight, not so much for his wife or his children, or for the danger his country is in, as for these ambas- sadors of ours; those dead ambassadors will excel their masters better than we ourselves who are alive. And if you will be ruled by me, I will myself go before you into danger; for you know this well enough, that your courage is irresistible, in this manner, and entirely for his advantage; nor will I conceal this farther, that thou hast certainly found me in arms, and an inseparable companion of his, had not the Arabians hindered me. However, I sent him as many auxiliaries as I was able, and many ten thousands [corn] of corn. Nay, indeed, I did not desert my benefactor after the blow that was given him at Actium; but I gave him the best advice I was able, when I was no longer able to assist him in the war; and I told him that there was but one way of recovering his affairs, and that was to kill Cleopatra; and I promised him, that if she were once dead, I would afford him money, and lands for his security, with an army and myself to as- sist him in his war againstthese: but his affec- tions for Cleopatra stopped his ears, as did gods himself, who hath bestowed the most, against on thee. I own myself also to be overcome to- gether with him, and with his last fortune I have laid aside my diadem, and am come hither to thee. I have no hopes of safety, and I desire that thou wilt first consider how faith- ful a friend, and not whose friend, I have been:

They were indeed superior to the Jews in num- ber, but inferior as to their suavity, although they were obliged to expose themselves to dan- ger, but in the very deep of victory. 6. Now while they made opposition, they had not a great number slain; but as soon as they turned their backs, a great many were trodden to pieces by the Jews, and a great many of themselves, and so perished, till five thousand were fallen down dead in their flight, while the rest of the multitude prevented their immediate death, by leaping into the fortification. Herod encompassed these around, and besieged them and while they were ready to be taken by their enemies in arms; they had another additional distress upon them, which was thirst and want of water: for the king was above hearkening to their ambassadors, and when they offered five hundred talents, as the price of their redemp- tion, he pressed still harder upon them. And as they were burnt up by their thirst, they came out and voluntarily delivered themselves up by multitudes to the Jews, till in five days' time four thousand of them were put in bonds and on the sixth day the multitude that were left deserted of ever saving themselves, and came out to fight; with these Herod fought, and slew again about one hundred thousand of them. So he subdued Arabia so severely, and so far extinguished the spir- its of the men, that he was chosen by the nation for their ruler.

CHAP. XX.

Herod is confirmed in his Kingdom by Caesar, and cultivates a Friendship with the Emperor by magnificent Presents; while Caesar returns his Kindness by bestowing on him that Part of his Kingdom which had been taken away from it by Cleopatra, with the Addition of Zenodorus's Country also.

§ 1. But now Herod was under immediate con- cern about a most important affair, on account of his friendship with Antony, who was already overcome at Actium by Caesar; yet he was more afraid than hurt; for Caesar did not think he had quite undone Antony while Herod continued his assistance to him. However, the king resolved to expose himself to danger: accordingly he sailed to Rhodes, where Caesar then abode, and came to him without his diadem, and in the habit and appearance of a private person, but in his beha- vior royal. So he confessed all, and brought the truth, but spoke thus before his face: "O Caesar, as I was made king of the Jews by Antony, so do I profess that I have used my royal authority in the same manner, and entirely for his advan- tage; nor will I conceal this farther, that thou hast certainly found me in arms, and an inseparable companion of his, had not the Arabians hindered me. However, I sent him as many auxiliaries as I was able, and many ten thousands [corn] of corn. Nay, indeed, I did not desert my benefactor after the blow that was given him at Actium; but I gave him the best advice I was able, when I was no longer able to assist him in the war; and I told him that there was but one way of recovering his affairs, and that was to kill Cleopatra; and I promised him, that if she were once dead, I would afford him money, and lands for his security, with an army and myself to assist him in his war against these: but his affections for Cleopatra stopped his ears, as did gods himself, who hath bestowed the most, against on thee. I own myself also to be overcome together with him, and with his last fortune I have laid aside my diadem, and am come hither to thee. I have no hopes of safety, and I desire that thou wilt first consider how faithful a friend, and not whose friend, I have been:"

•  This speech of Herod is set down twice by Josephus, have and Antic. B. v. ch. v. sect. 3, to the very same pur- pose, but by no means in the same words; whence it ap-
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2. Caesar replied to him thus: "Nay, thou hast not only been in safety, but shalt be a king; and not more annoyeth thee what we said before; for the art and effect of those that thou hast set forth be to no purpose, by reason of the hatred of thy friendship; and do not endeavour to be equally commodious as the present to me, upon my good sect, which is what I would receive more fitly. The generality of thy disposition. However, Antony hath done well in preferring Cleopatra to thee; for by this means we have gained thee by her bonds. So that I have not forgotten thee, my good friend before I began to be thine; on which account Qunius Dedius hath written to me that thou sendest him assistance against the gladiators. I do therefore and am about to send from the kingdom to thee by decree; I shall also endeavour to do thee some further kindness hereafter, that thou mayest find no loss in the want of Antony."

3. When Caesar had spoken such obliging things to the king, and had put the diadem again about his head, he proclaimed what he had becom:ed him by a decree, in which he charged him in the commandment of the man after a magnificent manner. Whereupon Herod obliged him to be kind to him by the presents he gave him, and said that he and his friends of Antony's, who had become a suppllicant to him. But Caesar's anger against him prevailed, and he complained of the many and very great kindnesses the man whom he had offended for had been guilty of; and by that means he rejected his petition. After this, Caesar went from Egypt through Syria, when Herod received him with all good and rich entertainments; and then did he first of all ride along with Caesar, as he was reviewing his army about Pholemais; and feasted him with all his friends, and then distributed the victuals to his army, and gave them a supply of water for them, when they were to march as far as Pelusium, through a dry country, which he did also in like manner at their return thence; nor were there any necessary wantings to that army. It was therefore the opinion both of Caesar and of his soldiers, that Herod was a person of famous spirit, and that the presents he made them; for which reason, when Caesar was come into Egypt, and Cleopatra and Antony were dead, he did not only bestow upon them particular building, and with their names given them, but his generosity went as far as entire cities; for when he had built a most beautiful wall round a country in Samaria, twenty furlongs in circuit, and had brought the famous museum into it, he had allotted to it a most fruitful piece of land, and in the midst of this city, thus built, had erected a very large temple to Caesar, and had laid round about it a portion of sacred land of three furlongs and a half, he called the city Sebastia, from Sebastia or Augustae, and settled the affairs of the city after a most regular manner.

4. Moreover, after the first games at Actium, he added to his kingdom both the region called Trachonitis, and what lay in its neighbourhood, Bactra, and the country of Auranitis, and that on the following occasion: Zenodorus, who had hired the house of Lyzaean, had all along sent robbers out of Trachonitis among the Damascenes; who thereupon had recourse to Varro, the proconsul of Arabia, and of a mind that he would represent the calamity they were in to...
quantity of water which is immovable; and when any body lets down any thing to measure the depth of the earth beneath the water, no length of cord is sufficient to reach it. Now the fourth part of Jordan is at the roots of the earth, outwardly: and, as some think, this is the utmost origin of Jordan: but we shall speak of that matter more accurately in our following history. 4. Two winds that threatened them: we had filled a country with temples, he poured out the like plentiful marks of his presence into his provinces, and built many cities which he called Cæsareas.

3. And when he observed that there was a city by the seaside that was much decayed, (its name was Strato's Tower,) but that the place, by the happiness of its inhabitants, was capable of great improvements from his liberality, he rebuilt it all with a prodigal expense, and adorned it with several most splendid palaces, wherein he especially demonstrated his magnanimity: for the case was this, that all the seashore between Dora and Jerusalem was without cities; and, as it lay in the sea, it was in a situation, as no good haven, insomuch that every one that sailed from Phoenicia for Egypt was obliged to lie in the stormy sea, by reason of the south wind: and he built a haven there, which he named Byrum (at Athens;) and in the other retirements of the sea he built other deep stations (for the ships also.)

6. Now, although the place where he built was greatly opposite to his purposes, yet did he so struggle with that difficulty, that the firmness of his building could not easily be conquered by the sea; and the beauty and ornament of the works was such, as though he had not and did not so much expense as he did. But when he had measured out as large a space as we have before mentioned, he let down stone into twenty fathom water, the greatest part of which were fifty feet, and as it were the expenses was the labor and the liberal disposal of them, overcame nature, and built a haven larger than was the Pyramus (at Athens;) and in the other retirements of the sea, he built other deep stations (for the ships also.)

7. The sea was also a great number of arches, where the mariners dwelt; and all the places before them round about was a large valley, or walk, for a quay (or landing-place) to those that came on land and went on to Jerusalem, which was on the north, because the north wind was there the most gentle of all the winds. At the mouth of the haven were on each side three great Colons, supported by pillars, where those Colon that are on your left hand, as you sail into the port, and all the rest that are on your right hand are supported by two urchin stones joined together, which stones were larger than that tower which was on the other side of the entrance. But those stones joined together to the haven, which were also themselves of white stone; and to this haven did the narrow streets of the city lead, and were built at equal distance from one another. And the Colossus of Cæsara, not less than that of Olympia, which it was made to resemble. The other Colossus of Rome was equal to that of Cæsar; he dedicated the city to the province, and the haven to the sailors there, but his honour of the building he ascribed to Cæsar, and named it Cæsarea accordingly.

8. He also built the other edifices, the amphitheatre, and theatre, and market-place, in a manner; and dedicated the games every fifth year, and called them, in like manner, Cæsar's games; and he first himself proposed the largest prices upon the victors, and the victors were not so much the victors themselves, but those that came next to them, and even those that came in the third place, were partners of his royal bounty. He also rebuilt the temples of Jupiter that lay on the coast, and had been demolished in the wars, and named it Agrippium. Moreover, he had so very great a kindness for his friend Agrippa, that he had a colonnade there, called after his name, which he had himself erected in the temple.

9. Herod was also a lover of his father, if any other person ever was so; for he made a monument for his father, even that city which he built in the finest plain that was in his kingdom, and which had rivers and trees in abundance, and named it Antipatris. He also built a wall about a citadel that lay above Jericho, and was a very strong and very fine building, and dedicated it to his mother, and called it Cypros. Moreover, he dedicated a tower that was at Jerusalem, and named it after the name of his brother Phasael, whose structure, largeness, and magnificence, we shall describe hereafter. He also built another city in the valley that leads northward from Jerusalem, which he named Cæsarea Sebaste.

10. And as he transmitted to eternity his family and friends, so did he not neglect a memorial for himself, but built a fortress upon a mountain towards Arabia, and named it Herodium; and he called that hill that was of the shape of a woman's breast, and was sixty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, by the same name. He also bestowed much curious art upon it, with great ambition, and built round towers all about the top of it, and filled up the remaining space with the most costly palaces round about, insomuch that not only the sight of the immediate structure, but also the shape of it was laid out on the outward walls, and partitions, and roofs also. Besides this, he brought a mighty quantity of water from a great distance, and at vast charge, and raised the ascent was on needful steps; and every hundred steps of the whitest marble, for the hill

* That Josephus speaks truth when he assures us, that the haven of this Colossus was made by Herod, not less, any nor rather, than that famous haven at Athens, called the Piraeus: and Antiquities of the Jews, lib. iii. c. xx. and Jewish Wars, lib. ii. c. xii. c. xi. sect. 6; and it is also mentioned by Scaliger in his Commentaries of the Jews.

† These buildings of cities by the name of Cæsareas, and those of the same name in the Antiquities of the Jews, in here and in the Antiquities of Herod by Josephus.
The Murder of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, the High Priests; as also of Marianne, the Queen.

§ 1. However, fortune was avenged on Herod, in his external great successes, by raising him up domestic troubles; and he began to have wild disorders in his family, on account of his wife, of whom he was so very fond. For when he came to the government, he sent away her whom he had before married when he was a private person, and whom the name was Doris, and married Marianne, the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus; on whose account disturbances arose in his family, and that his son Antipater, and his brother, and his son by his first marriage, returned from Rome. For first of all he expelled Antipater, the son of Doris, for the sake of his sons by Marianne, out of the city, and then he did not permit him to come thither any more than at the festivals. After this he slew his wife's grandfather, Hyrcanus, when he was returned out of Parthia to him, under this pretence, that he suspected him of being a spy; and the reason of this Hyrcanus had been carried captive to Bzapharnes, when he overran Syria; but those of his own country beyond Euphrates were desirous he would stay with them, that not only the imprisonment they had for his condition; and had he complied with their desires, when they imported him not to go over the river to Herod he had not perished; but the marriage of his granddaughter [to Herod] was his temptation; for as he relied upon him, and was over fond of his own country, he came back to it. Herod's provocation was this, not that Hyrcanus made any attempt to gain the kingdom, but that it was fitter for him to be his king than for Herod.

2. Now of the five children which Herod had by Marianne, two of these were daughters, and youngest of these sons were some; and of the four others were some; and of these five, in the fifth year, which in his sailing to Rome he happened to be present at, but he settled upon the revenue of money for perpetuity, insomuch, that his memory as a combatant there can never fail. It would be an infinite task if I should go over his payments of people's debts, contributions, for them, as he eased the people of Pharamas, as he did many of the small cities about Cilicia, of whose annual pensions they before paid. However, the fear he was in much described the greatness of his soul, lest he should negligently think he had not greater things than he ought, while he bestowed more liberal gifts upon these cities, than did their owners themselves.

3. That Herod had a body suited to his soul, and was ever a most excellent hunter, where he generally had good success, by the means of his great skill in riding horses; for in one day he caught a wild ass whose foal was not yet a year old, also bears, and the greatest part of it is replenished with stags and wild asses. He was also such a warrior as could not be withheld: many men, therefore, there are who have stood amazed at his readiness in his exercises, when they saw him throw the javellins directly forward, and shoot the arrow upon the mark. And therein these performances of his, depending on his own strength of mind and body, fortune was also very favourable to him; for he seldom failed of success in his wars; and when he was killed, he was not himself the occasion of such failings, but he either was betrayed by some, or the rashness of his own soldiers procured his defeat.

4. For these reasons Marianne reproached Herod, and his sister and mother, after a most contumelious manner, while he was dumb on account of his affection for her; yet had the women...
great indignation at her, and raised a calumny against him which he false to his bed; which thing they thought most likely to move Herod to anger. They also contrived to have many other circumstances believed, in order to make the thing more credible, and accused her of having spoken with Joseph concerning them boldly. The news which seemed just so extravagant, as to have thus showed herself, though she was absent, to a man that ran mad after women, and to a man that had in his power to use violence to her. This charge fell like a thunderbolt upon Herod, and put him in disorder; and that especially, because his love to her occasioned him to be jealous, and because he made of his daughter a sort of deity himself, that is, a sacred woman, and that on her account Lyons—Lyseus the king was taken off, as well as Malichus the Arabian: for his fear did not extend to the duration of his marriage, but to the danger of his life.

4. When therefore he was about to take a journey abroad, he committed his wife to Joseph, his son-in-law, Salome's husband, as to one who would be faithful to him, and bore him good-will on account of their kindred; he also gave him a secret injunction, that if Antony slew him, he would seek out and kill Joseph, without delay designing and only in order to demonstrate the king's love to his wife, how he could not bear to think of being separated from her, even by death itself, disdaining the grand secret of her; upon which when Herod was come back, and as they talked together, he confirmed his love to her by many oaths, and assured her that he had never such an affection for woman as he had for her, nor such "Yes," (says she) thou dost, to be sure, demonstrate thy love to me by the injunctions thou gavest Joseph, when thou commandedst him to kill him.

5. When he heard this grand secret was discovered, he was like a distracted man, and said, that Joseph would never have disclosed that injunction of his, unless he had deposed her. His passion did make him stark mad, and leaping out of his bed, he ran about the palace after a wild manner; at which time his sister Salome took the opportunity also to blast her reputation, as one who was disposed to be unfaithful to Joseph; whereas, out of his ungovernable jealousy and rage, he commanded both of them to be slain immediately; but as soon as ever his passion was over, he returned to them, full of censures and rebukes. But in the temple, when his anger was wrought up, his affections were kindled again. And, indeed, the flames of his desires for her so ardent, that he could not then restrain himself, but when he appeared before the king's soldiers to speak to her as if she were still alive, till he should be better instructed by time, when his grief and trouble, now she was dead, appeared as great as his affection had been for her while she was living.

CHAP. XXIII.

Calumny against the Sons of Mariamne. Antipater to prefer them before them. They are accused before Caesar, and Herod is reconciled to them.

§ 1. New Mariamne's sons were heirs to that hatred which had been born in their mother, and when they considered the greatness of Herod's crimes towards her, they were suspicious of him as of an enemy of theirs; and this first while they were educated at Rome, but still more when they were returned to Judea. This temper of theirs increased upon them, as they grew up to be men; and when they were come to an age fit for marriage, the one of them married their aunt Salome's daughter, which Salome had been the occa- sion of all this trouble to the king, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. And now they used boldness in speaking, as well as to bare hatred in their minds. Now those that calumniated them took a handle from such talk, and accused their father boldly plain- ly, that they had not been married to Archelaus, relying upon his father-in-law, was preparing to fly away, in order to accuse Herod before Caesar; and when Herod's head had been long enough filled with these calumnies, he brought Antipater, whom he had despised in his}
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In the most obliging manner, and gave the thanks for the deliverance of his son-in-law, and was much pleased at their reconciliation; and this the more, because he had formerly written to him that he should be assisting to Alexander at his trial. So he conducted Herod as far as Zophylum, and made him presents to the value of thirty talents.

3. Now when Herod was come to Jerusalem, he gathered the people together, and presented to them his three sons, and gave them an apologetic account of his absence, and "thanked God greatly, and thanked Caesar greatly also, for settling his house when it was under disturbances, and had procured concord among his sons, which was of greater consequence than the kingdom itself, and which I will read still more firm; for Caesar hath put into my power to dispose of the government, and to appoint my successor. Accordingly, in way of requital for his kindness, and in order to provide for mine own advantage, I do declare, that these three sons of mine shall be kings. And, in the first place, I pray for the approbation of God to what I am about to do; for the reason of the approbation. The age of one of them, and the nobility of the other two, who should procure them the succession. Nay, indeed, my kingdom is so long, my age is so great, that I may not succeed myself." Now do you keep those in their places whom Caesar hath joined, and their father hath appointed; and do not you pay undue or unequal respect to them, because they are the king's sons, but the prerogative of their births; for he that pays such respects unwisely, will thereby not make him that is honoured beyond what his age requires one that cannot possibly become a sorrowful. As for the kindred and friends that are to converse with them, I will appoint them to each of them, and will so constitute them, that they may be the king's court; and as well knowing, that the ill tempers of those with whom they converse, will produce quarrels and contentions among them; but that, if with those whom they converse be of good tempers, they will preserve their natural affections for one another. But still I desire, that not these only, but all the captains of my army, have, for the present, their houses placed on their persons, for I accept of my speech to these my sons, but give them royal honours only; whereby it will come to pass, that they will enjoy the sweet parts of government as rulers themselves, but the rougher parts imposed upon them. I will make it appear upon myself, whether I will or not. And let every one consider what age I am of, how I have conducted my life, and what piety I have exercised: for my age is not so great, that men may soon expect the end of my life; nor have I indulged such a luxurious way of living as cute men off when they are young, and we have been so religious towards God, that we have reason to hope we may arrive at a very great age. But for such as cultivate a friendship with my sons, so as to aim at my destruction, they shall be punished by me, as a punishment, and not one who envy my own children, and therefore forbid men to pay them great respect; but I know that such [extravagant] respect are the way to make them insolent. And if everyone that comes near them does but revolve this in his mind, that if he proves a good man, he shall receive a reward from me; that if he proves seductive, his ill-intended complaisance shall get him nothing from him to whom it is shown; I suppose they will all be of my side, that is, of some sort's side; for it will be for their advantage that Alexander and I are related. But do you, O my good children, reflect upon the nobleness of nature itself, by whose means natural affection is preserved, even among wild beasts, in the next place reflect upon Caesar, who hath made this reconciliation among us; and, in the third place, reflect upon me, who entreat you to do what I have power to command you: continue brethren. I give you royal garments, and royal honours; and I pray to God to preserve what I have determined, in case you be at concord one with another." When the king had thus spoken, and had saluted every one of his sons after an obliging manner, he dismissed the multitude of some of whom gave their assent to what he had said, and wished it might take effect accordingly; but for those who wished for a change of affairs, they pretended they did not so much as hear what he said.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Notice of Antipater and Doris. Alexander is very uneasy on Grippyn’s Account. Herod persued Pharamas whom he suspected, and Scone, whom he knew to make mixtures among them. Herod’s Evunachs are tortured, and Alexander is bound.

§ 1. But now the quarrel that was between them, still accompanied these brethren when they parted, and the suspicion of discord grew worse. Alexander and Aristobulus were much grieved that the privilege of the first-born was confirmed to Antipas, as was Antipater’s son. Alexander was very angry at his brethren, and had almost succeeded him. But then this last being of a disposition that was mutable and politic, he knew how to hold his tongue, and used a great deal of cunning, and tying shining to our sight, he would have bore to them; while the former, depending on the nobility of their births, had every thing upon their tongues which was in their minds. Many of them were not so, who there were some of their [seeming] friends insinuated themselves into their acquaintance, to spy out what they did. Now every thing that was said by Alexander was presently reported to Antipater, and from Antipater it was brought to Herod with additions. Nor could the young man say any thing in the simplicity of his heart, without giving offence, but what he said was still turned to calumny against him. And if he had been at any time a little free in his conversation, great imputations were forged from the smallest occasions. Antipater also was very fond of some to prove him guilty, that he might be raised of him seem to have some foundation of truth; and, if among the many stories that were given out, but one of them be true, he might be kept imprisoned. I cannot but be true also. And as to Antipater’s friends, they were all either naturally so cautious in speaking, or had been so far bribed to conceal their thoughts that nothing of these great secrets got abroad by their means. Nor should one be mistaken if he called the life of Antipater a mystery of wickedness; for he either corrupted Alexander’s acquaintance with money, or got into their favour by batteries; by which two means he gained all his designs, and brought them to betray their master, and to steal away, and reveal either what he did or said. Thus did he act very cunningly in all points, and wrought himself a passage by his calumnies, with the greatest shrewdness; while he put on a face as if he were a kind brother to Alexander and Aristobulus; but suborned other men to inform of what they did to Herod. And when any thing was told against Alexander, he would come in and pretend [to be of his side, and would begin to contradict what was said; but would afterward contrive matters so privately, that the king should have an indication of him. His general aim was this, to lay in wait to kill his father; for nothing afforded so great a confirmation to these calumnies as did Antipater’s apologies for him.

2. By these methods Herod was inflamed,
and, as much as his natural affection to the young men did every day diminish, so much did it increase toward Antipater. The courtiers also inclined to the same conduct, some of their own accord, and others by the king's injunction, as parasites of the queen's, and therefore did nothing to oppose her scheme; and the queen, being the king's dearest friend, as also the king's brethren, and all his children; for Antipater was all in all: and what was the bitterest part of all to Alexander, Antipater's mother was also all in all; she was one that gave counsel against them, and was more harsh than a stepmother, and one that hated the queen's sons more than is usual to hate sons-in-law, for all men did therefore pay their respects to Antipater, in hopes of advantage; and it was the king's command which alienated every body [from the brethren], he having given this charge to his most intimate friends, that they should not come near, nor pay any regard to Alexander, or to his friends. Herod was also become terrible, not only to his domestics about the court, but to his friends abroad; for, it was said, he had given such a privilege to no other king as he had given to him, which was this, that he might fetch back any one that fled from him, even out of a city, not under his own jurisdiction. Now the young men were not acquainted with the calumnies raised against them; for which reason they could not guard themselves against them; but when they did understand it, they did not make any public complaints against either of them; though in a little time they perceived how things were, by his coldness to them, and by other acts and usances he showed upon anything that troubled him. Antipater had also made his uncle Pheroras to be their enemy, as well as their aunt Salome, while he was always talking to them with his wife, and irritating her against them. Moreover, Alexander's wife, Glympse, augmented this hatred against them, by deriving her nobility and genealogy [from great persons] and pretending that she was a lady superior to all others in that kingdom, as being derived by her father's side from Temes- lac, and by her mother's side from Darlus, the son of Hyntaspe. She also frequently reproach ed Herod's sister and wives with the ignobility of their descent; and that they were every one chosen by him for their beauty, but not for their family, and that the wives of his were not a few; it being of old permitted to the Jews to marry many wives; and this king delighted in many, all of whom hated Alexander, on account of Glympse's boasting and reproaches.

4. Now upon these accounts, though Herod was somewhat afraid of the young men's high spirit, yet did he not despair of reducing them to a better mind; but before he went to Rome, whither he was now going by sea, he called them to him, and did threaten them with death, if they do not pay their respects to Antipater, in hopes of advantage; but for the main, he admonished them as a father, and exhorted them to love their brethren, and told them that he would pardon their former offences, if they would amend for the time to come. But they refuted the calumnies that had been raised of them, and said they were false, and alleged that their actions were sufficient for their vindication, and said without, that he himself ought to shut his ears against such tales, and not be too easy in believing them, for that there would never be wanting those that would tell lies to please their own dishonest ends, as long as any would give ear to them.

5. When they had thus soon pacified him, as being their father, they got clear of the present fear. But when he came back, he was vexed for sorrow in some time afterward; for they knew that Salome, as well as their uncle Pher oras, were their enemies; who were both of them, except the brothers Pheroras, who was a partner with Herod in the affairs of the kingdom, excepting his sister. He had also a hundred talents of his own revenue, which went beyond Jordan, which he had received as a gift from his brother, and who had asked of Caesar to make him a tetarch, as he was made scort ingly. Herod had also given him a wife out of the royal family, who was no other than his own wife's sister, and after her death had solemnly espoused to him his own eldest daughter, with a dowry of three hundred talents: but Pheroras refused to consent any marriage of this kind; and he having a son of Caesar, a Parthian; but in some time he laid aside his anger against Pheroras, and pardoned him, as not able to overcome his foolish passion for the rank of the prince.
BOOK I.—CHAP. XXV.

CHAP. XXV.

Archelaus procures Reconciliation between Alexander, Pheroras, and Herod.

§ 1. Now as to Alexander, since he perceived it impossible to persuade his father [that he was innocent,] he resolved to meet his calamities, however severe, even to the point of composing four books against his enemies, and confiding that if he had been in a plot; but declared within the greatest part of the courtiers were in a plot with him, and chiefly Pheroras; say, that Salome once came and forced him to lie with her in the night, whether he would or no. These books were put into Herod's hands, and made a great stir against the men in power. And now it was that Archelaus came hastily into Judea, as being affrighted for his son-in-law, and his daughter; and he came as a proper assistant, and in a very present manner, and by a stratagem he obliged the king not to execute what he had threatened; for when he was come to him, he cried out, "Where in the world is this wretched son-in-law in?” Where shall I see the head of him who had contrived to murder his father, which I will tear to pieces with my own hands? I will do the same also to my daughter, who hath such a fine husband: for although she be not a particular loss in the plot, yet as a wife of such a creature, she is polluted. And I cannot but admire at thy patience, against whom this plot is laid, if Alexander be still alive; for as I came with what haste I could from the last business, I expected to find him put to death for his crimes long ago; but still in order to make an examination with thee about my daughter, whom out of any regard to thee I did not take the trouble to bring to him in marriage; but now we must take counsel about them both; and if thy paternal affection be so great, that thou canst not punish thy son, who hath plotted against thee, let us change our right hands, and let us succeed one to the other in expressing our rage upon this occasion.”

2. When he had made this pompous declaration, he got Herod to remit of his anger, though he was in disorder, who thereupon gave him the books which Alexander had composed to be read by him, and as he came to every head, he considered of it, and considering both the books and the persons of the author and the readers, he took hence the occasion for that stratagem which he made use of, and by degrees he laid the blame on those men whose names were in these books, and especially on Pheroras; and the king had not ceased with a pleasant countenance, but was in the most barbarous disposition towards his own friends. Accordingly, he forbade a great many of them to come to command to those whom he had not power to punish actually, he spoke fearfully; but for Antipater, he insulted Alexander, now he was under his misfortunes, and got him from under his kindness, and put him in the greatest distress they were read, and accused with a pleasant countenance, but was in the most barbarous disposition towards his own friends. Accordingly, he forbade a great many of them to pass by him, and punished all sorts of calamity against him: and for the king, he was brought to such a degree of terror by those prodigious slanders and continuance, that in the midst he saw Alexander coming to him, with a drawn sword in his hand; so he caused him to be seized upon immediately and bound, and fell to examining his friends by torture, many of whom died [under the torture] but without saying anything, nor saying anything against their conscience; but some of them, being forced to speak falsely by the pains they endured, said that Alexander, and his brother Aristobulus, and his sister Herodia, were the principal authors of the wickedness, and had a deep and secret complicity with the criminals. This suspicion was spread abroad, and their names were changed under the name of "the Antipatrids," and they were put to death. This was the case of Alexander, who thought it some comfort to him, after he had found his son, that it might appear he had not done it unjustly.

3. Herod assented to what he had said, and, by degrees, abated of his anger against Alexander; but was more angry at Pheroras; for the principal subject of the four books was, who perceiving that the king's inclinations changed on a sudden, and that Archelaus's friendship could do every thing with him, and that he had no honourable method of preserving himself, he procured his death by his own hand; So he left Alexander, and had recourse to Archelaus.
Who told him, That "he did not see how he could get him excused, now he was directly cast in so many crimes, whereby it was evidently demonstrated that he had plotted against the king, and been the cause of those misfortunes which the young man was now under, unless he would moreover leave off his cunning knavery, and his denials of what he was charged with, and confess the charge, and implore pardon of his brother, who still had a kindness for him; but that if he would do so, he would afford him all the assistance he was able." 4. With this advice Phororax complied, and, putting himself into such a habit as might most move compassion, he came with black cloth upon his body and tears in his eyes, and threw himself down at Herod's feet, and begged his pardon for what he had done, and confessed that he had acted very wickedly, and was guilty of every thing that he had been accused of, and lamented that disorder of his mind and distraction which his love to a woman, he said, had brought him to. So when Archeclus had brought Phororax to accuse and bear witness against himself, he then made himself his brother's advocate, and excused Herod's anger towards him, and this by using certain domestic examples; "for that when he had suffered much greater mischiefs from a brother of his own, he would not have taken the obligations of nature before the passion of revenge; because it is in kingdoms, as it is in gross bodies, where some member or other is ever swelled by the weight, in which case it is not proper to cut off such member, but to heal it by a gentle method of cure." 5. Upon Archeclus's saying this, and much more to the same purpose, Herod's displeasure against him was much mollified; yet did he perceive in his own indignation against Alexander, and said, he would have his daughter divorced, and taken away from him, and this till he had brought him to that pass, that, contrary to his former behaviour to him, he petitioned Archeclus for the young man, and that he would let his daughter continue espoused to him; but Archeclus made him strongly believe that he would permit her to be married to any one else, but not to Alexander, because he looked upon it as a very valuable advantage, that the relation they had contracted by that affinity, and the privileges that went along with it, might be preserved. And when the king said, that his son would take it for a great favour done to him, if he would not choose another girl, and that he was ready to consent, Herod consented, and gave him consent for his daughter. But Archeclus recommended himself to his brother Antipater, and to Alexander, and to every thing that might please him, and thereby became one of his most intimate friends; for both the king and all his courtiers had a great regard for this Spartan on account of his country. 2. Now as soon as this fellow perceived the great advantage he had gotten, he had very little difficulty of ordinance the father was towards each of them, he chose to take his lodging at first in the house of Antipater, but declined Alexander with a presence of friendship to him, and falsely claimed to be an old acquaintance of Archeclus; for which reason he was presently admitted into Alexander's familiarity as a faithful friend. He also soon recommended himself to his brother Aristeas. And when he had thus made trial of these several persons, he imposed upon one of them three thousand drachmas as a present to the other. But he was principally hired by Antipater, and so betrayed Alexander, and this by reproaching Antipater, because, while he was the eldest son, he overstepped the bounds of his age, and by reproaching Alexander, because he who was born of a queen, and was married to a king's daughter, permitted one that was born of a mean woman to lay claim to the success, and that this when he had Archeclus to support him in the most complete manner. Nor was his advice thought to be other than faithful by the young man, who had an especial regard to Archeclus: on which account it was that Alexander lamented to him Antipater's behaviour with regard to himself, and this without concerning any thing from him; and how it was the reason if Herod, after he had killed his mother, should deprive them of her kingdom. He also, by a bait that he laid for him, procured Archeclus to do any thing that they put their time in faults and agreeable entertainments. And when

* This rife fellow, Eurycles the Lacedaemonian, seems to have been the same who is mentioned by Plutarch, as twenty-five years before a companion in Mark Antony, as being with Herod and Alexander, and who submitted himself to the acquaintance of Herod's sons, Antipater and Alexander, as Iber, Hicass, and Spermelius jointly suppose. The reason why his being a Spartan rendered him acceptable to the Jews, as we have seen he was, is derived from the public records of the Jews and Spartans, owning those Spartans to be of his kins, and having been in close intercourse with Herod and Alexander.
BOOK I.—CHAP. XXVII.

and then went to Alesandria, and carried those prisoners with him. He also asked a knight of his, if his father had had any sagacity or judgement, he, and were almost ready to come upon him with their drawn swords. For this intelligence he received a great sum of money, and on that money he left his father, and, at length undertook the work of bringing Alexander and Aristobulus to their graves, and accused them before their father. So he came to Herod and told him, that he would save his life, as a requital for the favours he had received from him, and would preserve his light (of life) by way of retribution for his kind en- tertainment, and also to procure the payment of his debts, which Alexander's right hand had been long stretched out against him; but that he had laid impediments in his way which prevented his reward, and thus for any reason was against him. And here he adds, how Alexander said that Herod was not contented to reign in a kingdom that belonged to others, and to make dilapidations in their motherland. In the first place, he says, he invented the design of having his sons kept in custody; for till now they had been at liberty. He also called that pest of his family, and forger of all this vile accusation, Euryale, his saviour and benefactor, and gave him a reward of fifty talents. Upon doing this, he added, her sons could account that could come of what he had done, by going immediately into Cappadocia, and there he got money of Archelaus, having the'im- pudence to pretend, that he had received this money from Alexander. He thence passed over into Greece, and used what he had thus wickedly gotten to the like wicked purposes. Accordingly, he was twice refused and then, having filled Achaia with sedition, and had plundered its cities; so he was sent into banishment. And thus he was punished for what wicked actions he had been guilty of about Aristobulus and Alexander.

5. But it will be now worth while to put Eus- ratus of Cos in opposition to this Spartan; for as he was one of Alexander's most intimate friends, and came to him in his travels at the same time that Euryale came, so she put the question to him, whether those things of which Alex- ander was accused were true? He assured him upon oath, that he had never heard or any such things from the young men; yet did this testi- mony avail nothing for the clearing those miserable creatures; for Herod was only disposed and most ready to bring up what made against them; and every one was most agreeable to him that would believe they were guilty, and showed their indignation at them.

CHAP. XXVII.

Herod, by Caesar's Direction, accuses his Sons at Berytus. They are not produced before the Court, but yet are condemned; and in a little Time they are sent to Scæsare, and strangulated there.

§ 1. Moreover, Salome exasperated Herod's cruelty against his sons; for Aristobulus was desirous to bring her, who was his mother-in-law and his aunt, into the like dangers with themselves: so he sent to her to take care of her own safety, and told her, that the king was preparing to put her to death, on account of the accusation that was laid against her, as if, when she formerly endeavoured to marry herself to the Arabian, she had discovered the king's grand se- crets to him who was the king's enemy; and this it was that came as the last storm, and entirely sunk the young men when they were in great danger before. For Salome came running to the king, and informed him of what admonition had been given her; whereupon he could bear no longer, but commanded both the young men to be bound, and kept the one asunder from the other. He also sent Volumnius, the general of his army, to Caesar immediately, as also his friend Olympus with him, who carried the king's letter in writing along with them. Now, as soon as they had sailed to Rome, and delivered the king's
letters to Caesar, Caesar was mighty troubled at the case of the young men; yet did he not think he ought to take the power over the father, or condemning him; so he wrote back to him, and ad appointed him to have the power over his sons; but said withal, that "he would do well to make an examination into this matter of the plot against him, in a public council, and to take for his assessors his own kindred, and the governors of the province: and if those sons be found guilty, to put them to death; but if they appear to have thought of so much more than flying away from him, that he should in that case moderate their punishment."

2. With these directions Herod complied, and came to Beryus, where Caesar had ordered the court to be assembled, and got the judicature together. The presidents sat first, as Caesar's letters had appointed, who were Saturninus, and Pedanius, and their lieutenants that were with them, with whom was the procurator Voluminus also; to next them sat the king's kinsmen and friends, with Salome also, and Pheroeras; after whom sat the principal men of all Syria, excepting Herod only; for Herod had a superstitious dread of him, because he was Alexander's father-in-law. Yet did not he produce his sons in open court; and this was done very cunningly, for he knew well that they could not appear, if but he appeared on; if they should appear, they would certainly have been piloted; and if withal they had been suffered to speak, Alexander would easily have answered what they were accused of; for they were in custody at Pintane, a village of the Sidonians.

3. So the king got up, and inveighed against his sons, as if they were present; and as for that part of the accusation that they had plotted against his sons, he urged it but faintly, because he was destitute of proof; but he insisted before the assessors on the reproaches, and jests, and imputations of the like of (AT, against him, which were heavier than death itself; and when nobody contradicted him, he moved them to pity his case, as though he had been condemned himself, now he had gained a bitter victory against his sons. So he asked every one's sentence, which sentence was first of all given by Saturninus, and was this, that he condemn him, but not to death; for that it was not fit for him, who had three sons of his own now present, to give his vote for the destruction of the sons of another. The two lieutenants also gave the like vote; some other there were also who followed their example; but Voluminus began to vote on the more melancholy side, and all those that came after him condemned the young men to die, some out of flattery, and some out of hatred to Herod; but none out of indignation at their crimes. And now all Syria and Judea was in great expectation, and waited for the last act of this tragedy; yet did nobody suppose that Herod would be so barbarous to murder his children; however, he carried them away to Tyre, and thence sailed to Cesarea; and deliberated with himself what sort of death they should have.

4. Now there was a certain old soldier of the king, whose name was Tero, who had a son that was very familiar with, and a friend to Alexander and with himself; particularly he had been a young man. This soldier was in a manner distracted out of the excess of the indignation he had at what was done; and at first he cried out aloud, as was wont about, "what justice was trampled under foot; that truth was perished, and nature confounded; and that the life of man was full of iniquity," and every thing else that passions make a man, he set to his own life; and at last he ventured to go to the king, and said, "Truly, I think thou art a most miserable man, when thou heartenest to most wicked wretches, against those that ought to be dearest to thee; since thou hast frequently solved that Pheroeras and Salome should be put to death, and yet believest them against thy own sons; so also the children of thine own sons, leave all whoso to Antipater, and thereby choose to have thee such a king as may be thoroughly in their own power. Hence, moreover, the breach of brotherhood, will not make him hated by the soldiers for there is nobody but comemerates the young men, and of the captains a great many show their affection to him. But that it openly appears from this, he named those that had such indignation; but the king ordered those men, with Tero himself, and his son, to be seized upon immediately.

5. At which time there was a certain baron, whose name was Trypho. This man kept set from among the people in a kind of madness, and accused himself, and said, "This Tero endeavoured to persuade me also to cut thy throat with my razor when I trimmed thee, and promised that Alexander should give me large presents for so doing." When Herod heard this, he examined Tero, with his son and the barber, but he refused to deliver him to Alexander; and as the accusation was made, and he said nothing farther, Herod gave order that Tero should be reckoned more severely; but his son, out of pity to his father, promised to deliver him; but he refused, and said that his father should be no longer tortured when he had agreed to this, he said, that "his father, at the persuasion of Alexander, had no intention to kill him." Now some said the cause was forged, in order to free his father from his terrors, and some said it was true.

6. And now Herod accused the captains, and Tero, and the barber; and ordered for their death; they were killed with the prisoner, and were thrown at them. He also sent his sons to Esbasta, a city not far from Cesarea, and ordered them to be there strangled: and as what he had ordered was executed immediately, so he commanded that their dead bodies should be brought to the fortress Alexandrium, to be buried with Alexander, their grandfather by the mother's side. And this was the end of Alexander and Aristobulus.

CHAP. XXVIII.
How Antipater is hated of all Men; and how the King exposes the Sons of those that had been slain to his Kindred; but that Antipater and his Friends for Other Women. Of Herod's Marriages and Children.

§ 1. But an intolerable hatred fell upon Antipater from the nation, though he had now an indisputable title to the succession; because they all knew that he was the person who contrived all the calamities against his brothers. However, he began to be in a terrible fear, as he saw the posteriority of those that had been slain growing up; for Alexander had two sons by Cleopatra, and Tigranes, and Alexander, and Aristobulus, and Tero, and Agrippa, and Herod, his son, with Herodias and Mariamme, his daughters, and with Bernice, Salome's daughter; as for Cleopatra, he had killed; Alexander, sent her back, together with her portico, to Capadocia. He married Bernice, Salome's daughter, to Antipater's uncle by his mother, and it was Antipater, who, in order to reconcile her to him, when she had been at variance with him, contrived this match; he also got into Pheroeras' favour, and into the favour of Caesar's friends by the present, and who agree to monies sent to small sums of money to Rome: Saturnius also, and his friends in Syria, were all well replenished with the presents he made them; yet the more he gave, the more he was hated, and
making these presents out of generosity, but spending his money out of fear. Accordingly, it as full out, that the receivers bore him no more grace, than that of a common slave; for whom he gave nothing was his more bitter enemies.—However, he bestowed his money every day more and more profusely, on observing that, contrary to the statutes, the king was in daily care about the orphans, and discovering at the same time his repentance for killing their fathers, by his commiseration of those that sprung from them.

2. Accordingly, Herod got together his kindred and friends, and set before them the children, and with eyes full of tears said these to them:—

"It was an unlucky fate that took away from me these children's fathers, which children are recommended to me by that natural commiseration which their orphan condition requires; however, I will endeavour, though I have been a most unfortunate father, to appear a better grandfather, and to leave these children such curators after myself as are dearest to me. I therefore betroth thy daughter, Phereoros, to the eldest of these children of thine; and, [Philip] my sister, the daughter of Aristobulus, be to him therefore a father to that one; and may my eldest daughter [Philip] and she betroth her sister, whose grandfather, by the mother's side, was high priest. And let every one that loves me be of my sentiments in these dispositions, which will be the more agreeable to the present age, which will abrogate. And I pray God, that he will join these children together in marriage, to the advantage of my kingdom, and of my posterity, and that one of them shall be more服务区 upon them than he looked upon their fathers.'"

3. While he spoke these words, he wept, and joined the children's right hands together; after which he embraced Antipater, in an affectionate manner, and dismissed the assembly. Upon this, Antipater was in great disorder immediately, and lamented publicly at what was done; for he supposed that this dignity which was conferred on these orphans was for his own destruction, even in his father's lifetime, and that he should run another risk of losing the government, if Alexander's sons should have both Archelaus [a king] and Phereoros a tetrarch to support them. He also considered how he was himself hated by the nation, and how they pitted these orphans; also, he was greatly affected that the king was doing a censure upon those brethren of his when they were alive, and how gladly they remembered them now they had perished by his means. So he resolved by all means to prevent that hisESPousal dissolved.

4. Now he was afraid of going suddenly about this matter with his father, who was hard to be pleased, and was presently moved upon the least suspicion; so he ventured to go to him directly, and to be with him before his face, not to destroy the him of that dignity which he had been pleased to bestow upon him, and that he might not have the bare name of a king, while the power was in another person. For Alexander's son is to be a king to keep the government, if Alexander's sons should have both Archelaus and Phereoros for their curators, and he besought him earnestly that the children should be alive, that he would change these [intended] marriages. Now the king had nine wives, and children by seven of them; Antipater was

--- Dear Alidnch takes notice here, that these nine wives of Herod were alive at the same time; and that if the certain Mariamne. S. Joseph, Herod's queen, or treasurer, dares on the same account. 2. Joseph, Herod's brother, slain in battle against Antiochus. 3. Joseph, Herod's nephew, husband of Olympias, mentioned in this place. 4. Joseph, Herod's cousin, born to him of his two wives, Euph and Phereoros. See Herod's genealogy, Antioch. R. xxv. ch. 1. sect. 3.

... daughters of Herod, whom Phereoros's wife affected, were slain at the same time, two of them were, five, born to him of his two wives, Euph and Phereoros. See Herod's genealogy, Antioch. R. xxv. ch. 1. sect. 3.
pleased, they left off their public meetings, and friendly entertainments of one another; and, on the contrary, they pretended to quarrel one with another, as if the multitude were the cause of the quarrel. For, like dissimulation did Antipater make use of, and when matters were public, he opposed Pho- roras; but still they had private cabinets and merry meetings. And the time was not far distant when the overthrowers of others do any more than confirm their mutual agreement. However, Salome knew every thing they did, and told every thing to Herod.

So he went with愿望 to the man of the house, and chiefly to Pheroras's wife, for Salome had principally accused her. So he got an assembly of his friends and kindred together, and there accused her of many things, and particular of the affronts she had offered his daugh- ters; and that she had supplied the Phareecies with money, by way of rewards for what they had against him. For he was afraid of his brother to become his enemy, by giving the love potions. At length he turned his speech to Pho- roras, and told him, that "he would give him his choice of the two things, whether he would keep in his brother's, with his wife," and that he did not know what to do farther in that matter, turned his speech to Euphorbas, and charged him with having intercourse either with Pheroras's wife, or with Pheroras himself, or with any one belonging to her. Now, though Antipater did not transgress that unnatural connexion, yet did he in secret, yet he feared his secret would come to his secret, and because he was afraid that Salome observed what he did, he procured, by the means of his Italian friends, that he might go and live at Rome; for when they wrote that it was proper for Antipater to be sent to Caesar for some time, Herod made no delay, but sent him, and that with a splendid at- tendance, and gave him a great deal of money, and gave him his testament to carry with him, wherein Antipater had the kingdom bequeathed to him, and wherein Herod was named for Antipater's suc- ceeder; that Herod, I mean, who was the son of Mariamne, the high priest's daughter.

3. Syllaus also, the Arabian, sailed to Rome, without any regard to Caesar's injunctions, and in order to oppose Antipater with all his might, as to that law-suit which Nicollas had with him before. This Syllaus had also a great contest with Aretas his own king; for he had eloped his daughter, and particularly Sohemus, the most potent man in the city of Petra. Moreover, he had prevailed with Phabatas, who was Herod's steward, by giving him a present, to assist him against his brother Herod; but when Herod gave him more, he induced him to leave Syllaus, and by his means he demanded of him all that Caesar had required of him to pay. But when Syllaus paid nothing to what he was to pay, and did also accuse Pha- batus to Caesar, and said that he was not a steward for Caesar's advantage, but for Herod's, Phabatus was angry at him on that account, but was still in Herod's service, and discovered Syllaus's grand secrets, and told the king that Syllaus had corrupted Corinthus, one of the guards of his body, by bribing him, and of fly that he might get a handle in this con- fession, and proceeded to inquire further into the truth of the matter. So this man discovered the friendship of Antipater's mother to Phae- ras, and Antipater's intimacy, and those secret meet- ings, and that Phereoras and Antipater had drunk

* This strange obstinacy of Phereoras in retaining his wife, who was one of a low family, and refusing to marry his nearly related to Herod, though he so constantly de- clared his desire to marry her, was owing to the counsel of the other great court; ladies, together with Herod's own im- portance as to Phereoras's divorce and other marriages, all to which he submitted, as Antipater himself testifies. B. vii. chap. 11.

caught with him; the one of them was Syllaus a friend, the other the head of a tribe. The last being put to the torture, confessed that they had killed it for the purpose of murdering Herod, for a sum of money, to kill Herod; and when they had been farther examined before Saturninus the pre- sident of Syria, they were sent to Rome.

4. But Herod, on his return to his kingdom, proceeded to force him to pay away his wife; yet could he devise no way by which he could bring the woman herself to punish herself for her brother Antipater, as he had obtained leave of the em- pire; for Phereoras, but proceeded to force him to pay away his wife; yet could he devise no way by which he could bring the woman herself to punish herself for her brother Antipater, as he had obtained leave of the em- pire; for Phereoras, but proceeded to force him to pay away his wife; yet could he devise no way by which he could bring the woman herself to punish herself for her brother Antipater, as he had obtained leave of the em-
with them for a whole night together as they returned from the king, and would not suffer any body to come near them, lest some of them should discover them there; while only one of the free women discovered the whole matter.

3. Upon this Herod tortured the maid-servants every one of them separately, who all unanimously agreed in the foregoing discoveries, and that accordingly by agreement they went away, Antipater to Rome and Pheroras to Perea; for that Antipater was brought to Rome to take care of his father's affairs, and that Pheroras was going up to Perea, after the death of their mother, whom he had married, and had no children of his own; and that Antipater was to take care of him in his own stead, but Herod the son of Mariamne; that is, in the presentHerod was plainly distracted, to think that his testament should therein take place, for he would have cared that not one of his posterity should remain, because he was all his fathers hatred, and his greatest hater of his children. Yet doth he hate his brother still worse, whence it was that he a while ago gave himself a hundred talents, that he should not have any intercourse with Pheroras. And when Pheroras said, Wherein have we done him any harm? Antipater replied, I wish he would but deprecate us of all we have, and less, and many innocent persons led to the torture, out of his fear lest he should leave any guilty person untortured.

4. These things were said by the women upon the torture, as also that Pheroras resolved to fly with Antipater, which Herod did not believe, though all they said, on account of the affinity of the hundred talents; for he had no discourse with any body about them, but only with Antipater. So the king, upon the departure of Pherora's mother, and took away from her all the ornaments which he had given her, which cost a great many talents, and cast her out of the palace his mother. And also, he also tarried in the house of Pheroras after their torture, as being now reconciled to them; but he was in great consternation himself, and inflamed upon every suspicion, and had many innocent persons led to the torture, out of his fear lest he should leave any guilty person untortured.

5. And now it was that he betook himself to examine Antipater, of Samaria, who was the son of Herod the son of Antipater; and upon torturing him, he learned that Antipater had sent for a potion of deadly poison for him out of Egypt, by Antiphus, a companion of his; that Theudius, the son of Herod, and Antipater, had overcome him, and delivered it to Pheroras; for that Antipater had charged him to take his father off while he was at Rome, and so free him from the suspicion of her death. Therefore the king, on this suspicion, committed this potion to his wife. Then did the king send for her, and bade her bring to him what she had received immediately. So she came out of her house as if she would bring him poison, but threw herself down from the top of the house, in order to prevent any examination and torture from the king. However, it came to pass, as it seems by the sentence, that God intended to bring Antipater to punishment, that she fell not upon her head, but upon other parts of her body, and escaped. The king, when she was brought to him, was at first quite senseless upon her fall, and asked her why she had thrown herself down, and gave her a oath, that if she would speak the true truth, he would not make any punishment; but that if she concealed any thing, he would have her body torn to pieces by tormentors, and leave no part of it to be buried.

6. Upon this the woman paused a little, and then said, Why do I spare to speak of these grand secrets, now Pheroras is dead, that would only tend to save Antipater, who is all our destruction? Hear, then, O king, and be thou, God himself, who cannot be deceived, witness to the truth of what I am going to say. When thou didst sit weeping by Pheroras as he was dying, then it was that he called me to him, and said, My dear wife, I have been greatly mistaken to the disposition of my brother towards me, and have hated him that is so affectionate to me, and he himself is in such disorder for me before I am dead. As for myself, I receive the recompense of my impiety; but do thou bring what poison was left in the box out of Egypt, and let it be burnt in order to destroy him, and consume it immediately in the fire in my sight, that I may not be liable to the avenger in the invisible world. This I brought as be he made me, and emptied the greatest part of it into the fire, but reserved a little part for my own use against uncertain futurity, and out of my fear of thee. Then had she thus said, she brought the box, which had a small quantity of that poison in it; but the king let her alone, and transferred the tortures to Antiphus's mother and brother, who both confessed that Antiphus brought that box out of Egypt, and that they had received the potion from a brother of his, who was a physician at Alexandria. Then did the ghosts of Alexander and Aristobulus go round all the palace, and became the inquisitors and discoverers of what could not otherwise have been found out, and brought such as were the freest from suspicion to be examined; whereby it was discovered that Theudius, the son of Herod, and Antipater's mother, and very brothers, when they were tortured, declared it so to be. Whereupon the king avenged this insolent attempt of Antipater against him, and Antipater was put to death, whom he had by her, out of his testament, who had been before named therein as successor to Antipater.

CHAP. XXXI.

Antipater is convicted by Barthylus: but he still returns from Rome without knowing it. Herod brings him to his Trial.

§ 1. After these things were over, Barthylus came under examination, in order to convict Antipater, who proved the concluding attestation to Antipater's designs; for indeed he was no other than his freed-man. This man came, and brought another deadly potion, the poison of asps, and the juices of other serpents, that if the first potion did not do the business, Pheroras and his wife might be armed with this also to destroy the king. He brought also an addition to Antipater's insolent attempt against his father, which was written letters to his brother against Aristobulus and Philip, who were the king's sons, and educated at Rome, being yet youths, but of generous dispositions. Antipater set himself to get rid of these so soon as he might not be prejudicial to his hopes, and to that end he forged letters against them in the name
of his friends at Rome. Some of these he corrupted by bribes to write how they grossly reproached their father, and did openly bewail Alexander and Aristobulus, and were uneasy at the safety; and other friends any thing already sent for them, which was the very thing that troubled Antipater.

2. Nay, indeed, while Antipater was in Judea, and before he was upon his journey to Rome, he gave money to have the like letters against them sent from Rome, and then came to his father, who as yet had no suspicion of him, and spoke for his brother, and alleged on their behalf, that some of the things contained in those letters were false, and others of them were only youthful errors. Yet at the same time that he understood a great deal of his money, by making presents to such as wrote against his brethren, and he aim to bring his accounts into confusion, by buying costly garments, and carpets of various colors, and horses, and cups, and a great many more curious things, that so, among the very great expenses laid out upon such furniture, he might conceal the money he had used in [to write the letters]; for he brought in an account of his expenses, amounting to two hundred talents, his main pretence for which the lawsuit he had been in with Sylcd, and the rest of his affairs, and even those of the lesser sort also, were covered by his greater villany, while all the examinations by torture proclaims his attempt to murder his father, and the letters of his brother, and attempt to murder his brethren; yet did no one of those that came to Rome inform him of his misfortunes in Judea, although seven months had intervened between him and the death of his brother, and his return home to the hatred which they all bore to him. And perhaps they were the ghosts of those brethren of his that had been murdered, that stopped the mouths of those that intended to have told him. He then wrote upon Rome and informed [his friends] that he would soon come to them, and how he was dismissed with honour by Caesar.

3. Now the king being desirous to get this power over him, and to have him in his hands, and being also afraid lest he should some way come to the knowledge how his affairs stood, and be upon his guard, he disembled his anger in his epistle to his brother, and pointed him to be warned, and desired him to make haste, because if he came quickly, he would then lay aside the complaints he had against his mother; for Antipater would have made it appear that his mother had been evil-advised to get me into his arms, when he was under such heinous accusations. God confound thee, thou vile wretch; do not thou touch me, till thou hast cleared thyself of these crimes that are charged upon thee. I appoint thee a court where thou art to be judged, and this Varus, who is very seasonable here, to be thy judge; and yet thou dost defend ready against to-morrow; for give thee so much time to prepare suitable excuses for thyself." And as Antipater was so confounded that he was able to make no answer to this advice, he went away; but his mother sent to him, and told him of all the evidence they had gotten against him. Hereupon he recollected himself, and considered what defence he should make against the accusations.

CHAP. XXXII.

Antipater as accused before Varus, and is accused of laying a Plot against his Father; he by the strongest Evidence. Herod puts off his Punishment till he should be Recovered, and, in the mean time, alters his Testament.

§ 1. Now the day following, the king assembled a court of his kinsmen and friends, and called in Antipater's friends also; Herod himself, with Varus, were the presidents; and Herod
called for all the witnesses, and ordered them to be brought in; among whom some of the domestics were brought also, who had but a little while before been caught, as they were carrying the following letter from her to her son: "Since all those things have been already divulged, and thy father's deed, so far as concerneth me, until the time I can procure some assistance from Caesar." When this and the other witnesses were introduced, Antipater came in, and falling on his face before his father's feet, he said, "Father, I beseech thee do not condemn me beforehand, but let thy ears be unbiased, and attend to my defence; for if thou wilt give me leave, I will demonstrate that I am monecious." If The hereupon Herod cried out to him to hold his peace, and spoke thus to Varus: "I cannot but think that thou, Varus, and every other upright judge, will determine that Antipater is a vile wretch. I am also afraid that thou wilt abhor my ill fortune, and judge me also myself worthy of all sorts of calamity, for begetting such children, while yet I ought rather to be pitied, who have been so affectionate a father to such wretched sons; for when I had settled the kingdom on my former sons, even when they were but little, I have, by the help of the God of their education at Rome, I have made them the friends of Caesar, and made them envied by other kings, I found them plotting against me; these have been the greatest hindrance to whom God inflicted the greatest measure, for the sake of Antipater; for as he was then young, and appointed to be my successor, I took care chiefly to secure him from danger. And this was a king already, when he had been over and above satiated with that patience which I showed him, he made use of that abundance I had given him against myself; for I never was so uneasy at the old age I was arrived at; nor could he stay any longer, but would be a king by parricide. And I justly am served by him for bringing him back out of the country to court, when he was of no esteem before, and for thrusting out those sons of mine that were born of the queen, and for making him a successor to my dominions. I confess to thee, O Varus, the great folly I was guilty of: for I provoked those sons of mine to act against me, and cut off their just expectations for the sake of Antipater; and indeed what kindness did I do to them, that could ever have done Antipater to whom I have, in a manner, yielded up my royal authority while I am alive, and whom I have openly named for the successor to my dominions in my testament, and who has in a great and strong degree made it his own office of fifty talents, and supplied him with money to an extravagant degree out of my own revenue; and when he was about to sail to Rome, I gave him three hundred talents, and recommended him, and him alone of all my children, to Caesar, as his father's deliverer. Now what crimes were those other sons of mine guilty of like these of Antipater? and what evidence was there brought against them so strong as there is to demonstrate this son to have plotted against me? Yet does this parricide presume to speak for himself, and henceforward secure the truth by his cunning tricks. Thou, O Varus, must guard thyself against him; for I know the wild beast, and I foresee how he will talk, and his counterfeit lamentation. This was he who exerted me to have care of Alexander when he was alive, and not to intrust my body with all men! This was he who came to my very bed, and looked about lest any one should hear me beeping tricks. This was he who took care of my sleep, and secured me from any fear of danger who comforted me under the trouble I was in upon the slaughter of my sons, and looked to see my affliction my surviving brethren to save me! This was my protector, and the guardian of my body. And when I call to mind, O Varus, his craftiness upon every occasion, and his art of insinuating himself, it hardly be possible that I am still alive, and I would believe I have escaped such a deep plotter of mischief. However, since some fate or other makes my house desolate, and perpetually raises up those who are dearer to me against me, with tears lament my hard fortune, and privately grieve under my losse some condition; yet I am resolved that no one who thirsts after my blood shall escape punishment, although the evidence should extend itself to all my sons." 3. Upon Herod's saying this, he was interrupted by the confusion he was in; but ordered Nicæa, one of his friends, to produce the evidence against Antipater. But in the mean time Antipater lifted up his head, (for he lay on the ground before his father's feet,) and cried out aloud, "Thou, O father, hast made my apology to thee for how can I be a parricide, whom thou thyself confessest to have always had for thy guardian? Thou callest my filial affection prodigious lies and hypocrisy; how then could it be that I, who was so subtle in other matters, should here be so mad as not to understand that it was not easy that he who committed so horrid a crime should be concealed from men; but impossible that he should be concealed from the Judge of heaven, who sees all things, and is present everywhere? or did not I know what end my brethren came to, on account of whom God inflicted on them their evil designs against thee? And, indeed, what was there that could possibly provoke me against thee? Could the hope of being a king do it? I was no king, and was in no way the heir to become a king. No: was not I beloved by thee? And what other fear could I have? Nay, by preserving thee safe, I was a terror to others. Did I want money? No: I was as rich as myself. Indeed, father, had I been the most execrable of all mankind, and had I had the soul of the most cruel wild beast, must I not have been overthrown with the benefits thou hadst bestowed upon me? whom, as thou thyself sayest, thou broughtest into the palace; whom thou didst prefer before so many of thy sons; whom thou madest a king in thine own lifetime; and by the vast magnitude of the other advantages thou bestowedst on me, thou madest me an object of envy. O miserable man! that thou shouldst undergo this bitter affliction, and by affording a great opportunity for envy to arise against thee! and a long space for such as were laying designs against thee! Yet was I absent, father, on thy affairs, that Sylphrids, which is not a great there would be in thine old age. Rome is a witness to my filial affection, and so is Caesar, the ruler of the habitable earth, who oftentimes called me Philosopher." Take here the letters he hath sent thee; they are more to be believed than the calumnies raised here: these letters are my only apology; these I use as the demonstration of that natural affection I have to thee. Remember that it was against my own choice that I sailed (to Rome,) as knowing the lamentable hatred that was in the kingdom against me. It was thou, O father, however unwillingly, who hast been my procuration for all these times, for calumnies against me, and envy at me. How ever, I am come hither, and am ready to hear the evidence there is against me. If I be a parricide, I have passed by land and by sea, without suffering any misfortune on either of them: but this method of trial is no advantage to me; for it seems, O father, that I am already condemned, both before God, and before them who are ready condemned, I beg that thou wilt not believe the others who have been tortured, but let fire be brought to torment me; let the rack be marched through my bowels; have no regard to * A lover of his father.
any hesitation that this polluted body can make; for if I be a parasite, I ought not to die without torture." Thus did Antipater cry out with tears as much as the love of his brother and hatred of his enemies would permit. Herod was the only person whose passion was too strong to permit him to weep, as knowing that the testimony against him was true.

4. And now it was that, at the king's command, Nicolaus, when he had premised a great deal about the craftiness of Antipater, and had earnestly pleaded the merits of their humiliation to him, afterward brought in a bitter and large accusation against him, ascribing all the wickedness that had been in the kingdom to him, especially the murder of his brethren, and demonstrated that they had perished by the calamities he had raised against them. He also said, that he had laid designs against them that were still more notorious than any other accusations, and the proofs for them, he left off.

5. Then Varus bid Antipater make his defence; but he lay long in silence, and said no more but this: "O God, I am your witness that I am entirely innocent." So Varus asked for the poison, and gave it to be drunk by a condemned miscreant, who was then in prison, who died upon the spot. So Varus, when he had had a very private discourse with the king, had written a letter in assembled to Caesar; west away after a day's stay. The king also bound Antipater, and sent away to inform Caesar of his misfortune.

6. It was discovered that Antipater had laid a plot against Salome also; for one of Antiphan's domestic servants came, and brought letters from Rome, from a maid-servant of Julia, Caesar's wife, whose name was Acmo. By her a message was sent to the king, that she had found a letter written by Salome, among Julia's papers, and had sent it to him privately, out of her own desire to do him good. This letter of Salome's contained the most bitter reproaches of the king, and the highest accusations against him. Antipater had forged this letter, and had corrupted Acmo to bring it against him, and to send it to Herod. This was proved by her letter to Antipater, for thus did this woman write to him: "As thou desirest, I have written a letter to thy father, and have sent that letter, and am persuaded that the king will not spare his sister when he reads it. Thou wilt do well to remember what thou hast promised when all is accomplished." 7. When this was discovered, and what the epistle forged against Salome contained, a suspicion came into the king's mind, that perhaps the letters against Alexander were also forged: he was moreover greatly disturbed, and in a passion, because he had almost slain his sister on Antipater's account. He did not lose time, but he immediately sent for the three Jews in his camp, the son of Aeschus, and Varus in particular, to commiserate his case. Herod was the only person whose passion was too strong to permit him to weep, as knowing that the testimony against him was true.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The golden eagle is cut to pieces. Herod's barbarity when he was ready to die. He silences the words of the poets. He commannded Antipater to be slain. He survives him five Days, and then dies.

1. Now Herod's distemper became more and more severe to him, and this because these his disorders fell upon him in his old age, and when he was in a melancholy condition; for he was already in the seventy years of age, and had been brought low by the calamities that happened to him about his children, whereby he had no pleasure in life, even when he was in health; the grief also that Antipater was seen alive aggravated his disease, whom he resolved to put to death now not at random, but as soon as he should be well again, and resolved to have him slain in a public and not a secret manner.

2. There also now happened to him, among his other calamities, a certain popular sedition. There were two men of learning in the city of Jerusalem, who were thought to be the most skilful in the laws of their country, and were on the account had in very great esteem all over the nation; they were, the one Judas, the son of Sepphoris, and the other Mathias, the son of Margalus. There was a great concourse of the young men to these men, when they expanded the laws, and they got together every day a hundred and forty of them to sit with these men. Now when these men were informed that the king was wearing away with melancholy, and with a distemper, they dropped words to their accounts, that it was not just, that the king should die without being informed that he was going to defend the cause of God, and to fell down what had been erected contrary to the laws of their country; for it was unlawful there should be such thing in the temple as images, or faces, or the like representation of any animal whatsoever. Now the king had put up a golden eagle over the great gate of the temple, which these learned men exhorted them to cut down, and told them, that if there should any danger arise, it was a glorious thing to die for the laws of their country; because that the soul was immortal.
and that an eternal enjoyment of happiness did attend those who died in this account; while the mean-spirited, and those that were not wise enough to show a right love of their souls, preferred death by a disease before that which is the result of a virtuous behaviour.

2. As this day was ordained for his coronation, and his wife and her husband Alexes, and made this speech to them: "I know well enough that the Jews will keep a festival upon my death; however, it is in my power to be certain of the accounts, and to have a splendid funeral, if you will but be subservient to my commands. Do you not take care to send soldiers to encompass these men that are now in custody, and slay them immediately upon my death, and then all Judea, and every family of them, will weep at it, whether they will or no."

3. These were the commands he gave them, when there came letters from his ambassadors at Rome, whereby information was given that Acme was put to death at Caesar's command, and had a very glorious funeral, and was buried at Rome. However, they wrote withal, that if Herod had a mind rather to banish him, Caesar had permitted him so to do. So he for a little while revived, and had a decent funeral, but after that he was overborne by his pains, and was disordered by want of food, and by a convulsive cough, and endeavoured to prevent a natural death; so he took an apple, and asked for a knife to cut it open and eat it; while he was about to do so, he despaired of life. He then turned round about to see that there was nobody to hinder him, and lifted up his right hand as if he would stab himself, but as he did so, two of his bodyguard came running to him, and held his hand, and hindered him from so doing; on which occasion a very great lamentation was made in the palace, and the whole Jewish nation, not of every village, but of every town, which had any good opinion of the nation, gave them the same burial. And they were not satisfied, but overpowered him, and made him die, and bore his body, with all the dignity of his rank, to Jerusalem, and made him a very magnificent funeral, and set up a large statue of him in the temple. They then sent a message to Herod, that he had behaved himself with much courage, and that they would grant him the satisfaction of being buried in a very magnificent manner, as the customs of the times were. So Herod, having survived the slaughter of his son five days, died, having reigned thirty-four years since he had caused Antigonus to be slain, and obtained the kingdom: seventeen years since he had been made king by the Romans. Now, as for his fortune, it was prosperous in all other respects, if ever any other man could be so, for as the blast of Alexander removed the kingdom, and kept it so long, and left it to his own sons; but still, in his domestic affairs he was a most unfortunate man. Now before the soldiers knew of his death, Salome and her bairb came out and dismissed those that were in bonds, whom the king had commanded to be slain, and told them that he had altered his mind, and would have every one of them sent to their own homes. When these men were gone, Salome told the soldiers [the king was dead,] and got them and the rest of the multitude together in an assembly, in the amphitheatre in Jerusalem, where Ptolemy, who was intrusted by the king with his signet-ring, came before them, and spoke of the happiness the king had attained, and comforted the multitude, and read the epistle which had been left for the soldiers, wherein he earnestly exhorted them to bear good-will to his successor; and after he had read the epistle, he opened and read his testament, wherein it was to inherit Trachonitis and the neighbouring countries, and Antipas was to be tetrarch, as we said before, and Archelaus was made king. He had also been discovered that he purposed to pass to Caesar, and the settlements he had made sealed up, because Caesar was to be lord of all the set-
BOOK II.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF SIXTY-NINE YEARS—FROM THE DEATH OF HEROD TILL VESPASIAN WAS SENT TO SUBDUCE THE JEWS BY NERO.

CHAPTER I.

Archelaus makes a Funeral Feast for the People on the account of Herod; after which a great Temple he is raised by Multitudes, and he sends the Soldiers out upon them, who destroy about three thousand of them.

§ 1. Now the necessity which Archelaus was under of taking a journey to Rome was the occasion of various entertainments for which he had mourned for his father seven days, and had given a very expensive funeral feast to the multitude, (which custom is the occasion of poverty to many of the Jews; but we are forced to feast the multitude, for if any one omits it, he is not esteemed a holy person,) he put on a white garment, and went up to the temple, where the people accosted him with various acclamations. He also spoke kindly to the multitude from an elevated seat, and a throne of gold, and returned them thanks for the zeal they had shown about his father's funeral, and the submission they had made to him, as if he were already settled in the kingdom; but he told them withal, that "he would not at present take upon him either the authority of a king, or the names therein belonging, until Caesar should show a lord of this kind, in order to confirm the succession; for that when the soldiers would have set the diadem on his head at Jericho, he would not accept of it; but that he would make abundant requisites, not only to the soldiers only, but to the people, for their sanctity and good-will to him, when the superior lords (the Romans) should have given him a complete title to the kingdom; for that it should be his study to appear in all things better than his father."

2. Upon this the multitude were pleased, and presently made a trial of what he intended, by asking great things of him; for some made a clamour that he would ease them in their taxes; others, that he would take off the duties upon commodities; and some, that he would loose those that were in prison; in all which cases he answered readily to their satisfaction, in order to get the good-will of the multitude; after which he offered (the proper) sacrifices, and feasted with his friends. And here it was that a great many of those that desired innovations, came in crowds towards the evening, and began then to mucronate on their own account, when the public mourning for the king was over. These

lamented those that were put to death by Herod, because they had coined and cut down the golden shield which had been over the gate of the temple. Nor was this mourning of a private nature, but the lamentations were very great, the mourning solemn. And the people were so on fire with such as was looking such as was looking like a person of greater piety and purity than he was. And at these clamours Archelaus was provoked, but restrained himself from taking vengeance on the authors; on account of the benefits he was in of going to Rome, as fearing lest, upon his making war on the multitude, such an action might deliniate him at home. Accordingly he made trial to quiet the innovators by persuasion rather than by force, and sent his generals in a private way to them, and by him exhorted them to be quiet. But the seditious threw stones at him, and drove him away, as he came into the temple, and before he could say any thing to them. The like treatment was given them after him, many of whom were sent by Archelaus, in order to reduce them to sobriety, and these answered still on all occasions after a manner most insolent and profane, and not to be quiet, if their numbers were not considerable. And indeed at the feast of unleavened bread, which was now at hand, and by the Jews called the Passover, the multitude was celebrated with a great number of sacrifices, as innumerable multitude of the people came out of the country to worship: some of these stood in the temple bewailing the Rabbins (that had been put to death,) and procured their sacrifices by begging, in order to support their sedition. At this Archelaus was affrighted, and privately sent a tribune, with his cohort of soldiers, upon the place, with orders that they should condemn those that began the tumult, by force, to be quiet. At these the whole multitude were irritated, and threw stones at many of the soldiers, and killed them: but the tribune fled away wounded, and had much ado to escape so. After which they betook themselves to the temple; and as if they had done no mischief; nor did it apper

* Hear Dean Aldrich's note on this place. — The law or custom of the Jews, says he, "requires seven days mourning for the dead, Am. xlii. chap. viii. sect. 6. Which is also written in the book of Ecclesiastes, ch. xiii. 19, and sung seven days to he the stations of mourning for the dead, and chap. xxviii. 17, enjoins men to mourn for the dead, that they may not be evil spoken of: for, as Jesus-upon it, covered with purple; and a diadem was put upon his head, and a crown of gold above it, and a sceptre in his right hand; and near to the bier were Herod's sons, and a multitude of his kindred; and to whom came his guards, and the rest of the regiments of the Galileans, the Gerizimites, and the Galilaeans, the Gaus, all recounted for them if they were going to war; but the rest of the army went foremost, armed, and following their captains and officers who were honoured many; after whom five hundred of his domestic servants and freed-men followed with sweet spices in their hands: and the body was carried two hundred furlongs to Jerusalem, on horseback: and there the bier sat for twenty days. And this shall suffice for the conclusion of the life of Herod.
near to Archelaus that the multitude could be restrained without bloodshed; so he sent his horse armed upon them, the footmen in great multitudes, and sent messengers by the way of the plain, who, falling upon them on the sudden, as they were offering their sacrifices, destroyed about three thousand of the multitude. As the rest of the multitude were dispersed upon the adjoining mountains; these were followed by Archelaus's heralds, who commanded every one to retire to their own homes; whither they all went, and left the festival.

CHAP. II.

Archelaus goes to Rome with a great Number of his Subjects. He is there accused before Caesar by Antipater; but is superior to him as Accusers in Judgment, by the Means of that Defiance which Nicholas made for him.

§ 1. Archelaus went down to the seaside, with his mother and his friends, Popias, and Ptolemy, and Nicolas, and left behind him Philip, to be his steward in the palace, and general of his domestic affairs. Salome went also along with him her sons, as did also the king's brethren and sons-in-law. These, in appearance, seemed to have a great interest in his affairs; they were able, in order to secure his succession, but in reality to accuse him for his breach of the laws, by what he had done at the temple. Salome, who carried with her the courier of Syria, met him; he was going up to Judea, to secure his father's effects: but Varus, [president of Syria,] who was come thither, murdered him, and went on to Judea. Archelaus, the procurator of Syria, met him; he was going up to Judea, to secure his father's effects: but Varus, [president of Syria,] who was come thither, murdered him, and went on to Judea.

Archelaus, however, sent away, by the earnest entreaty of Ptolemy. At this time indeed, Salome, to gratify Varus, neither went to the citadel, nor did he shut up the treasury where his father had put it. Archelaus promised that he would lie still until Caesar should have taken cognizance of the affair. So he abode at Cæsarea; but as soon as those that were his hinderance were gone, when Varus was gone to Antioch, and Archelaus was sailed to Rome, he immediately went on to Jerusalem, and seized upon the palace. And when he had called for the governor of the citadel, and the steward of the king's private affairs, [he tried to seize out the accounts of the money, and to take possession of the citadel. But the governors of those citadels were upon them by Archelaus, and continued to guard them, and said, the custody of them rather belonged to Cæsar than to Archelaus.

§ 2. In the meantime Archelaus also went to Rome, to strive for the kingdom, and to insist that the former testament, wherein he was named to be king, was valid before the latter testament. Salome had also promised to assist him, as had many of Archelaus's kindred, who sailed along with Archelaus himself also. He also carried along with him his mother, and Ptolemy the brother of Nicholas, to give weight on account of the great trust Herod put in him, he having been one of his most honoured friends. However, Antipas depended chiefly upon Irenes, the orator, upon whose advice he had rejected such as advised him to yield to Archelaus, because he was his elder brother, and because the second testament gave the kingdom to him. The inclinations also of all the Romans, who hated him, and had been removed to Antipas, when they came to Rome, although in the first place every one rather desired to live under their own laws, [without a king,] and to be under their own government; but when they should fall in that point, these desired that Antipas might be their king.

§ 3. Salome did also afford these his assistance to the same purpose, by the letters he sent, wherein he accused Archelaus before Caesar, and highly commended Antipas. Salome also, and those with her, put the crimes which they accused Archelaus with in their letters, and the faults of Caesar's hands: and after they had done that, Archelaus wrote down the reasons of his claim, and, by Ptolemy, sent in his father's ring, and the ring of his father's father. This ring was maturely weighed by himself what both had to allege for themselves, as also had considered of the great burden of the kingdom, and largeness of the revenues, and withal the number of the children Herod had left behind him, and had moreover read the letters he had received from Varus and Sabines on this occasion, he assemled the principal persons among the Romans together, (in which assembly Caesar, the son of Agrippa, and his daughter Julia, but by himself adopted for his own sons, sat in the first seat,) and gave the places.
Then stood Nicodemos to plead for Archelaus. He intimated that "the slaughter in the temple would not be avoided; that those that were slain would become enemies not to Archelaus' kingdom, but to Caesar, who was to determine about his sons; that he had advised to perpetrate other things of which he might have been accused. But he insisted that the latter testament should be preserved, as above others, he esteemed valid, because Herod had therein appointed Caesar to be the person who should confirm the succession; for he who showed such prudence to re-elect from his own power, and yield it up to the Lord of the world, cannot be supposed mistaken in his judgment about him that was to be his heir; and he that so well knew whom to choose for arbitration of the succession, could not be unacquainted with him whom he chose for his successor." 7.

When Nicodemos had gone through all he had to say, Archelaus came and fell down before Caesar's knees, and prostrated himself. Upon which he raised him up, after a very obliging manner, and declared that truly he was worthy to succeed his father. However, he still made no firm determination; but, when he had dismissed those that had been with him that day, he deliberated by himself about the allegations which he had heard, whether it were fit to continue for the citizens named in the testament of Herod's successor, or whether the government should be parted among all his posterity, and this because of the number of those that seemed to stand in need of support from them. 8.

CHAP. III.

The Jews fight a great Battle with Sabineus' Soldiers, and a great Destruction is made at Jerusalem.

§ 1. Now before Caesar had determined any thing about these affairs, Maltchase, Archelaus' mother, fell sick and died. Letters also were brought out of Syria from Varus, about a revolt of the Jews. This was foreseen by Varus, who, accordingly, after Archelaus was sailed, went up to Jerusalem to restrain the promoters of the sedition, seeing it was manifest that the nation would not be at rest; so he left one of those legions which he brought with him out of Syria in the city, and went himself to Antiochus but Sabineus, who was left after he was gone, gave them an occasion of making innovations; for he compelled the keepers of the citadel to deliver them up to him, and made a bitter search after the king's dominion, in depopulating soldiers who were left by Varus, but on the multitude of his own servants, all of whom he armed, and used as the instruments of his covetousness. Now when that facet, which was observed after seven weeks, and which the Jews call Pentecost (i.e. the fiftieth day,) was at hand, its name being taken from the number of days [after the passover], he would hardly have, but not on account of the accustomed divine worship, but of the indignation they had [at the present state of affairs]. Wherefore an immense multitude ran out of Galilee, Bithynia, and Pisidia, and Jezrech, and Iudaea, that was beyond Jordan; but the people that naturally belonged to Judæa itself were above the rest, both in number and in the nature of the man. So they distributed themselves into three parts, and pitched their camps in three places: one at the north side of the temple, another at the south side, by the Ryphaeum, and the third part were at the palace on the west. So they lay round about the Romans on every side, and besieg'd them. 2.

Now Sabineus was affrighted, both at the manner and at their courage; and sent messengers to Varus continually, and besought him to come to his succour quickly, for that, if he delayed his legion would be cut to pieces. As for Sabineus himself, he got up to the highest tower of the temple, which was named Phanoechus: it was of the same name with Herod's brother, who was destroyed by the Parthians; and then he made signs to the soldiers of that legion to attack the enemy; and they, on the sight of him, as confident that he durst not go down to his own men. Hereupon the soldiers were prevailed upon, and leaped out into the temple, and fought a terrible battle with the Jews. The rest of the soldiers, as they were smitten over their heads to distress them, they were too hard for them, by their skill, and the other's want of skill, in war; but when once many of the Jews had gotten up to the top of the cloisters, and their horses disordered at the danger of the Romans, there were a great many of them destroyed. Nor was it easy to avenge themselves upon those that threw their weapons from on high, nor was it more easy for them to sustain those who came to fight them hand to hand. 3.

Since, therefore, the Romans were sorely afflicted by both these circumstances, they set fire to their cloisters, which were works to be admired, both on account of their magnitude and costliness. Whereupon those that were above them were presently encompassed with the flames, and those that were under, seeing many of them also were destroyed by the enemy, who came suddenly upon them; some of them also threw themselves down from the walls back into the cloisters, and the whole city was burned in a great measure; and, according to the rate condition they were in, prevented the fire, by killing themselves with their own swords; but so many of them as crept out from the walls, and came away out of the Romains, were entirely massacred by them, by reason of the astonishment they were under; until at last, some of the Jews being destroyed, and others dispersed by the terror that was in, the soldiers fell upon the treasures of God, which was now deserted, and plundered about four hundred talents, of which sum Sabineus got together all that was not carried away by the soldiers. 4.

However, this destruction of the works [about the temple, and of the men, occasioned a much greater number, and those of a more warlike sort, to get together, to oppose the Romans. These encompassed the palace round, and threatened to destroy all that were in it, unless they went their ways quickly; for they promised the Romans a bloody revenge if he would go out with his legions. There were also a great many of the king's party who deserted the Romans, and assisted the Jews: yet did the main body of them all, who were about three thousand of them, depend only on the Savineus over to the Romans. Rufus also, and Gratus, their captains, did the same. [Gratus having the foot of the king's party under him, and Rufus the horse,] each of whom, even without the force under them, were of great weight, on account of their strength and wisdom, which turn the scales in war. Now the Jews persevered in the siege, and tried to break down the walls of the fortress, and cried out to Sabineus and his party, that they should go their ways, and not prove a hindrance to them, now they hoped, after a long time and laborious attempt, that their forefathers had enjoyed. Sabineus indeed was well contented to go out of the danger he was in, but he distrusted the assurances the Jews gave him, and suspected that gentle treatment was but a bait laid as a snare for them: this consideration, together with the hopes he had of succour from Varus, made him bear the siege still longer. 5.

CHAP. IV.

Herod's veteran Soldiers become tumultuous. The Robberies of Judas. Simon and Abrograthiasm the Name of King upon them.

§ 1. At this time there were great disturbances in the country, and that in many places; and
the opportunity that now offered itself induced a
great many to set up for kings. And indeed in
India, where two thousand of Herod's soldiers
got together, and armed themselves, and
fought against those of the king's party; against
whom Achabius, the king's first cousin, fought,
and that out of some of the cities that were the
most strongly fortified; but so as to avoid a di-
rect conflict with them in the plains. In Sepho-
rias also, a city of Galilee, there was one Judas,
(who was the son of the arch-robber Haxekias,) who
formerly overrun the country, and had been sub-
duced by king Herod: this man got no small mul-
titude together, and broke open the place where
the royal armour was laid up, and seized those
about him, and attacked those that were so ear-
nest to gain the dominion. 2. In Perea also, Simon, one of the servants of
the king, relying upon the handsome appearance
and tallness of his body, put a diadem upon his
own head also; he also went about with a com-
pany of robbers that he had gotten together, and
raised up, with the royal palaces that was at Jericho,
and many other costly edifices besides, and pro-
cured himself very easily spoils by rapine, as
snatching them out of the fire. And he had soon
been chosen by the people to be their king, the
same captain of the foot of the king's party, had not
the Trachonite archers, and the most war-
lke of Sebaste, and met the man. His footmen
weakened him in the sight of the king; but Jesus
also cut pieces Simon himself, as he was flying
along a strait valley, when he gave him an
oblique stroke upon his neck, as he ran away, and
broke it. These were about five hundred men.
2. That at this time it was a certain shepherd,
ventured to set himself up for a king; he was
called Arthugneus. It was his strength of body
that made him expect such a dignity, as well as his
sool, which despised death; and besides these
qualifications, he had four brethren like himself.
He put a troop of armed men under each of these
his brethren, and made use of them as his gen-
erals and commanders when he made his incesu-
ous wars, and did himself act like a king, and
meddled only with the more important affairs:
and at this time he put a diadem about his head,
and continued after that to overrun the country
for some years, and was looked upon by his sons
as their leader in killing both the Romans and those
of the king's party; nor did any Jew escape him,
if any gain could accrue to him thereby. He
could bring as much as two thousand of the
Romans at Emmanou, who were carrying corn and
weapons to their legion: his men therefore shot
their arrows and darts, and thereby slew their
centurions Ara, and they of the stoutest men,
while the rest of them who were in danger of
the same fate, upon the coming of Gratius, with
those of Sebaste, to their assistance, escaped.
And when these men had thus served both their
own countrymen and foreigners, and that through
this whole war, three of them were after some
time subdued, the eldest by Archelaus, the two
next by having made haste to offer themselves to
Temeses; but the fourth delivered himself up to
Archelaus, upon his giving him his right hand
for security. However, this their end was not
still after their defeat, but they presently filled all Ju-
dea with a piratic war.

CHAP. V. Varus composes the Tyumites in Judea, and cru-
cifies about two Thousand of the Sadducees.
§ 1. Uxor Varus's reception of the letters that
his captains wrote him, in which they said
he could not avoid being afraid for the whole
legion [he had left there.] So he made haste to
their relief, and took with him the other two le-
gions, with the four troops of horsemen to them
belonging, and ordered his captain, Ptolemaeus,
given orders for the auxiliaries that were sent by
the kings and governors of cities to meet him
there. Moreover, he received from the people of
Uxerus, as he was passing through the country
of those hundred armed men. Now as soon as the other
body of auxiliaries were come to Ptolemais, as
well as Aretas the Arabian, (who, out of the har-
ted he bore to Herod, brought a great army of
horse and foot,) Varus sent a part of his army
presently to Galilee, which lay near to Ptolemais,
and Caius one of his friends for their captain.
This Caius put those that met him to flight, and
took the city Sephoris, and burnt it, and made
slaves of its inhabitants; but as for Varus him-
self, he marched to Samaria with his whole army,
where he did not mean to encamp unless he
because he found that it had made no commotion
during these troubles, but pitched his camp about
a certain village which was called Arus. It be-
longed to Ptolemais, and on the number of the
road was plundered by the Arabians, who were very angry
even at Herod's friends also. He thence marched
on to the village Sampho, another fortified
place, which they plundered, and burnt it, and
the other. As they carried off all the money they
lighted upon, belonging to the public revenues,
al was now full of fire and bloodshed, and no
thing could rest on earth; for Varus was also,
Emmanou was also burnt, upon the flight of its
inhabitants, and this at the command of Varus,
out of his rage at the slaughter of those that
had revolted. 2. Thence he marched on to Jerusalem, and as
soon as he was but seen by the Jews, he made
their camps disperse themselves: they also went
away, and fled up and down the country; but the
citizens received him, and cleared them of
having any hand in this revolt; and said, that
they had raised no commotions, but had been
forced to admit the multitude because of the
festival, and that they were rather bent togeth-
ner with the Romans, than assisted those that
had revolted. There had before this met him
Joseph, the first cousin of Archelaus, and Gra-
tus, together with him, who led those of Se-
baste, as well as the king's army; there also
met him those of the Roman legion, armed after
their accustomed manner; and to Sabinus, he
sent word, that he was not come out of the city
before this, to the seaside; but Varus sent a part of his army into the country,
against those that had been the authors of this
crime, to make them to commotion, and as they went towards them, those that appeared to have been the
least concerned in these tumults, he put into cus-
tody, but such as were the most guilty, he cru-
cified; these were in number about two thousand.
3. He was also informed, that there continued
in Idumea, ten thousand men still in arms: but
when he found that the Arabians did not act like
auxiliaries, but managed the war according to
their own passions, and did mischief to the coun-
try otherwise than he intended, and this out of
their hatred to Herod, he sent them away, but
held Uxerus, and made haste with his own legions
to Jerusalem; and those that had revoluted; but these, by the advice of Achabius, delivered themselves up to him before
it came to a battle. Then did Varus forgive them their multitude of their crimes, but sending them
tains to Caesar to be examined by him. Now
Cesar forgave the rest, but gave orders that certain
day the king's relations (for some of those that
were among them were Herod's sons,) should be put to death, because they had engaged in
a war against a king of their own family.
When therefore Varus had settled matters at Je-
dea after this manner, and had sent the Arabi-
ian legion thence as a garrison, he returned to
Antioch.
CHAPTER VI.

The Jews greatly complain of Archelaus, and desire that they may be made subject to Roman governance. But when Caesar had heard what they had to say, he distributed Herod's Dominions among his Sons, according to his own Pleasure.

§ 1. But now came another accusation from the Jews against Archelaus at Rome, which he was to answer to. It was made by those ambassadors, who, before the revolt, had come, by Varus's permission, to plead for the liberty of their country; those that came were fifty in number, but there were more than eight thousand of the Jews at Rome who supported them. And when Caesar had assembled a council of the principal Romans in Apollo's temple, that was in the palace, (this was what he had himself built and adorned at a vast expense,) the multitude of the Jews stood with the ambassadors, and on the other side stood Archelaus, with his friends: but as for the kindred of Archelaus, they stood on neither side; for to stand on Archelaus's side, their hatred to him, and envy at him, would not give them leave; yet they were afraid to be present, for fear of Caesar's displeasure. Besides these, there was present Archelaus's brother Philip, being sent hither beforehand out of kindness by Varus for two reasons; the one was this, that he would be assisting to Archelaus; and the other was this, that in case Caesar should make a distribution of what Herod possessed among his posterity, he might obtain some share of it. So, when the business was, upon the persuasion that was, given to the accusers to speak, they, in the first place went over Herod's breaches of their law, and said, that he was not a king, but the most base of tyrants, and that they had found him to be such by the sufferings they underwent from him; that when a very great number had been slain by him, those that were left had endured such miseries, that they called those that were dead happy men; that he had not only tortured the bodies of his subjects, but entire cities, and had done much harm to the cities of his own country, while he adorned those that belonged to foreigners, and he shed the blood of Jews, in order to do kindness to those people who were out of their bounds; that he had filled the nation full of poverty and its greatest iniquity, instead of that happiness and those laws which they had anciently enjoyed; that, in short, the Jews had borne more calamities from Herod in a few years, than had their forefathers during all the time that had passed since he had come out of Babylon, and returned home, in the reign of Xerxes: that, however, the nation was come to so low a condition, by being inured to hardships, that they submitted to his successor, the decease of his father, and joined with him in mourning for the death of Herod, and wishing him good success in that his succession; while yet this Archelaus, least of all should he be in danger of not being thought the genuine son of Herod, began his reign with the murder of three thousand citizens; as if he had a mind to offer so many bloody sacrifices to God, as to cover over, and to fill the temple with the like number of dead bodies at that festival: that, however, those that were left after so many miseries, had just reason to consider now at his liege, how they were used, and how they were oppressed themselves like soldiers in war, to receive those stripes upon their faces (but not upon their backs, as hitherto.) Whereupon they prayed to Caesar to make Archelaus would have commanded the [poor] remains of Judea, and not expose what was left of them to such as barbarously tore them to pieces, and that they would join their country to Syria, and administer the government by their own commanders, whereby it would [soon] be demonstrated that those who are under the calumny of seditious persons, and lovers of war, know how to bear governors that are set over them, if they be but tolerable ones.

So the Jews concluded their accusation with this request. Then rose up Nicotianus, and confuted those accusations which were brought against the kings, and himself accused the Jewish nation, as hard to be ruled, and as naturally disobedient to kings. He also reproached all those kinmen of Archelaus who had left him, and were gone over to his accusers.

3. So Caesar, after he had heard both sides, dissolved the assembly for that time; but a few days afterward, he gave the one half of Herod's kingdom to Archelaus, by the name of Esarhaque, and promised to make him king also afterward, if he rendered himself worthy of that dignity. But Archelaus was not only of a brand of tetrarchies, and gave them to two other sons of Herod, the one of them to Philip, and the other to that Antipas who contested the kingdom with him, neither did he give the archiepiscopacy of the church to his brother, but to Bataneus, and to Chasaeus, in the province of Syria, with a revenue of two hundred talents: but Bataneus, and Trachonitis, and Auranitis, and certain parts of Zeno's house about Jamnia, with the revenue of those towns, and the kingdom, was assigned to the Octavius, a son of Philip, and to the subject to Philip: while Idumæas, and all Judeas, and Samaria, were parts of the etharchie of Archelaus, although Samaria was ceded of one quarter in it to its subject; but not before it was revolted with the rest of the nation. He also made subject to him the following cities, viz. Strato's Tower, and Sebaste, and Joppa, and Jerusalem; but as to the Grecian cities, Gaza, and Cyrene, and Hippo, he cut them off from the kingdom, and added them to Syria. Now the revenue of the country that was given to Archelaus, was four hundred talents. Salome also, besides what the king had left her, in his testament, was now made mistress of Jamnia, and Ascalon, and Phasaelis. Caesar did moreover bestow upon her the royal palace of Aesalon, by which name it is still called. And Caesar, after the death of Archelaus, gave those of his kingdom which were in Samaria to the son of Herod, whose name was Alexander, who, being put to death by his father, had been granted by Caesar to the two virgin daughters of Archelaus, and one hundred thousand [drachmae] of silver, and gave them in marriage to the sons of Phærenus: but after this family distribution, he gave to them what he had bestowed upon him by Herod, which was a thousand talents, reserving to himself only some inconsiderable presents as a token of the deceased.

CHAPTER VII.

The History of the spurious Alexander. Archelaus is banished, and Gipsydra dies, after what had bequeathed. But Caesar's command to both of them had been shewn them in Dreams.

§ 1. In the mean time there was a man, who was by birth a Jew, but brought up at Sidon with one of the Roman freed-men, who falsely pretended, on account of the resemblance of their names, to be Alexander. This man came to Rome, as is related in the Antiquities, B. xx. ch. v. sect. 1.

* This holding a council in the temple of Apollo, in the emperor's palace at Rome, by Augustus, and even the building of the temple magnificently by himself in that palace, the senate sent ambassadors to Augustus, in his own person, to Aldrich and Spanheim to preserve and prove from Bartenius and Propeotes.
BOOK II—CHAP. VIII.

In hopes of not being detected. He had one who was his assistant, of his own nation, and who knew his business. This man, therefore, without cessation, used his utmost pains to find means of escaping his enemies. He knew the Jews that were at Crete, and got a great deal of money of them for travelling in splendour; and thence sailed to Melos, where he was thought to have been, on account of another member of Archelaus, concerning whom we have been discoursing. This Archelaus was the son of Herod the king, by whom he was put to death, as we have already related. This Archelaus was married, after his death, to Juba, king of Libya, and after his death, was returned home, and lived a widow with her father. Then it was that Archelaus, the etharch, saw her, and fell so deeply in love of her, that very well, would take their oaths that he was the very same person. Accordingly, the whole body of the Jews that were at Rome ran out in crowds to him, and made an immense show, so as to be seen by everybody; and when Caesar saw him, he immediately discerned a difference in his countenance, and when he had discovered that his whole body was of a more robust texture, and that of a different colour, he understood that the whole was a contrivance. But the impediment of what he said greatly provoked him to be angry at him; for when he was asked about Aristobulus, he was said that he was also preserved alive, and was left on purpose in Cyprus for fear of treachery, because it would be harder for plotters to get them both into their power while they were separate. Then did Caesar take him by himself privately, and said to him, "I will give thee thy life, if thou wilt discover who it was that persuaded thee to forge such stories." So he was sent in chains, where he was received and followed Caesar, and pointed to that Jew who abused the resemblance of his face to get money; for that he had received more presents in every city than he was able to bear. And when Caesar laughed at the contrivance, and put this egregious Alexander among his successors, on account of the strength of his body, but ordered him that persuaded him to have his death. But for the people of Melos, they had been sufficiently punished for their folly, by the expenses they had been at on his account.

3. And now the possession of his etharchacy, and used not the Jews only, but the Samaritans also, barbarously; and this out of his resentment of his old quarrels with him. Whenceupon both of them sent ambassadors against him to Caesar, and in the ninth year of his government, he was banished to Venice, a city of Gaul, and his effects were put into Caesar's treasury. But the report goes, that before he was sent for by Caesar, he seemed to see nine ears of corn, full and large, but covered by snares. When, therefore, he had sent for the diviners, they cut away the snares, and shewed them of the nine, which they thought it portended, and when one of them had one interpretation, and another has another, Simon, one of the sect of the Essenes, said, that he thought the ears of corn denoted peace, and the harvest a duplication of things, because by their ploughing they made an alteration of the country. That therefore he should reign as many years as there were ears of corn he parted. But he had never seen various alterations of fortune, should die." Now five days after Archelaus had heard this interpretation, he was called to his trial.

4. I cannot tell how exactly it was to be recorded, what dream Glaubrya, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Capadoecia, had, who had at first been wife to Alexander, who was the brother of Archelaus, concerning whom we have been discoursing. This Alexander was the son of Herod the king, by whom he was put to death, as we have already related. This Glaubrya was married, after his death, to Juba, king of Libya, and after his death, was returned home, and lived a widow with her father. Then it was that Archelaus, the etharch, saw her, and fell so deeply in love of her, that very well, would take their oaths that he was the very same person. Accordingly, the whole body of the Jews that were at Rome ran out in crowds to him, and made an immense show, so as to be seen by everybody; and when Caesar saw him, he immediately discerned a difference in his countenance, and when he had discovered that his whole body was of a more robust texture, and that of a different colour, he understood that the whole was a contrivance. But the impediment of what he said greatly provoked him to be angry at him; for when he was asked about Aristobulus, he was said that he was also preserved alive, and was left on purpose in Cyprus for fear of treachery, because it would be harder for plotters to get them both into their power while they were separate. Then did Caesar take him by himself privately, and said to him, "I will give thee thy life, if thou wilt discover who it was that persuaded thee to forge such stories." So he was sent in chains, where he was received and followed Caesar, and pointed to that Jew who abused the resemblance of his face to get money; for that he had received more presents in every city than he was able to bear. And when Caesar laughed at the contrivance, and put this egregious Alexander among his successors, on account of the strength of his body, but ordered him that persuaded him to have his death. But for the people of Melos, they had been sufficiently punished for their folly, by the expenses they had been at on his account.

5. And now Archelaus's part of Judas was reduced into a Roman province. The three sects of the Jews. 

1. And now Archelaus's part of Judas was reduced into a Roman province; and Coponius, one of the equestrian order among the Romans, was sent as a procurator, having the power of [life and death] put into his hands by Caesar. Under his administration it was, that a certain Galilean, whose name was Judas, prevailed with his countrymen to revolt, and said they were cowards if they would not end in paying a tax to the Romans, and would, after God, submit to mortal men as their lords. This man was a teacher of a peculiar sect of his own, and was not at all like the rest of those that followed his order, in any other way. There are three philosophical sects among the Jews: The followers of the first of which are the Pharisaees, of the second the Sadducees, and of the third, the Essenes. From severer discipline, are called Essenes. These last are Jews by birth, and seem to have a greater affection for one another than the other sects have. These Essenes reject pleasures as an evil, but esteem continence, and the conquest over our passions, to be virtue. They neglect wedlock, but choose out other persons' children while they are able, and fit, for learning, and esteem them to be of their kindred, and form them according to their own manners. They do not absolutely deny the fitness of marriage, and the succession of mankind thereafter continued; but they guard against the lascivious behaviour of women, and are persuaded that none of them preserve their fidelity to one man. 3. These men are despisers of riches, and so very communicative as raises our admiration. Nor is there any one to be found among them who hath more than another; for it is a law among them, that on all profits they must let what they have be common to the whole order, insomuch that among them all there is no appearance of poverty, or excess of riches, but every one's possessions and every man's, and every other's possession, and so there is, as it were, one patrimony among all the brethren.
WARS OF THE JEWS.

They think that oil is a delightful; and if any one of them be assaulted, without his own expressed permission, he is wiped off his body: for they think it to be sweatey a good thing, as they do also to be clothed in white garments. They also have stedwars appointed to take care of their common affairs; and these, however, have no separate business for any, but what is for the use of them all.

4. They have no one certain city, but many of them dwell in every city; and if any of their sect come from other places, what they have lies open for them, just as if it were their own, and they go into such as they never knew before, as if it had been ever so long acquainted with them. For which reason they carry nothing at all with them when they travel into remote parts, though still they take their weapons with them, for fear of thieves. Accordingly, there is, in every city where they live, one appointed particularly to take care of strangers, and to provide garments and other necessaries for them. But the habit and management of their bodies is such as children use who are in fear of their masters. Nor do they allow of the change of garments or of shoes, till they first be entirely torn to pieces, or bought for them. Nor do they either buy or sell any thing to one another, but every one of them gives what he hath to him that wanteth it, and receives from him again in lieu of it what may be necessary for himself; and all that there be no requital made, they are fully allowed to take what they want of whomsoever they please.

5. And as for their piety towards God, it is very extraordinary; for, before sun-rising, they speak not a word about profane matters, but put up certain prayers, which they have received from their forefathers, as a part of their life for its rising. After this, every one of them is sent away by their curators to exercise some of those arts wherein they are skilled, in which they labour with great diligence till the fifth hour. After which they assemble themselves together again into one place, and when they have clothed themselves in white veils, they then bathe their bodies in cold water. And after this purification is over, they every one meet together in an apartment of their own, into which it is not permitted to any of another sect to enter; while they pray and make prayer, into the dining-room, as into a certain holy temple, and quietly set themselves down: upon which the baker lays them loaves in order; the cook also brings a dish of one sort of food, and as it be before one of them; but a priest says grace before meat, and it is unlawful for any one to taste of the food before grace be said. The same priest, when he hath dined, says grace again after meat, and when they begin, and when they end, and when they praise God, as he that bestows their food upon them; after which they lay aside their [white] garments, and betake themselves to their labours again till the evening; then they retire home to supper, after the same manner, and if there be any strangers there, they sit down with them. Nor is there ever any clamour or disturbance made, but they used to proceed to their turn which alliance thus kept in their house, appears to fo-

*This practice of the Essenes, in refusing to swear, and esteeming swearing on ordinary occasions worse than punishment, is a paraphrase of the relief injunctions of our Saviour, Mat. v. 34; xii. 36. xvii. 13; and of St. James, v. 12; but all admit of particular exception, on great and necessary occasions. Thus these very Essenes, who here do so scrupulously avoid swearing, are related, in the very next section, to admit of it all till they take tremendous oaths to perform their several duties to God and to their neighbour, without supposing they thereby break this rule not to swear at all; and as in the language of Christianity, as we learn from the Apostolic Constitutions, which, although they speak

enemies like some tremendous mystery, do cause of all gods. But people have good reasons, and the same settled measures of food and drink that is allotted them, and that such is abundantly sufficient for them.

6. And truly, as for other things, they do so extremely respect the instructions of their curators; only these two things are done among them at every one's own free-will, which are to assist those that want it, and to show mercy; for they are permitted of their own accord to send succour to such as deserve it, when they stand in need of it, and to bestow food on those that are in distress; but they cannot give any thing to their brethren, unless it be with an acquiesced will. They also give, or rather condescend to their anger after a just manner, and restrain their passion. They are eminent for loyalty, and are the ministers of peace; whatever they say also is firmer than an oath; but swearing is avoided by them, and they esteem it worse than perjury; for they say, that he who cannot be believed, without [swearing by] God, is already condemned. They also take great pains in studying the writings of the ancients, and choose out of them what is most for the advantage of their soul and body, and they inquire after such medicinal stoices as may cure their dis-

7. But now, if any one hath a mind to come over to their sect, he is not immediately admitted; but is first set to study the way of living which they use, for a year, while he continues excluded, and they give him also a small hatchet, and the forementioned garments, and the white veils. And when he has given an evidence, during that time, that he can observe their continence, he approaches nearer to their way of living, and is made a partaker of the water of life; and is admitted to live with them; for after this demonstration of his fortitude, his temper is tried two more years, and if he appear to be worthy, they then admit him into their society. And before he is allowed to touch their common food, he is obliged to take tremendous oaths, that in the first place he will exercise piety towards God, and then that he will observe justice towards men, and that he will do no harm to any one, either of his own accord, or by the command of others; that he will always hate the wicked, and be assistant to the right. Then he will not readily give up his armour, and especially to those in authority; because as one obtains the government without God's assistance, and that if he be in authority, he will not abuse his power: he will not cause his subjects to be deft to obstruct his subjects, neither in his garments or any other finery; that he will be perpetually a lover of truth, and propose to himself to reprove those that tell lies, and to maintain fidelity to God, and his soul from unlawful gains; and that he will neither conceal any thing from those of his own sect, nor discover any of their doctrines to others; nor think it necessary, or that it be in his power to oblige his sect, neither in his garments or any other finery; that he will be perpetually a lover of truth, and propose to himself to reprove those that tell lies, and to maintain fidelity to God, and his soul from unlawful gains; and that he will neither conceal any thing from those of his own sect, nor discover any of their doctrines to others; nor think it necessary, or that it be in his power to oblige his sect, neither in his garments or any other finery; that he will be perpetually a lover of truth, and propose to himself to reprove those that tell lies, and to maintain fidelity to God, and his soul from unlawful gains; and that he will neither conceal any thing from those of his own sect, nor discover any of their doctrines to others; nor think it necessary, or that it be in his power to oblige his sect, neither in his garments or any other finery; that he will be perpetually a lover of truth, and propose to himself to reprove those that tell lies, and to maintain fidelity to God, and his soul from unlawful gains; and that he will neither conceal any thing from those of his own sect, nor discover any of their doctrines to others; nor think it necessary, or that it be in his power to oblige his sect, neither in his garments or any other finery; that he will be perpetually a lover of truth, and propose to himself to reprove those that tell lies, and to maintain fidelity to God, and his soul from unlawful gains; and that he will neither conceal any thing from those of his own sect, nor discover any of their doctrines to others; nor think it necessary, or that it be in his power to oblige his sect, neither in his garments or any other finery; that he will be perpetually a lover of truth, and propose to himself to reprove those that tell lies, and to maintain fidelity to God, and his soul from unlawful gains; and that he will neither conceal any thing from those of his own sect, nor discover any of their doctrines to others; nor think it necessary, or that it be in his power to oblige his sect, neither in his garments or any other finery; that he will be perpetually a lover of truth, and propose to himself to reprov
are the oaths by which they secure their prospe-
tivity to themselves.

2. But for those that are caught in any heinous
sins, they cast them out of their society, and he
who is thus separated from them, does often die
after a miserable manner; for as he is bound by
the oaths, so is he bound by the matter that
he hath been engaged in, he is not at liberty to par-
take of that food that he meets with elsewhere,
but is forced to eat grass, and to finish his body
with hunger till he perish; for which reason they
receive many of them again, when they are at
their last gasp, out of compassion to them, as
thinking the miseries they have endured till they
cause the least punishment for the sins they had been guilty of.

9. But in the judgments they exercise they
are most accurate and just, nor do they pass
sentence by the votes of a court that is fewer
than a hundred. And as to what is once deter-
mined by that number, it is unalterable. What
they most of all honour, after God himself, is
the name of their legislator, [Moses] whom if
any one blasphemeth, he is punished capitaly.
They also think it a good thing to obey their
elders and the major part. Accordingly, if ten
of the elders, saying whom they call heroes, will
speak while the other nine are against it. They
also avoid spitting in the midst of them, or on
the right side. Moreover, they are stricter than
any other city of the Hellenes, as in the liba-
sions, and their last banquets on the seventh day; for they not only get
their food ready the day before, that they may not be obliged to kindle a fire on that day, but
they will move any vessel of their property, nor
go to stow thereon. Nay, on other days they
dig a small pit, a foot deep, with a paddle,
(which kind of hatchet is given them when they
are elders), and wash themselves round with their garment, that they
may not affect the divine rays of light, they
case themselves into that pit, after which they
put the earth that was dug out again into the
pit, and even this they do only in the more lonely
places, which they choose out for this purpose;
and although this ease of the body be natur-
al, yet it is a rule with them to wash themselves
after it, as if it were a defilement to them.

10. Now after the time of their preparatory
trial is over, they are parted into four classes;
and they say that if the seniors should meet,
that if the seniors should be touched by the
juniors, they must wash themselves, as if they
had intermixed themselves with the company of
the non-believers. They also punish so much that many of them live above a hundred
years, by means of the simplicity of their diet,
nay, as I think, by means of the regular course
of life they observe also. They contain the
miseries of life, and are above pain, by the gene-
rosity of their mind. And as for death, if it will
be for their glory, they esteem it better than
living always; and indeed our war with the Ro-
mans gave abundant evidence what great souls
they had in their trials, wherein, although they
were tortured and distorted, burnt and torn to
pieces, and went through all kinds of enormous
torture, that they might be forced either to
blaspheme their legislator, or to eat what was
forbidden them, yet could they not be made to
do either of them, nor once nor twice to flatter
themselves or to shed a tear; but they sailed
in their very pains, and laughed those to scorn
who inflicted the tortures upon them, and re-
signed up their souls with great acclivity, as ex-
specting to receive them again.

11. For their doctrine is this. That bodies are
corporeal, and that the soul which hath been
engaged in is not permanent; but that the souls are imm-
ortal, and continue for ever, and that they come
out of the most sublime air, and are united to their
bodies as to prisons, into which they are drawn
by a certain natural enticement; but that when
they are set free from the bonds of the flesh,
then, as released from a long bondage, re-
joice and mount upon this firmament. And this
is the common opinion of the Greeks, that good souls have
their habitations beyond the ocean, in a region
that is neither oppressed with storms of rain or
snow, or with intense heat, but that this place is
such as is refreshed by the gentle breathing of a
west wind, that is perpetually blowing from the
ocean; while they allot to bad souls a dark and tempestuous deep, full of never-ceasing pun-
ishments. And indeed the Greeks seem to me
to have followed the same notion, when they allot
the islands of the blessed to their brave men,
and set the remains of those that they call heroes, to
souls of the wicked, the region of the ungodly,
in Hades, where their fables relate that certain
persons, such as Sisyphus, and Tantalus, and
Tityrus, are punished in their last banquets.

12. There are also those among them who un-
dertake to foretell things to come, by reading
the holy books, and using several sorts of purifi-
cations, and being perpetually conversant in the
discourses of the prophets: and it is but seldom
they are mistaken.

13. Moreover, there is another order of Es-
sees, who agree with the rest as to their way
of living, and customs, and laws, but differ from
the rest in one point in the period of marriage, as thinking that
by not marrying they cut off the principal part
of human life, which is the prospect of succes-
sion; nay, rather, that if all men should be of
the same opinion, the whole race of mankind
would fail. However, they try their spouses for three
years, and if they find that they have their
natural purgations thrice, as trials that they are
likely to be fruitful, they then actually marry
them. But they do not use to accompany with
their wives when they are with child, as a de-
monstration that they do not marry out of regard
to pleasure, but for the sake of procreation.
Nor do the women go into the baths with some of their gar-
ments on, as the men do with somewhat girded
about them. And these are the customs of this
order of Essenes.

triums concerning souls, both good and bad, in Hades, see

**Of these Jewish are Essene, and, indeed, Christian doc-

**
WARs OF THE JEWS.

14. But them as to the two other orders at first
mentioned. The Pharisees are those who are
especially exalted in the explanation of
their laws, and introduce the first sect. These
ascribe all to fate, [or providence,] and to God,
and yet allow, that to act what is right, or the
contrary, is the power of man; although fate
does co-operate in every action. They
say, that all souls are incorruptible, but
that the souls of good men only are removed into
eternity, and that the souls of bad men are
subject to eternal punishment. But the Saddu-
cees are those that compose the second order,
and take away fate entirely, and suppose that
God is not concerned in their doing or not doing
what is evil, and they say, that to act what is
good or what is evil, is at men's own choice, and
that the one or the other belongs so to every
one, that they may act as they please. They
also take away the belief of the immortal dura-
tion of the soul, and the punishments and rewards
in Hades. Moreover, the Pharisees are friendly
to one another, and are for the exercise of con-
cord, and regard for the public; but the beha-
vior of the Sadducees is similar to another is in
some degree wild, and their conversation with
these Pharisees, that are of their own party, or
of Caiphas, as if they were strangers to them. And
this is what I had to say concerning the philosophic
sects among the Jews.

CHAP. IX.

The Death of Salome. The Cities which Herod and
Philip built. Pilate occasions Disturbances.
Tiberius puts Agrippa into Bonds, but
the Jews free him from them, and makes him
King. Herod Antipas is banished.

§ 1. And now as the ethnarchy of Archelaus
was fallen into a Roman province, the other sons
of Herod, Philip, and that Herod who was called
Antipas, each of them took upon them the ad-
ministration of their own tetrarchies; for when
Salome died, she bequested to Julia, the wife of
Augustus, both her tophiarchy, and Jamnia, as
also her plantation of palm-trees that was in
Phanesia. But when the Roman empire was
translated to Tiberius, the son of Julia, upon the
death of Augustus, who had reigned fifty-seven
years, six months and two days, both Herod and
Philip were put into the tetrarchy, and the lat-
ter of them built the city of Caesarea, at the
fountains of Jordan, and in the region of
Phanesia; as also the city of Julias, in the lower
Galisilias.

He also built the city of Tiberias in Galil-
lee, and in Peræa [between Jordan] another that
was also called Julias.

3. Now Pilate, who was sent as a procurator
into Judæa by Tiberius, sent by night those im-
age of Cæsar that are called emblems into Jeru-

salem. This excited a very great tumult among
the Jews when it was day; and they there
saw them at the sight of them, as indications that
their laws were trodden under foot; for those laws do not permit any sort of
image to be brought into the city. Nay, besides
the law, the people were already used to
hard at this procedure, a vast number of the
people came running out of the country. These
came zealously to Pilate to Caesarea, and be-
sought him to carry those images out of Jerusa-
lem, and to preserve them their ancient laws in-
violable; but upon Pilate's denial of their re-
quest, they fell down prostrate upon the ground,
and continued interceding in that posture for
days and as many nights.

3. On the next day Pilate sat upon his trib-
unal, in the open market-place, and called to
him the multitude, as deacons to give them as
seer; and then gave a signal to the soldiers that
they should all by agreement at once encompass
the Jews with their weapons; so the band of sol-
diers stood round about the Jews in three ranks.
The Jews were at the utmost consternation at
that unexpected sight. Pilate also said to them,
that they should be cut in pieces, unless they
instantly remove those images from the city,
and cause them to be destroyed, and then
pardon the soldiers to draw their naked swords.
Hereupon the Jews, as it were at one signal, fell
down in vast numbers together, and exposed
their persons to the swords, and cried out, that they
were sooner ready to be slain, than that their law
should be transgressed. Hereupon Pilate was
greatly surprised at their prodigious superstition,
and ordered that the ensigns should be pre-
currently carried out of Jerusalem.

4. After this he raised another disturbance, by
expendiring that sacred treasure which is called
Corculum, and its aqueducts, whereby he drew
water from the distance of four hundred furleaghs.
At this the multitude had indignation; and when
Pilate was come to Jerusalem, they came about
his tribunal, and made a clamour at it. Now,
when he was apprized aforesaid of this disturb-
ance, he mixed his own soldiers in their array
with the multitude, and ordered them to consci
them under the hazards of private men, and
not indeed to use their swords, but with that
strava to beat those that made the clamour. He
then gave the signal from his tribunal [so in Heb.
with Heb.] and ordered all the multitude to
be so sadly beaten, that many of them perished by
the stripes they received, and many of them perish-
ed as trodden to death by themselves; by which
means the multitude was at once dispersed, and
the sanctity of those that were slain, and held
their peace.

5. In the mean time Agrippa, the son of
Ariobarzanes who had been slain by Herod,
came to Tiberias, to access Herod the te-

Paul's account of the doctrine of the Jews, that they
did themselves allude that there should be a resurrection
of the dead, both of the just and unjust, Acts, ch. xxiv. 15. Yet
became Josephus's account that of the Pharisees, and
St. Paul's account of the Jews in general and of the
contradiction is not very certain.

1 We have here in that Greek text, which was con-
ailed in the library v. London,
two most remarkable additions to the common ex-
cept, though deemed worth little remark by the ed.
which upon the mention of Tiberius's coming to the
suspicious, inserts first the famous testimony of Josephus
concerning Jesus Christ, as it is worked out in the
latter, though all too short; but the
the excellent discourse or Luttorius concerning
Hades, annexed to the work. But what is here
principally to be observed is, that we have nowhere spoken of
the just mentioned Christ, as God the Word, and the Judge
of the world, appointed by the Father, &c. which the
had not before anywhere spoken of it with particular
in.

2 This use of the corusc, or oblation, as here applied to
the same pledge of the return of the Messiah to God in the treasury of
the temple, illustrates our Saviour's words Mark viii. 19.
trurch; who not admitting of his accusation, he stayed at Rome, and cultivated a friendship with others of the men of note, but principally with Catiline, and he turned it to his own ends, being but a private person. Now this Agrippa, at a certain time, feasted Catilina, and as he was very complaisant to him on several other accounts, he at length appears angry, and orders him, if he is sure he knows what he said about the Tibersius might die, and that he might quickly see him emperor of the world. This was told to Tiberius by one of Agrippa's domestics; who thereupon went away angry, and ordered A. praef. to be bound, and had him very ill treated in the prison for six months, until Tibersius died, after he had reigned twenty-two years six months and three days.

But before this Agrippa releas-
ed Agrippa from his bonds, and made him king of Philip's tetrarchy, who was now dead; but when Agrippa had arrived at that degree of dignity, he extended his empire as far as the tetrarch, who was chiefly induced to hopes for the royal authority by his wife Herodias, who reproached him for his sloth, and told him that it was only because he would not depart from Tiberius, that made him so little of account; and for his own part, he was of a very slight dignity; for Tiberius had made Agrippa a king, from a private person, much more would he advance him from a tetrarch to that dignity. These arguments persuaded him to go; and he went, and was made king, by whom he was punished for his ambition, by being banished into Spain; for Agrippa followed him, in order to accuse him; to whom also Calus gave his tetrarch, by way of the succession, to keep. So Her- rod died in Spain, whither his wife had followed him.

CHAP. X.
Caius commands that his Statute should be set up in the Temple itself: and what Petronius did thereupon.

§ 1. Now Caius Caesar did so grievously abuse the fortune he had arrived at, as to take himself to be a god, and to desire to be so called also, and to cut off those of the greatest nobility out of his country. He also extended his immunity as far as the Jews. Accordingly, he sent Petronius with an army to Jerusalem, to place his statues in the temple, and commanded him, that in case the Jews would not receive it, he should destroy all those that opposed it, and carry all the rest of the nation into captivity; but God concerned himself with these his commands. However, Petronius started for Jerusalem with three legions, and many Syrian auxiliaries. Now as to the Jews, some of them could not believe the stories that spoke of a war, but those that did believe, gave to the senate the advice to defend themselves, and the terror diffused itself presently through them all; for the army was already come to Tolemais.

2. This Tolemais is a maritime city of Galilea, built in the great plain. It is encompassed with mountains; that on the east side, sixty furleongs off, belongs to Galilea; but that on the south be- longs to Judaea; and it is at the distance of a hundred and twenty furleongs; and that on the north is the highest of them all, and is called by the people of the country, the Ladder of the Tyrians, which is at the distance of a hundred furleongs. There is a small river Belus: runs by it, at the distance of two furleongs; near which is Memnon's monument; and bath near it a place so large that a hundred cubits, which deserves some admiration; for the place is round and hollow, and affords such sand as glass is made of; which place, when it had been emptied by the many ships there loaded, it is filled again by the winds.

3. This Caius, in the height of his passion, who comes into the temple of Jerusalem, though he adds, that the Jews there opposed arms.

4. This account of the place near the mouth of the river from which this Caius came, shows that out of which the ancients made their glass, is a thing known in his which bring into it, as it were on purpose, that sand which lay remote, and was no more than bare common sand, while this mine presently becomes bare common sand again. And this is the nature of the glass, which is more or less superfino, and is once removed out of the place, becomes common sand again. And this is the nature of the glass, which is more or less superfino, and is once removed out of the place, becomes common sand again. And this is the nature of the glass, which is more or less superfino, and is once removed out of the place, becomes common sand again.

3. But now the Jews got together in great numbers with their wives and children into that plain that was by Tolemais, and made supplication to Petronius, first to go there, next the place, for themselves. So he was prevailed upon by the multitude of the supplicants, and by their supplications, and left his army and the statues at Tolemais, and then went to Caesarea of Galilee, and called together the multitude, and all the men of note, to Tiberias, and showed them the power of the Romans, and the threaten-ings of Caesar: and, besides this, proved, in their petition was unreasonable; because while all the nations in subjection to them had placed the images of Caesar in their several cities, among the rest of their gods, for them alone to oppose it, was a breach of revolters, and was injurious to Caesar.

4. And when they insisted on their law, and the custom of their country, and how it was not right to receive their own laws only not permitted to make obeisance of God, or indeed of a man, and to put it in any despicable part of their country, much less in the temple itself, Petronius replied, "And am not I also," said he, "king of all kings and emperors? Do you not know your own lord? For if I transgress it, and spare you, it is but just that I perish; while he that sent me, and not I, will commence a war against you; for I am under command as well as you are, that I may re- turn upon the whole multitude cried out, that "they were ready to suffer for their law." Petronius then quitted them, and said to them, "Will you then make war against Caesar? The Jews answered, "We offer sacrifices twice every day for Caesar, and for the Roman people; but that if he would place the images among them, he must first sacrifice the whole Jewish nation; and that they were ready to expose themselves, together with their children and wives, to be slain. At this Petronius was astonished, and pitied them on account of the inexplicable hardness of their resolution. We are under, and that courage of theirs which made them ready to die for it; so they were dis- missed without success.

5. But on the following days he got together the men of power privately, and the multitude publicly, and sometimes he used persuasions to them, and sometimes he gave them his advice; but he chiefly, and his opinion; but he chiefly, and his opinion; but he chiefly, and his opinion; but he chiefly, and his opinion.
in the meantime, one of the soldiers belonging to the senate drew his sword, and cried out, "Your father and mine, I am of this class of men, of one mind, in order to kill our brethren, and to use violence to our kindred that are with Claudi-

ius; while we may have him for our emperor, whom no one can blame, and who has done no extreme things, I have no reason [to lay claims to the government]; and this with regard to those against whom we are going to fight." When he had said this, he marched through the whole senate, and called all the children along with him. Upon which all the patriarchs were immediately at a great fright at being thus deserted. But still, because there appeared no other way whither they could turn themselves for deliverance, they made haste the same way with the soldiers, and went to Clau-

dius. But those that had the greatest lack in flattering the good fortune of Claudius, met them before the walls with their naked swords, and there was reason to fear that those that came first might have been in danger, be-fore Claudius could know what violence the soldi-
ers who were going to offer them, had not Agrippa run before, and told him what a dangerous things they were going about, and that unless he re-

strained the violence of these men, who were so lately victorious, and who were able to lose those on whose account it was most desir-

able to rule, and would be emperor over a desert.

5. When Claudius heard this, he restrained the violence of the soldiery, and received the senate into the camp, and treated them after an obbling manner, and went out with them present-
ly to the tent of the emperor. And because they could not stand in their camp, the magistrates had to have the donations engraved on tables of brass, and to be set up in the capital. He bestowed on his brother Herod, who was also his son-in-law, by marrying [his daughter] Bern-

ice, the kingdom of Chalcis.

6. So now riches flowed in to Agrippa by his enjoyment of so large a dominion, nor did he abuse his power, but did all he could to maintain peace and equity. For he had not been a tyrant, nor had he begun to encompass Jerusalem with such a wall, which, had it been brought to perfection, had made it impracticable for the Romans to take it. He also resided in Cesarea, before he had raised the walls to their due height, prevented him. He had then reigned three years, as he had governed his tetarchies three other years. He left behind him three daughters, born to him by Cypros, six Bernice, Mariamne, and Drusilla, and a son born of the same mother, whose name was Agrippa: he was left a very young child, so that Claudius made the country a Roman province, and sent Caspius Fadus to be its procurator, and after him Tiberius Alexander, who, making no alterations of the ancient laws, kept the nation in tranquillity. Now after this, Herod the king of Chalcis died, and left behind him: two sons, born to him of his brother's daughter Bernice: their names were Aristobulus and Hyrcanus. [He also left behind him] Aristobulus, whom he had by his former wife, Mariamne. There was besides another brother of his that died a private person; his name was also Aristobulus, who left a daughter whose name was Jodocus; and these, as I have formerly said, were the children of Aristobulus the son of Herod, which Aristobulus and Alexander were born to Herod, by Bernice, his wife. But again, Alexander's posterity, they reigned in Armenia.
them came to Carmeans, and besought him, that before the evil became incurable, he would come into Galilee; and bring the authors of this murder to punishment, on the supposition that there was another way to make the multitude separate without coming to blows. However, Cumanus postponed their supplications to the other affairs he was then about, and sent the petitioners away without success.

4. But when the affair of this murder came to be told at Jerusalem, it put the multitude into disorder, and they left the feast, and without any generals to conduct them, they marched with great violence to Samaria; nor would they be ruled by any of the magistrates that were set over them, but they were managed by one Eleazar, the son of Dineas, and by Alexander, in these their thievish and seditious attempts. These men fell upon those that were in the neighbourhood of the Acrabatesephyry, and slew them, without sparing any age, and set the villages on fire.

5. But Cumanus took one troop of horsemen, called the troops of Sebastus, out of Cesaraea, and came to the assistance of those that were spoiled; he also seized upon a great number of those that followed Eleazar, and slew more of them. And as for the rest of the multitude of the Galileans in that contest, they were so zealously to fight with the Samaritans, the rulers of Jerusalem ran out clothed with sackcloth, and having ashes on their heads, and begged of them to go their way, lest by their attempt to revenge themselves upon the Samaritans, they should provoke the Romans to come against Jerusalem; to have compassion upon them, and to receive their temple and all their goods, and their wives, and not bring the utmost dangers of destruction upon them, in order to avenge themselves upon one Galilean only. The Jews complied with the petition of theirs, disarmed themselves: but still there was a great number who betook themselves to robbing, in hopes of impunity, and rapines and insurrections of the bolder sort happened over the whole country; and the men of power among the Samaritans came to Tyre, to Ummidias Quadratus, the president of Syria, and desired that they that had laid waste the country might be punished: the great men also of the Jews, and Jonathan son of Ananus, the high priest, came thither, and said, that the Samaritans were the beginners of the disturbance. Now here it was said, that murder they had committed, and that Cumanus had given occasion to what had happened, by his unwillingness to punish the original authors of that murder.

6. But Quadratus put both parties off for that time, and told them, that when he should come to those places, he would make a diligent inquiry after every circumstance. After which he sent to Cesaraea, and crucified all those whom Cumanus had taken alive; and when from thence he was come to the city Lydda, he heard the affair of the Samaritans, and sent for eighteen of the Jews whom he had learnt to have been concerned in that fight, and beheaded them; but he sent two others of those that were of the greatest power amongst them, and both Jonathan and the high priest, the high priests, as also Ananus the son of this Ananias, and certain others that were absent among the Jews, to Cesar; as he did in like manner by the most illustrious of the Samaritans. He also caused that Cumanus the procurator and Celer the tribunal should sail to Rome, in order to give an account of what had been done to Cesar. With these matters he went up from Lydda to Jerusalem, and finding the multitude celebrating their
WARS OF THE JEWS.

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Best of unleavened bread without any taint, he returned to Antioch.

The news which then reached Jerusalem, it was reported to Titus, todasa he was abroad in the province of Cyrene, that some of the Jews were ready to throw themselves upon him and murder him. This news reached him, and he was not a little angry at the report; so he went immediately to Jerusalem, ordered the synagogues to be shut, and threatened the Jews with the utmost punishment if they did not instantly carry away all the idolatrous images and all the works of art in the Temple; but if they did not do this, he should take possession of the Temple and would destroy it altogether, and especially would he precipitate the avenging wrath of God upon them.

3. When the country was purged of these, there sprung up another sort of robbers in Jerusalem, who called themselves Jews; they were called Samaritans, who lived by Cæsarea, and denounced the Samaritans, and commanded that three of the most powerful men among them should be put to death: he banished Cumanus, and sent Celer bound to Jerusalem, to be delivered up to the Jews to be tormented; that he should be drawn round the city, and then beheaded.

4. After this Caesar sent Felix, the brother of Porcius Festus, to the province of Galilee, and Samaria, and Peraea, and removed Agrippa from Chalcis unto a greater kingdom, for he gave him the territory which belonged to Philip, which extended from the sea to the river, and he added to it the kingdom of Lycaonia, and that province (Abilene) which Varus had governed. But Claudius himself, when he had administered the government for eight months and twenty days, died, and left Nero to be his successor in the empire, whom he had adopted by his wife Agrippina's delusions, in order to be his successor, although he had a son of his own, who was called Britannicus, the son of his former wife, and a daughter whose name was Octavia, whom he had married to Nero; he had also another daughter by Festina, whose name was Antoinia.

5. Nero adds four Cities to Agrippa's Kingdom; but the other Parts of Judea were under Felix. The Disturbances which were raised by the Sicarii, the Magi, and the Egyptian False Prophet. The Jews and Syrians have a Contest at Damascus.

1. Now as to the many things in which Nero acted like a madman, out of the extravagant degree of the felicity and riches which he enjoyed, and by that means his good fortune to his in- jury of others; and after what manner he slew his brother, and wife, and mother, from whom his barbarity spread itself to others that were more nearly related to him; and how, at last, he was so distracted that he became an actor in the scene, and upon the theatre, I omit to say anything about them, because there are writers enough who treat of what was done there; but shall turn myself to those actions of his time in which the Jews were concerned.

2. Nero, therefore, bestowed the kingdom of the two twin cities of Samaria, which are named Judea, and he added to Agrippa's kingdom four cities, with the toparchies to them belonging: I mean Abila, and that Julias which is in Peraea. Titus, also, and Tiberias of Galilee; and besides the rest of Judea he made Felix procurator. This Felix took Eleazar the arch robber, and many that were with him, alive, when they had roused the country for twenty years together, and sent them to Rome; but as to the number of the robbers he caused to be crucified, and of those who were caught among them, and when he brought them in the market, they were a multitude not to be enumerated.

3. When the country was purged of these, there sprung up another sort of robbers in Jerusalem, who called themselves Jews; they were called Samaritans, who lived by Cæsarea, and denounced the Samaritans, and commanded that three of the most powerful men among them should be put to death: he banished Cumanus, and sent Celer bound to Jerusalem, to be delivered up to the Jews to be tormented; that he should be drawn round the city, and then beheaded.

5. But there was an Egyptian false prophet, that did the Jews more mischief than the foreigner for he was a cheat, and pretended to be a prophet also, and got together thirty thousand men that were deluded by him; those he led round about the wondrous city of Dionysopolis, and near the city of Ophel in the mountains of Judæa, and there he joined them by the assistance of those guards of his that were to break into the city with him. But Felix prevented his attempt, and met him with his Roman soldiers, while all the people assisted him in his attack upon them, inasmuch that, when it came to a battle, the Egyptian ran away, with a few others, while the greatest part of those that were with him were either driven over or taken alive: but the rest of the multitude here says is about countries very remote from Rome, where he lived; since what he says of two Roman procurators, the one over Galilee, the other over Samaria, at the same time, is without all example elsewhere; and since Josephus, who lived at that very time, and appears to have known nothing of this procuratorship of Felix, before the death of Cæsarius, much less speaks of the story itself; the narrative here is rather a mistake or error, especially when it seems not only omitted, but constructed by Josephus, and he adds nothing that he knows, but what he has heard from others. Possibly Felix might have been some unknown judge among the Jews some time before under Cæsarius, but I do not believe. Bishop Pearson, as well as Bishop Lorp, quote this account, but with a dubiousness; for if you mention Tyre, you mention Ammon, Phœnicia, etc., Elymas, the sorcerer, etc., Acts xiii. 7. 8.
were dispersed every one to their own homes, and there concealed themselves.

6. And after this, as it happened, when a company of dissenters and robbers got together, and were not content with plundering the ports and cities, but also laid hands on the liberty of the people, by threats and violent conduct, they were to have occupied the cities and towns, and to have put the inhabitants under bonds of slavery. And therefore, in order to prevent this, the people, or rather a certain number of them, assembled together, and thus determined upon a war, and took arms, and marched to the places where the dissenters were, and did prevent their designs, in the same manner as the dissidents had prevented others when they attempted to plunder the cities and destroy the liberty of the inhabitants. And thus the flame was every day more and more blown up, till it came to a direct war and battle, whenever they saw the opportunity.

7. There was also another disturbance at Caesarea; those Jews who were mixed with the Syrians that lived there, raising a tumult against them. The Jews pretended that the city was theirs, and said, that he who built it was a Jew, meaning king Herod. The Syrians confessed also that its builder was a Jew, but they still said, however, that it was the city of the Greeks, that he who set up statues and temples in it could not design it for the Jews. On which account both parties had a contest with one another; and this, it is said, continued for a time, so that it came at last to arms, and the robbers sent them marching out to fight; for the elders of the Jews were not able to put a stop to their own people that were most capable of being tumultuous, and the Greeks thought it a shame for them to be overcome by the Jews. Now these Jews exceeded the others in riches, and strength of body; but the Grecian part had the advantage of assistance from the soldiers; for the greatest part of the Roman garrison was raised out of Syria, and being thus related to the Syrian part, they were ready to assist it. However, the governors of the city were not able to hold a quiet, and whenever they caught those that were most for fighting on either side, they punished them with stripes and bonds. Yet did not the sufferings of those that were taken put the remainder, but they were still more and more exasperated, and deeper engaged in the sedition. And as Felix came once into the market place, and saw the tumult, and public disturbance, he sent to the Syrians, to go their ways, and threatened them if they would not; and as they would not obey him, he sent his soldiers out upon them, and they continued to attack them, and the combat was so fierce, that what they had was plundered. And as the sedition continued still, he chose out the most eminent men on both sides as ambassadors to Nero, to argue about their several privileges.

CHAP. XIV.

Festus succeeds Felix, who is succeeded by Albinus: as he is by Florus; who, by the barbarity of his Government, forces the Jews into the war.

§ 1. Now it was that Festus succeeded Felix, as procurator, and made it his business to correct those that made disturbances in the country. So he caught the greatest part of the robbers, and destroyed a great many of them. But then Albinus, who succeeded Festus, did not execute his orders, as the other had done; nor was there any sort of wickedness that could be named, but he had a hand in it. Accordingly, he did not only, in his political capacity, steal and plunder every one's goods, but, nor did he make himself between the whole nation with taxes, but he permitted the relations of such as were in prison for robbery, and had been there, either by the special order of the people, or by of every merchant, to ransom them to redeem them for money; and nobody remained in the prisons, as a malefactor, but he who gave him nothing. At this time it was, that the emperor, having attacked Jerusalem, who delighted in disturbances, joined himself to such as had fellowship with Albinus; and every one of those vile wretched and wretched with his own band of robbers, while himself, like an arch traitor, made a figure of his company, and abused his authority over those about him, in order to plunder those that lived quietly. The effect of which was this, that those who held good government, lost the good government, and were deprived of their peace, when they had reason to show great indignation at all they had suffered; but those who had escaped, were forced to flatter him that he might pardon them. And of this sort of things they were in an equal condition with the others. Upon the whole, nobody durst speak their minds, for tyranny was generally tolerated; and at this time there were no seeds sown which brought the city to destruction.

5. And though such was the character of Albinus, yet did Gessius Florus, who succeeded to him, demonstrate him to have been a man of excellent person, upon the comparison; for the former did great part of his rogues in private, and with a sort of dissimulation; but Gessius did his unjust actions to the harm of the nation after a propensity manner: and as he had been sent as an executioner to punish condemned malefactors, he omitted no sort of rapine or of vexation; where the case was really praisable, he was most barbarous, and in things of the greatest turpitude he was most impudent. Nor could any one outdo him in disguising the truth, nor could any one contrive more subtle ways of deceiving than he did. He indeed, indeed, he but a petty offence to get money out of single persons, so he spoiled whole cities, and ruined entire bodies of men at once, and did almost every man's ruin, only with the money given them to turn robbers, upon this condition, that he might go share with them in the spoils they got. Accordingly, his eleemosynary virtue was all the greater, and the poor of every province, and of every place, and the toparchies were brought to desolation; and a great many of the people left their own country, and fled into foreign provinces.

3. And truly, while Cestius Gallus was president of the province of Syria, nobody durst do so much as send an embassy to him against Florus; but when he was come to Jerusalem, upon the approach of the forced famine, and the bread, the people came about him not fewer in number than three millions; these besought him to commiserate the calamities of his nation, and cried out upon Florus as the cause of their destruction. But as he was present, and stood by Cestius, he laughed at their words. However, Cestius, when he had quitted the multitude, and had assured them that he would take care that Florus should hereafter treat them in a more gentle manner, returned to Antioch: Florus also third year of Tiberius, or A.D. 100, as I have several times observed before.

Here we may note, that 3,000,000 of the Jews were present at the council at Jerusalem, A. D. 86, which confirms what Josephus elsewhere informs us of, that at a passover a little later, the counted 500,000 pascal lambs, which at twelve thousand, when it was celebrated by the Jews, came to 3,672,000. See B. vi. ch. ix. sect. 3.
conducted him as far as Cesarea, and defended him, though he had at that time the purpose of showing his anger at the nation, and procuring a war upon them, by which means alone it was that he supposed he might conceal his enmity for himself. But, if the need continued, he should have the Jews for his accusers before Cæsar; but that if he could procure them to make a revolt, he should divert their loyalty to himself, to his cause, by a misfortune which was so much greater; he therefore did every time augment their calamities, in order to induce them to a rebellion.

6. At this time it happened, that the Greeks and the inhabitants of Cesarea had been too hard for the Jews, and had obtained of Nero the government of the city, and had brought the judicial determination; at the time of the year when he had obtained the reign of Nero, and the seventeenth of the reign of Agrippa, in the month of Artemisia. [Year 32] Now the occasion of this war was proportionate to those heavy calamities which it brought upon us. For the Jews that dwelt at Cesarea had a synagogue near the place, whose owner was a certain Cesarean Greek; the Jews had endeavoured frequently to the overthrow of that place, and had offered many times its value for its price; but as the owner overlooked their offers, so did he raise other buildings upon the place of their ruin, and cause workmen to dig shops of them, and left them but a narrow passage, and such as was very troublesome for them to go aloof to their synagogue. Whereupon the warmer part of the Jewish youth went hastily to the workmen, and forbade them to build there; but as Florus would not permit them to use force, the great men of the Jews, with John the publican, being in the utmost distress, what to do, persuaded Florus, with the offer of eight talents, to hinder the work. He then, being intent upon nothing but getting money, promised he would do for them all they desired of him, and went away from Cesarea to Sebaste, and left the sedition to take its full course, as if he had sold a license to the Jews to fight it out.

7. Now on the next day, which was the seventh day of the week, when the Jews were crowing apace to their synagogue, a certain man of Cesarea, of a seditious temper, got an earthen vessel, and went to the bottom of the stairs at the entrance of that synagogue, and sacrificed birds. This thing provoked the Jews to an incurable degree, because their laws were affronted, and the priests were profaned. Whileupon the seditious and moderate part of the Jews thought it proper to have recourse to their governors again; while the seditions part, and such as were in the favour of their youth, were vehemently inflamed to fight. The seditions also among the [Gentiles of Cesarea stood ready for the same purpose; for they had by agreement, sent the man to sacrifice beforehand, as ready to support him; so that it soon came to blows. Hereupon Jacobus, the master of the horse, who was ordered to prevent the fight, came thither and took away the earthen vessel, and endeavoured to put a stop to the sedition; but when he was overcome by the violence of the people of Cesarea, the Jews caught up their books of the law, and retired to Narbota, which was a place to them belonging, distant from Cesarea sixty furlongs. But John, and two of the principal men with him, went to Florus, to Sebaste, and made a lamentable complaint of their case, and besought him to help them; and he wished to some decency to those that were defiled from the rest, while every one was sorry for what had been done, and desired it out of fear of what would follow; that he ought, however, to provide for the peace of the nation, and to take measures he might secure the city for the Romans, and rather for the sake of a great number of innocent people, to forgive a few that were guilty, than for the sake of a few those that were disbelievers, to get these to enemy into disorder.

8. Florus was more provoked at this, and
BOOK II.—CHAP. XV.

called out aod to the soldiers to plunder that
which was called the upper market-place, and to
lay such as they met with. So the soldiers,
having done this to the effect of their own will,
without any care to their desire of gain, did not
only plunder the place they were sent to, but
forcing themselves into every house, they slew
its inmates, and all who they did not seize in the
narrow lanes, and the soldiers slew those that
they caught, and no method of plunder was
omitted; they also caught many of the quiet
people, and of the rather small sort, for so
he first chastised with stripes, and then cruci-
fied. Accordingly, the whole number of those
that were destroyed that day, with their wives
and children, who the soldiers did not slit along
the infants themselves, was about three thousand
and six hundred. And what made this calamity
the heavier, was this new method of Roman bar-
barity: for Florus vested the soldiers with out
one had done before, that is, to have men of the
equestrian order whipped and nailed to the cross
before their tribunal; who although they were by
sixth Jews, yet were they of Roman dignity not-
withstanding.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning Berenice’s Petition to Florus to spare the Jews, but in vain; as also now, after the sedi-
tious Plague was quenched, it was kindled again by Florus.

§ 1. At this very time king Agrippa was
went to Alexandria, to congratulate Alexander
upon his having obtained the government of
Egypt from Nero; but as his sister Berenice
was come to Jerusalem, and saw the wicked prac-
tices of the soldiers, she was very affrighted at it,
and frequently sent the masters of her horse, and
her guards, to Florus, and begged of him to leave
off these slaughters; but he would not comply
with her urgent importunities, or regard either to
the multitude of those already slain, or to the no-
sility of her that interceded, but only to the ad-
vantage he should make by this plundering;
and this violence of the soldiers broke out in so
such a degree of madness, that it spent itself
on the queen herself, for they did not only torment
destroy those whom they had caught under
her very eyes, but indeed had killed herself also,
unless she had prevented them by flying to the
palace, and had stayed there all night with her
guards, which she had about her for fear of an
insult from the soldiers. Nor was Florus at
Jerusalem, in order to perform a vow which she
had made to God; for it is usual with those that
had been either afflicted with a distemper, or
with any other misfortune, or had been thirty
days before they are to offer their sacri-
ficles, to abstain from wine, and to shave the
hair of their head. Which things Berenice was
now performing, and stood barefoot before Flor-
us’s tribunal, and besought him (to spare the
Jews.) Yet could she neither have any reverence
paid to her, nor could she escape without some
danger of being slain herself.

2. This happened upon the sixteenth day of the

smooth Artemidorus [Jyar.] Now on the next
day, the multitude, who were in a great agony, ran
together to the upper market-place, and made the
most lamentations for the present, that the Jews
and the greatest part of the cried were such as
reflected on Florus; at which the men of power
were affrighted, together with the high priests,
and rent their garments in their horror; and each
of them, and besought them to leave off, and not
to provoke Florus to some incurable procedure,
besides what they had already suffered. Accordingly, the multitude was exceedingly dis-
ously, out of reverence to those that had desired it
of them, and out of the hope they bad that
Florus would do them no more injuries.

3. So Florus [for his continuance that all disturbances
were over, and endeavoured to kindle that
dame again, and sent for the high priests, with
the other eminent persons, and said, the only
only the Plague having subsituted that any other invocations should be this, that
they must go out and meet the soldiers that were
ascending from Cesarea, whereas two cohorts
were coming; and these men were sent to begin
the multitude so to do, he sent beforehand, and
gave directions to the centurions of the co-
borts, that they should give notice to those that
were under them not to return the Jews what
propositions; and that if they made any way to his
disadvantage, they should make use of their wea-
pons. Now the high priests assembled the mul-
titude in the temple, and desired them to go and
meet the Romans, and salute them civilly, before their miserable case should become incurable.
Now the seditious part would not com-
ply with these persuasions, but the consideration
of those that had been destroyed made them in-
cline to those that were the boldest for action.

4. At this time it was that every priest, and
every servant of God, brought out the holy ves-
seils, and the ornamental vessels used to minister
in sacred things. The harpers also, and the singers of hymns, came out with
their instruments of music, and fell down before
the multitude, and besought of them that they
would preserve those holy ornaments to them,
and not provoke the Romans to carry off those
sacred treasures. You might also see them the
high priests themselves, with dust sprinkled in
great plenty upon their heads, with bosoms de-
prived of any covering, but what was rent; these
besought every one of the eminent men by name,
and the multitude in common, that they were not
for a small offence betray their country to
those that were desirous to have it laid waste;
saying, “What benefit will it bring to the sol-
diers to have a sacrifice? Will that not
what amendment of your affairs will it bring
you, if you do not now go out to meet them?
and if they saluted them civilly, all hands
would be cut off from them. Florus to beg a
way that they should thereby gain their country,
and freedom from all further sufferings; and that;
besides, it would be a sign of great want of com-
mand of themselves, if they did not give a
few seditionists power, while it was flatter for

xii. 56. So we want already the continuation of the Au-
tiquities to afford us light here, as they have hitherto done
not so many occasions elsewhere. Perhaps in this age the
traditions of the Pharisees had obliged the Jews to take
desire of right, not only as to these things. The transcrip-
tion, but as to the going barefoot all that time, which here
Berenice is omitted to see. For we know that as God’s
and our Saviour’s yoke is easy and yoke, and our yoke is
comparatively light, in such positive injunctions, Matt. xi.
so did the Scribers and Pharisees sometimes bind upon
men heavy burden, and to bear under distress and other
danger, as Jesus here intimates. However,
these thirty days’ abode at Jerusalem, for fasting and prop-

§

Here we have examples of native Jews who were of
the equestrian order among the Romans, and as ought
never to have been whipped or crucified, according to the
Roman laws. See almost the like case in St. Paul himself,
Acts xxvi. 30.

This vow which Berenice (here and elsewhere called
queen, not only as daughter and sister to two kings, Agrip-
pa and Herod, but he that was called her brother, king of Chalcis) came now to accomplish at Jerusalem, was
not that of a Nazarite, but such a one as religious Jews
too, as women were supposed to be; and it was to be
other danger, as Josephus here intimates. However,
these thirty days’ abode at Jerusalem, for fasting and prop-
erties, etc. And God’s yoke is not to be thought too
toon less, unless it were wholly voluntary in this great
martyr. It is not required in the law of Moses relating to

Here we have an intimation of one of the
sixth sabbath festivals of the Jewish nation.

Here we have a good reason why the
sixth sabbath alludes to the remarkable peace or subsid-
ance of this Berenice to Jewish discipline, and justs upon
being of it for: as do all ancient, etc. Soman relevs.
the relias, mention her as one well known at Rome, etc.

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them, who were so great a people, to force the others to act soberly."

5. By these measures, which they used to the seditionists, and to the seditionists, they restrained some by threats, and others by the reverence that was paid them. After this they led them out, and they met the soldiers quietly, and after they had come up with them, they saluted them; but when they made no answer, the seditionists exclaimed against Florus, which was the signal given for falling upon them. The soldiers thereupon encompassed them presently, and struck them with their clubs, and as they fled away, the horsemen trampled them down, so that a great many fell down dead by the strokes of the Romans, and more by their own violence in crushing one another. Now there was a terrible crowding about the gates, and while every body was making the race to get before another, the flight of the rest was retarded, and a terrible destruction there was among those that fell down; for they were suffocated and broken to pieces by the multitude of those that were uppermost; nor could any of them be distinguished by his relations in order to the care of his funeral; the soldiers also who beat them, fell upon those whom they did not know, without showing them any respect, and thrust the multitude through the place called Bezetha, as they forced their way in order to get in and seise upon the temple, and the Jews, as Florus was being desireing to get those places into his possession, brought such as were with him out of the king's house, and would have compelled them to get as far as the court of the temple, but his attempt failed, for the people turned back upon him, and stopped the violence of his attempt, and as they stood upon the tops of their houses, they threw their darts at the Romans, who, as they were sorely grieved thereby, he attacked; and, as the Romans advanced, the Jews, in return, cast stones from above, and they were not able to make a passage through the multitude, which stopped up the narrow passages, they retired to the camp with the rest of the multitude who were afraid.

6. But for the seditionists, they were afraid lest Florus should come again, and get possession of the temple, through Antonia; so they got immediately upon those cloisters of the temple that joined to Antonia, and cut them down. This excited the avarice of Florus, for whereas he was eager to obtain the treasures of God (as in the temple), and every person was desirous of getting what was worth taking, he entered into Antonia, as soon as the cloisters were broken down, he left off his attempt; he then sent for the high priest and the sanhedrim, and told them that he had done all he could; and must needs, he said, get the city out of the hands of the Jews; but that he would leave them as large a garrison as they should desire: hereupon they promised that they would make no innovations, in case he would have got another hand; but that which he had fought with the Jews, because the multitude bore ill-will against that band, on account of what they had suffered from it; so he blamed the Jews as they desired, and was the rest of his forces, returned to Cesarea.

CHAP. XVI.

Cestius sends Neoplatonians the Tribunal to see in Jerusalem. Florus affirms to the Jews, Concerning the Jews. Affairs. Agrippa makes a Speech to the People of the Jews, in the first place from their Intentions of making War with the Romans.

§ 1. However, Florus contrived another way to oblige the Jews to begin the war, and sent to

Cestius, and accused the Jews falsely of revolting from [the Roman government,] and impeded the former fight. But Cestius pretended they had been the authors of that disturbance, whereas they were only the sufferers. Yet were not the governors of Jerusalem silent upon this occasion, but did themselves write to Cestius, and did Besaut, and the other Jews, about the illegal practices of Florus, as he had been guilty against the city; who, upon reading both accounts, concluded with his captains [what he should do.] Now came the thought it best for Cestius to go up with his army, either to punish the rebels, if it was real, or to settle the Roman affairs on a surer foundation, if the Jews continued quiet under them: but he thought it best himself to send one of his intimate friends beforehand, to see the state of affairs, and to give him a faithful account of the intention of the Jews. Accordingly, as it was his intention, Neoplatonius, who met with king Agrippa, as he was returning from Alexandria, at Jannina, and told him who it was that sent him, and on what occasion.

2. And here it was that the high priests, and men of power among the Jews, as well as the sanhedrim, came to congratulate the king [upon his safe return, holding] any wrong to the Jews, and sent him a very florid speech, in the manner of the Romans, by which they lamented their own calamities, and related to him what barbarous treatment they had met with from Florus. At which barbarity Agrippa was so much moved, to the point of taking after a subtle manner, his anger towards those Jews whom he really pitied, that he might bestow their high thoughts of themselves, and would that they had attempted nothing so unjustly treated, in order to dissuade them from avenging themselves. So great was his sense, of better understanding than the rest, and of circumspection, because of the power they had, that he did not let this remark which he gave them, was intended for their good; but, as to the people, they came sixty furlongs out of Jerusalem, and congratulated both Agrippa and Neoplatonius; but the Jews of this place had been slain, came running first of all and lamenting. The people also, when they heard their mourning, fell into lamentations also, and be- stowed the rest of those that had been slain, came running first of all and lamenting.

3. But as for the multitude of the Jews, they addressed themselves to the king, and by the high priests, and desired they might have leave to send ambassadors to Nero against Florus, and that by their affluence to the Romans, and earnestly ex-}
first beginners of the war, if they did not prevent the report by showing who it was that began it; and it appeared openly that they would not be quiet, if any body should hinder them from sending up such a rumour. And seeing no means of quelling it, he thought it too dangerous a thing for them to appoint men to go as the accusers of Florus, yet did he not think it fit for him to overlook them, as being still under his inspection, and so he therefore called the multitude together into a large gallery, and placed his sister Hircina in the house of the Asamouens, that she might be seen by the public, and so be an injury to them; from thence to the passage to the upper city, where the bridge joined the temple to the gallery, and spake to them as follows—

4. "Had I perceived that you were all zealously disposed to go to war with the Romans, and that the purer and more sincere part of the people did not purpose to live in peace, I had not come out to you, nor been so bold as to give you counsel; for all discourses that tend to persuade men to do what they ought to do are superfluous, when the hearers are agreed to do the contrary. But because some are earnest to go to war, because some are angry at your negligence of the miseries it brings; and because others are so full of the miseries of their liberty; and because others hope to get by war an advantage of any sort; it is this, that in the confusion of your affairs they may gain what belongs to those that are too weak to resist them; I have thought proper to get you all together, and to tell you what I think you should be for your advantage; that so the former may grow wiser, and change their minds, and that the best men may come to no harm by the ill consequences of the time, neither may any one but the tumultuous against me, in case what they hear me say do not please them; for as to those who admit of no cure, but are resolved upon a revolt, it is not for me to hinder. I shall think it the same sentiments after my exhortation is over; but still my discourse will fall to the ground, even with relation to those that have a mind to hear me, unless you will all keep silence. I am well aware that they make a tragi-calamity concerning the injuries that have been offered you by your procurators, and concerning the glorious advantages of liberty; but before I sum up the inquiry, who are you that must go to war, and who are they against whom you must fight? I shall first separate those pretences that are by some connected together; and when I shall have set apart yourselves on those that have done you injury, why do you pretend this to be a war for recovering your liberty? but if you think all servitude intolerable, to what purpose serve your complaints against your particular governors? for if they treated you with moderation, it would still be equally an unholy thing to be in servitude. Consider now the several cases that may be supposed, how little occasion there is for your going to war. Your first occasion is the accusations you have to make against your procurators: now here you ought to be submissive to those in authority, and not give them any provocation; but when you reproach men greatly for small offences, you excite those whom you reproach to be your adversaries; for this will only make them leave off hurting you privately, and with some degree of respect and caution. They may have waste openly. Now nothing so much damps the force of strokes as bearing them with patience; and the quietness of those who are in difficulties makes the worse compass a thing too easy. But let us take it for granted, that the Roman ministers are injurious to you, and are incurably severe; yet are they not all the Romans who make this injury? are they not all the Romans against whom you are going to make war, injured you? it is not by their command that any wicked governor is sent to you; for they who serve in the west cannot see those that are in the east; nor indeed is it easy for them there even to hear what is done in these parts. Now it is absurd to make war with a great many for the sake of one; to do so with such mighty people, for a small cause: and this when there people are not able to know of what you complain; nay, such crimes as we complain of may soon be corrected, for the first experience of slavery will not continue for ever; and probably it is that the sufferings will come with more moderate inclinations. But as for war, if it be once begun, it is not easily laid down again, nor borne without calamities coming therewith. There is no term to be set upon to discovering your liberty, it is unseasonable to indulge it so late; whereas you ought to have laboured earnestly in old time that you might never have lost it; and for that the first experience of slavery was rather hard to be endured, and the struggle that you might never have been subject to it would have been just; but that slave who hath been once brought into the condition, and in that manner rather a refractory slave than a lover of liberty for it was then the proper time for doing all that was possible, that you might never have admitted the Roman in your city at all. For when Pompey came first into the country. But so it was, that our ancestors and their kings, who were in much better circumstances than we are, both as to money and (strong) bodies and (valiant) souls, did not bear the onset of a small body of the Roman army. And yet you, who have now accustomed yourselves to obedience from one generation to another, and who after the first submitted in your circumstances, will venture to oppose the entire empire of the Romans; while those Athenians, who, in order to preserve the liberty of their city, did not let it fall into their own city; who pursued Xerxes, that proud prince, when he sailed upon the sea, and walked upon the land, and could not be contained by the seas, but conducted such an army as was too broad for Europe, and made him run away like a fugitive in a single ship, and broke so great a part of Asia at the lesser Salamis, are yet at this time servants to the Romans; and whose injuries which are sent from Italy, become laws to the principal governing city of Greece. Those Cesaridemontians also, who got the great victories at Thermopylae and Platae, and had Aegeans [for their king,] and searched every corner of Asia, flights of oratory, to be not the real speeches of the persons concerned, who usually were no orators, but of his own elegant composition: the speech before us is of another nature, full of undecipherable facts, and composed in a plain and unadorned manner. But what it appears to be Agrippa's own speech, and to have been given Josephus by Agrippa himself, with whom Josephus had the greatest friendship. Nor is that an extraordinary doctrine here, that this vast Roman empire was raised and supported by divine Providence; and that, therefore, it was in the power of the soldiers and destroying it. Nor may we neglect to take notice of Agrippa's solemn appeal to the angels he used; the like appeals to whom did not occur for many years, 1 Tim. v. 21, and by the apostles, in general, in the form of the ordination of bishops, Constitut. Apost. viii. 4."

6. In this speech of King Agrippa we have an authentic account of the extent and strength of the Roman empire when the Jewish war began. And this speech with other circumstances in Josephus, demonstrate how wise and how great a person Agrippa was, and how Josephus elsewhere calls him Agrippa parvus, a most wonderful or admirable man. Contr. Ap. 1. 8. He is the same Agrippa who was mentioned at St. Paul's trial in Jerusalem, Acts xxvii. 28; and of whom St. Paul said, he was expert in all the customs and questions of the Jews, which made him master of their law. It is certain that the Roman empire, Of the War, B. iii. c. x. sect. 7. But what seems to me very remarkable here is this, that when Josephus in his Antiquities, says of Agrippa, he wrote his Antiquities, did himself frequently compose the speeches which he put into others' mouths, they appear, by the politeness of their composition, and their
WARS OF THE JEWS.

are contented to admit the same lords. These Macedonians also, who still fancy what great men their Philip and Alexander were, and see that the latter had promised them the empire over the world, these bear so great a change, and pay the price of what they have obtained, for whom their state hath advanced in their stead. Moreover, ten thousand other nations there are, who had greater reason than we to claim their entire liberty, and yet do submit to us, as to one nation, for whom the Greeks have undertaken. What sort of an army do you rely on? What are the arms you depend on? In order that, by some sort of an emperor or king over the Roman sea; and where are those treasures which may be sufficient for your undertaking? Do you suppose, I pray you, that you are to make war against the Egyptians, and the Argives, and against the Romans? Will you not carefully reflect upon the Roman empire? Will you not estimate your own weakness? Hath not your army been often beaten even by your neighbouring nations, while the power of the Romans is invincible in all parts of the habitable earth? Nay, rather, they seek for somewhat still beyond that, for all Greece is not the boundary for them on the north, nor the Danube for the Danubians; but the limit of the world is the ocean; and far they have travelled. And for their southern limit, Libya hath been searched over by them, as far as countries uninhabited, as is Cadiz their limit on the west; nay, indeed, from the earth beyond the earth, beyond the ocean, and have carried their arms as far as such British islands as were never known before. What therefore do you pretend to? Are you richer than the Gallic, more numerous than the Germans, wiser than the Greeks, more numerous than all men upon the habitable earth? What confidence is it that elevates you to oppose the Romans?... But to make it short, I say, it is hard for you to endure slavery. Yes, but how much harder is this to the Greeks, who were esteemed the noblest of all people under the sun? These, though they inhabit in a large country, and are subject to six bundles of Roman rods! It is the same case with the Macedonians, who have just reason to claim their liberty than you have. What is the case of five hundred cities of Asia? do they not submit to a single governor, and to the consular bundle of rods?... What need I speak of the Hesiodics, and the nation of Thracians inhabiting the Bosporus, and the nations about Pontus, and Moesia, who formerly knew not so much as a lord of their own, but are now subject to three thousand armed men, and a land kept in peace by ships of war, which before was not navigable, and very tempestuous! How strong a plea may Bithynia, and Cappadocia, and the people of Pamphylia, the Ilyrians, and Cilicians, put in for liberty! But they are made tributary without any armament.

What are the circumstances of the Thracians, whose country extends in breadth five days' journey, and in length seven, and is of a much more harsh constitution and much more difficult than yours, and by the rigour of its cold sufficient to keep off armies from attacking them? do they not submit to two thousand men of the Roman governor? do they not hand over their country adjoining, as far as Dalmatia and the Danube, governed by barely two legions; by which also they put a stop to the incursions of the Danubians, and Dalmatians, who have made such frequent insurrections in order to regain their liberty, and who could never before be thoroughly subdued, but that they always gave way to the forces, after they were revolted, yet are they now very quiet under one Roman legion. Moreover, if great advantages were to be had by some to revolt, the Gauls might do it best of all, as they used to do at the walls round by nature. On the east side by the Alps, on the north by the river Rhine, on the south by the Pyrenean mountains, and on the west by the sea. Now although these Gauls have such obstacles before them to prevent any attack upon them, and have no fewer than three hundred and five nations among them; yet, may, have, do not pretend to the power of the Romans. If they undertake such a war, let them descend to the sea, and they undergo this, not because they are of effeminate minds, or because they are of an ignoble stock, as having borne a war of eighty years, and are not ashamed of it. Be not a little staggered by the great regard they have to the power of the Romans, and their good fortune, which is of greater efficacy than their arms. These Gauls, therefore, are kept by the boundary of their external soldiers, which are hardly so many as are their cities: nor hath the gold dug out of the mines of Spain been sufficient for the support of a war to preserve their liberty, nor is the vast distance from the Romans by land and by sea do it; nor could the martial tribes of the Lusitanians and the Spaniards escape; so more could the ocean, with its tide, which yet was no more than a small barrier for the Romans. Have the Romans extended their arms beyond the pillars of Hercules, and have walked among the clouds upon the Pyrenean mountains, and have subdued, as a sort of a substitute for these powers of the Greeks and the Phoenicians, a sufficient guard for these people, although they were so hard to be conquered, and at a distance so remote from Rome. Who is there among you that hath not heard of the great number of the Germans? You have, to be sure, yourselves seen them to be strong and tall, and that frequently, since the Romans have them among their captives everywhere, the Germans, who dwell in an immense country, who have minds greater than their bodies, and a soul that despises death, and who are in rage more fierce than wild beasts, have the Rhine for the boundary by their exterminated soldiers, and are tamed by eight Roman legions. Such of them as were taken captive became the servants; and the rest of the entire nation were obliged to save themselves by flight. Do you also, who depend on the walls of Jerusalem, consider what a wall the Britons had; for the Romans sailed away to them, and subdued them while they were without the wall. This was an island that is not less than the continent of this habitable earth; and four legions are a sufficient guard to so large an island. And why should you doubt that they shall be better fortified? while the Parthians, that most warlike body of men, and lords of so many nations, and encompassed with such mighty forces, send hostages to the Romans; whereby they make use, in Italy, the noblest nation of the east, under the notion of peace, submitting to serve them. Now when almost all people under the sun submit to the Roman arms, will you be the only people that make war against them? and this without regarding the fate of the Carthaginians, who, in the midst of their braves of the great Hannibal, and the nobility of their kings, and the skill of their armies, perished? Nor indeed have the Cyrreneans, derived from the Macedonians, nor the Marmaridians, a nation extended as far as the regions uninhabitable for want of water, nor have the Cyrenaeans, a people terrible to such as barely hear it described, the Nasons and the Moors, and the immense multitude of the Numidians, been able to put a stop to the Roman arms, and to submit to the power of the Romans. Nor could they hold on the habitable earth, (Africa,) whose nations are so many that it is not easy to number them, and which is bounded by the Atlantic sea and the pillars of Hercules on the west, and the limits of Ethiopia on the east; these have the Romans subdued entirely...
besides the annual fruits of the earth, which maintained the multitude of the Romans for eight months in the year, this, over and above, pays all other expenses; and in the second place, the taxes, and the necessities of the government. Nor do they, like you, esteem such injunctions a disgrace to them, although they have but one Roman legion the service of which is for their part, and the occasion is there for showing you the power of the Romans over remote countries, when it is so easy to learn it from Egypt, in your neighbourhood? Thapsus was capitulated and delivered to the Ethiopians and Arabsia the Happy, and borders upon India: it hath seven millions five hundred thousand men, besides the inhabitants of Alexandria, as may be learned from the revenue of the poll-tax; yet it is not ashamed to submit to the Roman government, although it hath Alexandria as a grand temptation to a revolt, by reason it is so full of people and of riches, and as, besides, exceeding large, its length being thirty furigons, and its breadth no less than ten; and it pays more tribute to the Romans in one month than they do in a year; nay, besides what it pays in money, the enemies will at least report go four months [in the year:] it is also walled round on all sides, either by almost impassable deserts, or seas that have no haven, or by rivers, or the sea; and therefore it is almost always shut up, and found too strong for the Roman good fortune; however, two legions that lie in that city are a bridle both for the remotest parts of Egypt, and for the parts inhabited by the more noble Macedonians. Where then are those persons whom you are to have for your auxiliaries? Must they come from the parts of the world that are uninhabited? And if they are no lower, they will have no earth that are under the Romans. Unless any of you extend his hopes as far as beyond the Euphrates, and suppose that those of your own nation that dwell there are a country to your assistance, but certainly these will not embarrasse themselves with an unjustifiable war, nor, if they should follow such ill advice, will the Parthians permit them so to do; for it is their concern to maintain the truce that is between them and the Romans, and they will be supposed to break the covenants between them, if any under their government march against the Romans: What remains, therefore, is this, that you have recourse to divine assistance; but this is already on the side of the Romans: for it is impossible that so vast an army, and so rich a world, should lack Providence. Reflect upon it, how impossible it is for your zealous observation of your religious custom to be here preserved, which are hard to be observed in a war, and in which you are able to conquer; and how can you then most of all hope for God's assistance, when, by being compelled to transgress his law, you will make him turn his face from you? and if you do observe the custom of the sabbath day, and will not be prevailed on to do any thing thereon, you will easily be taken, as were your forefathers by Pompey, who was the last in his line on those manners which the besieged retained. But if in time of war, you transgress the law of your country, I cannot tell on whose account you will afterward go to war; for your concern is but one, that you do nothing against the law of your forefathers; and how will you call upon God to assist you, when you are voluntarily transgressing against his religion? Now all men that go to war are not upon the same occasion, or on the same human assistance; but since your going to war will cut off both those assistances, those that are for going to war choose evident destruction. Were you armed with childer even to the age of weaning, and wares with your own hands, and burning this most excellent native city of yours: for by this mad prank you will, however, escape the reproach of being basem. But it were best, O my friends, it were best, while the vessel is still in the haven, to fit out and leave; and if it be manifest ruin, he gains reproaches [instead of commiseration]. But certainly no one can imagine that you can enter into a war as by agreement, or that when the Romans have got you under their power, they will use you with moderation, or will, rather, for an example to other nations, burn your holy city, and utterly destroy your whole nation; for those of you who shall survive the war, will not be able to find a place whither to flee, since all men have the Romans for their lords already, or are afraid they shall have here after. Nay, indeed, the danger concurs not only Jews that dwell here only, but those of them who dwell in other cities also; for there is no people upon the habitable earth which have not some portion of you among them, whom your enemies will then abuse; and the reports go all that account also; and so every city which hath Jews in it will be filled with slaughter for the sake of a few men, and who they slay will be prejudicial to those that are there; for they, by them, consider how wicked a thing it is to take arms against those that are so kind to you. Have pity, therefore, if not on your children and wires, yet upon this your metropolis, and its sacred walls; spare the temple, and preserve the holy house, with its holy furniture, for yourselves; for if the Romans get you under their power, and you have not the assistance of the nations, then, when their former abstinence shall have been so ungratefully required. I call to witness your sanctuary, and the holy angels of God, and this city of yours, and you all, that I have not kept back any thing that is for your preservation; and if you will follow that advice, which you ought to do, you will have that peace which will be common to you and to me; but if you indulge your passions, you will run those hazards which I shall be free from."

5. When Agrippa had spoken thus, both he and his sister went, and by their tears represented a great deal of the violence of the people; but still they cried out, that "they would not fight against the Romans, but against Florus, on account of what he had done." To which Agrippa replied, "that what they had already done was like such as make war against the Romans; for you have not paid the tribute", which is due to the Romans, from all that have your cloisters of the temple." From joining to the town Antonia. You will therefore preserve any occasion of revolt, if you will but join these together again, and if you will but pay your tribute; for the citadel does not all belong to Florus, nor are you to pay the tribute money to Florus."

CHAP. XVII.
How the War of the Jews with the Romans began.

§ 1. Twice advice the people hearten to, and went up into the temple with the king and Bernice, and began to rebuild the cloisters: the rulers also and senators divided themselves into the villages, and divided the tribute; and so sent out the multitude to obey Florus and the childers with the tribute, to succed him; but they were hereby more provoked, and cast reproaches upon the king, and city of Joppa, and for the Sabbothical year, as Symmachus observes from the Antiq. B. iv. ch. 2. sect. 6.
get him excluded out of the city: nay, some of the seditious had the impudence to throw stones at him, alleging, that he was the instigator of the violence of those that for innovations was not to be restrained, and being very angry at the contumelies he had received, he sent their rulers, together with the plan of Florus, to Cassarea, that he might appoint whom he thought fit to collect the tribute in the country, while he retired into his own kingdom.

3. And at the same time it was that some of those that principally excited the people to go to war, made an assault upon a certain fortress called Masada. They took it by treachery, and slew the Romans that were there, and put others of their own party to keep it. At the same time Eleazar, the son of Ananias the high priest, a very bold youth, who was at that time governor of the temple, persuaded those that officiated in the divine service to receive no gift or sacrifice for any foreigner. And this was the true beginning of our war with the Romans; for they rejected the sacrifice of Caesar on this account; and the principal and principal men besought them not to omit the sacrifice, which it was customary for them to offer for their princes, they would not be prevailed upon. The most of them, with a most solemn oath, gave them their sentence, for the most florishing part of the innovators assisted them: but they had the chief regard to Eleazar, the governor of the temple.

4. Now upon the men of power got together, and conferred with the high priests, as did also the principal men of the Pharisees; and thinking all was at stake, and that their calamities were beyond what could be done; accordingly they determined to try what they could do with the seditious by words, and assembled the people before the brazen gate, and laid before the temple of the inner temple (courted by the priests) which looked toward the sunrise. And, in the first place, they showed the greatest indignation they had at this attempt for a revolt, and for their bringing so great a war upon their country: after which they confuted their pretences, as unjustifiable, and told them, that the forefathers had adorned their temple in great part with donations bestowed on them by foreigners, and had always received what had been presented to them from foreign nations; and that they had been so far from rejecting any person's sacrifice, as the justice and piety, that they had themselves placed those donations about the temple which were still visible, and had remained there so long a time: for they did now irritate the Romans to take arms against them, and invited them to make war upon them, and brought up novel rules of a strange divine worship, and determined to run the hazard of having their city condemned for impiety, that they had themselves determined against him; while they have no regard to the Romans or to Caesar, and forbid even their obligations to be received also: that, being so, they cannot be justified but by rejecting his offerings, they shall not be allowed to offer their own; and that this city will lose its principality, unless they grow wiser quickly, and recant the sacrifices as formerly, and indeed amend the injury (they have offered to foreigners) before the report of it comes to the ears of those that have been injured.

5. And of these things, they produced those priests that were skilful in the customs of their country, who made the report, that all the forefathers had received the sacrifices from foreign nations. But the men of power, perceiving that the seditious was too much for them to subdue, and that the answer which would arise from the Romans would be so great, they sent ambassadors to Florus, the chief of whom was Simon the son of Ananias; and others to Agrippa, among whom were the men of power and costobaraus, who were of the king's kindred: and they desired of them both that they would come with an army to the city, and cut off the seditious before it should be too hard to be subdued. Now this terrible message was good news to Florus; and because his design was to have a war kindled, he gave the ambassadors no answer at all. But Agrippa was equally solicitous for those that were revolting, and for those against whom the war was to be made, and was desirous to preserve the Jews for the Romans, and the temple and metropolis for the Jews; he was also sensible of the quiet of the people, then their minds, for the most of the most flourishing part of the innovators assisted them: but they had the chief regard to Eleazar, the governor of the temple.

5. Upon this the men of power, with the high priests, sent to all the part of the multitude that were desirous of peace, took courage, and seized upon the upper city [Mount Scopus]; for the seditious part had the lower city and the temple in their power, and they continued their insolence perpetually against one another, and threw darts continually on both sides; and sometimes it happened that they made incursions by troops, and forced one another, wherefore their actions were superior in boldness, but the king's soldiers in skill. These last strove chiefly to gain the temple, and to drive those out of it who profaned it; as did the seditious, with Eleazar, besides what they had already, labour to gain the upper city. Thus were there perpetual slaughters on both sides for seven days: but neither side would yield up the parts they had seized on.

6. Now the next day was the festival of Xylephory, upon which the custom was for every one to go to the temple for the sacrifice, and to present it; and there never be a want of fuel for that fire which was unquenchable and always burning;) upon that day they excluded the opposite party from the observation of this part of religion. And when they had joined to themselves many auxiliaries from the garrisons, who crowded in among the weaker people, (that was the name for such robbers as had under their bosoms swords called Siezes,) they grew bolder, and carried their undertakings further; some much, that the king's soldiers were overpowered by their multitude and boldness, and so they gave way, and were driven out of the upper city by force; but others then set fire to that house of Ananias the high priest, and to the palaces of Agrippa and Berenice; after which they carried the fire to the place where the archives were kept, and there devoured, and made haste to burn to contracts belonging to their creditors, and thereby to dissolve their obligations for paying their debts; and this was done in order to gain the multitude of those who had been debtors, and that they might persuade the poorest sort to join in their insurrection with safety, against the more wealthy; so the keepers of the records fled away to the inner temple to lose fire. When they had thus burnt down the nerves of the city, they fell upon their enemies; at which time some of the men of power, and of the high priests, and some of the innovators would hear from what was said: nay, those that ministered about this temple would not attend their divine service, but were occupied in skirmishing against the army of the king.
king's soldiers to the upper palace, and shut the gates immediately; among whom was an Ammonite high priest, and the ambassadors that had been sent to Agrippa. And now the seditions were contented with the victory they had gotten, and the city being they had burnt down, and proceeded no farther.

7. But on the next day, which was the fifteenth of the month Lous, [A.D.] they made an assault upon the temple, and Ananiah the high priest, and the ambassadors that had been sent to Agrippa. And now the seditions were contented with the victory they had gotten, and the city being they had burnt down, and proceeded no farther.

8. But on the next day, which was the fifteenth of the month Lous, [A.D.] they made an assault upon the temple, and Ananiah the high priest, and the ambassadors that had been sent to Agrippa. And now the seditions were contented with the victory they had gotten, and the city being they had burnt down, and proceeded no farther.

9. But on the next day, which was the fifteenth of the month Lous, [A.D.] they made an assault upon the temple, and Ananiah the high priest, and the ambassadors that had been sent to Agrippa. And now the seditions were contented with the victory they had gotten, and the city being they had burnt down, and proceeded no farther.

10. But on the next day, which was the fifteenth of the month Lous, [A.D.] they made an assault upon the temple, and Ananiah the high priest, and the ambassadors that had been sent to Agrippa. And now the seditions were contented with the victory they had gotten, and the city being they had burnt down, and proceeded no farther.

11. But on the next day, which was the fifteenth of the month Lous, [A.D.] they made an assault upon the temple, and Ananiah the high priest, and the ambassadors that had been sent to Agrippa. And now the seditions were contented with the victory they had gotten, and the city being they had burnt down, and proceeded no farther.

12. But on the next day, which was the fifteenth of the month Lous, [A.D.] they made an assault upon the temple, and Ananiah the high priest, and the ambassadors that had been sent to Agrippa. And now the seditions were contented with the victory they had gotten, and the city being they had burnt down, and proceeded no farther.
saw that such occasions were afforded for a war as were incurable; that the city was all over polluted with such abominations, from which it was but reasonable to expect some vengeance, even though they should escape vengeance from the Romans so that city was filled with sadness, and every one of the moderate men in it were under great disturbance, as likely themselves, to suffer the punishment of the sedition; for indeed it so happened, that this murder was perpetrated on the sabbath day, on which day the Jews have a respite from their works on account of divine worship.

CHAP. XVIII.
The Calamities and Slaughters that came upon the Jews.

1. Now the people of Cæsarea had slain the Jews that were among them on the very same day in a tumult [when the soldiers were slain], on which one would think must have come to pass by the direction of Providence; insomuch, that in one hour's time above twenty thousand Jews were slain; and all this was wrought in the midst of its Jewish inhabitants; for Florus caught such as ran away, and sent them in bonds to the galleys. Upon which stroke that the Jews received at Cæsarea, the whole nation was greatly enraged; and they divided themselves into several parties, and laid waste the villages of the Syrians, and their neighbouring cities, Philadelphia, and Sebottaea, and Palmyra, and both the cities of Sceythopolis, to and after Gadara, and Hippo; and falling upon Gausanitis, some cities they destroyed them, and some they set on fire; and then went to Redessa, because the city of Gerasa, and to Ascalon, and to Gabes, and to Cæsarea; nor was either Sabeasta [Samaris] or Askelon able to oppose the violence with which they were attacked; and when the night was come, which was the second day, since they entirely demolished Athedon and Gaza; many also of the villages that were about one of those cities were plundered, and an immense slaughter was made of the men who were caught in them.

2. However, the Syrians were even with the Jews in the multitude of the men whom they slew: for they killed those whom they caught in the town not one out of the battlements, but they bore them, as formerly, but to prevent the danger under which they were from them; so that the disorders in all Syria were terrible, and even those that were not divided into two by a water was destroyed, and in all the cities the same party was in the destruction of the other; so the daytime was spent in shedding of blood, and the night in fear, which was the second day, was more terrible; for when the Syrians thought they had ruined the Jews, they had the Judæans in suspicion also; and each side did not care to slay those whom they only suspected on the other, so did they greatly fear them when they were mingled with the other, as if they were certainly foreigners. Moreover, greediness of gain, which is the root of all destruction by the sword, was also considerable; for they even converted into public the houses of the Jews, as if they had been gained in a set battle; and he was esteemed a man of honour who got the greatest share, as having prevailed over the greatest number of his enemies. It was then common to see cities filled with dead bodies, still lying unburied, and those of old men, mixed with infants, all dead, and scattered about together; women, with babies, lying without any covering for their nakedness; you might then see the whole province fall of inexpressible calamities, while the dread of still more barbarous practices were threatened, was every where greater than what had been already perpetrated.

3. And thus far the conflict had been between Jews and foreigners, but when they made excursions to Scythopolis, they found Jews that acted as their accomplices, and were not afraid to array with those of Scythopolis, and preferred their own safety before their relation to us, they fought against their own countrymen; nay, their inimical was very great, the town of Scythopolis assisted them. These were afraid, therefore, lest they should make an assault upon the city in the night-time, and, to their great misfortune, should thereby make an apology to themselves for the revolts from them. So they commanded them, that in case they would confirm their agreement, and demonstrate their fidelity to them, they were to go out of the city, with their families, to a neighbouring grove; and when they had done as they were commanded, without suspending any thing, the people of Scythopolis lay still more in arms, and joined themselves to their people for their revolt from them.

4. It will deserve our relation what followed. In the evening of that day Scythopolis was visited by a man of reputation among the Jews. This man was distinguished from the rest by the strength of his body and the boldness of his conduct, although he was an abuser of the laws, and was accused of both in Scythopolis, and to Ascalon, to destroy his, army, to Gerasa, and to Cæsarea; nor was either Sabeasta [Samaris] or Askelon able to oppose the violence with which they were attacked; and when the night was come, which was the second day, since they entirely demolished Athedon and Gaza; many also of the villages that were about one of those cities were plundered, and an immense slaughter was made of the men who were caught in them.

5. Besides this murder at Scythopolis, the other cities rose up against the Jews that were amongst them; those of Askelon slew two thousand five hundred and those of Ptolemais two thousand.
thousands and put not a few into bonds; those of Tyre also put a great number to death, but kept a greater number in prison; moreover, those of Hippius and those of Gadara did the like, when they had been driven by the Antiochians, the Sidonians, and Apameans, spared those that dwelt with them, and would not endure either to kill any of the Jews, or to put them in bonds. And perhaps they spared them, because the own number was so great that they despised their attempts; but I think the greatest part of this favour was owing to their commissation of those whom they took; many of them were of all the Gentiles, and not an handful of Jews. And as for the Gerasenes, they did no harm to those that abode with them; and for those who had a mind to go away, they conducted them as far as their hands a许可.

6. There was also a plot laid against the Jews as Agrippa's kingdom; for he was himself gone to Caesarea Gallus, to Antioch, but had left one of his sons to take care of the public affairs; which Noarus was of tin to king Socrates. Now there came certain men, very near in number, out of Batmas, who were from the parts of the Roman nation, and feared the Roman king, and the rest of the people; those desired to have an army put into their hands, that if any tumult should happen, they might have about them a sufficient force to restrain other Jews that might rise up against them. This Noarus sent out some of the king's armed men by night, and slew all those [seventy] men; which bold action he ventured because he was an enemy of Agrippa, and was such a lover of money, that he chose to be so wicked to his own countrymen, although he brought ruin on the kingdom thereby; and thus cruelly, as I said, he put to death the contrary to the laws also, until Agrippa was informed of it, who did not indeed dare to put him to death, out of regard to Socrates, but still he put an end to his procuratorship immediately. But as to the seditionists, they took the citadel which was called Cypros, and was above Jericho, and cut the throats of the garrison, and utterly demolished the fortifications; this was about the same time when the Galileans at Mascharus persuaded the Romans who were in garrison to leave the place, and deliver it up to them. These Romans being in great fear, lest the Galileans should plunder and destroy it, and with agreement with them to depart upon certain conditions; and when they had obtained the security they desired, they delivered up the citadel, and burned the gates, and the garrison were overthrown in blood, and fifty thousand of them lay dead upon heels; nor had the remainder been preserved, had they not betaken themselves to supplication. Also Alexander commiserated their condition, and gave orders to the Romans to retire; accordingly, those being accustomed to obey orders, left off killing at the first intimation; but the populace of Alexandria bore so many grievances from the Jews, that it was difficult to recall them, and it was a hard thing to make them leave their dead bodies.

7. But for Alexandria, the sedition of the people of this sort against the Jews was perpetual, and this from that very time when Alexander [the Great.] upon finding the readiness of the Jews in assisting him against the Egyptians, and as a reward for such their assistance, gave them equal privileges in this city with the Graecians themselves. Which honorary reward continued among them under his successors, who also set apart for the Jews a certain place, that might live without being polluted [by the Gentiles,] and were thereby not so much intermixed with foreigners as before; they also gave them this further privilege, that they should be called Hellenized Christians. Nay, when the Romans got possession of Egypt, neither for the first Caesar, nor any one that came after him, thought of diminishing the honours which Alexander had bestowed on the Jews. But still conflicting perpetually arose with the Graecians; and although the governor did every day punish many of them, yet did the sedition grow worse; but at this time especially, when there were two armies in either of the parties, the disorders among them were put into a greater flame: for when the Alexandrians had once a public assembly, to deliberate about an embassy that they were sending to Rome, a great number of Jews came flocking to the theatre; but when their adversaries saw them, they immediately cried out, and called them their enemies, and said they came as spies upon them; upon which they rushed out, and laid violent hands upon them; and as for the rest they were slain as they ran away; but there were three men whom they caught, and hauled them along, in order to have them burnt alive; but all the Jews came in a body to defend them, who at first threw stones at the Graecians, but after that they took lamps, and rushed with violence into the theatre, and threatened that they would burn the people to a man; and this they had soon done, unless Tiberius Alexander, the governor of the city, had restrained the people. He himself did not begin to teach them wisdom by arms, but sent among them privately some of the principal men, and thereby entreated them to be satisfied. And when the Alexandrians were satisfied; but the seditionists made a jest of the entreaties of Tiberius, and reproached him for so doing.

8. Now when he perceived that those who were for innovations would not be pacified; and some great calamity should overtake them, he sent out upon them those two Roman legions, and which were in the city, and five thousand other soldiers, who by chance were come together out of Libya, to the ruin of the Jews. They were also permitted not only to kill all the Jews, but to plunder, and to place fire to their houses. These soldiers rushed violently into that part of the city that was called Delta, where the Jewish people lived together, and did as they were hidden, though not without bloodshed on their own side also; for the Jews got together and set those that were the best armed among them in the forefront, and made resistance for a great while; but when once they move back, they were disarmed unmercifully, and this their destruction was complete, some being caught in the open field, and others forced into their houses, which houses were first plundered of what was therein, and then burned by the Romans; wherein no mercy was shown to the infants, and no regard had to the aged; but they went on in the slaughter of persons of every age, till the place was overthrown in blood, and fifty thousand of them lay dead upon heels; nor had the remainder been preserved, had they not betaken themselves to supplication.
sent two thousand horsemen, and three thousand footmen, with as many archers: and Agrippa sent the same number of footmen, and one thousand horsemen; Sohemen also followed with four thousand, a third part whereof were horsemen, and a third part were archers, and thus did he march to Ptolemais. There were also great numbers of auxiliaries gathered together from the [free] cities, who indeed had not the same skill in martial affairs, but made up their laziest and in their hatred to the Jews what they wanted in skill. There came also along with Cestius, Agrippa himself, both as a guide in his march over the country, and as a preacher what and a dealer what was to be done; so Cestius took part of his forces, and marched hastily to Zabulon, a strong city of Galilæa, which was called the city of men, and divides the country of Ptolemais from our nation: this he found deserted by its men, the multitude having fled to the mountains, but full of all sorts of good things; those he gave leave to the soldiers to plunder, and set fire to the city, although it was of admirable beauty, and had its houses built like those in Tyre, and Sidon, and Berytus. After this he overran all the country, and seized upon the chief towns. In his way he came to the villages that were round about them, and then returned to Ptolemais. But when the Syrians, and especially those of Berytus, were but a little designed, as th' Jews pulled up the courage again, for they knew that Cestius was retired, and fell upon those that were left behind unexpectedly, and destroyed about two thousand of them.

10. And now Cestius himself marched from Ptolemais, and came to Cesarea; but he sent part of his army before him to Joppa, and gave command that the city could take the city by surprise, should they keep it; but that in case the citizens should perceive they were coming to attack them, that they then should stay for him and for the rest of the army. So some of them made a brisk march by the seaside, and some by land, and so coming upon them on both sides, they took the city with ease; and as the inhabitants had made no provision beforehand for a short siege and gotten any thing ready for fighting, the soldiers fell upon them, and slew them all, with their families, and then plundered and burnt the city. The number of the slain was about four hundred. In like manner Cestius sent also a considerable body of horsemen to the toparch of Narthates, that adjoined to Cesarea, who destroyed the city, and slew a great number of its people; they also plundered what they had, and burnt their villages.

11. But Cestius sent Galles, the commander of the twelfth legion, into Galilæa, and delivered to him as many of his forces as he supposed sufficient to subdued that nation. He was received by the strongest city of Galilæa, which was Saphorion, with acclamations of joy; which came conduct of him occasioned the rest of the cities to be quiet; while the seditions part of the robbers ran away to that mountain which lies in the very middle of Galilæa, and is situated over against the coast. And Galles, having brought his forces against them, but while those men were in the superior parts above the Romæans, they easily threw their darts upon the Romæans, as they made their approaches, and slew about two hundred of them: but when the Romæans had gone round the mountains, and were gotten into parts above their enemies, the others were soon beaten, nor could they who had been only lightly wounded of the Romæans that fought them armed all over; nor when they were beaten could they escape the enemy's horsemen: insomuch, that only some few concealed themselves in certain places hard to be come at, among the mountains, while the rest, above two thousand in number, were slain.

CHAP. XIX.

What Cestius did against the Jews; and how, upon his raising Jerusalem, he retreated from the city, without any just Occasion in the War. Chapter also what Cesar did, when he underwent from the Jews in his retreat.

§ 1. And now Galles, seeing nothing more that looked towards an innovation in Galilæa, returned with his army to Cesarea; but Cestius removed with his whole army, and marched to Antipatris. And when he was informed that there was a great body of Jewish forces gotten together in a certain tower called Asphen, he sent Galles to attack it. The Galilæans, when they perceived the Jews by a sight of fire before it came to a battle; so they came, and finding their camp deserted, they burnt it, as well as the villages about. And the Jews, being pleased at the stories that were heard from Antipatris to Lydda, he found the city empty of its men, for the whole multitude were gone up to Jerusalem to the feast of tabernacles; but yet did not perceive forty of those of that multitude themselves, and burnt the city, and so marched forwards; and ascending by Bethhoron, he pitched his camp at a certain place called Galles, and waited the arrival of Cestius.

2. But as for the Jews, when they saw the war approaching to their metropolis, they left the feast, and betook themselves to their arms; and taking the city of Antonia, they mounted it, and in a sudden and disorderly manner to the fight, with a great noise, and without any consideration had of the rest of the seventh day, although the Sabbath was the day to which they had the greatest regard; but they required made them forget the religious observation [of the Sabbath] made them too hard for their enemies, and did not in a fight with such violence therefore did they fall upon the Romæans, as was expected from their ranks, and to march through the midst of them, making a great slaughter as they went, insomuch, that unless the horsemen, and such parts of the army as were not yet broken, the Galilæans, who were not yet destroyed, were killed on the spot, who had wheeled round, and surrounded that part of the army which was not yet broken, Cestius, with his whole army, had been in danger: however, five hundred and fifteen of the Romæans were slain, of which number four hundred were footmen, and the rest horsemen, while the Jews lost only twenty-two, of whom the most valiant were the kings of Chanaan and of Sidon, and their names were Monobazus and Kamasour; and next to them were Nigor of Perae, and Sivas of Babylon, who had deserted from king Agrippa again to the Romans. For ever since Galles brought his forces against them, while those men were in the superior parts above the Romæans, they easily threw their darts upon the Romæans, as they made their approaches, and

* Here we have an eminent example of that Jewish language, which Dr. Wall truly observes we several times find used in the sacred writings; I mean where the words offer were translated, &c. are used for much the greatest part of a present tense, to include every person without exception; for where Josephus had said that the rabbel achieved all the names of Lydia were guese to the feast of the Jews, &c. he here says the same, but, however, not fewer than fifty of them appeared, and were slain by the Romæans. Other examples somewhat like this I have observed, and it may be very likely that I shall observe several more. See Wall's Original Observations on the Old Testament, p. 63, 30. — We have also in this and the next section two eminent facts to be observed, viz. the first example that I remember in Josephus, of the assault of the Jews' armies upon their country when their males were got in harvest, but made no impression without the festivals, which, during the thanksgiving, God had promised to preserve them from, Exod. xxxiv. 9. The second fact is, that the Romans, who are always inclined to fight in this war, see the notes on Antiq. B. xvi. ch. 5, sect. 1. However, the year. — The year.
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now, and put the hindmost of the army into disorder, and carried off many of the beasts that were of the price of war, and led them into the city. But as Cestius was in the city for three days, the Jews seized upon the elevated parts of the city, and set watch at the entrances into the city, and appeared openly resolved not to rest, unless the Roman should be speedily to march.

3. And now when Agrippa observed that even the affairs of the Romans were likely to be in danger, while such an immense multitude of their enemies had seized upon the most part of the city, and were round about, he determined to try what the Jews would agree to by words, as thinking that he should either persuade them all to desist from fighting or, however, that he should cause the sober part of them to separate themselves from the opposite party. So he sent Borceus and Phubes, the persons of his party that were the best known to them, and promised them, that Cestius should give them his right hand, to secure them of the Romans' entire forgiveness of what they had done amiss, if they would throw away their arms and come over to the Romans; but the seditious, fearing lest the whole multitude, in hopes of security to themselves, should go over to Agrippa, resolved immediately to fall upon the Romans, and fell upon the Romans at a signal, and slew Phubes before he said a word, but Borceus was only wounded, and so prevented his fate by flying away; and when the people were very angry, he retired to the sanctuary with stones and clubs, and drove them before them into the city.

4. But now Cestius, observing that the disturbance was in the city, when the Jews afforded him a proper opportunity to attack them, took his whole army along with him, and put the Jews to flight, and pursued them to Jerusalem. He then continued his march; and the benefactor, which was Scopus, or watch-tower, which was distant seven furlongs from the city; yet did he not assault them in three days' time, out of expectation that those within might perhaps yield a little; and in the mean time he sent out a great many of his soldiers into the neighboring villages, to seize upon their corn. And on the fourth day, which was the thirtieth of the month Hyperberotes (Tisri,) when he had put his army in array, he brought it into the city. Now for the people, they were kept under by the sedition; but the soldiers, that were to be retired from the suburbs, and retreated into the inner part of the city, and into the temple. But when Cestius was come into the city, he considered Bezetha, which is also called Caneopole, or the new city, on fire; as he did also to the timber market; after which he came into the upper city, and pitched his camp over against the royal palace; and had he but at this time attempted to get within the walls by force, he had won the city presently, and the war had been put an end to at once; but Tyranthus Panas, the senator, and the army, and a great number of the officers of the horse, had been corrupted by Florus, and diverted him from that attempt; and that was the occasion that this war lasted so very long and thereby the Jews were involved in such inexcusable calamities.

5. In the mean time, many of the principal men of the city were persuaded by Ananus, the son of Jonathan, and invited Cestius into the city, and were about to open the gates for him; but he overlooked this offer, partly out of his anger at the Jews for their insolence, and partly because he did not thoroughly believe they were in earnest, whereas it was that he delayed the matter so long, that the seditious perceived the treachery, and threw down the gates. Ananus and those of his party down from the wall, and pulling them with stones, drove them into their houses; but they stood themselves at proper distances in the towers, and threw their darts at those that were getting over the wall. Thus did the Romans make their attack against the wall for five days, but to no purpose; but on the next day, Cestius took a great many of his choicest men, and with them the archers, and attempted to break into the temple at the northern quarter of it: but the Jews beat them off from the cloisters, and repulsed them several times when they were gotten near to the wall, till at length the multitude of the darts cut them off, and made them retire; but the first rank of the Romans rested their shields upon the wall, and did those that were behind them, and the rest of those that were still more backward, and guarded themselves with what they called Testudo, (the back of a tortoise,) upon which the darts that fell upon them did not hurt them; and as they were doing them any harm; so the soldiers undermined the wall, without being themselves hurt, and got all things ready for setting fire to the gate of the temple.

6. And now it was that a horrible fear seized upon the seditious, insomuch that many of them ran out of the city, as though it were to be in immediate danger; and having courage, and where the wicked part of the city gave ground, therewith did they come in order to set open the gates, and to admit Cestius as their benefactor, with his soldiers, and to receive him into the city. Cestius, however, preserved a little longer, had certainly taken the city, but it was, I suppose, owing to the aversion God had already at the city, and the sanctuary, that he was hindered from putting an end to the war that very day.

7. It then happened that Cestius was not conscious either how the besieged despaired of success, nor how courageous the people were for him; and so he recalled his soldiers from the place, and by despairing of any expectation of taking it, without having received any disgrace, nor any loss from the Romans, returned from the world. But when the robbers perceived this unexpected retreat of his, they resumed their courage, and ran after the hinder parts of his army, and despaired of both their horsemen and footmen: and now Cestius lay all night at the camp which was at Scopus, and as he went off farther next day, he thereby invited the enemy to follow him, who still fell upon the hindmost, and destroyed them; they also fell upon the flank on each side of the army, and threw darts upon them obliquely, nor durst those that were hindmost turn back upon those who wounded them behind, asimagining that the multitude of those that pursued them was immense; nor did they venture to drive away those that preceded upon them on each side, because they were heavy with their arms, and were afraid of breaking their ranks to pieces, and because they saw the Jews were light, and ready for making incursions upon them. And this was when they should see Jerusalem encompassed with arms, they should fear its inhabitants from the walls, while with those Jewish Christians fled to the mountains of Perus, and escaped this destruction. See Literal Accomp. of Prop. This was not any one instance of a more unfortunate, but more providential, conduct, than this retreat of Cestius, visible during those days, in signs and in portents, as in a manner such a great translation, as had not been from the beginning of the world to that time; nor, nor ever shall be. See Vid. p. 70, 71.
the reason why the Romans suffered greatly, without being able to revenge themselves upon their enemies; so they were gauged all the way, and the ranks were put into disorder, and those that were thus put out of their ranks were slain; nevertheless, in these circumstances, but when, on the third day, he saw a still greater number of enemies, and all the parts round about him full of Jews, he understood that his delay was to his own detriment, and that if he staid any longer there, he should have still more enemies upon him.

3. That, therefore, he might fly the faster, he gave orders to cast away what might hinder his horse remaining for a charger, and his slaves and other creatures, excepting those that carried their darts and machines, which they retained for their own use, and this principally because they were afraid lest the Jews should seize upon them. He then made his army march on as far as Bethhoron. Now the Jews did not so much press upon them when they were in large open places, but when they were penned up in their desert, and through narrow passages, then did some of them get before, and hindered them from getting out of them, and others of them thrust the hindermost in their places, and the whole multitude extended themselves over against the neck of the passage, and covered the Roman army with their darts. In which circumstances, and which no man could not by how much they defended themselves, so the danger pressed the horsemen still more, for they were so salted, that they could not march along the road in their ranks, and the ascent were so high, that the cavalry were not able to march against the enemy; the precipices also, and valleys into which they frequently fell, and tumbled down, were such on each side of them, that there were neither place for their flight, nor any contrivance could be thought of for their defence; till the distresses they were at last in was so great, that they betook themselves to lamentations, and to such mournful cries, as much as passion and onsets of the Jews, also, as they encouraged one another, echoed the sounds back again, these last composing a noise of those that at once required armed assistance. In short, the things were come to such a pass, that the Jews had almost taken Cestius’ entire army prisoners, had not the might come on, when the Romans fled to Bethhoron, and the Jews seized upon all the places round about them, and watch’d for their coming out (in the morning.)

4. And then it was that Cestius, despairing of obtaining a place for a public march, conceived how he might best run away; and when he had selected four hundred of the most courageous of his soldiers, he placed them at the strongest of their fences, and placed the city upon them. To them with the rest went up to the morning guard, they should erect their ensigns, that the Jews might be made to believe that the entire army was there still, while he himself took off the rest of his forces with him, and marched, without any noise, thirty furlongs. But when the Jews perceived in the morning, that the camp was empty, they ran upon those four hundred who had defied them, and immediately they threw their darts at them, and slew them, and then pursued after Cestius. But he had already made use of a great part of the night in his flight, and still marched quicker when it was day. Inconceivable that the soldiers, through the astonishment and fear they were in, left behind them their engines for sieges, and for throwing of stones, and a great part of the instruments of war. So Cestius and his men deserted, and gathering the prey together which the Romans had left behind them, came back running and singing to their metropolis; while they had themselves lost a few only, but had slain of the Romans two thousand and three hundred and forty men, and three hundred and eighty horsemen. This defeat happened on the eighth day of the month Días, [Marcheswan,] in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero.

CHAP. XX.

Cestius sends Ambassadors to Nero. The People of Damascus slay those Jews that lived with them. The People of Jerusalem, after they had [left off] pursuing Cestius, return to the City, and get ready for its Defence, and form a great many Generals for their Armies, and particularly Josephus, the Writer of these Books. Some Account of his Administration.

§ 1. After this calamity had befallen Cestius, many of the soldiers ran away from the city, and some of them went away from the city, as from a ship when it was going to sink; Costobarus, therefore, and Salem, who were brethren, together with Philip, the son of Jair, and the celebrated Eleazar, who was the son of Eleazar, and the son of Démas, Agrippa’s forces, ran away from the city, and went to Cestius. But then how Antipas, who had been besieged with them in the king’s palace, could not fly away with them, was afterward slain by the seditions, we shall relate hereafter. However, Cestius sent Saul and his friends, of their own desire, to Ashdah, to Nero, to inform him of the great distress they were in, and to lay the blame of their kindling the war upon Florus, as hoping to alleviate his own danger, by provoking his indignation against Florus.

§ 2. In the mean time the people of Damascus, when they were informed of the destruction of the Romans, set about the slaughter of those Jews that were among them; and as they had already coopered together in the public execution of the public censure of these persons, they were out of the suspicion they had of them, they thought they should meet with no difficulty in the attempt; yet did they distrust their own wives, who were of strong spirit, and would not be satiated with blood, but would ask of them, how much they were to be paid for it, on which account it was, that their greatest concern was, how they might conceal those things from them; so they came upon the Jews, and cut their throats, as being in a narrow place, in number ten thousand, and all of them unarmed, and this in one hour’s time, without any body to disturb them.

3. But as to those who had pursued after Cestius, when they were returned back to Jerusalem, they overtook some of those that favoured the Romans by violence, and some they persecuted [by cursing and reproaches, and then] put them together in great numbers in the temple, and appointed a great many generals for the war; Joseph, also, the son of Giorias, and Aamas the son of Mæna, and much of the people of all affairs within the city, and with a particular charge to repair the walls of the city; for they did not disdain Eleazar the son of Simon to that office, although they had gotten into his possession, the treasure they had taken from the Romans, and the money they had taken from Cestius, together with a great part of the public treasures, because they
new he was of a tyrannical temper, and that his followers were in their behaviour like guards assigned for the guard of the money or the subtil tricks used by him brought all so about, that the people were circumvented, and submitted themselves to his acquisition. I say to Joseph, the son of Simeon, who was of a family that belonged to Perea beyond Jordan, and was thence called the Hermit, that he should be obedient to those forenamed men. For he could not trust the care of other parts of the country, but Joseph the son of Simon was sent as a general to Jericho, as was Manasseb to Perea, and John the Eschate. So John was also added to his portion, and Joppa, and Eumane. But John the son of Matthias, was made the governor of the toparchies of Gophanitica and Aradamene, as was Josephus the son of Matthias, of both the Galilees. Gamala also, which was the strongest city in those parts, was put under his command.

6. Josephus also, when he had assigned these rules for determining causes by the law, with regard to the people's dealings one with another, set forth to himself to make provisions for their safety against the Romans; and the Romans would fall upon Galilee, he built walls in proper places about Jotapata, and Barmec, and Sebastia; and besides these, about Capernaum, Mount Tabor, and Tarihens, and Tiberias. Moreover, he built walls about the caves near the lake of Gennesaret, which places lay in the Lower Galilee; as the same he did to the places of Upper Galilee; as well as to the rock called The Rock of the Acharabi, and to Seph, and Janm, and Merot; and in Galatia he fortified Seleucia, and Sogane, and Gamala; but as to those of Sephoria, they were the only people to whom he gave leave to build their own walls, and this because he perceived the Jews in their own state, and ready to go to war, without standing in need of any injunctions for that purpose. The case was the same with Gischala, which had a wall about it, which was the death of Josephus; but for the building of the rest of the fortresses, he laboured together with all the other builders, and was present to give the necessary directions for the purpose. He also got together an army out of Galilee, of more than a hundred thousand young men, all of whom he armed with the old weapons, which he had collected together and prepared for them.

7. And when he had considered that the Roman power became invincible, chiefly by their readiness in obeying orders, and the constant exercise of their arms, he despaired of teaching these men the use of their arms, which was to be obtained by experience; but observing that their readiness in obeying orders was owing to the subordination of their officers, he made his partitions in his army more after the Roman manner, and appointed a great many subalterns. He also distributed the soldiers in various classes, whom he put under captains of hundreds, and captains of thousands; and besides these he had commanders of larger bodies of men. He also taught them to give the signal on to another, on to another, till they could recall the soldiers by the trumpet, how to expand the wings of an army, and make them wheel about, and when one wing had success, to turn again and assist those that were hard set, and to join in the defence of what had most suffered. He also continually instructed them in what concerned the courage of the soul, and the hardships of the body, and he exercised them for war, by declaring to them distinctly the good order of the Romans, and that they were to fight with men who, both by the strength of their bodies and courage of their spirits, had conquered in a manner the whole habitable earth. He told them that he should make trial of the good order they would observe in war, even before it came to any battle, in case they would abstain from the crimes they used to indulge themselves in, such as theft, and robbery, and rapine, and from defrauding their own countrymen, and not to treat the poor as those that were so near of kin to them, to be any advantage to themselves; for that wars are then managed the best when the warriors preserve a good conscience, but that men who steal and rob in private life, will not only have those enemies who attack them, but God himself also for their antagonist.

And thus did he continue to admonish them. Now he chose for the war such an army as was sufficient, I. e. sixty thousand footmen, and two hundred and fifty horses; and besides these, on which he put the greatest trust, there were, now in the march, officers in military affairs. Yet may we discern in his very high character of officer, and in the[1] bravery of his conduct, during about 135 years, were now esteemed as part of the Jewish nation, and were provided of a Jewish commander among them, as the procurator, the time when the war was, he was not so much an Eleazarite Christian; otherwise he would not have failed, according to his usual custom, to have reckoned this his barbarous murder as a just punishment upon him for that his cruelty to the chief, or, rather, only Christian bishop of the circumcision. Nor, moreover, was he to have been suspected, he who as he was spoken so movingly of the causes of the destruction of Jerusalem, without one word of either the condemnation of Jesus or crucifying him, as he did when he became a Christian afterwards.

[1] I should think that an army of 45,000,000 should have required mony more than 350,000; and even in his latter days he had been more under his command than 250,000 in his future history. I suppose the number of the thousand captives had been more under his command than 250, in our present copies.
about five thousand five hundred mercenaries; he had also six hundred men as guards of his body. Now the cities easily maintained the rest of the mercenaries, for every one of the cities enumerated above sent out half their men to the army, and retained the other half at home, in order to get provisions for them; insomuch that the one part went to the war, that the other part to their work, and so those that sent out their corn were paid for by those that were in arms, by that security which they enjoyed from them.

CHAP. XXI.

Concerning John of Gischala. Josephus uses Strategies against the Plate Jews laid against him; and recovers certain Cities which had revolted from him.

1. Now as Josephus was thus engaged in the administration of the affairs of Galilee, there arose a treacherous person, a man of Gischala, the son of Levi, whose name was John. His character was that of a very cunning, and very knavish person, beyond the ordinary rate of any other men of eminence there, and for wicked practices he had not his fellow anywhere. Poor he was at first, and for a long time his wants were great. He was an Epicure, with wicked desires. He was a ready liar, and yet very sharp in gaining credit to his fiction; he thought it a point of virtue to delude people, and would deceive even one in the same manner. He was a hypocritical pretended to humanity; but where he had hopes of gain, he spared not the shedding of blood: his desires were over carried to great things; and he encouraged his hopes from these mean wicked tricks which he was the author of. He had a peculiar knack at thieving; and in some time he got certain companions in his impudent practice, who understood the trick of it. Thus they came to Tiberias, and made a very peevish insurrection against him; while some cried out, that "they should depose the traitor," and others, that "it was time they took him down."

2. However, John's want of money had either restrained him in his ambition after command, and his letters, as it were, advocated himself. But when he saw that Josephus was highly pleased with the activity of his temper, he persuaded him, in the first place, to intrust him with the repaying of the wiles of his countrymen. [Gischala,] in which work he got a great deal of money from the rich citizens. He after that contrived a very shrewd trick, and pretended that the Jews who dwelt in Syria were obliged to make use of oil that was made by others than those of their own nation, he desired leave of Josephus to send oil to their borders: so he bought four amphorae with suchTyrian money as was of the value of four Attic drachmas, and sold every half amphora at the same price. And as Galilee was very fruitful in oil, and was peculiarly so at that time, by sending away great quantities, and having the sole privilege so to do, he gathered an immense sum of money together, which money he immediately used to the disadvantage of him who gave him that privilege.

3. But if he could once overthrow Josephus, he should himself obtain the government of Galilee, as he gave orders to the robbers that were in the mountains of Galilee to make for flourishing expeditions, that, by the rise of many that desired innovations in the country, he might either catch their general in his snare, as he came to the country's assistance, and then kill him; or if he should overreach the robbers, he might accuse him for his negligence to the people of his country. He hired the hired men of the port far and near, that Josephus was delivering up the administration of affairs to the Romans: and many such plots did he lay in order to ruin him.

3. Now at the hour that Josephus had been delivered up to the Romans, those of the men of the village of Dabara, who kept guard in the great plain, laid snares for Pilate, who was Agrippa's and Bernice's steward, and took him from him. But he had with him, among which things there were a great many costly garments, and no small number of silver cups, and six hundred pieces of gold, yet were they not able to conceal them. Josephus therefore, hearing that Pilate had stolen, but could not sell it all to Josephus, to Tiberias. Hereupon he blamed them for the violence they had offered to the king and queen, and deposed what they brought to him with Euseus, the most potent man of Tiberias, with an intention of sending the things back to the owners at a proper time, which act of Josephus's brought him into the greatest danger; for those that had stolen the treasure had an indignation at him, both because they gained no share of it for themselves, and because they were persuaded beforehand what was Josephus's intention, and that they did not know what they had cost them so much: pains, to the king and queen. These ran away by night to their several villages, and declared to all men that Josephus was a traitor; and this word was great disorder in all the neighboring cities, and so much that in the morning a hundred thousand armed men came running together; which multitude he encouraged to proceed in the same manner. Thus they came to Tiberias, and made a very peevish insurrection against him; while some cried out, that "they should depose the traitor," and others, that "it was time they took him down."

4. But Josephus, having great many, as did also Jesus the son of Sapphias, who was then governor of Tiberias. Thus it was that Josephus's friends, and the governors of the king's body, were so affrighted at this violent assault of the multitude, that they all fled away but four; and as he was asleep, they awaked him, as the people were going to set fire to the house. And although those four remained with him persuaded him to run away, he was neither surprised at his being himself deserted, nor at the great multitude that came against him, but he quieted them with these great expectations of a war then suddenly to rise among them.

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saw that the armed men were about to destroy the swords, they cried out; as if any Josephus turned himself about, and when he saw that the swords were just at his throat, he marched away in great haste to the sea-shore, and left his garments; and seized on his speech, and said to the people, upon an elevation of six cubits high.

He then seized on a ship which lay in the bay, and leaped into it, with two of his guards, and fled away into the sea.

7. But now the soldiers he had with him took up their arms immediately, and marched against the plotters: but Josephus was afraid lest a civil slaughter should be raised by the friends, and bring the city to ruin; so he sent some of his party to tell them, that they should do more than provide for their own safety, that they should not only burn his houses, and destroy any for the occasions they had afforded [of a disorder]. Accordingly these men obeyed his orders, and were quiet; but the people of the neigborhood coming out to the city gate, and saying they meant to fight, he provided them with men, and sent them to opposite the force of the people. But he prevented their attempt, and fled away to Gischala, his native city, while a great part of his several cities came out to Josephus; and as they were now become many thousands of armed men, they cried out that they were come against him, and that the common plotters against their interests, and would at the same time disband him, and cause that city which had received him. Hereupon Josephus told them that he took their good-will to him kindly, but still he restrained their fury, and intended to subdue his enemies by prudent conduct, rather than by slaying them; so he excepted those of every city which had joined in this revolt with John, by name, who had readily been showed him by those that came from every city, and caused public proclamation to be made, that he would seize upon the effects of those that did not forsake John within five days' time, and would burn both his houses and shut up families with fire. Whereupon three thousand of John's party left him immediately, who came to Josephus, and threw their arms down at his feet. John then betook himself together with his two thousand Syrian runcagates, from open attempts to more secret ways of treachery. Accordingly, he privately sent messengers to Jerusalem, and to the husband of Joseph, to accuse the main strikers of the chief power, and to let them know that he would some come, as a tyrant, to their metropolis, unless they prevented him. This accusation the people found in the beginning, but when they were aware of it, they had him at the pretext of another it. However, some of the grandees, out of envy, and some of the rulers also, sent money to John privately, that he might be able to get together mercenaries soldiers, in order to fight Josephus; they also made a decree of themselves, and this for recalling him from his government; yet did they not think that decree sufficient; so they sent with him two thousand five hundred armed men, and four persons of the highest rank among them; Joazar, the son of Nemea, and Amezias, the son of Bacchus, as also Simias and Tadeas, the sons of the Jews. This Silas, who was appointed guardian of the city by Josephus, wrote to him immediately, and informed him of the plot against him; which epistle when Josephus had received, he marched with great diligence all night, and came early in the morning to Tiberias; at which time the rest of the multitude met him. But John, who suspected that his wife had betrayed his secret to his enemies, sent for his friends, and pretended that he was sick, and that, being confined to his bed, he could not come to pay him his respects. But as soon as Josephus had got them into the stadium together in the Stadion, and tried to discover with them about the letters that he had received, John privately sent some armed men, and gave them orders to slay him. But when the people
WAR OF THE JEWS

Chapter XXI

§ 1. And thus were the disturbances of Galilee quelled, when, upon their ceasing to procure a state of security, with dissensions, they betook themselves to make preparations for the war with the Romans. Now in Jerusalem the high priest Ananus, and as many of the men of power as were not in the interest of the Romans, both re- paired to the temple, and made a great many various instruments, insomuch that in all parts of the city darts and all sorts of arrows were upon the avul. Although the multitude of the young men were engaged in exercises, with great regularity, and all places were full of tumultuous doings; but the moderate sort were exceedingly sad, and a great many there were who, out of the prospect they had of the calamities that were coming upon them, made great lamentations. There were also such omens observed as were understood to be forerunners of evils, by such as loved the country. But on the other hand, the war interpreted so as to suit their own inclinations; and the very state of the city, even before the Romans came against it, was that of a place which was about to be taken by force. If adversity was the concern this was, to lay aside, for a while, the preparations for the war, and to persuade the senators to consult their own interest, and to restrain the madness of those that had the name of zealots; but their violence was too hard for him, and what end he came to we shall relate hereafter.

2. But as for the Acrabeani tetrarchy, Simon, the son of Giora, got a great number of them that were fond of innovations together, and took himself to ravage the country; nor did he only harass the rich men's houses, but tormented their bodies, and appeared openly and before-hand to affect tyranny in his government. And when an army was sent against him by Ananus, and the other rulers, he and his band retired to the robber that were at Masada, and stood there, and plundered the country of Idumaean with them, till both Ananus and his other adversaries were slain, and until the rulers of that country were afflicted with the robberies of those that were slain, and with the continual ravage of what they had, that they raised an army, and put garrisons into the villages, to secure them against what Simon and his confederates did in this state were the affairs of Judea at that time.

The Jews make all ready for the War.

And Simon the Son of Gioras falls to plundering.

§ 4. And the soldiers of Titus, knowing that they were the strongest of all in the world, and that they had the most potent of their warriors, he sent them to Jerusalem. And the people of Titus, who had great indignation at them, and were in a zealous disposition to slay, not only these forces, but those that sent them also, had not these forces prepared a dexterity, and ready to lend a hand in order to execute the punishment himself; he begged therefore from the shore, that he would leave him one of his hands, which Josephus agreed to, upon condition that he were to cut off the other hand; accordingly, he drew his sword, and with his right hand cut off his left, so great was the fear he was in of Josephus. And thus Josephus took eight hundred of Tiberias prisoners, and recovered the city again with empty ships, and seven of his guard. Moreover, a few days afterward he took Gischala in order to cut off both their thorns, and gave his soldiers leave to plunder it; yet did he get all the plunder together, and restored it to the inhabitants, and the rate he did too much, and more than their money again.

CHAPTER XXII

The Jews make all ready for the . . .
BOOK III.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT ONE YEAR.—FROM VESPASIAN'S COMING TO SUCCEED THE JEWISH, TO THE TAKING OF GAMAUL.

CHAPTER I.

VESPASIAN is sent into Syria by Nero, in order to make War with the Jews.

1. When Nero was informed of the Romans' ill success in Judaea, a concealed consternation and terror, as is usual in such cases, fell upon him; although he openly looked very big, and was full of words, yet he was lost in thought. This was owing to the negligence of the commander, than to any value of the enemy: and as he thought it fit for him, who bore the burden of the empire, to set an example by the troubles of the public, he was left so as near as possible free. This excursion was led on by three men, who were the chief of them all, both for strength and sagacity, Niger called the Peraite, Sillas of Babylon, and the third them John the Herodian. Now Ascalon was strongly walled about, but had almost no assistance to be relied on [near them]; the garrison consisted of one cohort of footmen, and one troop of horsemen, whose captain was Antonius. 2. These Jews, therefore, out of their anger, marched faster but than ordinary, and, as if they had come but a little way, approached the city, and were some even to it; but Antonius, who was not unapprised of the attack they were going to make upon the city, drew out his horse men beforehand, and being neither drowned at the multitude of horsemen, nor overborne by the forces of war, seeing he was growing an old man already in the camp, and from his youth had been exercised in warlike exploits: he was also a man that had long ago espoused the west, and made it subject to the Romans, when it had been put into disorder by the Germans; he had also recovered to these Britain by his arms, which had been little known before; whereby he procured to himself the friendship of Claudius, and to secure his son Annius; to have a triumph bestowed on him without any sweat or labour of his own.

3. So Nero esteemed these circumstances as favourable omens, and saw the Jews more and more to his heart's content, and that the flourishing age they were in would make them fit instruments under his father's prudence. Perhaps also there was some interposition of Providence, which was paving the way for Vespasian's being himself emperor afterward. Upon the whole, he sent this man to take upon him the command of the armies that were in Syria; but this not without great encomiums and flattering compliments, such as necessary required, and such as might mollify him into complaisance. So Vespasian sent his son Titus from Achaia, where he had been with Nero, to Alexandria, to bring back with him from thence the fifth and tenth legions; while he himself, when he had passed over the Hellespont, came by land into Syria, where he gathered together the Roman forces, with a considerable number of auxiliaries from the kings in that neighbourhood.

CHAPTER II.

A great Slaughter of the Jews about Ascalon. VESPASIAN comes to Ptolemais.

1. Now the Jews, after they had beaten Cestius, were so much elevated with their unexpected success, that they could not govern their joy by the modesty of their good fortune, carried the war to remoter places. Accordingly they presently got together a great multitude of all their most hardy soldiers, and marched away for Ascalon. This is an answer to the confirmation of this in the words of Sestos, who was present at the battle of Actium: "Vespasian, for the sake of Narcissus, was sent as a herald of a legion into Germany. Thence he returned into Britain, and fought thirty battles with the
3. Yet were not the spirits of the Jews broken by so great a calamity, but the losses they had sustained rather enforced their resolution for other attempts; for, overlooking the dead bodies which lay under their feet, they were not only by their former glorious actions to venture on a second enterprise, when they had lain in their tents so little a while, that their wounds were not thoroughly cured, but got together all their forces, and came with greater fury, and in much greater numbers, to attack Agrippa. But as the former ill fortune had not disheartened them, as the consequence of their unskilfulness, and other deficiencies in war; for Antonius laid envoys for them in the passages they traversed, and where they fell in, as snare unexpectedly, and where they were compassed about with horsemen, before they could form themselves into a regular body for fighting, and from the eight thousand of them slain, as all the rest of them ran away, and with them Nigrus, who still did a great many bold exploits in his flight. However, they were driven along together, and turned back, and fought hard upon them, into a certain strong tower belonging to a village called Bezedel. However, Antonius and his party, that they might neither spend any considerable number of men in a contest with this tower, which was hard to be taken, nor suffer their commander, and the most courageous man of them all, to escape from them, they set the wall on fire; and as the tower was burning, the Romans were as yet rejoicing, as taking it for granted that Nigrus was destroyed; but he leaped out of the tower into a subterraneous cave, in the innermost part of it, and was preserved; and on the third day afterwards, as escape out of the ground to those that with great lamentations were searching for him, in order to give him a decent funeral; and when he was come out, he filled all the Jews with an unexampled joy, as though he were once more invested by God's providence to be their commander for the time to come.

4. And now Vespasian took along with him his and Tiberius' India (which is the metropolis of Syria, and without dispute deserves the place of the third city in the habitable earth, that was under the Roman empire, both in magnitude, and other parts of prosperity, where at first found Agrippa, with all his forces, waiting for his coming, and marched to Ptolemais. At this city also the inhabitants of Sepphoris of Galilee met him, where peace were made with the Romans. These citizens had beforehand taken care of their own safety, and being sensible of the power of the Romans, they had been with Cestius Galb. in the impetuous act, and had given that same faith to him, and received the security of his right hand, and had received a Roman garrison; and at this time withal they received Vespasian, the Roman general, very kindly, and readily promised that they would assist him against their own countrymen. Now the general delivered them, at their desire, as many horsemen and footmen as he thought sufficient to oppose the incursions of the Jews, if they should come against them. And indeed the danger of losing Sepphoris would be no small one, in this war that was now beginning, seeing it was the largest city of Galilee and built in a place by nature very strong, and might be a security of the whole nation's [Adelity to the Romans.]

CHAP. III.

A Description of Galilee, Samaria, and Judea.

§ 1. Now Phoenicia and Syria encompass the Galileans, which are two, and called the Upper Galileans, and the Lower. They are bounded towards the sun-setting, with the borders of the Kingdom of Ptolemais, and by Carmel, which mountain had formerly belonged to the Galileans, but now belonged to the Tyrians, to which mountain adjoins Gaba, which is called the city of God. But the Tyrians were dismissed by Herod the king dwelt therein; they are bounded on the south with Samaria and Scythopolis, as far as the river Jordan; on the east with the land of God, and the sea of Galilæa, and the borders of the kingdom of Agrippa; its northern parts are bounded by Tyre, and the country of the Tyrians. As for that change of Lot's lot (Gen. xiii. 14,) from the river Jordan to the Zebulun to the sea of Galilæa, from which beginning also is taken the breadth of the Upper Galileans, as far as the village Bacia, which divides the land of the Tyrians from it; its length is much from Meloth to Tholla, a village near to Jordan.

2. These two Galileans, so great largeness, and encompassed with so many nations of foreigners, and the resistance on all occasions of war; for the Galileans are insured to war from their infancy, and have been always very numerous; nor hath the danger of war reduced them, nor do they want a number of them: for the soil is uniformly rich and fruitful, and full of plantations of trees of all sorts, so as much as it is occupied and cultivated, by its fruitfulness: accordingly it is all cultivated by its inhabitants, and no part of it lies idle. Moreover, the cities lie very thick, and the very many villages there are here and there where so full of people, by the richness of their soil, that the very least of these contain above fifteen thousand inhabitants.

3. In short, if any one will suppose these Galileans to be trebled, or even trebled by God's providence to be their commander for the time to come.

4. And now Vespasian took along with him his and Tiberius' India (which is the metropolis of Syria, and without dispute deserves the place of the third city in the habitable earth, that was under the Roman empire, both in magnitude, and other parts of prosperity, where at first found Agrippa, with all his forces, waiting for his coming, and marched to Ptolemais. At this city also the inhabitants of Sepphoris of Galilee met him, where peace were made with the Romans. These citizens had beforehand taken care of their own safety, and being sensible of the power of the Romans, they had been with Cestius Galb. in the impetuous act, and had given that same faith to him, and received the security of his right hand, and had received a Roman garrison; and at this time withal they received Vespasian, the Roman general, very kindly, and readily promised that they would assist him against their own countrymen. Now the general delivered them, at their desire, as many horsemen and footmen as he thought sufficient to oppose the incursions of the Jews, if they should come against them. And indeed the danger of losing Sepphoris would be no small one, in this war that was now beginning, seeing it was the largest city of Galilee and built in a place by nature very strong, and might be a security of the whole nation's [Adelity to the Romans.]

5. Now, as to the country of Samaria, it lies between Judæa and Galilee; it begins in a village that is in the great plain called Ginea, and ends at the Acabrense toparchy, and is entirely of the same nature with Judæa; for both countries are divided up of hills and valleys, and are moist enough for agriculture, and are very fruitful. They have abundance of trees, and are full of autumnal fruit, both that which grows wild, and that which is the effect of cultivation. They are not naturally watered by many rivers, but they derive their chief moisture from rain water, of which they have no want; and for those rivers which they have, their cattle yield more milk than those in other places; and, what is the greatest sign of excellence and of abundance, they each of them produce its own full of pecomel.
efforts of Anath, which is also named Beroea. This is the northern boundary of Judaea. The southern parts of Judaea, if they be measured lengthways, are bounded by a village adhering to the confines of Arabia; the Jews that dwell there call it Judaea. However, it is beyond the reach of men to give Jordan to Joppa. The city of Jerusalem is situated in the very middle; on which account some have, with sagacity enough, called it the city of the nation. It is almost in the middle of the country, and is the seat of all the surrounding country, as the heart does over the body. As to the other cities that were inferior to it, they presided over several of the great provinces of Judah; Gophna was the second of these cities, and next to that Acrabatis; after them, Achemus, and Lydda, and Emama, and Peles, and Idumes, and Beza, and Herodium, and Jericho; and after them came Jemnia and Joppa, presiding over the adjoining country. Acrabatis, then, was the capital city of the province of Cappadocia, and the capital of Jordan, and reaches to the banks of the lake of Tiberias; and in length is extended from a village called Arpha, as far as Julias. Its inhabitants are a mixture of Jews and Syrians. And thus have I, with all possible brevity, described the country of Judaea, and those that lie round about it.

CHAP. IV.
Josephus makes an Attempt upon Sephoris, but is repulsed. Titus comes with a great Army to Ptolemais.

§ 1. Now the auxiliaries who were sent to assist the Romans were the peaks of the form of Syria, being a thousand horsemen, and six thousand footmen, under Placidas, the tribune, pitched their camp in two bodies in the plain. The foot were put into the city to be a guard to it, but the horse lodged abroad in the camp. These last, by marching continually one way or other, and overrunning the parts of the adjoining country, were very frequently plundering and burning cities, and also plundered all the places that were out of the city's liberty, and intercepted such as durst go abroad. On this account it was that Josephus marched with the Romans to the plain, and being accompanied with so strong a body, before they revolted from the rest of the Galileans, that the Romans would have had much ado to take it; by which means he proved too weak, and failed of his hopes, both as to forcing the place, and as to prevailing with the people of Sephoris to deliver it up to him. By this means he provoked the Romans to treat the country according to the law of war; nor did the Romans, out of the anger they bore at this attempt, leave off either by night or by day burning the places in the plain, and slaying their inhabitants in the country, and killing whatsoever appeared capable of fighting, perpetually, and leading the weaker people as slaves into captivity; so that Galilee was all over filled with fire and blood; and all the rest of Syria was the same. The whole people were in calamity, for the only refuge they had was this, that when they were pursued, they could retire to the cities which had walls built them by Josephus.

§ 2. It was to Titus, he sailed over from Achaia to Alexandria, and that sooner than the winter season did usually permit; so he took with him those forces he was sent for, and marching with great expedition, he came suddenly to Ptolemais, and there finding his father, together with the two legions, the fifth and the tenth, which were the most eminent legions of all, he joined them to this fifteenth legion which was with his brothers; and the eighteen cohorts and three legions; they came also five cohorts from Cesarea, with one troop of horsemen, and five other troops of horsemen from Syrius. Now these ten cohorts had already severally a thousand footmen, but the other thirteen cohorts had no more than six hundred footmen apiece, and a hundred and twenty horsemen. There were also a considerable number of auxiliaries that together made the number of the rest, that were upon the high mountains of Antiochus, and Agrippa, and Sohemus, each of them contributing one thousand footmen that were archers, and a thousand horsemen. Malchus, also, the king of Arabia, sent a thousand horsemen, besides five thousand footmen, the greatest part of whom were archers; so that the whole army, including the auxiliaries sent by the kings, as well horsemen as footmen, when all were united together, amounted to sixty thousand, besides the servants, who, as they followed in vast numbers, so because they had been trained up in war, ought not to be distinguished from the fighting men; for as they were in the master's service in times of peace, so did they also bear the dangers with them in times of war. This is also the reason, that they were so inferior in number, either in skill or in strength, only they were subject to their masters.

CHAP. V.
A Description of the Roman Armies, and their Camps; and of other particulars for which the Roman Armies are commended.

§ 1. Now here one cannot but admire at the precaution of the Romans, in providing themselves of such household servants, as might not only serve only at the end of their life, but might also be of advantage to them in their wars. And, indeed, if any one does but attend to the other parts of their military discipline, he will be forced to confess, that their obtaining so large a dominion hath been the acquisition of their valour, and not the bare gift of fortune; for they do not begin to use their weapons first in time of war, nor do the Romans have first into motion, while they avoided to do so in times of peace; but as if their weapons did always cling to them, they have never any truce more possible than when they are in the midst of war, for they have never a truce to do anything, but to stay till the weight of war admonish them to use them; for their military exercises differ not at all from the usual use of their arms, but every soldier is every day exercised, and that with real diligence, as if it were in time of war, which is the reason why they bear the fatigue of battles so easily; for neither can any disorder remove them from their usual regularity, nor can fear affright them out of it, nor can labour tire them; but if they are in the midst of war, they do not fail of engaging the enemy, and accomplishing their business; nor is the sense they raise rashly made, or uneven; nor do they all abide in it, nor do those that are in it take their places at random; but if such a man happens that is unskilful, or is of less levelling; their camp is also so made by measure, and carpenters are ready with their tools to erect their buildings for them.
WARS OF THE JEWS.

2. As for what is within the camp, it is set apart for tents, but the outward circumference hath the resemblance to a wall, and is adorned with towers at equal distances, where between the earth is covered by the space of the skins and the earth, and the the right side of earth, and the earth is longer than a span. Those tent-mat that are chosen out from the rest to be about the general himself, have a lance and a buckler, but the rest of the foot soldiers, have a spear, and a long buckler, besides a saw and a basket, a piaxke, and an axe, a thong of leather, and a hook, with provisions for three days, so that a footman hath no great need of a mule to carry his burdens. The horsemen have a long sword on their right sides, and a long pole in their hand; a shield also lies by them obliquely on one side of their horses with three or more darts that are borne in their quiver, having broad points, and not smaller than spears. They have also head-pieces and breast-plates, in like manner as have all the footmen, and for those that are near to the general, their armour may differ from that of the horsemen belonging to other troops; and be always leads the legions forth to whom the lot assigns is to be the foremost.

6. This is the manner of the marching and resting of the Romans, as also there are the several sorts of weapons they use. But when they are melancholy, and they leave nothing to be fore-ordained nor to be done off hand, but counsel is ever first taken before any work is begun, and what hath been there resolved upon is put in execution properly, and if it be not done without error, or if they have been mistaken at any time, they easily correct those mistakes. They also esteem any errors they commit upon taken, and do not condemn them more than such rash success is as owing to fortune only; because such a fortunate advantage tempts them to be considerate, while consultation, though it may not be considered, is good, that it makes men more careful hereafter; but for the advantages that arise from chance, they are not owing to him that gains them; and as to what melancholy accidents happen, there is this comfort in them, that they had however taken the best consultations they could to prevent them.

7. Now they so manage their preparatory exercises as to cause a secret noise. Then do the trumpets give a sound, at which time nobody is still, but at the first intimation they take down their tents, and are ready for their going out; then do the trumpets sound again, to order them to get ready for the march; then do they lay their baggage suddenly upon their horses, and other beasts of burden, and stand, as at the place of starting, ready to march: when also they set fire to their camp, and they do because it will be easy for them to erect another camp, and that they choose be of some of their enemies. Then do the trumpets give a sound the third time, that they are to go out, in order to excite those that on any account are a little tardy in the rear of the army when the army marches. Then does the cried stand at the general's right hand, and asks them thrice in their own tongue, whether they be now ready to erect or wait not? To which they reply as often, with a loud and cheerful voice, saying, We are ready. And this they do almost before the question is asked them; they do as mixed with a kind of marching song, and at the same time that they cry out, they lift up their right hands also.

5. When, after this, they are gone out of their camp and armour, and conducted in war, are preferable to those in the Roman authors themselves.
BOOK III.—CHAP. VI. VII.

their march. Behind these he set such carriages of the army as belonged both to himself and to the other commanders, with a considerable num-
ber of their horsemen for their security. After
these he marshalled his infantry, having with him
the erect body of footmen, and horsemen, and pik-
men. After these came the peculiar cavalry of
his own legion, for there were a hundred and
twenty horsemen that peculiarly belonged to
every legion. Next to these came the culverins
that carried the engines for sieges, and the other
warlike machines of that nature. After these came
the command of the other part of the camp,
with their baggage, having about them soldiers chosen out
of the rest. Then came the ensigns encompassing
the eagle, which is at the head of every Roman
regiment, the king and the strongest of all the birds,
which seems to them a signal of dominion, and an
omen that they shall conquer all against whom
they match; these sacred ensigns are followed
by the trumpeters. Then came the main army
in their squadrons, and battalions, with six men
in depth, who were followed at last by a centu-
rian, who, according to custom, observed the
rest. As for the servants of every legion, they all
followed the footmen, and led the baggage of
the soldiers, which was borne by the mules and
other beasts of burden. But behind all the le-
gions came the baggage, with their mules and
horses; and those that brought up the rear came
last of all for the security of the whole army,
being both footmen, and those in their armour
also, with a great number of horsemen.

3. And thus did Vespasian march with his
army, and came to the bounds of Galilee, where
he pitched his camp, and restrained his soldiers,
who were eager to attack the Jews, to array
himself against the army to the enemy, in order to
affright them, and to afford them a season for repentance, to see
whether they would change their minds before
it came to a battle, and then fight them hand to hand.
He did this, and at the same time he got
things ready for besieging their strong holds.
And indeed this sight of the general brought
many to repent of their revolt, and put them all
into a consternation; for those that were in Jose-
phus' camp, which was at the city called Garis,
not far from Sepphoris, when they heard that the
war was come near them, and that the Romans
would suddenly fight them hand to hand, dis-
persed themselves, and fled, not only before they
came to a battle, but before the enemy ever came
in sight, while Josephus and a few others were
left behind; and so he said that he found the
army sufficient to engage the enemy, that the
spirits of the Jews were sunk, and that the greater
part would willingly come to terms, if they
might be credited. And he made deep studies in
case of the whole war, and determined to get as
far as he possibly could out of danger; so he
took those that stood along with him, and fled
to Tiberias.

—CHAP. VII.

Vespasian, when he had taken the City of Gadera,
marches to Jotapata. After a long Siege the City is betrayed by a Deserter, and taken by
Vespasian.

§ 1. So Vespasian marched to the city of Ga-
dara, and took it upon the first onset, because
he had killed, and made the inhabitants captive,
and the Romans had found it destitute of a considerable number of
men grown up and fit for war. He came thereto
into it, and slew all the youth, the Romans having
no mercy on any age whatsoever; and this was
done out of the love to revenge the murder of their kinsmen,
because of the iniquity they had been guilty of
in the affair of Cestius. He also set fire, and
the Jews fought at some distance; his meaning was that
those were the reasons why they slew, or not
the inhabitants, and therefore the part of the city
was spared by the proclamation. These Jews were
such that those of Jotapata slew seven of the Romans, as they
were marching off; because the Romans' retreat was
regular, their bodies were covered over with their armour,

* I cannot but here observe an eastern way of speaking,
very frequent among them, but not usual among us, where the
word we are not so often in use, and partly because the books
are expressed by the pronunciation. These Jews were
such that those of Jotapata slew seven of the Romans, as they
were marching off; because the Romans' retreat was
regular, their bodies were covered over with their armour,
only to the city itself, but to all the villages and small cities that were round about it; some of these were deserted, and some of them he carried the inhabitants as slaves into captivity.

2. As to Josephus, his retiring to that city, which was the most convenient for his security, put him into great fear; for the people of Tiberias did not imagine that he would have run away, unless he had entirely despaired of the success of the war. And indeed, as to that point, they were not mistaken about his opinion; for he saw whether the affairs of the Jews would tend at last, and was sensible that they had but one way of escaping, and that was by repentance. However, although he expected that the Romans would forgive him, yet did he choose to die many times over, rather than to betray his country, and to dishonour that superior command. The army which had been entrusted with him, or to live happily under those against whom he was sent to fight. He determined, therefore, to give an example of the justice of the commandment at Jerusalem by a letter, that he might not by too much arguing the power of the enemy, make them too timorous, nor by relating that the Romans were the greatest power in the world, might encroach on them to stand out when they were perhaps disposed to repentance. He also sent them word, that if they thought of coming to terms, they might send it by him to the emperor; or if they resolved upon war, they must send him an army sufficient to fight the Romans. Accordingly, he wrote these things, and sent messengers immediately to more eastern parts of the Roman army, to acquaint them with the unexpected good opinion they had made the day before: as they found the Romans also to fight more desperately; for a sense of shame seemed to have come upon them from hearing of the Romans' defeat. But now the Jews were not more courageous, and thought of having a kind of victory. Thus did the Romans try to make an impression upon the Jews, till the fifth day continually, while the people of Jotapata made sallies out, and fought with the Jews. But the Romans were more victoriously; and now the Jews were at the strength of the enemy, and were the Romans discouraged at the difficulties they met with in taking the city?

3. Now Vespasian was very desirous of destroying both, and that he had gotten intelligence that the greatest part of the enemy had retired thither, it was, on other accounts, a place of great security to them. Accordingly, he sent four thousand horsemen and footmen to level the road, which was mountains of and rocky, not without difficulty to be travelled over by footmen, but absolutely impossible for horsemen. These workmen accomplished what they were about in four days' time, and opened a broad way for the army. On the fifth day, which was the twenty-first of the month Artemisius (Jyar), Josephus prevented him, and came from Tiberias, and went into Jotapata, and raised the drooping spirits of the Jews. And a certain descent was below the city, and it led into a valley; but Josephus had removed himself thither, which made him haste to the city, as supposing, that with taking that, he should take all Judea, in a moment; and it was as yet Josephus wanted a sufficient power. So he took this news to be of the greatest advantage to him, and believed it to be brought about by the providence of God, that he who appeared to be the most provident man of all their enemies, had of his own accord shut himself up in a place of sure custody. Accordingly, he sent Pudicus with a thousand horsemen, and Euphractus a secretary, to persuade that was of eminency both in counsel and in action, to encompass the city, that Josephus might not escape away privately.

4. Now Vespasian, therefore, in order to try how he might overcome the natural strength of the place, as well as the bold defence of the Jews, made a resolution to prosecute the siege with vigour. To that end he called the XI. legionaries that were under him to a council of war, and consulted with them which way the assault might be managed to the best advantage. And when the information was there taken to raise a bank against that part of the wall which was practicable, he sent his whole army abroad to get the materials together. So when they had cut down all the materials for the bank, and had brought them to the city, and had gotten together a vast heap of stones, besides the wood they had cut down, some of them brought hurdles, in order to build the effectual rampart of battlements about them. These hurdles they spread over their banks, under cover whereof they formed their
that came to hand, as also with the sowing fire to all the other works; and this till Vespasian made his arm and his eyes good fit to solve to lie round the city, and to starve them into a surrender, as supposing that either they would be forced to petition him for mercy by want of provision, or to wish for courage to hold out till the last, they should perish by famine: and he concluded he should conquer them the more easily in fighting, if he gave them assistance, and then feel when they were weakened by famine; but still he gave orders that they should guard against their coming out of the city.

12. Now the besiegers had plenty of corn within the city, and indeed of all other necessaries, but they wanted water, because there was no fountain in the city; the people being there usually satisfied with rain water; yet it is a rare thing in that country to have rain in summer; and at this season, during the siege, they were in great distress for some contrivance to satisfy their thirst; and they were very sad at this time particularly, as if they were already in want of water entirely, for Josephus, seeing that the city abounded with other necessaries, and that the men were of good courage, and being desirous to protect the city from the Romans if they expected, ordered their drink to be given them by measure; but this scanty distribution of water by measure was deemed by them as a thing more hard upon them than the want of it, and their not being able to drink as much as they would, made them more desirous of drinking than they otherwise had been; nay, they were so in such measure of necessity, that they were come to the last degree of thirst. Nor were the Romans unacquainted with the state they were in, for when they stood over against them, beyond the wall, they took the ground afresh, and together, and taking their water by measure, which made them throw their javelins thither, the place being within their reach, and kill a great many of them.

13. Hereupon Vespasian hoped that their receptacles of water would in no long time be emptied, and that they would be forced to deliver up the city to him; but Josephus being minded to break such his hope, gave command that they should wet a great many of their clothes, and hang them out about the battlements, till they run down the water. At this sight the Romans were discouraged, and under consternation, when they saw them able to throw away the water in sport so much, and run it out and expel them not to have enough to drink themselves. This made the Roman general despaired of taking the city by their want of necessaries, and to take himself again to arms, and to try to force them to surrender, which was what the Jews greatly desired; for, as they despaired of either themselves or their city being able to escape, they preferred a death in battle before one by hunger and thirst.

14. However, Josephus contrived another stratagem besides the foregoing, to get plenty of what they wanted. There was a certain rough and uneven place that could hardly be ascended, and on that account was not guarded by the soldiers; so Josephus sent out certain persons along the western part of the valley, and by them sent letters to whom he pleased, being Jews that were out of the city, and procured from them what necessaries soever they wanted in the city in abundance; he enjoined them also to creep out by generally a low passage that had the city, and to cover their backs with such sheep-skins as had their wool upon them, that if any one should spy them out in the night time, they might be believed to be dogs. This was done till the watch perceived their contrivance,
and encompassed that rough place about them.

14. And now it was that Josephus perceived that the city could not hold out long, and that his own life would be in doubt if he continued in it; so he consulted how he and the most potent men of the city used to be in the habit of meeting, when they had gathered in to deliberate, if he would stay with them, because every body would undertake any pains with great cheerfulness on his account, and in that case there would be some comfort for them also, though they should be taken. That it became him rather to fly from his enemies, nor to desert his friends, nor to leap out of that city, as out of a ship that was about to be once gone, upon whom they wholly confided."

15. Hereupon Josephus avoided setting them know that he was to go away to provide for his own safety, but told them that he would go out of the city for their sakes; for that if he would with them, he should be able to do them little good, while they were in a safe condition, and that if they were taken he should only perish with them to no purpose, but that if he were once gotten free from this siege, he should be able to bring them very great relief; for that he would then immediately get the Galileans together out of the country, in great multitudes, and draw the Romans off their city by another war. That he did not see what advantage he could do to them now by staying among them, but only provoke the Romans to bring them more closely, as extenuating it as a most valuable thing to take him; but that if they were once informed that he was fled out of the city, they would greatly impute it to their eagerness against it. Yet did not this plea move the people, but inflamed them the more to hang about him. Accordingly, both the children and the old men, and the women with their infants, came mourning to him, and fell down before him, and all of them caught hold of his feet, and held him fast, and besought him with great lamentations, that he would not leave them, but live with his fortune; and I think they did this, not that they envied my deliverance, but that they hoped for their own; for they could not think they should suffer any great misfortune provided Josephus would but stay with them.

17. Now Josephus thought, if he resolved to stay, it would be ascribed to their entreaties, and if he resolved to go, it would be ascribed by force, he should be put into custody. His commiseration also of the people under their lamentations had much broken that his eagerness to leave them; so he resolved to stay, and entering himself with the common despair of the citizens, he said to them, "now is the time to begin to fight in earnest, when there is no hope of deliverance left. It is a brave thing to prefer glory before life, and he who has a mind to undertake, may be remembered by late posterity." Having said this, he fell to work immediately, and made a sally, and dispersed the enemies' out-guards, and then he carried off on this his design, not he, and pulled the coverings of their tents to pieces, that were upon their banks, and set fire to their works. And this was the manner in which he never left off doing, about the day, and the day after it, but went on with it for a considerable number of days and nights.

18. Upon this, Vespasian, when he saw the Roman engines of war were not used to the attacks they were ashamed to be made to run away by the
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it made, incomerath that the wall was newly built and this by diversion of the strokes, till the Romans made an opposition contrivance of long poles, and carried them up to the top of the wall, and the roots of the trees, with fire, to defend themselves wittily; wherupon they took what materials soever they had that were but dry, and made a sally three ways, and set fire to the hedges and the banks of the Romans themselves; nor did the Romans well know how to come to their assistance, being at once under a consternation at the Jews' boldness and being prevented by the flames from coming to their assistance; for the materials being dry with the bitten and pitch that were among them, as was brimstone also, then they encouraged one another with loud voices, and ran hastily to the walls.

53. But still Josephus and those with him, although they for a day and a half were tossed by the darts and stones which the engines threw upon them, yet did not they desert the wall, but fell upon those who managed the ram, under the protection of the hurdes, and the noise of the weapons, and stones; and these could do little or nothing, but fell themselves perpetually, while they were seen by them whom they could not see for the light of the sun, and made them a most visible mark to the enemy, as they were in the day time, while the engines could not be seen at a great distance, and so what was thrown at them was hard to be avoided; for the force with which these engines threw stones and darts made them hurt several at a time, and the violent force of the stones that then they carried away the pinnacles of the wall, and broke off the corners of the towers; for no body of men could be so strong as not to be overthrown to the last rank by the impended horror of the darts. And any one may learn the force of the engines by what happened this very night: for as one of those that stood round about Josephus was struck dead in he wall near the wall, and his head was Evelyn struck by a stone, and his skull was flung as far as three furongs. In the day-time also, a woman with child had her belly so violently struck, as she was just one of the soldiers of the tenth legion, while her head as a fit mark to be pellet by all his enemies. Accordingly, he received the strokes upon his naked body, and was wounded with five darts: nor did he mind any of them while he went up to the top of the wall, where he and in the sight of all them, as an instance of the greatest boldness; after which, he drew himself on a heap with his wounds upon him, and fell down together with them, and on the wall, which the two brothers showed their courage; their names were Nisier and Philip, both of them of the village Buma, and both of them Galileans also; these men depended upon the soldiers of the tenth legion, and fell upon the Romans with such a noise and force as to disorder their ranks, and to put to flight all upon whomsoever they made their assaults.

21. And here a certain Jew appeared worthy of mention; a relation who stood near him was the son of Simeas, and was called Eleazar, and was born at Saab, in Galilee. This man took up a stone of a vast bigness, and threw it down from the tower, and with this, by a great deal of force that it broke off the head of the engine. He also leaped down, and took up the head of the ram from the midst of them, and without any care carried it; and on the top of the wall, while he stood as a fit mark to be pellet by all his enemies. Accordingly, he received the stroke upon his naked body, and was wounded with five darts: nor did he mind any of them while he went up to the top of the wall, where he and in the sight of all them, as an instance of the greatest boldness; after which, he drew himself on a heap with his wounds upon him, and fell down together with them, and on the wall, which the two brothers showed their courage; their names were Nisier and Philip, both of them of the village Buma, and both of them Galileans also; these men depended upon the solders of the tenth legion, and fell upon the Romans with such a noise and force as to disorder their ranks, and to put to flight all upon whomsoever they made their assaults.

22. In the morning Vespasian got his army together, in order to take the city. After a little recreation upon the hard pines they had been at the night before; and as he was desirous to draw off the Romans from the places where the wall had been thrown down, he made the most courageous of the horsemen get off their horses, and placed them in three ranks over against these ruins of the wall, but covered with their armours on every side, and with poles in their hands, that so these might begin their ascent as soon as the instruments for such ascent were laid; behind them he placed the flower of the footmen; but for the rest of the horse, he ordered them to extend themselves over against the wall, upon the whole hill country, in order to prevent any that should either go in towards the city when it should be taken; and behind these he placed the archers round about, and commanded them to have all their darts ready to shoot. The same commands he gave to the slingers, and to those that managed the engines and bade them to
to come in their places, and succour them; while on the side of the Romans fresh men still stood ready to go to work, the Jews ran out upon them, before those that should have used them were gotten upon them. And now, on the ascending of the soldiers, there was a great contend and use of the actions of the hands, and of the soul, were exhibited, while the Jews did earnestly endeavour, in the extreme danger they were in, not to show less courage than those who were in danger, fought so stoutly against them, nor did they leave struggling with the Romans till they either fell down head themselves, or killed their masters. For the Jews, defending themselves continually, and had not sworn to come in their places, and succour them; while on the side of the Romans fresh men still stood ready to go to work, the Jews ran out upon them, before those that should have used them were gotten upon them. And now, on the ascending of the soldiers, there was a great contend and use of the actions of the hands, and of the soul, were exhibited, while the Jews did earnestly endeavour, in the extreme danger they were in, not to show less courage than those who were in danger, fought so stoutly against them, nor did they leave struggling with the Romans till they either fell down head themselves, or killed their masters. For the Jews, defending themselves continually, and had not sworn
might throw their weapons at those that were upon the wall, and were easily seen by them. Here upon the Jews, not being easily able to overcome them, they set them on fire, and threw the fire up to their heads, nor to avenge themselves on those whom they could not see, and perceiving that the height of the towers was so great, that a dart which they threw with their hand could hardly reach it, and that the iron plates about them made it very hard to come at them by fire, they ran away from the walls, and fled hastily out of the city, and fell upon those that shot at them. And thus did the people of Jotapata resist the Romans, while a great number of them were every day killed, without their being able to retort the evil upon their enemies, nor could they keep them out of the city without danger to themselves.

31. About this time it was that Vespasian sent out Titus against a city called Japha, that lay near to Jotapata, and that desired innovations, and was put up with the unexpected length of the opposition of Jotapata. This Titus was the commander of the tenth legion, and to him Vespasian committed one thousand horsemen, and two thousand footmen. When he came to the city, he found it hard to be taken, for besides the natural strength of its situation, it was also secured by a double wall; but when he saw the people and the motion of those who were ready to fight him, he joined battle with them, and after a short resistance which they made, he pursued after them; and as they fled to their first wall, the Romans followed them, and laid siege upon the town Gerizim, and took them, and so fell in together with them; but when the Jews were endeavoring to get again within their second wall, their fellow-citizens shut them out, as before, and many fell out of the fort, and three thousand were themselves in with them. It was certainly God therefore who brought the Romans to punish the Galileans, and did then expose the people of the city ever so hourly by those who were engaged by their bloody enemies; for they fell upon the gates in great crowds; and earnestly calling to those that kept them, and that by their names also, yet had they their throats cut in the very midst of their supplications; for the enemy shut the gates of the first wall, and their own citizens shut the gates of the second, so they were enclosed between two walls and besieged in great numbers together; many of them were secured by sword of their own men, and many by their own swords, besides an immense number that were killed by the Romans. Nor had they any courage to revenge themselves further than to add to the consternation they were in from the enemy, their being betrayed by their own friends, which quite broke their spirits; and at last they died, caring not the Romans, but their own citizens, till they were all destroyed, being in number twelve thousand. So Titus gathered that the city was empty of people that could fight, and although there should a few of them be therein, he supposed that they would be too timorous to venture upon any opposition; so he reserved the taking of the city to the general. Accordingly, he marched with his forces, and took Jotapata, and desired him to send his son Titus to finish the victory he had gained. Vespasian hereupon imagining there might be some pains still necessary, sent his son with an army of five hundred horsemen, and one thousand footmen. So he came quickly to the city, and put his army in order, and set Titus over the left wing, while he himself took the right; and led them to the siege: and when the soldiers brought ladders to be laid against the wall on every side, the Galileans opposed them from above for a while, but soon after were cast down, being a thousand men leap into the city, and seized upon it presently; but when those that were in it were gotten together, there was a fierce battle between them; for the man of power fell upon the Romans in the narrow streets, and the women threw whatsoever came next to hand at them, and sustained a fight with them for six hours' time; but when it was night, they were carried into captivity; so that the number of the slain both now in the city, and at the former fight, was fifteen thousand, and the captives were two thousand one hundred and thirty. This calamity fell the Galileans on the twenty-fifth day of the month Sivan (Sivan.)

32. Nor did the Samaritans escape their share of misfortunes at this time; for they assembled themselves together upon the mountain called Gerizim, which is with them a holy mountain, and there they remained; which collection of theirs, as well as the courageous minds they showed, could not but threaten somewhat of war; nor were they rendered wiser by the miseries that had come upon their neighboring cities. They also, notwithstanding the great success the Romans had, came upon them in a reasonable manner, depending on their own strength, and were disposed for any tumult upon its first appearance. Vespasian therefore thought it best to avoid the unnecessary shedding of blood, and to give ground to fear what they would be at: be therefore sent thither Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion, with six hundred horsemen, and four thousand four hundred footmen, safe to go up the mountain, and give them battle, because many of the enemy were on the higher part of the ground; so he encompassed all the lower part of the mountain, and so watched them all that day. Now it happened that the Samaritans, who were now destitute of water, were inflamed with a violent heat, (for it was summer time, and the multitude had not provided themselves with necessaries,) innsuoch that some of them died that very day with heat, while others of them preferred slavery before such a death. So the Samaritans, by whom Cerealis understood, that they still stayed there were very much broken by their misfortunes. So he went up the mountain, and having placed his forces round about the enemy, he, in the first place, exposed the city by the left hand of his right hand, and came to terms with them and thereby save themselves; and assured them, that if they would lay down their arms he would secure them from any harm; but when he could not prevail with them, he fell upon them and slew them all, being in number eleven thousand six hundred. This was done on the twenty-seventh day of the month Sivan (Sivan.) And these were the calamities that befell the Samaritans at this time.

33. But as the people of Jotapata still held out magnificently, and bore war, and their miseries beyond all that could be hoped for, on the forty-seventh day of the siege the banks cast up by the Romans became higher than the wall; on which day a certain deserter went to Vespasian, and told him how few were left in the city, and how weak they were, and that they had been so worn out with perpetual watching, and perpetual fighting, that they did not now oppose any force that came against them, and that they might be taken by stratagem, if any one would attack them; for that about the last watch of the night, when they were asleep, the rest from the hardships they were under, and when a morning sleep used to come upon them, as they were thoroughly weary, he said the watch used to fall asleep, accordingly, his ad-
36. And on this day it was that the Romans slew all the multitude that appeared openly; but on the following days they searched the hiding places, and fell upon those that were under throats, on every ground, insomuch that they could be inflected on them; this last, because one of the people of Jo-tapata had undergone all sorts of torments, and though they made him pass through a fiery trial of this kind, he resolved not to bear the pain, but would he would inform them nothing of the affairs within the city, and, as he was crucified, smiled at them. However, the probability there was in the relation which he brought the truth of what the deserter told them, and they thought he might probably speak the truth. However, Vespasian thought they should be no great sufferers if they were as a slave; he commanded them to keep the man in custody, and prepared the army for taking the city.

34. According to which resolution they marched; and as soon as they were on the town it was told them, to the wall; and it was Titus himself that first got upon it, with one of his tribunes, Domitius Babius, and had a few of the fiftieth legion with him. So they by the throats of the watch, and entered the city very quietly. After those came the Cerealis the tribune, and Plucidus, and led on those that were under them. Now whenever they took bate, and the enemy were the very midst of the city, and when it was already day, yet was not the taking of the city known by those that held it; for a great many of them were fast asleep, and a great mist, which then by chance fell upon the city, hindered those that got up from distinctly seeing the cases they were in, till the whole Roman army was gotten in, and they were raised up only to find the miseries they were under; and as they were playing, they perceived the city was taken. And for the Romans, they so well remembered what they had suffered during the siege, that they spared no persons, and made even the women and children that they were got to their death from the fortress from the city of the citadel, and slew them as they drove them down; at which time the difficulties of the place hindered those that were in the city from escaping, as those that were in the fortress from escaping. This provoked a great many, even of those chosen men that were about Josephus, to kill themselves with their own hands; for when they saw they could not defend themselves from the Romans, they resolved to prevent being killed by the Romans, and got together in great numbers in the utmost parts of the city, and killed themselves.

35. However, such of the watch as at first perceived they were taken, and ran away as fast as they could, went up into one of the towers on the north side of the city, and for a while defended themselves there; but as they were encompassed with a multitude of enemies, they tried to use their right hands when it was too late, and set each other on fire with them, who set upon them and put them to be cut off by those that stood over them. And the Romans might have boasted that the conclusion of that siege was without blood [on their sides.] if there had not been a centurion, Anto-nius, who was slain at the taking of the city. His death was occasioned by the following treachery: for there was one of those that were fled into the tower, who were a great number, who desired that this Antonius would reach him his right hand for his security, and would assure him that he would preserve him, and give him his assurance in getting out of the citadel. Accordingly, he immediately reached him out his right hand, when the other man prevented him, and stabbed him under his lions with a spear, and killed him immediately.
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3. Now as Josephus began to hesitate with himself about Nicanor's proposal, the soldiery sent false tidings of him to the den; but the tribune would not permit them so to do, as being very desirous to take the man alive. And now as Nicanor lay hard at Josephus to comply, and he understood how the multitude of the enemies threatened him, he called to mind the dreams which he had dreamed in the night time, whereby God had signified to him beforehand both the future events for the Jews, and the events that concerned the Roman emperors. Now Josephus was able to give shrewd conjectures about the interpretation of such dreams as have been ambiguously deliver-

ed by God. Moreover, he was not unsanctioned with the prophecies contained in the sacred books, as, being a priest himself, and of the posterity of priests; and just then was he in an ecstasy, and setting before him the tremendous images of the dreams he had lately had, he put up a secret prayer to God, and said, "Since it pleases the divine providence to subdue him to the power of his enemies, do with him as thou wilt; but deprecate the same, and since all their good fortune is gone over to the Romans, and since thou hast made choice of this soul of mine to yield up to the Romans, do not, I beseech thee, willingly give them my hands, and am content to live. And I protest openly, that I do not go over to the Romans as a deserter of the Jews, but as a man in the cause of God."  

4. When he said this, he complied with Nicanor's invitation. But when those Jews who had fled with him, understood that he yielded to their advice, it came about him in a body, and cried out, "Nay, indeed, now may the laws of our forefathers, which God ordained himself, well groan to purpose; that God, we mean, who hath created the souls of the Jews of such a temper, that they despise death. O Josephus! art thou still fond of life? and canst thou bear to see the light in a state of slavery? How soon hast thou forgotten thyself? How many hast thou persuaded to lose their lives for liberty? Thou hast therefore had a false reputation for manhood, and a like false reputation for wisdom, if thou dost persuade persons from their own fate, against whom thou hast fought so zealously, and art, however, willing to be preserved by them, if they be in earnest. But although the good fortune of the Romans hath made a change in our case; that their houses and their persons are set apart; that the glory of our forefathers may not be tarnished. We will lend thee our right hand and a sword; and if thou wilt die willingly, thou wilt die as a general of the Jews; but if unwillingly, thou wilt die as a traitor to them." As soon as they said this, they began to thrust their swords at him, and threatened he would kill him, if he thought of yielding to the Romans.  

5. Upon this, Josephus was afraid of their attach-

ing him, and yet thought he should be a bet-

rayer of the commands of God, if he died before the day of the battle. And as he thought like a philosopher to them in the distress he was then in, he said thus to them: "O my friends, why are we so earnest to kill ourselves; and why do we set our soul and body, which are such dear companions, at such variance? Can any one pretend that I am not the man I was formerly? Nay, the Romans are sensible how the man is, and they will kill him like a traitor, and cast him into prison; but so that it he according to the law of war, by the hand of conquerors. If, therefore, I avoid death from the sword of the Romans, I am thereof as much dearer preserved, our body and my own hand: but if they admit of mercy, and would spare their enemy, how much more ought we to have mercy upon ourselves, and to spare ourselves? For it is certainly a foolish thing to do that to ourselves which we quarrel with them for doing to us. I confess freely, that it is a brave thing to die for liberty; but still so that it be in war, and done by those who take that liberty from us; but when we are not obliged so to do. What are we afraid of, when we will not go up to the Romans? Is it death? If so, what are we afraid of when we suspect our enemies will inflict it upon us, shall we not inflict it on ourselves for certain, when we are to be said, we must be slaves. And are we then in a clear state of liberty at present? It may also be said, that it is a manly act for one to kill himself. No, certainly, but a most unworthy one, as I should esteem that pilot to be an arrant coward, who, out of fear of a storm, should sink his ship of his own accord. Now, self-murder is a crime most remote from the common nature of all animals, and an instance of impiety against God our Creator: nor indeed is there any animal that dies by its own contrivance, or by its own means, for the desire of life, or for the preservation of them all; on which account we deem those that openly take it away from us to be our enemies, and those that do it by treachery are punished with the avenger of life. For, if you are very angry when a man doth injury to what he hath bestowed on him? From him it is that we have received our being, and we ought to leave it to his disposal; for that becometh us. The bodies of all men are indeed mortal, and are created out of corruptible matter; but the soul is ever immortal, and is a portion of the divinity that inhabits all bodies. He who destroys or abuses a depositum hath received from a mere man, he is esteemed a wicked and pernicious person; but then if any one cast out of his body this divine depositum, we can imagine that he who is thereby affronted does not know of it: Moreover, our law justly ordains that slaves which run away from their masters shall be punished, though the masters they run away from may have been wicked masters to them. And shall we undertake to run away from God, who is the best of all masters, and not think ourselves highly guilty of impiety? Do not those who depend on this life, according to the law of nature, and pay that debt which was received from God, when he that lent it us is pleased to require it back again, enjoy eternal punishment; that their houses and their persons are in peace, that their goods are secure, that their souls are pure and obedient, and obtain a most holy place in heaven, from whence, in the revolution of ages, they are again sent into pure bodies; while the souls of those whose hands have acted madly against themselves, are received by the darkest place in Hades, and while God, who is their father, punishes those that offended against either of them in their mortali-

ty; for which reason God hates such doings, and the crime is punished by our most wise legis-

lator. According to our laws determine, that the bodies of such offenders should be exposed till the sun be set, without burial, although at the same time it be allowed by them to be lawful to bury our enemies [sooner]. The laws of other nations also join such men's hands to be cut off when they are dead, which had been made use of in destroying themselves when alive; while they reckoned that to the body is alien from the soul, so is the hand alien from the body. It is, therefore, my friends, a right thing to reason justly, and not add to the calamities which men bring upon us, impiety towards our Creator. If therefore we have a mind to preserve, our body and our own hand: but if they admit of mercy, and would spare their enemy, how much more ought we to have mercy upon ourselves, and to spare ourselves?
a mind to die, it is good to die by the hand of those that have conquered us. For my part, I will not run away to their quarters; but I will either be a traitor to myself; for certainly I should then be much more foolish than those that deserted to the enemy, since they did it in order to save themselves, and I should do it for destruction of my own destruction. However, I heartily wish the Romans may prove treacherous in this matter; for if, after the offer of their rights and for security, I be slain by them, I shall die cheerfully, and carry away with me the sense of their perfidiousness, as a consolation rather than victory itself."

6. Now these and many like motives did Josephus use to these men to prevent their murdering themselves; but desperation had shut their ears, as having long ago devoted themselves to die, and they were irritated at Josephus. They then ran upon him with their swords in their hands, one from one quarter, and another from another, and called him a coward, and every one of them appeared openly as if he were ready to strike him; and as he was one of them by name, and looking like a general to another, and taking a third by the hand, and making a fourth ashamed of himself, by praying him to forbear, and disconsolating his condition distracted with various passions, (as he well might in the great distress he was then in,) he kept off every one of their swords from killing him, and was forced to do like the rest. And, indeed, it is a common thing on every side, who always turn themselves against those that last touched them. Nay, some of their right hands were debilitated by the reviving that arose in them; their swords were of fatal calamities, and their swords dropped out of their hands, and not a few of them there were, who, when they aimed to strike him with their swords, they were not thoroughly either willing or able to do it.

7. However, in this extreme distress, he was not destitute of his usual sagacity; but trusting himself to the providence of God, he put his life into hazard [in the manner following: ]"And now, (said he,) since it is resolved among you that you will die, come on, let us commit our mutual deaths to determination by lot. He whom the lot falls to first, let him be killed by him that hath the second lot, and thus fortune shall make its progress through us all; nor shall any of us perceive how we shall depart from this world; for it would be unfair if, when the rest are gone, somebody should repent and save himself." This proposal appeared to them to be very just; and when he had prevailed to determine this matter by lot, he drew one of the lots for himself also. He who had the first lot laid his neck bare to him that had the next, as supposing that the general would die among them immediately; for they thought death, if Josephus might but die with them, was swifter than life; yet was he with another left to the last, whether we must say it happened so by chance, or whether by the providence of God.

And he was very desirous neither to be condemned by the lot, nor, if he had been left to the last, to imbue his right hand in the blood of his countryman, he persuaded and urged to his fidelity to him, and to live as well as himself.

8. Thus Josephus escaped in the war with the Romans, and in this his own war with his friends, and was saved, as it were, by precaution. But now all the Romans ran together to see him; and as the multitude pressed one upon another about their general, there was a tumult of a various kind; while some rejoiced that Josephus was taken, and some threatened him, and some crowded to see him; others, more remote cried out to have this their enemy put to death, while those that were near called to mind the actions he had done, and a deep concern appeared at the change of his fortune. Nor were there any of the Roman commissaries, how much soever they had been enraged at him before, but relented when they came to see him; Titus's own vassals, and Josephus's own partisans under his afflictions, made him pity him, as did also the commiseration of his age, when he recollected to mind that but a little while ago he was fighting, but lay now in the hands of his enemies, which made him consider the power of fortune, and how quick is the turn of affairs in war; and how so state of men is sure: for which reasons he then made a great many more to be of the same pitiful temper with himself, and induced them to commiserate Josephus. He was also of great weight in persuading his father to preserve him. However, over all, he gave strict orders that he should be kept with great caution, as though he would be in a very little time send him to Nero.

9. When Josephus heard him give these orders, he said to his father, he would willingly beg to himself alone. When therefore they were all ordered to withdraw, excepting Titus and two of their friends, he said, "The honor of taking me to Nero thou hast taken Josephus himself captive, but I come to thee as a messenger of greater tidings; for had not I been sent by God to thee, I knew not what Josephus in the east, how it becomes generals to die. Doest thou send me to Nero? For why? Are Nero's successors till they come to thee still alive? Thou, O Vespasian, thou emperor, thou, and this thy son. Bind me now still faster, and keep me for thyself, for thou, O Caesar, art not only lord over me, but over the land and the seas, and all mankind; and certainly I deserve to be kept in closer custody than I now am in, in order to be punished, if I rashly affirm any thing of God." When he had said this, Vespasian at present did not believe him, but supposed that Josephus said this as a cunning trick in order to his own preservation; but in a little time he was convinced, and believed what he said to be true, not from any other cause than he was heartily and heartily in love with him. When he came to a visit him, and saw him, and knew him, and was sure that he was at that secret conference, said to Josephus, "I cannot but wonder how thou couldst not foretell to the people of Jotapata that they should be taken, nor couldst foretell this captivity, which hath happened to thyself, unless what thou now sayest be a vain thing, in order to avoid the rage that is risen against thyself." To which Josephus replied, "I did foretell to the people of Jotapata, that they would be taken, nor couldst foretell this captivity, which hath happened to thyself, unless what thou now sayest be a vain thing, in order to avoid the rage that is risen against thyself." To which Josephus replied, "I did foretell to the people of Jotapata, that they would be taken, nor couldst foretell this captivity, which hath happened to thyself, unless what thou now sayest be a vain thing, in order to avoid the rage that is risen against thyself." To which Josephus replied, "I did foretell to the people of Jotapata, that they would be taken, nor couldst foretell this captivity, which hath happened to thyself, unless what thou now sayest be a vain thing, in order to avoid the rage that is risen against thyself."
CHAP. IX.

How Joppa was taken, and Tiberias delivered up.

1. Now Vespasian returned to Ptolemais on the fourth day of the month Panæmus. (Tamæus,) and from thence he came to Cæsarea, which lay by the sea foresaid. But before the city was taken, the greatest part of them were carried by the waves, and dashed to pieces against the abrupt parts of the rocks, inso much that the sea was bloody a long way, and the maritime parts were full of dead bodies, for the Romans came upon those that were carried to the shore, and destroyed them; and the number of the bodies that were thus thrown out of the sea, was four thousand and two hundred. The Romans also took the city without opposition, and utterly demolished it.

2. And thus was Joppa taken twice by the same people in a little time, and by the same Vespasian, in order to prevent these pirates from coming thither any more, erected a camp there, where the citadel of Joppa had been, and left a body of horse in it, with a few footmen, and some ships; and they there set guards and the camp, and the horsemen might spoil the country that lay round it, and might destroy the neighboring villages, and smaller cities. They also sent over troops over the country, as they were ordered to do, and every day cut to pieces and laid desolate the whole region.

3. But now when the fate of Jotapata was reported at Jerusalem, the Jews did not believe it, on account of the vastness of the calamity, and because they had no eye-witness to attest the truth of what was reported about it; for not one person was saved from that town, but news, but a fame was spread abroad at random that the city was taken, as such fame usually spreads bad news. However, the truth was known by degrees, and when that news was spread abroad at random, and among all to whom any of the slain were allied, there was a lamentation for them; and the mourning for the commander was as great as for a private man, and for those that had lived with them, others for their kindred, others for their friends, and others for their brethren, but all mourned for Josephus; in so much that even the thirtieth day, and a great many hired mourners, with their pipes, who should begin their melancholy ditties for them.

6. But as the truth came at that time, it appeared how the affairs of Jotapata really stood; yet was it found that the death of Josephus was a fiction; and when they understood that he was alive, and was among the Romans, and that the commanders treated him at another rate than they treated captives, they were as vehemently angry at him now, as they had showed their good will before when he appeared to have been dead. He was also abused by some as having been a coward, and by others as a deserter; and the city was full of indignation at him, and of reproaches cast upon him; their rage was also excited by their afflictions, and more inflamed by their ill success; and what usually becomes an occasion of caution to wise men, I mean affliction, became a spur to them to venture on these calamities, and the end of one misery became still the beginning of another; they therefore resolved to fall on the Romans the more vehemently, as they were reserving to themselves the revenge on Josephus, and they attributed all the evil to themselves on the Romans. And this was the state of Jerusalem as to the troubles which now came upon it.

* These public mourners, hired upon the supposed death of Josephus, and the real death of many more, illustrate some passages in the Bible which suppose the same case.
7. But Vespasian, in order to see the kingdom of Agrippa, while the king himself persuaded him so to do, (partly in order to his treating the general and his army in the best and most splendid manner, and partly in order that he should enable him to do, and partly that he might, by their means, correct such things as were amiss in his government,) he removed from that Cesarea which was his, to that which is called Cesarea Philippi; and there he refreshed his army for twenty days, and was himself feasted by king Agrippa, where he also returned public thanks to the gods, while he repaid to God the profit he had made in his undertakings. But as soon as he was informed that Tiberias was fond of innovations, and that Tariachem had revolted, both which cities were parts of the kingdom of Agrippa, he was satisfied within himself that the Jews were everywhere so confused (from their obedience to their governors,) that he thought it convenient to make an expedition against them, and that for the sake of Agrippa, in order to bring his cities to reason. So he sent away his son Titus to [the other] Cesarea, that he might bring the army that lay there to Scythopolis, which is the greatest town of the Decapolis, and in the neighbourhood of Tiberias, whither he came, and where he waited for his son. He then came with three legions, and pitched his camp thirty furlongs from Tiberias. Now Tiberias is a certain station easily seen by the innovators; it is named Sannabis. He also sent Valerian, a decurion, with fifty horsemen, to speak peaceably to those that were in the city, and to entreat them to give him assurances of their fidelity; for he had heard that the people were desirous of peace, but were obliged by some of the seditionists to join with them in war. When Valerian had marched up to the place, and was near the wall, he alighted off his horse, and made those that were with him do the same, that they might not be alarmed to see him ride to their mishap with them; but before they could come to discourse one with another, the most potent men among the seditionists made a sally upon them armed; their leader was one whose name was Jesus, the son of Saphat, the principal head of a band of robbers. Now Valerian, neither thinking it safe to fight contrary to the commands of the general, nor desirous to go towards Tiberias, nor to incur the madness of a few to a whole city; to spare a people that had been ever civil and obliging to the Romans; but to bring the authors of this revolt to due punishment, who had hitherto so watched them, that though they were zealous to give them the security of their right hands of a long time, yet could they not accomplish the same. The general supplications were general compiled, although he were very angry at the whole city about the carrying of his horses, and this because he saw that Agrippa was under a great consternation. So when Vespasian and Agrippa had accepted of their right hands by way of security, Jesus and his party thought it not safe for them to continue at Tiberias, so they ran away to Tariachem. The next day Vespasian sent Trajan before with some horsemen to the city of Tariachem, to see whether they were all disposed for peace; and as soon as he knew that the people were of the same mind with the petitioners, he took his horse and went to the city. The gates were opened to him their gates, and met him with acclamations of joy, and called him their saviour and benefactor. But as the army was a great thing in the city, and the narrowness of the place, Vespasian commanded the south wall to be broken down, and so made a broad passage for their entrance. However, he charged them to abstain from any more injurious act, and that so as to gratify the king; and on his account spared the rest of the wall, while the king undertook for them that they should continue [faithful to the city] in peace. Yet had they great restorers of the city to a quiet state, after it had been grievously afflicted by the sedition.

CHAP. X.

How Tariachem was taken. A Description of the River Jordan, and of the Country of Genezareth.

§ 1. And now Vespasian pitched his camp between this city and Tariachem, but fortified his camp more strongly, as suspecting that he should be forced to stay there, and have a long war; for all the innovators had gotten together at Tariachem, as relying upon the strength of the city, and on the lake that lay by it. The lake is called by the people of the country the lake of Genezareth. The city itself is situated like Tiberias, at the bottom of a mountain, and on those sides which are not washed by the sea, had been strongly fortified by Josephus, though not for war; for all the innovators had gotten together at Tariachem, which had been built at the beginning of the Jews, and in the presence of the city, and in the presence of their ships, where they launched out as far as the great number of ships gotten ready upon the lake that in case they were beaten at land, they might retire to them; and they were so fitted up, that they might undertake a sea-fight also. But as the Romans were building a wall about their camp, Jesus and his party were neither afraid of their number, nor at the good order they saw in the city, but, as they saw, that at the very first onset the builders of the wall were dispersed, and these pulled what little they had before built to pieces; but soon as they saw that they were the last and that before they had suffered any thing themselves, they retired to their own men. But then the Romans pursued them, and drew them into their ships, where they launched out as far as they might give them the opportunity of reaching the Romans with what they threw at them, and then cast anchor, and brought their ships close, as in a line from the sea, and thence fought the enemy from the land, who were themselves at land. But Vespasian hearing that a great multitude of them were gotten together in the plain that was before the city, he thereupon sent his sons, with sixty or eighty horsemen, to discover what was. But when Titus perceived that the enemy was very numerous, he sent to his father, and informed him, that he should want more forces. But Vespasian seeing that they were not disposed to fight, and that before any succours could come to them, and that yet some of them were privately under a sort of consternation at the multitude of the Jews, he stuck to his post, and waited; whence he might be heard, and said to them, "My brave Romans! for it is right for me to put you in mind of what nation you are. In the beginning,
sins of my speech, that so you may not be igno-
rant who you are, and who they are against
whom we are going to fight. For as to us, Ro-
mans and Jews, we are not able to escape our
duties hitherto; but as for the
Jews, that I may speak of them too, though
they have been already beaten, yet do they not give
up to our sufferings and terriments. I fed given it that
we shall grow weary of success, when they
bear up under their misfortunes. As to the alacr-
ity which you shew publicly, I see it, and re-
jounce at it; yet am I afraid lest the multitude of
the enemy should bring a concealed fright upon
some of you: let such a one consider again who
we are that are to fight, and who are against
whom we are to fight. Now these Jews, though
they be very bold, and great despisers of
death, are but a disorderly body, and unskilful
in war, and may rather be called a rout than
an army; while we, as much as anything in
our skill and our good order; for this is the reason why we
Komers alone are exercised for war in time of
peace, that we may not think of number for
number, because of our fear of our enemies, of
what advantage should we reap by our con-
tinual sort of warfare, if we must still be equal
in number to such as have not been used to war?
Consider also you, that we are divided with
men in effect unarmed, while you are well
armed; with footmen, while you are horsemen;
with those that have no good general, while you
have one; with those who ascribe all to the
fortunes of war, while we look to generative
device. Now it is not the multitude of men, though
they be but a small number, that gives us fear, but
it is their bravery that does it, though they be
but a few; for a few are easily set in battle
array, and can easily assist one another, while
overwrought with a great number. And I
think we ought to prevent coming of those
whom we are to assist, more than by your enemies.
It is boldness and rashness, the effects of madness, that conduct
the Jews. Those passions, indeed, make a great
figure when they succeed, but are quite extin-
guished upon the least ill success; but we are fed on by courage, and obedience, and fortitude,
which itself, indeed, in our good fortune, but still does not for ever desert us in our ill
fortune. For they are not to be ascribed to
more motives than those of the Jews; for al-
though they run the hazard of war for liberty,
and for their country, yet what can be a greater
motives than what a noise the noise the news to be
said, that after we have got dominion of
the habitable earth, the Jews are able to confront us.
We must also reflect upon this, that there is no
charge that any of our enemies are so determined
as the Jews are; for those that are ready to assist
us are many, and at hand also; yet it is in our
power to seize upon this victory ourselves, and
I think we ought to prevent coming of those
my father is sending to us for our assistance, that
our success may be peculiar to ourselves,
and of greater reputation to us. And I cannot
but think this an honour too great for my father,
and I, and you, shall be all put to the trial, whe-
ther he be worthy of his former glorious perfor-
mances, whether he be his son in reality, and whe-
ther his valour be such as to make him fit for
my father to conquer; and for myself, I should
not bear the thoughts of returning to him if I
were once taken by the enemy. And how will
you be able to avoid being ashamed, if you do
not show equal courage with your commander,
when he goes before you into danger? For you
know very well that I shall go into the danger
first myself, as having been the first to
know. Do not you therefore desert me, but persuade
yourself that God will be assisting to my onset.
I know this also before we begin, that we shall
know how the better the battle should
beat you, if we are at a distance.
of without fighting: for in hopes of Titus's giving them his right hand for their security, and out of consideration of honour, he would not risk the lives of his crew, but they had given any consent to the war, they avoided fighting, till Titus had slain the authors of the revolt, and then put an stop to any further slaughters out of commiseration of the misfortunes of the place. But for those that had fled to the lake, upon seeing the city taken, they sailed as far as they possibly could from the enemy.

9. In this voyage, one sent one of his horsemen to his father, and let him know the good news of what he had done; at which, as was natural, he was very joyful, both on account of the courage and glorious actions of his son: for he thought now the greatest part of the war was over. He then came thither himself, and set men to guard the city, and gave them command to take care that nothing be missed: for he knew that such as attempted so to do. And on the next day he went down to the lake, and commanded that vessels should be fitted up, in order to pursue those ships: for the vessels were quickly gotten ready accordingly, because there was great plenty of materials, and a great number of artificers also. The lake of Gennesareth is so called from the country adjoining to it: its breadth is forty furlongs, and its length one hundred and forty; its waters are sweet, and veryagreeable for drinking, for they are finer than the thick water of the sea: the lake is thought, on every side ends directly at the shores, and at the sands; it is also of a temperate nature when you draw it up, and of a more gentle nature than river or fountain water, and yet always cooler than one could expect in so diffuse a place as this is: now when this water is kept in the open air, it is as cold as that snow which the common people are accustomed to make by night in summer. There are several kinds of fish in it, different both to the taste and the sight from those elsewhere. It is divided into two parts by the river Jordan: Now Pannium is thought to be the fountain of Jordan, but in reality is carried thither after an occult manner from the place called Phalais: this place lies as you go up to Trachonitis from Cesarea, and is not far out of the road on the right hand; and indeed it hath its name of Phalais (vial or bowl) very justly from the roundness of its fountain, as being round like a wheel; its water continues always up to its edges, without either sinking or running over. And as this origin of Jordan was formerly not known, it was believed that it was the fountain of Phalais. The fountain of Trachonitis: for he had chalk thrown into Phalais, and it was found at Pannium, where the ancients thought the fountain head of the river was, whether it had been therefore cast by the waters. As for Pannium itself, its natural beauty had been improved by the royal liberality of Agrippa, and adorned at his expenses. Now Jordan's viaducts stand above from this cavern, and divides the marshes and seas of the lake of Semechonitis; when it hath run another hundred and twenty furlongs, it first passes by the city of Julias, and then passes through the middle of the lake of Gennesareth; after which it runs a long way over a desert, and then makes its exit into the lake Asphaltitis. 8. The country also that lies over against this lake hath the same name of Gennesareth; its nature is wonderful, as well as its beauty; its soil is so fruitful that all sorts of trees can grow upon it, and the inhabitants accordingly plant all sorts of trees there; for the temper of the air is so far from being too hot, that we have given several sorts; particularly walnuts, which require the coldest air, flourish there in vast plenty; there are palm-trees also, which grow best in hot air; chestnuts also are found, which require air yet require an air that is more temperate. One may call this place the ambition of nature, where it forces those plants that are naturally enemies to one another, to grow together, and to endure the contention of the seasons: as if every one of them laid claim to this country; for it not only nourishes different sorts of autumnal fruit beyond men's expectations, but preserves them in a great while; it supplies men with the principal fruits, with grapes and figs, continually, during ten months of the year, and the rest of the fruits a whole year: for besides the good temperature of the air, it is also watered from a most fertile fountain. The people of the country call it Capharmaun; because, as they say, this lake extends itself along the banks of the lake of the city, and is full of fish for thirty furlongs, and is in breadth twenty. And this is the nature of that place.

9. But now, when the vessels were gotten ready, Vespasian put upon them, and because all of his ships were not sufficient to be too hard for those that were upon the lake, and sail after them. Now those which were driven into the lake, could neither fly to the land, where all was in their enemies' hands, and in very few; nor could they fight upon the level by sea, for their ships were small and fitted only for piracy; they were too weak to fight with Vespasian's men in many; and the mariners that were on them saw they were so few, that they were afraid to come near the Romans, who attacked them in great numbers. However, as they sailed round about the vessels, and sometimes drawing near the ships, they threw stones at the Romans when they were a good way off, or came nearer and fought them; yet did they receive the greatest harm themselves in both cases. As for the Romans, they threw at the Romans, they only made a sound one after the other, for they threw them against such as were in their armour, while the others sought to destroy them as they were in ships; and when they ventured to come near the Romans, they became sufferers themselves before they could do any harm to the other, and were drowned. But those that endeavoured to come to an actual fight, the Romans ran many of them through with their long poles. Sometimes the Romans leaped into their ships with swords in their hands, and slew them; but when some of them met the vessels, the Romans caught them by the middle, and destroyed at once their ships and themselves who were taken in them. And for such as tried to be drowned in the sea, if they lifted their heads up above the water, they were either killed by darts, or caught by the vessels; but if, in the desperate case they were in, they attempted to swim to the shore, the enemies of the Romans cut off either their heads or their hands; and indeed they were destroyed after various manners everywhere where, till the rest being put to flight were forced to put upon the land, with vessels encompassed about them on [the sea;] but as many of these were resupplied when they were getting ashore, they were killed some time of the year, came and found leaves on a fig-tree near Jerusalem, but no figs, because the times of new figs were yet to come, and therefore they call it St. Luke says, ch. xx. 13, that our Saviour, seeing the
BOOK III.

CHAPTER X.

By the springs upon the lake; and the Romans looked out from them, and despatched a great number upon the land: one might see the flocks all bloody, and full of dead bodies, for not one of them escaped. And a terrible stink, and a very sad sight, there was on the following days over that country, for as for the shores, they were full of shipwrecks, and of dead bodies all swelled; and as the dead bodies were inflamed by the sun, and putrid, they corrupted the air; insomuch that he propitiated, and permitted the object of compassion to the Jews, but to those that hated them, and had been the authors of that misery. This was the upshot of the sea-fight.

The number of the slain, including those that were killed in the city before, was six thousand and five hundred.

10. After this fight was over, Vespasian sat upon his tribunal at Tarichæa, in order to distinguish the foreigners from the old inhabitants; for those foreigners appeared to have begun the war. So he deliberated with the other commanders, whether he ought to save those old inhabitants or not. And when those commanders alleged that the dismission of them would be to his own disadvantage, because, when they were once embarked, they could not be brought back, since they would be people destitute of proper habitations, and would be able to compel such as they fled to, to fight against us, Vespasian acknowledged that many of them were weary and tired, and that if they had left them to fly away, they would make use of them against those that gave them that leave. But still he considered with himself, after what manner they should be slain; for if he had them slain there, he suspected the people of the country would thereby become his enemies; for that to be sure they would never bear it, that so many that had been suppliants to him should be killed; and to offer violence to those who had assistance of their lives, he could not himself bear to do it. However, his friends were too hard for him, and persisted that nothing against the Jews could be so impious, and that he ought to practice what was profitable before what was fit to be done, where both could not be consistent. So he gave them an amphibious liberty to do as they were advised, and permitted them to go no other road than that which led to Tiberias only. So they readily believed what they desired to be true, and went along securely, with their effects, which was allowed them, while the Romans seized upon all the roads that led to Tiberias, that none of them might go out of it, and shut them up in the city. Then came Vespasian, and ordered them all to stand in the stadium, and commanded them to kill the old men, together with the others that were useless who were in number a thousand and two hundred. Out of the young men he chose six thousand of the strongest, and sent them to Nero, to dig through the isthmus, and sold the remainder for slaves, being thirty thousand and four hundred, besides as he ordered, all the Jews of Agrippa; for as to those that belonged to his kingdom, he gave him leave to do what he pleased with them: however, the king sold those also for slaves; but for the rest of the multitude, who were Trachonites, and Gaulanites, and those of Hippos, and some of Gadara, the greatest part of them were seditious persons and fugitives, who were aware of such shameful characters, that they preferred war before peace. These prisoners were taken on the eighth day of the month Gorpiaus [Eul.] with the guilty, and gave the people of Gischala a leave to keep the Jewish Sabbath. B. iv. ch. ii. sect. 3, 9 in the midst of their siege. Nor was Vespasian disposed to do what he did, till his officers persuaded him, and that from two principal topics, viz. that nothing could be unjust that was done for the public good; and that when both means must not be consistent, advantage must prevail over justice. Admirable court doctrines these!

BOOK IV.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT ONE YEAR—FROM THE SIEGE OF GAMALA TO THE COMING OF TITUS TO BESIEGE JERUSALEM.

CHAPTER I.

The Siege and Taking of Gamala.

1. Now all those Galileans who, after the taking of Jotapata, had revolted from the Romans, did upon the conquest of Tarichæa deliver themselves up to them again. And the Romans received all the fortresses and the cities, excepting Gischala and those that had been seized upon Mount Tabor: Gamala also, which was a city over against Tarichæa, but on the other side of the lake, conspired with them. This city lay upon the borders of Agrippa's kingdom, as also did Gischala and the parts and the face of the lake both parts of Gaulanitis, for Sogania was a part of that called the upper Gaulanitis, as was Gamala of the lower; while Selaucia was situated at the lake Beroea, the city of the great breadth, and sixty in length; its marbes reach as far as the place Daphne, which in other respects is a pleasant place, and hath such fountains as supply water, and have in it little Jordan, under the temple of the golden calf; where

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* Here we have the exact situation of one of Jericho's gates, viz. at the city of little Jerusalem in Great Jordan, near a place called Daphne, but old Dama. See the note on Ant. B viii. ch. viii. sect. 4. But Rendall says it is sent into Great Jordan. Now Agrippa had united Sogana and Selaucia by leagues to himself, at the very beginning of the revolt from the Romans; yet did not Gamala accede to them, but relied upon the difficulty of the place, which was greater than that of Jotapata, for it was situated upon a rough ridge of a high mountain, with a kind of neck in the middle; where it begins to ascend, it lengthens itself, and descends as much downward before as behind, insomuch that it is like a camel in figure, from whence it is so named, although the people of the country do not pronounce it accurately: both on the side of the rest, and ending in vast deep valley; yet are the parts behind, where they are joined to the mountain, somewhat easier of ascent than the other; but the city at the place have cut an oblique ditch there, and made that hard to be ascended also. On its acclivity, which is strait, houses are built, and those very thick and close to one another, so that one cannot go anywhere without putting the street; and it hangs so strangely, that it looks as if it would post said, that even here we should read Dama instead of Daphe, so there being nother one any mention of a place called Daphne hereabouts.
and fell upon their enemies who had attacked them, and thrust them down to the lower parts, where the height of the earth was. In the ease, nature of a citadel to the city; and above that was a precipice, not walled about, but extending itself to an immense depth. There was also a single watch within the wall, at the utmost limits of the city.

2. As this city was naturally hard to be taken, so had Josephus, by building a wall about it, strengthened it, as also by ditches and mines under ground. The people that were in it were made more bold by the nature of the place, than the people of Jotapata had been, but had much less to defend in it; and they had such a confidence in the situation of the place, that they thought the enemy could not be too many for them: for the city had been filled with the air of safety, on account of its strength; on which account they had been able to resist those whom Agrippa sent to besiege it for seven months together.

3. He arrived from Emmanus, where he had last pitched his camp, and crossed the city Tibérias, (now Emmanus, if it be interpreted, may be rendered a warm bath, for therein is a spring of warm water, useful for healing,) and came to Caesarea Marítima, that he was not able to encompass it all round with soldiers to watch it; but where the places were practicable, he sent men to watch it, and seized upon that mountain which was over it. And as the legion was according to their usual custom, were fortifying their camp upon that mountain, he began to cast up banks at the bottom, at the part towards the east, where the highest tower of the whole city was, and was where the fifteenth legion pitched their camp; while the fifth legion did duty over against the midst of the city, and whilst the tenth legion flanked the ditches and the valleys. Nearer at the same time it was that king Agrippa was come nigh the walls, and was endeavouring to speak to those that were on the walls about a surrender, he was hit with a stone on his right elbow by one of the slingers; he was then immediately surrounded with his own men. But the Romans were excited to set about the siege, by their indignation on the king's account, and by their fear on their own account, as concluding that those men would omit no kind of barbarity against foreigners and enemies, who were so enraged against one of their own; and one that advised them on nothing but what was for their own advantage.

4. Now when the banks were finished, which was done on the sudden, both by the multitude of men by their being accustomed to such work, they brought the machines; but Cæsar and Joseph, who were the most potent men in the city, set their armed men in order, though already at a height, because they did not suppose that the city could hold out long, since they had not a sufficient quantity either of water, or of other necessaries. However, these their leaders encouraged them, and brought them out upon the wall, and for a while indeed they drove away those that were bringing the machines; but when those machines threw darts and stones at them, they retired into the city; then did the Romans begin betimes to throw several stones at them, and made the walls shake (and fall.) They then poured in over the parts of the wall that were thrown down, with a mighty sound of trumpets and noise, and a shout of the soldiers, and broke in by force upon those that were in the city; but these men fell upon the wall in several places, at the first entrance, and prevented their progress; and they were overpowered with the great courage of the soldiers, who beat them on every side, that they were obliged to run into the upper parts of the city. Whereupon the people turned about,
against the Romans, or about themselves, (for
both the man himself and those with him were
left behind in the camp,) and killed all their
thirsts, and escaped, together with
his soldiers, to the Romans.

6 And now Vespasian comforted his army,
with reason, by seeing of them fled out upon
their ill success, and because they had never before
fallen into such a calamity, and besides this,
because they were greatly ashamed that they had
been deserted in the city. As to what concerned himself, he avoided to say any
thing, that he might by no means seem to com-
plain of it; but he said, that "we ought to bear
much more than what is due to us," usual, by this,
by considering what the nature of war is, and
how it can never be that we must conquer with-
out bloodshed on our own side; for there stands
always this fortune which is of its own nature
inevitable, that while they had killed so many ten
thousands of the Jews, they had now paid their
small share of the reckoning so late; and as it is
the part of weak people to be too much.puffed
upon success, so it is the part of soldiers to be
too much saffrighted at that which is ill;
for the change from the one to the other is sud-
den on both sides; and he is the best warrior who
in time made the best use of what was done; that
he may continue in that temper, and cheerfully
recover what had been lost formerly; and as for
what had now happened, it was neither owing to
the Jews, the destruction of the temple, the
Jews, but the difficulty of the place was the oc-
casion of their advantage and of our disappoint-
ment. Upon reflecting on which matter one
might blame your zeal as perfectly unaccountable;
for when the enemy had retired to their
highest fastnesses, you ought to have restrained
yourself, and not, by presenting yourselves at the
place of their success, be exposed to all dangers;
but upon your having obtained the lower parts
of the city, you ought to have provoked those
that had retired thither to a safe and settled bat-
tle; whereas, in rushing so hastily upon victory,
you took no care of your own safety. But this
incautiousness in war, and this madness of zeal,
is not a Roman maxim, while we perform all that
we attempt by skill and good order; that proce-
dure is the part of barbarians, and is what the
Jews chiefly support themselves by. We ought
therefore to return to our own virtue, and to be
reasonable and of good conduct, if we be not un-
lucky misfortune, and let every one seek for
his own consolation from his own hand; for by this
means he will avenge those that have been de-
stroyed by their own conduct, that is, by theirs.
For myself, I will endeavour, as I have now
done, to go first before you against your enemies in
every engagement, and to be the last that re-
tires from that fortune which is of its own nature
inevitable, but the most courageous among them guarded
those parts of the wall that were beaten down,
but the more nor any time, and
put the wall that still remained round the city. And
as the Romans raised their banks, and attempted
to get into the city a second time, a great many
from the bottom of the valleys, where no guards were placed,
as also through subterraneous caverns; while those
that were afraid of being caught, and for that
reason stood in the city, shewed a great deal of
food, for what food they had was brought togeth-
er from all quarters, and reserved for the fight-
ing men.

And these were the hard circumstances that the people of Gamala were in. But now
Vespasian went about another work by the by
during this siege, and that was to subdue those
that had seized upon mount Tabor, a place that
lies in the middle between the great plain and
Scythopolis, whose top is elevated as high as
thirty furlongs, and is hardly to be ascended on
its north side; its top is a plain of twenty-six fur-
longs, and all its south side of sand, which was
Josephus erected this so long a wall in forty
days' time, and furnished it with other materials,
and with water from below, for the inhabitants
of Jerusalem. But this was a great multitude of people gotten together
upon this mountain, Vespasian sent Placidus
with six hundred horsemen thither. Now, as it
was impossible for him to ascend the mountain,
he invited many of them to peace, by the offer
of his right hand for their security, and of his
intercession for them. Accordingly they came
down, but with a trencher design as well as he
had the like trencher design upon them
on the other side; for Placidus spoke mildly to
them, as aiming to take them when he got them to
the foot of the mountain, and not when they were
working with his propositions, but it was in order to fall
upon him when he was not aware of it: how-
ever, Placidus's stratagem was too hard for
thems; for when the Jews began to fight, he
pretended to run away, and when they were in
pursuit of the Romans, he enticed them that
great way along the plain, and then made his horse-
men turn back; whereupon he beat them, and
drew a great number of them, and cut off the
retreat of the rest of the multitude, and hindered
their return. So they left Tabor, and flew to Je-
wasamela, while the massacre, while the massacre,
and Placidus made terms with them, for their water failed them,
and so they delivered up the mountain and them-
selves to Placidus.

9. But of the people of Gamala, those that were
of the bolder sort fled away and hid themselves,
while the more inoffin perished by famine; but
the men of war sustained the siege till the two
and twentieth day of the month Hugarerabate,
when Josephus wrote 3 furlongs for the ascent or altitude,
instead of 20, and 6 furlongs for the circuit and circumference at
the top, instead of 20: since a mountain of only 3 furlongs
perpendicular altitude may easily require near an hour's ascent,
and the circumference of an oval of the foregoing
quantity is near 6 furlongs. Nor do I think
the vast circumferences as 25 furlongs, or 3 1/4 miles, at that
height, be encompassed with a wall, including a
vast area of country, and other fortifications. I must remark,
that in the small interval of 60 days, as Josephus here says they
were by himself.
at other places were under such disturbance, that those within the city also slew many of those that ventured to oppose them, among whom was Joseph, who was slain by a dart, as he was running away over that part of the wall that was broken down; but as those that were in the city were exasperated at the noise, they ran hither and thither, and a great consternation fell upon them, as though all the enemy had fallen in at once upon them. Then it was that Chares, who was ill, and under the physician’s bands, gave up the ghost, the fear he was in greatly contributing to make his distemper fatal to him. But the Romans so well remembered their former ill success, that they did not enter the city till the three and twentieth day of the forementioned month.

10. At what time Titus, who was now returned, out of the indication he had at the destruction the Romans had undergone while he was absent, took two hundred chosen horsemen, and some footmen with them, and entered without noise into the city, were, as they were perceived that he was coming, they made a noise, and bestowed themselves to their arms; and as that his entrance was presently known to those that were in the city, they took by the sides of them caught hold of all their children and their wives, and drew them after them, and fled away to the citadel, with lamentations and cries, while others of them went to make themselves ready, and were killed perpetually; but so many of them as were hindered from running up to the citadel, not knowing what in the world to do, fell among the Roman guards, while the greater part of them were slain. The people were pro- digiously great every where, and the blood ran down all the lower parts of the city from the upper. But then Vespasian himself came to his soldiers and called those that had fled to the citadel, and brought his whole army with him: now this upper part of the city was every way rocky, and difficult of ascent, and elevated to a vast altitude, and very full of people on all sides, and encompassed with precipices, whereby the Jews cut off those that came up to them, and did much mischief to the others by their darts, and the large stones which they rolled down upon them, as they were so high that the enemies’ darts could hardly reach them. However, there arose such a divine storm against them as was instrumental to their destruction; this storm, in the course of it, made the sky so dark and deep that it was not to be seen in it, and drew them obliquely away from them: nor could the Jews indeed stand upon the precipices, by reason of the waste of the wind, and of the blindness of the sight; and that was stable upon upon could nor could not see those that were ascending up to them; so the Romans got up and surrounded them, and some they slew before they could defend themselves, and others as they were delivering up themselves; and the remembrance of those that were slain at their former entrance into the city increased their rage against them more great number also of those that were surrounded on every side, and despaired of escaping, threw their children and their wives, and themselves also into the sea. Accordingly, in which, near the citadel, had been dug hollow to a vast depth, but so it happened that the anger of the Romans appeared not to be so extravagant as was the madness of those that were now taken, while the Romans slew but few thousand. whereas the number of those that had thrown themselves down was found to be five thousand, and not any man except their women, who were the daughters of Philip, and Philip himself was the son of a certain eminent man called Jason, who had been general of his country, and had therefore escaped, because they lay concealed from the rage of the Romans, when the city was taken; for otherwise they spared not so much as the horses.

Chap. II.
The Surrender of Gischala; when John first went to Jerusalem.

§ 1. Now no place of Galilee remained to be taken but the small city of Gischala, whose walls Titus yet were desirous of peace; for they were generally husbandmen, and always applied themselves to cultivate the fruits of the earth. However, there were a great number that belonged to a band of robbers, that were already corrupt, and had crept in among them, and one of the governing part of the citizens were sick of the same distemper. It was John, the son of a certain man whose name was Levi, that drew them into this rebellion, and encouraged them in it. He was a cunning knave, and of a temper that could put on various shapes, very rash in entering upon some things, and then very grave in bringing about what he hoped for. It was known to every body that he was fond of war, in order to thrust himself into authority; and the sedition among the people was wholly under his management, by whose means the populace, who seemed ready to send ambassadors in order to surrender, waited for the coming of the Legions; and when Titus, with a thousand horsemen, withdrew the tenth legion to Scythopolis, while he returned to Cesarea with the two other legions, that was a sign of the plenty which they felt in their neat against Titus, with a thousand horsemen, withdrew the tenth legion to Scythopolis, while he returned to Cesarea with the two other legions, that was a sign of the plenty which they felt in their

2. Now Titus, as he rode up to Gischala, found it would be easy for him to take the city upon the first onset; but knew withal, that if he took it by force, the multitude would be destroyed by the soldiers without mercy. (Now he was already satiated with the shedding of blood, and proved the major part, who would then perish without distinction, together with the guilty.)—So he was rather desirous the city might be surrendered to them, than to take it by force. Accordingly, he wall full of those men that were of the corrupted party, he said to them, that “he could not but wonder what it was they depended on, when they alone said to fight the Romans; and that every other city was taken by them, especially when they have seen cities much better fortified than theirs is, overthrown by a single assault; while as for himself, he was only in the exercise of recovering their liberty, they might be pleased; but that their continuance still in their opposition
BOOK IV.—CHAP. III.

when they saw that that to be impossible, was inexcusable; for that, if they will not comply with such humano offers, and right hands for security, they should spare nobody, and should soon be made sensible that the wall would be but a trifle, when battered by the Roman machines; in depending only on their democracy to be able to save themselves, and to only Galileans that were no better than arrogant slaves and captives.”

3. Now some of the populace durst not only murder, but to be beyond the wall, for it was all taken up by the robbers, who were also the guard at the gates, in order to prevent any of the rest from going out in order to procure means of subsistence, and from receiving any of the horsemen into the city. But John returned Titus this answer, that “for himself he was contemn to hearken to his propo-sitions; for he was afraid lest he should be those that refused them.” Yet he said, that Titus ought to have such regard to the Jewish law, as to grant them leave to celebrate that day which was the seventh day of their fast, and that it was unlawful not only to remove their arms, but even to treat of peace also; and that even the Romans were ignorant how the period of the seventh day was among them a day of cessation from work; those who were adopted to transgress the law about that day, would be equally guilty with those that were compelled to transgress it; and that this delay could be of no advantage to him; for why should any body think of anything in the night, unless it was to fly away? which he might prevent by placing his camp round about them; and that they should think it a great point gained, if they might not be obliged to transgress the laws of their country; and that it would be a right thing for him, who designed to grant them peace, without their exceeding in anything that had been enacted by the laws of those they saved inviolable.” Thus did this man put a trick upon Titus, not so much out of regard to the seventh day, as to his own preservation; for he was afraid lest he should be quite deserted, if the city should be taken, and had his hopes of life in that night, and in his flight therein. Now this was the work of God, who, therefore, preserved this John, lest he should bring on the destruction of Jerusalem; as also it was his work that Titus prevailed with by this pretense for a delay, and that he pitched his camp in such a place that there might be a watch on it a proper place for such as were enemies to the Jewish nation.

5. Now in the night time, when John saw that there was not Roman guard a horrible city, he seized the opportunity directly, and, taking with him not only the armed men that were about him, but a considerable number of those that had little to do, together with his family, and fled to Jerusalem. And indeed, though the man was making haste to get away, and was tormented with fears of being a captive, or of losing his life, yet did he prevail with himself to take out of the city with him a multitude of women and children, as fast as twenty furlongs; but there he left them, as he proceeded farther on his journey, where those that were left behind made an uproar, for they, having been deserted by all of them that were come from his own people, the nearer they thought themselves to be to their enemies. They also affrighted themselves with this thought, that they were at hand, for they were just at hand, and still turned themselves back at the mere noise they made themselves in this hasty flight, as if those from whom they fled were just upon them. Many also of them missed their ways, and the earnestness of such as aimed to outgo the rest, threw down many of them.

And indeed there was a miserable destruction of men made within the walls of the city; and when they took courage to call their husbands and kinmen back, and to beseech them, with the bitterest lamentations, to stay for them; but John’s exhortation that they had not ought to save themselves, and fly away, prevailed. He said also, that if the Romans should seize upon those whom they left behind they would be rearranged on the spot; and that the crowd, for it ran thus away was dispersed abroad, according as each of them was able to run, one faster or slower than another.

5. Now on the morrow Titus came to the walls, to make the agreement, whereupon the people opened their gates to him, and came out to him, with their children and wives, and made solemnations of joy to him, as to one that had been their benefactor, and had delivered the city out of custody; they also informed him of John’s flight, and besought him to spare them, and to come in, and bring the rest of such as were in prison, to punishment. But Titus, not so much regarding the supplications of the people, sent part of his horsemen to pursue John, but they could not overtake him, for he had got away to Jerusalem before they came. There he delivered the women and children who went out with him; but returned back and brought with them almost three thousand. However, Titus was greatly displeased that he had not been able to bring this John, who had defied him, to punishment; yet he had captives enough, as well as the corrupted part of the city, to satisfy his anger, when it missed of John. So he entered the city in the midst of acclamations of joy; and when he had given orders to the soldiers to pull down a small part of the wall, as of a city taken in war, he represented that he had not been able to fill the city, rather by threatenings than by executions; for he thought that many would accuse innocent persons, out of their animosities and quarrels, if he should attempt to distinguish those that were worthy of punishment from the rest; and that it was better to let a guilty person alone in his fears, than to destroy with him any one that did not deserve it, for that probably such a one might be taught prudence, by the fear of the punishment he had deserved, and have a shame upon him for his former offenses, when he had been forgiven; but that the power of God, that had once put to death could never be retrieved. However, he placed a garrison in the city for its security, by which means he should restrain those who should aim to get into it, and made it a proper place for such as were enemies to the Jewish nation.

Concerning John of Gischala. Concerning the Zealots, and the High Priest Ananias; as also how the Jews raised seditions one against another [in Jerusalem].

§ 1. Now upon John’s entry into Jerusalem the whole body of the people were in an uproar; and ten thousand of them crowded about every one of the fugitives that were come to them, and inquired of them what miseries had happened to them, when their breach was so short, and hot and quick, that of itself it declared the great distress they were in; yet did they talk big under their misfortunes, and pretended to say, that they had not fled away from the Romans but came thither in order to fight them with less hazard; for that it would be an unreasonable and a baseless thing for them to expose themselves to desperate hazards about Gischala, and such weak
3. Now the Roman garrisons, which guarded the cities, partly out of their unhesitance to take such trouble upon them, and partly out of the hatred they bare to the Jewish nation, did little or nothing towards relieving the miserable, till the business of these troops of robbers, being satiated with rapiers in the country, got all together from all parts, and became a band of wickedness, and all together crept into Jerusalem, which was now become a city without a governor, and, as the ancient custom was, received into the city without any resistance, and without any discovery; and these they then received, because all men supposed that those who came so fast into the city, came out of kindness, and for their assistance; and the seditions raised, were otherwise the direct cause of the city's destruction also; for as they were an unprofitable and a useless multitude, they sometimes in their tumults, might otherwise have been sufficient for the fighting men. Moreover, besides the bringing on the war, they were the occasions of sacrilegious and Fanatical treatises.

4. There were besides these, other robbers that came out of the country, and came into the city, and joining to them those that were worse than those, they were of a worse sort. Jerusalem, which was, we said, a city without a governor, and the city of the stones, and the city of the walls; Jerusalem, which was now become a city without a governor, and, as the ancient custom was, received into the city without any resistance, and without any discovery; and these they then received, because all men supposed that those who came so fast into the city, came out of kindness, and for their assistance; and the seditions raised, were otherwise the direct cause of the city's destruction also; for as they were an unprofitable and a useless multitude, they sometimes in their tumults, might otherwise have been sufficient for the fighting men. Moreover, besides the bringing on the war, they were the occasions of sacrilegious and Fanatical treatises.

5. But these were not satisfied with the bands into which they put the many forsaken; nor did they think it safe for them to keep them thus in custody long, since they were made very powerful, and had numerous families of their own that were able to avenge them. Nay, as they thought the very people would perhaps be so moved at these unjust proceedings, as to rise in a body against them: it was therefore resolved presently to send one John, who was the most bloody-minded of them all, to do that execution: this man was also called the son of Doria, in the language of our country, the son of Doreas, a robber, whom the Romans had had conferences with in Jerusalem for a surrender of Jerusalem to them; and so they said they had slain only such as were traitors to their common liberty. Upon the whole, they grew the more insolent upon this bold prank of theirs, as though they had been the benefactors and saviours of the city.

6. Now the people were come to that degree of meanness and fear, and these robbers to that degree of madness, that these last took upon them to appoint high priests. So when they had disannulled the succession, according to those families out of which the high priests used to be made, they ordained certain unknown and igno-
taking; and were not rather zealous in the worst actions, and extravagant in them beyond the example of others. They were not content to set the principal men at variance one with another, by several sorts of contrivances and tricks, and gained the opportunity of doing what they pleased, by their pretended piety. The magistrates have obstructed their measures; till at length, when they were satisfied with the unjust actions they had done towards men, they transferred their hands against the sanctuary. The temple stood in the midst of all, and came into the sanctuary with polluted feet.

And now the multitude were going to rise against them already; for Ananus, the ancicntest of the high priests, persuaded them to it. He was a very prudent man, and had perhaps saved the city, if he could have escaped the bands of those that plotted against him. Those men made the temple of God a strong hold for them, and a place whither they might resort, in order to avoid the troubles they feared from the people; the sanctuary was now become a refuge, and a shop of tyranny. They also mixed jesting among the people, and so the people began to stick, and then the men of old were determined by lot; whereas, as we have said already, it was to descend by succession in a family. The presence they made for this strange attempt was an open affront upon the sanctuary, and upon God himself; and that thing was not determined by lot, but in truth, it was no better than a dissolution of an undeniable law, and a gaining contrivance to seize upon the government, and thereby to appoint governors as they themselves pleased.

Hereupon they sent for one of the pontifical tribes, which is called Euniachim, and cast lots for the sacred garments, and, as it were by lot, drew the lot as if it were a matter of no moment; when the lot was pulled, but very few, and by your silence made them know they were not to be many, and that they must not take arms, in effect armed them against yourselves? You ought to have then prevented their first attempts, when they fell a reproaching your relations; but by neglecting that care in time, you have encouraged these wretches to plunder men. When houses were pillaged, nobody said a word, which was the occasion why they carried off the owners of those houses, and when they were drawn through the midst of the city, nobody came to their assistance. They then proceeded to put those whom they have betrayed into your houses, and to effect their designs; but as little, and of what characters those men were whom they thus served, but certainly they were such as were accused by none, and condemned by few; and since they have been made magistrates, and they were put in bonds, the consequence was that you saw the same persons slain. We have seen this also; so that still the best of the herd of brute animals, as it were, have still led to be sacrificed, when yet nobody said one word, or moved his right hand for their preservation. Will you bear, therefore, will you bear to see your sanctuary trampled on? and will you lay steps for these profane wriths, upon which they may mount to higher degrees of insolence? Will you not pluck them down from their exaltation? for even by this time they had proceeded to higher enormities, if they had been able to overthrow any thing greater than the sanctuary. They have seized upon the strongest place of the whole city: you may call it the temple, if you please, though it be like a citadel or fortress. Now, while you have tyranny in so
been occasioned by your negligence, so that they are not more greater is it to take counsel? and what have you to support your senses with? Perhaps you wait for the Romans, that they may protect our holy places: answer, that is brought to that place, and we are come to that degree of misery, that our enemies themselves are expected to pity us! O wretched creatures! will not you rise up, and turn upon those that hate you, and set your foot in their path, and you may be able to withstand their commands to the contrary. And what occasion is there now for a war with the Romans? (I neither write with determining words, nor do I make a prophecy.) But if you choose to make your appeal to them, (not yours or not,) what preference they have for it? Is it not that we may enjoy our liberty? Besides, shall we not bear the lords of the habitable earth, the lord to whom we have been subject, and yet bear their yokes of our own country! Although I must say that submission to foreigners may be borne, because fortune had already doomed us to it, while submission to wicked people of our own nation is too unspeakable, and brought upon us by our own consent. However, since I have had occasion to mention the Romans, I will not conceal a thing, that, as I am speaking, comes into my mind, and affects every considerate man, and this: that though we should be taken by them, (God forbid the event should be so,) yet we can endure nothing that will be harder to be borne than what these men have already brought upon us. How then can we avoid shedding of tears, when we see the Roman dominions in our temple, while we withal see those of our own nation taking our spoils, and pining under their yokes and their servitude? And what men, from which enormities these Romans themselves would have abstained? To see those Romans never going beyond the bounds allotted to them, but making vicissitudes, to break in upon our sacred customs, may, having a horror on their minds when they view at a distance those sacred walls; while some that have been born in this very temple, and brought up in our customs, and called Jews, do walk about in the midst of the holy places, at the very time when their hands are still warm with the slaughter of their own countrymen. Besides, can any be afraid of a war abroad, and that with such as will have comparatively much greater moderation than our own people have? For truly, if we may suit our words in this thing, the present representation, it is probable one may hereafter find the Romans to be the supporters of our laws, and those within ourselves the saboteurs of them. And now I am persuaded that every one of you here comes satisfied, before I speak, that these overthrowers of our liberties deserve to be destroyed, and that nobody can so much as devise a punishment that they have not escaped from you. For they have done, and they are all provoked against them by those their indebted actions, whence you have suffered so greatly. But perhaps many of you are affrighted at the thought of this bloodshed, and at their sadness, as well as at the advantage they have over us in their being bigger in place than us: are for these circumstances, as they have been occasioned by your negligence, so that they are not
selves: but the populace grew very angry, and became more and more numerous, and re-proached those that gave back, and those behind were encouraged with the shouts of the multitude, and forced them on again, till at length they made their whole body to turn against their adversaries, and the robbers could no longer oppo-site, but both he and the temple should be cast into the temple, for Ananus\* and his party fell into it at the same time together with them. This horribly affrighted the robbers, because it deprived them of the first court; so they fled into the inner court immediately, and shut the gates. Now Ananus did not think fit to make any attack against the holy gates, although the other then stood there, but, with the aid of those that then took them on the government, upon their hiring of some of the poorer sort, and sending there to keep the guard in their stead.

On the other side, namely, at Gibeah, that was the occasion of all these being destroyed. He was a man of great craft, and bore about him in his soul a strong passion for a discretion, and for ad- vising in these actions; and indeed at this time he pretended to be of the people's opinion, and went all about with Ananus, when he consulted the great council, and in the senate, as when he went round the watch; but he divulged their secrets to the zealots, and every thing that the people deliberated about was by this means known to them, and he it was that had so much reason to suspect of that discovery as this John; yet was it not easy to get quit of him, so potent was he grown by his wicked practices. He was very much supported by many of the Gentile men, who were to be consulted upon all considerable affairs; it was therefore thought reasonable to oblige him to give them assurance of his good-will only, and by doing those things that he thought on, he should manage the temple, and that both by his hand and his advice. So Ananus and his party believed his oath, and did now receive him to their consultations without faith, and did more, both pretending to him, that they sent him as their ambassador into the temple, to the zealots, with proposals of accommodation; for they were very desirous to avoid the multitude, as much as they possibly could, and that no one of their nation should be slain therein.

14. But now this John, as his oath had been made to the zealots, and for confirmation of his good-will to them, and not against them, went into the temple, and stood in the midst of them, and spoke as the high priest, and in the name of the multitude by the multitude, did not, however, scruple the pro- vision of the court of the Gentiles, as in our Saviour's time it was very much profaned by the Jews, and made a

\* It is worth noting here, that this Ananus, the best of the Jews of this time, and the high priest, who was so ready to throw down the temple, as well as to defend it in a manner contrary to the laws of the country, this Ananus, did not, however, scruple the pro-

CHAP. IV.

The idumeans, being sent for by the zealots, came immediately to Jerusalem; and when they were excluded out of the City, they lay all Night there. Jesus, one of the High Friends, makes a Speech to them; and Simon, the idumean, makes a Reply to it.

§ 1. Now by this crafty speech John made the zealots afraid; yet he durst not directly name what foreign assistance he meant, but in a covert way only intimated at the idumeans. Bat now that he might particularly irritate the leaders of the zealots, he came near to the word: that he was about a piece of barbarity, and did in a special manner threaten them. These leaders were Eleazar, the son of Simon, who seemed the most plausible man of them all, both in consideration of what was to be done, and in the execution of what he had determined upon, and Zacharias, the son of Phake, both of them derived their families from the priests. Now when these two men had heard not only the common threatenings which belonged to them all, but those peculiar levied against themselves, and, besides, how Ananus and his party, in order to secure their own dominion, had invited the Romans to come to them, for that also was part of John's lie, they hesitated a great while what they should
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do, consider the distance of the time by which they were straitened; because the people were prepared to attack them very soon, and because the suddenness of the plot laid against them had almost cut off all their hopes of getting any relief from another quarter, for they might be under the height of their affections before any of their confederates could be informed of it. However, it was resolved to call in the Idumæans; so they wrote letters to that effect; but the Idumæans had imposed on the people, and was betraying their metropolis to the Romans; that they themselves had revolted from the rest, and were in earnest for the preservation of their liberty; that there was but a small time left wherein they might hope for their deliverance; and that unless they would come over to the assistance, they should themselves be soon in the power of Ananus, and the city would be in the power of the Romans. They also charged the messengers to tell many causes were come to pass, which of the Idumæans. Now there were two active men proposed for the carrying this message, and such as were well able to speak, and to persuade them that these things were in this posture; and, what was a great miracle, all men approved that the Romans were the former, they were very swift of foot; for they knew well enough that these would immediately comply with their desires, as being ever a tumultuous and factious people, especially in matters of motion, upon every motion, delighting in mutations; and upon your flattering them ever so little, and petitioning them, they soon take their arms, and put themselves into motion, and make haste to a battle, as if it were to a feast. There was, indeed, occasion for quick dispatch in the carrying of this message, in which point the messengers were no way defective. Both their names were Ananus; and they soon came to the rulers of the Idumæans.

2. Now these rulers were greatly surprised at the contents of the letter, and at what those that came with it further told them; whereupon they ran about the nation like madmen, and made proclamation that the people should come to war; so a multitude was suddenly got together, sooner indeed than the time appointed in the proclamation, and every body caught up their arms, in order to maintain the liberty of their metropolis, and which of the Idumæans they were put into battle array, and came to Jerusalem, under four commanders, John and Jacob, the sons of Sosas; and besides these were Simon the son of Cathias, and Aristobulus, who stood for the Idumæans, and was thereby become proud and insolent, and endeavoured to please them at the time when they were in the city, as if it would bring such good fortune to them as were worse than death. As for myself indeed, I should have preferred peace with them before death; but now we have once made our enemies their revenge, we are not able to come out of the temple under them. But farther, whether do they pretend that we, who are the rulers of the people, have set up thus privately to the Romans, or hath it been done by the common suffrages of the people? If it be ourselves only that have done it, let them name those friends of ours that have been sent as our servants, to manage this treachery. Have any one been caught as he went out on this errand, or seized upon as he came back? Are they in possession of our letters? How could he be concealed from such a vast number of our fellow citizens, among whom we are conversant every hour, while what is done privately in the country, is, it seems, known by the zealots, who are the more zealous against us, and are not able to come out of the temple into the city. Is this the first time that they have become sensible how they ought to be punished for their liberty, that they do so much consent this massacre of men together as the alliance there is between their manners. But now for these men who have invited you, if you were to examine them one by one, every one of them would be found to possess at least ten thousand souls; for the very rascality and offensiveness of the whole country, who have spent in debauchery their own substance, and, by way of trial beforehand, have sent their envoys to Rome; and the cities, in the upshot of all have privately run together into this holy city. They are robbers, who by their prodigies wickedness have troubled the metropolis; and, from this effect, that "this house be now seen drinking themselves drunk in the sanctuary, and expending the spoil of these whom they have slaughtered upon their unsuitable and foreign purposes, out of the preservation of their liberty; that there was but a small time left wherein they might hope for their deliverance; and that unless they would come over to the assistance, they should themselves be soon in the power of Ananus, and the city would be in the power of the Romans."

3. Now this exit of the messengers was not known either to Ananus, or to the guards, but the approach of the Idumæans was known to him; for as he knew of it before they came, he ordered the gates to be shut against them, and that the walls should be guarded. Yet did not he by any means think of fighting against them, but, before they came to town, to try what persuasions would do. Accordingly, Jesus, the eldest of the high priests next to Ananus, stood upon the tower that was ever against them, and said thus, all these troubles indeed, and those of various kinds, have fallen upon this city, yet in none of them have I so much wondered at her fortune as now, when you are come to assist wicked men, and this after a manner very extraordinary; for I see that you are come to support the vilest men against us, and this with so great a nicety, as you could hardly put on the like, in case our metropolis was reduced against our barbarians. And if I had perceived that your army was composed of men like unto those who advised them, I had not deemed your attempt so easily to be resisted against our citizens, among whom we are conversant every hour, while what is done privately in the country, is, it seems, known by the zealots, who are the more zealous against us, and are not able to come out of the temple into the city. Is this the first time that they have become sensible how they ought to be punished for their liberty, that they do so much consent this massacre of men together as the alliance there is between their manners. But now for these men who have invited you, if you were to examine them one by one, every one of them would be found to possess at least ten thousand souls; for the very rascality and offensiveness of the whole country, who have spent in debauchery their own substance, and, by way of trial beforehand, have sent their envoys to Rome; and the cities, in the upshot of all have privately run together into this holy city. They are robbers, who by their prodigies wickedness have troubled the metropolis; and, from this effect, that "this house be now seen drinking themselves drunk in the sanctuary, and expending the spoil of these whom they have slaughtered upon their unsuitable and foreign purposes, out of the preservation of their liberty; that there was but a small time left wherein they might hope for their deliverance; and that unless they would come over to the assistance, they should themselves be soon in the power of Ananus, and the city would be in the power of the Romans." They also charged the messengers to tell many
have at these cases, nor judge between us, the third thing I have to propose is this, that you let us both alone, and neither insult upon our enemies, nor abide with these plotters against their metropolises: for though you should have won over so great a multitude of them, and have discovered with the Romans, it is in your power to watch the passages into the city; and in case any thing that we have been accused of is brought to light, then I for one, and therefore choice your metropolises, and to inflict punishment on those that are found guilty; for the enemy cannot prevent you who are so near to the city. But if, after all, none of these proposals are accepted, and you are moderate, do not you wonder that the gates are shut against you, while you bear your arms about you?

4. Thus spake Jesus, yet did not the multitude of the Idumæan multitude pay attention to what was said, but were in a rage, because they did not meet with a ready entrance into the city. The generals also had indignation at the offer of laying down their arms; but having shut the gates, and guarding them, they have not been afraid to go further out, to the Idumæans from their own towers, and enjoin them to throw down their arms, which they have taken up for the preservation of its liberty.

And while they will not intrust the guard of our metropolises to their kindred, profess to make open judges of the differences that are among them; and, perhaps, are disposed to crown the gates with garlands at the appearing, while they are still open to the Idumæans from their own towers, and enjoin them to throw down their arms, which they have taken up for the preservation of its liberty.

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most dangerous parts of this town. But if
these men have been more merciful than the pub-
ic necessity required, we that are Idumæans will
preserve this house of God, and will fight for our
conservation in the ensuing general war as we do
those that attack them from abroad, as those
that betray them from within. Here will we
stand before the walls in our armour, until either
the Romans grow weary in waiting for you, or you
receive friends in liberty, and repent of what
you have done against it.”
5. And now did the Idumæans make an accla-
imation to what Simon had said, but Jesus went
with his disciples, and seeing that the Idumæans
were against all moderate counsels, and that the
city was besiegéd on both sides. Nor indeed
were the minds of the Idumæans at rest, for they
were in a rage at the injury that had been offered
them by their exclusion out of the city; and
when they thought the zeolots had been strong,
but saw nothing of theirs to support them, they
were in doubt about the matter, and many of
them repented that they had come thither. But
the shame that would attend them in case they
returned without doing anything at all, so far
outweighed all the regret that they had to stay
a single night before the wall, though in a very bad
encampment; for there broke out a prodigious
storm in the night, with the utmost violence, and
very long continued, with the largest showers of
rain, with continual lightnings, terrible thunder-
sounds, and amazing concussions and bellowings
of the earth, that was in an earthquake. These
things were a most distressing indication that some
destruction was coming upon men, when the sys-
tem of the world was put into this disorder, and
any one would guess that these wonders fore-
shadowed the judgments that they were coming.
6. Now the opinion of the Idumæans and of
the citizens was one and the same. The Idumæans
thought that God was angry at their taking arms,
and that therefore they would not escape punish-
ment for their making war upon their metropolis. Ananus
and his party thought that they had cornered
without fighting, and that God acted as a gen-
eral for them; but truly they proved both ill con-
jecturists at what was to come, and made those
events to be ominous to their enemies, while they
were themselves to undergo the ill effects of them.
The Idumæans foresaw one another by uniting
their bodies into one band, and thereby kept
themselves warm, and connecting their
shields over their heads, were not so much hurt by
the storm. But the zealots were more deeply
concerned for the danger these men were in than
they were for themselves, and got together, and
looked about them to see whether they could de-
ceive the Idumæans of their assistance. The better
sort of them thought it best to force their guards
with their arms, and after that to fall into the
midst of the city, and publicly open the gates to
those that came to their assistance; as supposing
the guards would be in disorder, and give way
at such an unexpected attempt of theirs, espe-
cially as the greater part of them were unarm-
med and skilful in the affairs of war; and that
besides, the multitude of the citizens would not
be easily gathered together, but confined to their
houses by the storm; and that if there were any
hazard in their undertaking, it became them to
suffer any thing whatsoever themselves, rather
than to overlook so great a multitude as were
miserably perishing on their account. But the
more fond sort of them disapproved of this
foolish method, because they saw not only the
guards about them very numerous, but the walls
of the city itself carefully watched, by reason of
the Idumæans. They also supposed that Ananus
should not be every where and visit the guards every
hour; which indeed was done upon other nights,
but was omitted that night, not by reason of any
aforesaid unkindness of Ananus, but by the overbearing
appointment of fate that so both he might him-
self perish, and the multitude of the guards
might perish with him; for truly as the night was in-
gone, and the storm was very terrible, Ananus
gave the guards in the clusters leave to go to
bed; and while it came into the heads of those men
to make off, the Idumæans made a great havoc of
their horses and the gates to pieces. The
noise of the wind, and that not inferior sound of
the thunder, did here also conspire with these de-
signs; for the noise of the saws was most heard
by the others.
7. So they secretly went out of the temple to
the wall of the city, and made use of their saws.
Some of them were in the temple, and some
outside the city, and some in the extreme points
of the Idumæans. Now at first there came a fear upon
the Idumæans themselves, which disturbed them,
as imagining that Ananus and his party were
coming to attack them, so that every one of them
had his right hand upon his sword, in order to
defend himself; but they soon came to know who
they were that came to them, and were entered
into the city. And had the Idumæans them fallen
upon the city, nothing could have hindered them from
destroying the people every man of them, such
was the rage they were in at that time; but they
looked on them as persons that were in servitude,
custody, which those that brought them in our
nearly desired them to do, and not to overtake
those for whose sakes they were come, in the
midst of such a tempest of rain and wind, as was
a still greater danger; for that when they had
once seized upon the guards, it would be easy
for them to fall upon the city: but that if the city
were once alarmed, they would not have been
able to overcome those guards, because so soon
as they should perceive they were there, they
would put themselves in order to fight them, and
would hinder their ground calk into the temple.

CHAP. V.
The Cruelty of the Idumæans, when they were got-
ten into the Temple, during the Storm: and of
the Zealots. Concerning the Slaughter of An-
anus, and Jesus, and Zacharias. And how the
Idumæans retired Home.
§ 1. Thus advice pleased the Idumæans and
they ascended through the city to the temple.
The zealots were also in great expectations of
their coming, and earnestly waited for them.
When they came boldly out of the inner temple, and
mixing themselves with the Idumæans, they attacked
the guards; and some of those that were upon the
men of the temple were yeomans, and were
sable; but as those that were now awak-
ened made a cry, the whole multitude arose, and
in the amazement they were in, caught hold of
their own swords, and retired to their own defence;
and so long as they thought they were only the zealots who attacked them,
they went on boldly, as hoping to overpower them
by their numbers; but when they saw others
pressing in upon them also, they perceived the
Idumæans were got in; and the greatest part of
them laid aside their arms, together with their
courage and their assistance to the Idumæans.
But some few of the younger sort covered them-
scselves with their armour, and valiantly received
the Idumæans, and for a while protected the mul-
titude of old age; but, indeed, gave no sup-
port to those that were in the city of the calami-
ties they were in; but when these were also
made sensible that the Idumæans were come in,
one of them exclaiming, When the Idumæans
were become here, they returned the terrible echo of
wailing, and lamented their misfortunes. A great howling
of the women was excited also, and every one of
the guards were in much terror; the zealots also joined in the shouts raised by the
Idumæans; and the storm itself rendered the cry
more terrible; nor did the Idumæans spare any
body, for as they are naturally a most barbarous
and bloody nation, and had been distressed by
the temple, they made use of their weapons against those that had shut the gates against them; and, after the manner of those that supplicated for their lives, and to those that sought them, inasmuch that they ran through those with their swords who desired them to remiss. But these, being armed, and having a way to defend themselves, and begged of them to leave regard to their common temple. Now there was at present neither any place for flight, nor any hope of preservation; but as they were driven one upon another in heaps, so were they slain. Thus the greatest part were driven together by force, as there was now no place of retirement, and the murderers went among them, and having use of swords, threw themselves down headlong into the city; whereby, in my opinion, they underwent a more miserable destruction than that which they avoided, because that was a war, and a ruin of the outer temple was all of it overflown with blood; and that day, as it came on, saw eight thousand five hundred dead bodies there.

2. But the rage of the Jews was not satiated by these slaughters; but they now took themselves to the city, and plundered every house, and slew every one they met; and for the other part, they were in a manner go to great lengths in killing them; but they sought for the high priests, and the generality went with the greatest zeal against them; and as soon as they caught sight of them, and they used their bodies, as they went along, they cast away their dead bodies without burial, although the Jews used to take so much care of the burial of men, that they took down those who were dead, and burned them, and buried them before the going down of the sun. I should not mistake if I said, that the death of Ananias was the beginning of the destruction of the city, and that from this very day may be dated the overthrow of Jerusalem, and ruin of her affairs, whereas they saw their high priest, and the procurer of their preservation, slain in the midst of their city. He was on other accounts also, in the grasping hand of the Jews; and besides the grandeur of that nobility, and dignity, and honour, of which he was possessed, he had been a lover of a kind of party, even with regard to that, especially, a lover of the people, and high freemason; a lover of liberty, and an admirer of a democracy in government, and did ever prefer the public welfare before his own advantage, and preferred patriotism to his own private profit; so that, it was not possible that the Romans were not to be conquered. He also foresaw that of necessity a war would follow, and that unless the Jews made up matters with that people, they would be destroyed: to say all in a word, if Ananias had survived, they would certainly compounded matters; for he was a sworn man in speaking and persecuting the people, and had already gotten the mastery of those that opposed his designs, or were for the war. And the Jews had then put abundance of delays in the way of the Romans, if they had had such a general as he was. Jesus

He was also joined with him, and although he was inferior to him upon the comparison, he was superior to the rest; and this was because it was because God had doomed the city to destruction, as a polluted city, and was resolved to purge his sanctuary by fire, that he cut off the lives of so many of their great and respected men; while those that a little before had worn the sacred garments, and had presided over the public worship, and had been esteemed venerable by those that dwell on the whole habitable earth when they came into our city, were cast out naked, and seem to be the food of dogs and wild beasts. And I cannot but imagine that virtue and the great and rich men that were there, and that she was here so terribly conquered by wickedness. And this at last was the end of Ananias and Jesus.

3. Now, after these were slain, the zealots and the multitude of the Idumeans fell upon the people as upon a flock of profane animals, and cut their throats; and for the ordinary sort, they were destroyed in the same manner as these, and cast their bodies into the temple, and on the surrounding of their bodies, in way of jest, upbraided Ananias with his kindness to the people, and Jesus with his speech made to them from the wall. His death was thus openly declared, so as to cast away their dead bodies without burial, although the Jews used to take so much care of the burial of men, that they took down those who were dead, and burned them, and buried them before the going down of the sun. I should not mistake if I said, that the death of Ananias was the beginning of the destruction of the city, and that from this very day may be dated the overthrow of Jerusalem, and ruin of her affairs, whereas they saw their high priest, and the procurer of their preservation, slain in the midst of their city. He was on other accounts also, in the grasping hand of the Jews; and besides the grandeur of that nobility, and dignity, and honour, of which he was possessed, he had been a lover of a kind of party, even with regard to that, especially, a lover of the people, and high freemason; a lover of liberty, and an admirer of a democracy in government, and did ever prefer the public welfare before his own advantage, and preferred patriotism to his own private profit; so that, it was not possible that the Romans were not to be conquered. He also foresaw that of necessity a war would follow, and that unless the Jews made up matters with that people, they would be destroyed: to say all in a word, if Ananias had survived, they would certainly compounded matters; for he was a sworn man in speaking and persecuting the people, and had already gotten the mastery of those that opposed his designs, or were for the war. And the Jews had then put abundance of delays in the way of the Romans, if they had had such a general as he was. Jesus

*Kodich Ἰορδανία, or, by Acquaviva, as the author o the Hebrews call the sanctuary, Ἰως εὐνομον, a venerable sanctuary.*

† Some commentators are ready to suppose, that this Zecharias the son of Baruch, born most unjustly slain by Jews, was the same Zecharias the son of Barachia, whom our Saviour says was Jesus Christ between the temple and the altar, Mat. x. 16, i. 1. He, therefore, was the same that was crucified. But since this Zechariah the prophet was really the son of Barachia and zealous of the law, Zech. i. 1, and here we die, we have a question, whether this was not the same as in Zech. iv. 8. In this Zecharias was the son of Baruch: since the slaughter as past when our Saviour spake those words, the Jews of them already slay him; whereas the slaughter of Baruch was also joined with him, and although he was inferior to him upon the comparison, he was superior to the rest; and this was because it was because God had doomed the city to destruction, as a polluted city, and was resolved to purge his sanctuary by fire, that he cut off the lives of so many of their great and respected men; while those that a little before had worn the sacred garments, and had presided over the public worship, and had been esteemed venerable by those that dwell on the whole habitable earth when they came into our city, were cast out naked, and seem to be the food of dogs and wild beasts. And I cannot but imagine that virtue and the great and rich men that were there, and that she was here so terribly conquered by wickedness. And this at last was the end of Ananias and Jesus.

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Zecharias the son of Baruch, in Josephus, was then about thirty-four years future; and since that slaughter was between the temple and the altar, in the court of the priests, one of the most sacred and remote parts of the whole temple, while this was, in Josephus's own time, the middle of the temple, it is as most probably in the court of Israel only (for we have had no intimation that the zealots had at this time profaned the temple), and in the middle of the temple, in the court of Israel. See B. v. c. i. sect. 2. Nor do I believe that our Josephus, who always insists on the power and sanctity of that innermost court, and of the holy temple itself, would have recorded, in so significant a place, the barbarous murder, as perpetrated in a place as very holy, had that been the true place of it. See Ant. 2. ch. viii. sect. 1, and the note here on B. v. c. i. sect. 2.
as if they were real judges, while they had no proper authority. Before these Zaccharias assumed a design to betray their policy the Idumeans had been constitutionally sent to Vespasian for that purpose. Now there appeared no proof or sign of what he was accused of, but they affirmed themselves that they were well satisfied that so it was, and that the same was sufficiently established that such their affirmation might be taken for sufficient evidence. Now when Zaccharias clearly saw that there was no way remaining for his escape from them, as having been treacherously carried to this time, and then put in prison, but not with any intention of a legal trial, he took great liberty of speech in that despair of life he was under. Accordingly he stood, not that he was frightened at the apprehension of death, nor that they therefore ought to retire home, since the imputation of treason appears to be a calumny, and that there was no expectation of the coming of the Romans at this time, and that the government of the city was secured by such walls as cannot easily be thrown down: and, by avoiding any farther fellowship with these bad men, to manifest his sentiments of them, as to what they had been so far deceived as to have been partners with them hitherto.

CHAPTER VI.

How the Zealots, when they were freed from the Idumeans, slew a great many more of the Citizens. And how Vespasian disarmed the Romans, when they were very earnest in marching against Jerusalem, from proceeding in the War at that Time.

§ 1. The Idumeans complied with these persuasions, and in the first place they set out that they were in the prisons at liberty, being about two thousand of the populace, who themselves had been among the captives, and of whom the government of the city was immediately in question, and who were to speak of presently. After which these Idumeans retired from Jerusalem, and went home, which departure of theirs was a great surprise to both parties; for the people not knowing of their repentance, pulled up their courage for a while, as eased of so many of their enemies while the zealots grew more insolent, not so debarred from the city as to be dissuaded from such men as might hinder their designs, and put some stop to their wickedness. Accordingly, they made no longer any delay, nor took any deliberation in their enormous practices, but made use of the shortest methods for all their executions; and what they had once resolved upon, they put in practice soon, than any one could imagine. But their thirst was chiefly after the blood of valiant men, and men of good families; the one sort of which they destroyed out of envy, the other out of fear; for they thought their whole security being in the leaven having no potent resistance; which account they slew Gionio, a person eminent in dignity, and on account of his family also; he was also for a democracy, and of so great beauty as to be of great comfort to the Jews whoever; the principal thing that ruined him, added to his other advantages, was his free speaking. Nor did Niger of Paros escape their hands: he had been a man of great valour in their war with the Romans, but was now drawn through the middle of the city, and as he went he frequently cried out, and showed the scars of his wounds; and when he was drawn out of the gates, and despaired of his preservation, he besought them to grant him a burial; but as they had threatened him beforehand not to grant him an inch of earth for his grave, which he chiefly desired of them, did not let him have it without permitting him to be buried.) Now when they were slaying him, he made this imprecation upon them, that they might understand him; it namely fell out a true imprecation, that they might all be deceived, and that all, that they might come to the mutual slaughter of one another; all which imprecations God confirmed against these impious men, and was what confirmed the whole city to say, that ‘this is the very sin which have we done all, that they might come to the mutual slaughter of one another;’ and these imprecations, and the manner of the mutual seditions one against another. So when this Niger was killed, their fear of being overpowered, and their fear of the Romans, and the manner of the war, and the number of their people, they looked not after to the safety of any part of the people, but they found out some pretence to destroy them; for some were, there-
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whether he hath regard to the greater glory of the action, we ought by no means to meddle now with those men, lest we only invite a distemper at home; for should we now conquer them, it would be said the conquest was not owing to our bravery, but to their sedition.

3. And now the rest of the commanders of the Romans deemed this sedition among their enemies an opportunity of revenge, and that they were very earnest to march to the city; and they urged Vespasian, as their lord and general in all cases, to make haste, and said to him, that "the provision of men is on our side, by setting our enemies at variance against one another; and that still the change in such cases may be sudden, and the Jews may quickly be at one again, either because they may be tired out of their civil miseries, or because the good name of the Romans in general, or the fame of Vespasian, replied, that "they were greatly mistaken in what they thought fit to be done, as those that, upon the theatre, love to make a show of their basons, and not to perish within the city; for the hopes of burial made death in their own city appear of the two less terrible to them. But these zealots came at last to that degree of barbarity, as not to bestow a burial either on those that deserted, or on those that lay along the roads; but as if they had made an agreement to cancel both the laws of their country and the laws of nature, and at the same time that they, in the deliberate actions, they would pollute the Divinity itself also, they left the dead bodies to putrify under the sun; and the same punishment was allotted to such as burial, as to those that deserted, which was no other than death; while he that granted the favour of a grave to another, would presently stand in need of a grave himself. To say all in a word, that all were entirely lost among them as mercy, for what were the greatest objects of pity did most of all irritate these wretches, and they transferred their rage from the living to those that had escaped, and from the dead to the living. Nay, the terror was so very great, that he who survived called them that were first dead happy, as being at rest already; as did those that were under torture in the prisons, declare, that, upon this comparison, those that lay unburied were the happiest. These men, therefore, trampled upon all the laws of mercy, and the laws of God; and for the oracles of the prophets, they ridiculed them as the tricks of jugglers; yet did these prophets foretell many things concerning the downfall of Jerusalem, and prophesied, that when these zealots violated, they occasioned the fulfilling of those very prophecies belonging to their own country; for there was a certain ancient oracle of those men, that "the city should then be taken and the sanctuary burnt," by right of war, when a sedition should invade the Jews, and their own hands should pollute the temple of God." Now while those zealots did not [quite] disbelieve these predictions, they made themselves the instruments of their accomplishment.

CHAP. VII.

How John tyrannized over the rest; and what Mischief the Zealots did at Jerusalem. How also Vespasian took Galilee; and what Actions were performed by Pilate.

§ 1. Br this time John was beginning to tyrannize, and thought it beneath him to accept
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...the same honour that others had; and...he was himself by degrees a party of the...of them all, he broke off from the rest...not about by his...disagreeing with the opinions of others, and...out injustices of his own in a very impu...manner; so that it was evident he was set...the spiritual power. Now some submit...him to out of their fear of him, and others...of their good-will to him; for he was a...shrewd man to entice men to him, both by defed...saying what it was...many there were that thought they should be...to themselves, if the causes of their past in...sistent actions should now be reduced to one...head, and not to a great many. His activity was...great. The sedition was divided into 8 Vespasian by de...seditors; for although the sedition watched all...the passages out of the city, and destroyed all...whosoever they were, that came thither, yet...they were not able to make any head in...as the Romans, and when they had fled to the Romans, perceiving...their general to come to their city's assistance, and...the remainder of the people; informing...4) that it was upon account of the...people's good-will to the Romans that many of...themselves, and the survivors in danger...the same treatment. Vespasian did indeed...already pity the calamities these men were in...and arose, in appearance, as though he was going to besiege Jerusalem, but in reality to deliver...from a (worse) siege they were already...under. However, he was obliged first to over...throw what remained elsewhere, and to leave...nothing out of Jerusalem behind him, that might...interrupt him in that siege. Accordingly, he...threw back by our ancestors' kings, both as a repository for their effects in the hazards of war, and for the preservation of their bodies at the same time. It was called Masada. They...without the knowledge and possession of it formerly, but at this time they overran the neighbouring countries, aiming only to procure to themselves necessary supplies; for the fear they...in prevented their farther ravages. But...once when they were informed that the Roman army lay still, and that the Jews were divided by sedition and tyranny, they boldly undertook...greater matters; and at the feast of unleavened...bread, which the Jews celebrate in remembrance of their deliverance from the Egyptian bondage, when they were sent back into the country of their forefathers, they came down by night, without being discovered, and those who had prevented them, and overran a certain small city called Esdrael. In which expedition they...two citizens that could have stopped...them before they could have treated his...them and fight them. They also dispersed them, and cast them out of the city: for such as...could not run away, being women and children, they...of them above seven hundred. Afterward...when they had carried everything out of their houses, and had seized upon all the fruits that...were, and brought them into Masada. And indeed these men laid...all the villages that were about the fortress...waste, and made the whole country desolate...while they were in possession of these parts, not a few men as corrupt as themselves. At that time all the other regions of Judea that had hitherto been at rest were in motion, by reason of the disorder that was in the...polis, had the wicked men that were in the county opportunity to ravage the same. Accordingly...they had plundered their own villages, they then retired into the desert...yet were these men that now got together and joined in the conspiracy by parties, too small for...an army, and too many for a gang of thieves; and...thus did they fall upon the holy places,
people of Gadara admitted Vespasian with joyful acclamations, and received him in the sanctuary of his right hand, as also a garrison of horned horsemen, to garrison the town, and to guard the excursions of the runagates; for as to their wall, they had pulled it down before the Romans desired them so to do, that they might thereby give themselves a very great advantage, a pretence of peace, and that, if they had a mind, they could not now make war against them.

4. And now Vespasian sent Placidus against them, with a body of three hundred horsemen, and three thousand footmen, while he returned himself to Caesarea with the rest of the army. But as soon as these fugitives saw that they fell into the hands of the Romans, they ran together from their backs, and before they came to a close fight, they ran together to a certain village, which was called Bethenahbris, where finding a great multitude of young men, and the people by their own consent, partly by force, rashly and suddenly assaulted Placidus and the troops that were with him. These horsemen at the first onset gave way little, as contrivings two of the walls of which they had drawn them into a place fit for their purpose, they made their horsemen encompass them round, and threw their darts at them. So the horsemen, while they fought fiercely, as the foot terribly destroyed those that fought against them: for those Jews did no more than show their courage, and then were destroyed; for as they fell upon the Romans, and were joined close together, and, as it were, walled about with their entire amour, they were not able to find any place where the darts could enter, or they any way able to break their ranks, while they were themselves run through by the Roman darts, and, like the wildest of wild beasts, rushed upon the points of others' swords, and so some of them were destroyed, and joined with their enemies' swords upon their faces, and others were dispersed by the horsemen.

5. Now Placidus's concern was to exclude them in their flight from getting into the village, and causing his horse to march continually on that side of them, he then turned short upon them, and at the same time his men made use of their darts, and easily took their aim at those that were nearest to them, as they made those that were farther off turn back by the terror they were in, till at last the most courageous of them being killed and their spoil being taken to the wall of the village. And now those that guarded the wall were in great doubt what to do; for they could not bear the thoughts of excluding those that were from them, and therefore they offered to their own people that were among them; and yet if they should admit them, they expected to perish with them, which came to pass accordingly; for as they were crowding together, and to the wall, the Roman horsemen were just ready to fall in with them. However, the guards prevented them and shut the gates, when Placidus made an assault upon them, and fighting courageously till it was evening, he had in all three hundred people upon the wall, and of them that were in the city, when the useless multitude were destroyed, but those that were more potent ran away, and the soldiers pursued the horsemen, and set the town on fire. As for those that ran out of the village, they stirred up such as were in the country; and exaggerating their own calamities, and telling them their dangers, and the horsemen upon them, they put them into great fear on every side; so they got in great numbers together, and fled to Jericho, for they knew no other place that could afford them a place of safety. Vespasian at last, as a city that had a strong wall, and a great multitude of inhabitants. But Placidus relying much upon his horsemen, and his former good success, followed them, and at last put the town to a great fire, from as far as Jordan; and when he had driven the whole multitude to the river side, where they were stopped by the current, (for it had been augmented lately by rains, and was not fordable,) he put his soldiers against the town, so that the necessity the others were in, provoked them to hazard a battle, because there was no place whither they could flee. They then extended their spears themselves a very great advantage, and running to the river, and sustained the darts that were thrown at them, as well as the attacks of the horsemen, who beat many of them and pushed them into the current. At which sight, hand to hand, fifteen thousand of them were slain, while the number of those that were unwillingly forced to leap into Jordan was prodigious. There were besides, two thousand of them taken prisoners. A mighty prayer was taken also, consisting of asses, and sheep, and camels, and oxen.

6. Now this destruction that fell upon the Jews, as it was not inferior to any of the rest in itself, so did it still appear greater than it really was; and this, because not only the whole country through which they fled was filled with slaughter, and Jordan could not be passed over by reason of the multitude of dead bodies in it, but also the lake Asphaltitis was also full of dead bodies, that were carried down into it by the river. And now, Placidus, after this good success that he had had, fell violently upon the natives of those parts, and villages; when he took Abilis, and Julius Bezemoth, and all those that lay as far as the lake Asphaltitis, and put such of the deservers as entered into each of them as he thought proper. He then put his soldiers on board the ships, and slew such as had fled to the lake, insomuch, that all Perea had either surrendered themselves, or were taken by the Romans, as far as Macherus.

CHAP VIII.

How Vespasian, upon hearing of some Combinations in Gall, made haste to finish the Jewish War. A Description of Jericho and the Great Plain: with an Account besides of the Lake Asphaltitis.

§ 1. In the mean time an account came, that there were commotions in Gall, and that Vindicus, together with the men of power in that country, had taken arms against Vitellius, and the empire, which was accurately described elsewhere. This report, thus related to Vespasian, excited him to go on briskly with the war; for he foresaw already that the state of his treasury was such that the very government was in danger; and he thought, if he could first reduce the eastern parts of the empire to peace, he should make the fears of Italy the lighter, while he had the assistance of his own. He despatched a corn carrier to join the confederates, and to persuade them to come over to his side, and then, on the third day, he marched on, laying waste and burning all the neighbouring villages. And when he had laid waste all the places about the toparchy of Tyre, he passed on to Lydda, and Jamin, and when both these cities had come over to him, he placed a great many of those that had come over to him [from other places] in the then inhabited Antipatris, and sent to Emmaus, where he seized upon the passages which led thence to their metropolis, and fortified his camp, and, leaving the fifth legion there under the command of the toparchy of Tyre, he ordered that the ninth legion should be brought with all speed to the place where he was. He then destroyed that piece and the neighbouring places by fire, and fortified at proper places the strong holds all about Iduma; and when he had seized upon two villages, which stood in the very lines of their army, he took them, and when he had driven the
of Idumea, Betarim and Caparahtochas, he slew seven thousand of the people, and carried into captivity above a thousand, and drove away the rest of the multitude, and placed no small part of his own forces in them, who overran and laid waste the mountainous country; while he with the rest of his forces returned to Emaus, whence he came down through the country of Samaria, and hard by the city by others called Elath, but by the people of the land, after a skillful manner, and changed the fountain, and that water, which had been the occasion of barrenness and famine before, from that time did supply the dry land, under God's power, with abundance, to the country. Accordingly, the power of it is so great in watering the ground, that if it do but once touch a country, it affords easy provisions to any nation, and makes them do when they lie so long upon them till they are satiated with them. For which reason, the advantage gained from other waters, when they flow away in large rivers, is, in a great part, lost, and the water is yet so great, when it flows even in little quantities: accordingly, it waters a larger space of ground than any other waters do, and passes along a plain of several furlongs long, and of a breadth of twenty furlongs wide; and affords monument to those most excellent gardens, that are thick set with trees. There are in it many sorts of palm-trees that are watered by it, different from those to be found either to this side or to the other side of Jordan; this last begins at Julias, and the northern quarters, and extends itself southward as far as Sommorrhon, which is the bounds of Petra in Arabia. In this region of mountains there is one called the Iron Mountain, that runs in length as far as Moab. Now the region that lies in the middle between this ridge of mountains is called the Great Plain; it reaches from the village of Gimmabris, as far as the lake Asphaltitis; its length is two hundred and thirty furlongs, and its breadth a hundred and twenty, and it is divided in two lakes in it, that of Asphaltitis, and that of Tiberias, whose nature are opposite to each other; for the former is salt and unfruitful, but that of Tiberias is sweet and fruitful. This plain is much burnt up in summer time, and, by reason of the extraordinary heat, contains a very unwholesome air; it is all destitute of water except what is in Jordan, which watershed of Jordan is in which asphaltus is produced. On the occasion why those plantations of palm-trees that are near its banks are more flourishing and much more fruitful, as are those that are remote from the sea; it also bears this name, that the people of the country are clothed linen only, even when snow covers the rest of Judea. This place is one hundred and fifty furlongs from Jerusalem and sixty from the Jordan. The country as far as Jerusalem is desert and stony; but that as far as Jordan and the lake Asphaltitis lies lower indeed, though it be equally desert and barren. But so much shall suffice, and have been said about Jericho, and of the great happiness of its situation. 4. The nature of the lake Asphaltitis is also worth describing. It is, as I have said already, bitter and unfruitful. It is so light [or thick] that it bears up the heaviest things that are thrown into it; nor is it easy for any one to make things sink there full of salt; but this is the work of God, and one mind to do. Accordingly, when Nephas went to see it, he commanded that some who

* Whether this Somorrhon or Somorrath ought not to be more written Comorrath, as some MSS. in a manner have it. (For the place named by Josephus seems to be near Sedeon, a place of the Dead Sea, being in the summer which stood Sedom and Comorrath;) cannot now be certainly determined, but seems by no means improbable.
could not swim, should have their hands tied behind
them, and be thrown into the deep, when it is
light; for if it be hot, the sun’s rays would
force them upwards. Moreover, the change of
the colour of this lake is wonderful, for it
changes its appearance thrice every day, and as
the air is high above them, as happens in Gaul,
the water is strongly lighted. Hence, it casts up
black clouds of bitumen in many parts of it;
three swim at the top of the water, and resemble
an image of a person, and hide headless bulls;
and when the labourers that belong to the lake
come to it, and catch hold of it as it hangs to-
tgether, they draw it into their ships; but when
the ship is full, it is not easy at all for them to
separate it, for it is so tenacious as to make the ship hang
upon its own clouds till they set it loose with the menstrual
blood of women, and with urine, to which alone it
yields. This bitumen is not only useful for the
caulking of ships, but for the cure of men’s
bodies: accordingly, it is mixed in a great many
medicines. The length of this lake is five hun-
dred and eighty furlongs, where it is extended
as far as Zomar in Arabia, and its breadth is
a hundred and fifty. The country of Sodom
borders upon it. It was of old a most happy land, but it was by the expedition against Jerusalem of and some
cities, although it be now all burnt up. It is
related how, for the impurity of its inhabitants,
it was burnt by lightning; in consequence of which the
traces or shadows of the five cities are still to be seen, as well as the ashes growing in their
fruits, which fruits have a colour as if they
were fit to be eaten; but yea, as it is allowed
by your hands, they dissolve into smoke and ashes.
And thus what is related of this land of Sodom hath these marks of credibility which our very
sight affords us.

CHAP. IX.

That Vespasian, after he had taken Gadara, made
Preparation for the Siege of Jerusalem. But
that, upon his hearing of the Death of Nero, he
changed his Intentions. As also concerning Si-
mon of Gerara.

§ 1. And now Vespasian had fortified all the
places about Jerusalem, and erected citi-
dels at Jericho and Adida, and placed garrisons
in them both, partly out of his own Romans, and
partly out of the body of his auxiliaries. He also
sent on the Charles to Jerusalem, to offer
him a body of horsemen, and a considerable
number of footmen. So when he had taken the
city, which he did at the first onset, he slew a
thousand men, among whom was the public
chief who had prevented him by flying away: but he took
their families captive; and permitted his soldiers to plunder
them of their effects; after which he set fire to their houses, and went away to the ad-
joining villages, while the men of power fled
away, and the weaker part were destroyed, and
what was remaining was all burnt down. And now
the air having gone through all the moun-
tainous country, and all the plain country also,
those that were at Jerusalem were deprived of
the liberty of going out of the city: for so as
to have a mind to desert, they were watched by
the sentinels; and to such as were not yet on
the side of the Romans, their army kept them in, by
encompassing the city round about on all sides.

2. Now as Vespasian was returned to Cæsarea,
and was getting ready with all his army to march
directly to Jerusalem, he was informed that
Nero was dead, after he had reigned thirteen
years and eight months; of which manner he
was grieved. But on hearing the news after
what manner he abused his power in the government, and committed the management of
affairs to those vile wretches, Nyphippus and
Tigellinus, his unworthy freedmen; and how he
had a plot laid against him by them, and was de-
serted by all his friends; how the Colosseum, as
his most trusty freedmen, and slew himself
in the suburbs of Rome; and how those that oc-
casioned his death were in no long time brought
unto punishment; and how Galba was made
emperor, and returned out of Spain to Rome; and how he
was accused by the soldiers as a pusillanimous
person, and slain by treachery in the middle of
the market-place of Rome, and Otho was made
emperor; with his expedition against the com-
mmanders of Vitellius, and his destruction there
upon; and besides what was under Vitellius, and the
fight that was about the capitol; as also how Antonius Primus and Mu-
cianus slew Vitellius, and his German legions,
and they by nothing short of civil war; I have
omitted to give an exact account of them, be
cause they are well known by all, and they are
described by a great number of Greek and Ro-
man authors; yet these things are full of
matters, and that my history may not be inco-
erent, I have just touched upon every thing
briefly. Wherefore Vespasian put off at first his
expedition against Jerusalem of and some
cities, to see what would happen; for he knew
whether the empire would be transferred after
the death of Nero. Moreover, when he heard
that Galba was made emperor, he attempted
nothing; for he knew that there was nothing he
or any other person could do. He was informed about the war; however, he sent his
son Titus to him, to salute him, and to receive his
commands about the Jews. Upon the very same
 Lair died king Agrippa; but as they were sailing in their long
ships by the coasts of Arabia, for it was winter
time, they heard that Galba was slain, before
they could get to him, after he had reigned
seven months and as many days. After whom Otho
took the government, and undertook the manage-
ment of public affairs. So Agrippa resolved to
go on to Rome, without any terror on account
of the change in the government; but Titus by a
divine impulse, sailed back from Greece to Syria,
and came in great haste to Cæsarea, to his father.
And now they were both in suspense about the
public affairs; the Roman empire being in a
fluctuating condition, and did not go on with
their expedition against the Jews, but thought
that to make any attack upon foreigners was not
so unseasonable, on account of the solitude
they were in for their own country.

3. And now, there arose another war in Jeru-
salem. There was a son of Giaour, one Simon,
by birth of Gerara, who, perceiving that there
were no enemies, did indeed as John [of Gischala] who had already
seized upon the city, but superior in strength
of body and courage; on which account, when he
was intrusted with the government of it, he
toparchy which he once had, by Ananus the high
priest, he came to those robbers who had seized
upon Masada. At the first they suspected him,
and only permitted him to come within the lower
part of the fortress, while they dwelt in the upper part of
it themselves. However, his manner so well
agreed with theirs, and he seemed to be a
man, that he went out with them, and ravaged
and destroyed the country with them about Ma-
sada; yet when he persuaded them to undertake
greater things, he could not prevail with them so
to do; for as they were accustomed to dwell in
that citadel, they were afraid of going far from
that which was their hiding-place; but he affect-
ing to defy them, and persuading them, when he
had heard of the death of Ananus, he
left them, and went into the mountainous part
of the country. So he proclaimed liberty to those
in slavery, and a reward to those already free, and got together a set of wicked men from all quarters. He made use of the jealousy and hatred of the people about him, he overran the villages that lay in the mountainous country, and when there were still more and more that came to him, he ventured to spread his dominions to the lower parts of the country, and since he was now become formidable to the cities, many of the men of power were corrupted by him; so that his army was no longer concerned in robbery and rapine, and many of the populace were obedient to him as to their king. He then overran the Acrabatene toparchy, and the places that reached as far as the Greek line; he built a wall at a certain village called Nain, and made use of that as a fortress for his own party's security; and at the valley called Paran, he enlarged many of the caves. There was a continual deceit and deceitfulness in his purpose; these he made use of as repositories for his treasures, and receptacles for his prey, and therein he laid up the fruits that he had got by means of his parties and his dwellers in them, and he made no secret of it that he was exercising his men beforehand, and making preparations for the assault of Jerusalem.

5. From this expedition they returned, out of the district they were in of his attacking them, and being willing to prevent one that was growing up to oppose them, went out against him with their weapons. Simon met them, and joining battle with them, he lost a considerable number of his men, and drove the rest before him into the city, but durst not trust so much upon his forces, as to make an assault upon the walls; but he resolved first to subdued Idumæa, and as he had now twenty thousand armed men, he marched to the borders of their country. Hereupon the rulers of the Idumæans got together on the sudden the men of Idumæa, and like part of their people, about twenty thousand in number, and permitted the rest to be a guard to their own country, by reason of the incursions that were made by the Sicarii that were at Masada. Thus they received Simon at their borders, where they fought him, and continued the battle all that day, and the dispute lay whether they had conquered him or been conquered by him. So Simon marched back to Nain, as if the Idumæans return home. Nor was it long ere Simon came violence again upon their country; when he pitched his camp at a certain village called Eleazar, and there made his companions, to those that kept garrison at Herodion, and in order to persuade them to surrender that fortress to him. The garrison received this man readily, they knew nothing of what he came about; but as soon as he talked of the surrender of the place, they fell upon him with their drawn swords, till he found that he had no place for flight, and he threw himself down from his wall into the valley beneath; so he died immediately; but the Idumæans, who were already much afraid of Simon's power, thought fit to take a view of the enemy's army, before they hazard a battle with them.

6. Now there was one of their commanders named Jacob, who offered to serve them readily upon that occasion, but had it in his mind to betray them. He went therefore upon his own he went to Alatus, within the army of the Idumæans were gotten together, and came to Simon, and at the very first he agreed to betray his country to him, and to conduct him to have him from the Idumæans, that he should always have him in esteem, and then promised him that he would assist him in subduing all Idumæa under him; upon which account he was received with open arms by Simon, and elevated by his mighty promises; and when he was returned to his own men, he at first became the avarice of Simon, and said it was manifest more in number than what it was; after which, he dexterously persuaded the commanders, and procured that Simon, to receive Simon, and to surrender the whole government up to him, without fighting. And as he was doing this, he invited Simon by his messengers, and promised him to receive a great multitude, and before it came to a close fight, they broke their ranks, and every one retired to his own home.

7. The Idumæans thought Simon unexpectedly march into Idumæa, without bloodshed, and made a sudden attack upon the city Hebron, and took it; wherein he got possession of a great deal of prey, and here great anger at this nation, by what people of the country say, that it is an ancestor city, not only than any in that country, but then Memphis in Egypt, and accordingly its age is reckoned to be there some two thousand years. They also relate, that it had been the habitation of Abram, the progenitor of the Jews, after he had removed out of Mesopotamia; and Joshua left them from thence into Egypt, whose monuments are to this very time shown in that small city; the fabric of which monuments are of the most excellent marble, and wrought after the most ancient fashion; these did Simon make his progress over all Idumæa, and did not only ravage the cities and villages, but laid waste the whole country; for, besides those that were completely armed, he had forty thousand armed men, and more, of which he had not provisions enough to suffice such a multitude. Now, besides this want of provisions that he was in, he was of a barbarous disposition, and here great anger at this nation, by what means it came to pass that Idumæa was greatly depopulated; and as one may see all the woods behind despoiled of their leaves by locusts after they have been there, so was there nothing left behind Simon's army but a desert. Some places they burnt down, some they utterly demolished, and whatsoever grew in the country they either cut down, or burnt, so that though they made the ground that was cultivated harder and more untractable than that which was barren. In short, there was no sign remaining of those fields that had been laid waste, that ever they had had a being.

8. This success of Simon excited the zealots a-fresh; and though they were afraid to fight him openly in a fair battle, yet did they lay ambushes in the passes, and seized upon his wife, with a considerable number of her attendants; whereupon they came back to the city rejoicing, as if they had taken Simon himself captive, and were in pretense to execute that he would lay down his arms, and make supplication to them for his wife; but instead of inducing any merciful affection, he grew very angry at them for opposing his will; and accordingly he had that day, out of those that were come out of the city gates, either to gather herbs or sticks, who were unarmed, and in years; he then tormented them and destroyed them, obliging every one by Simon, and was almost ready to taste the very flesh of their dead bodies. He also cut off the heads of a great many, and sent them into the city to this day, and that particularly for an assembly or meeting of merchants there every year, as the tractable inform as.
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which his enemies, and in order to make the requisite from the authority he had obtained by their means; for he permitted them to do all their inclination to plunder was inatible, as was things that were not, and abandoned. As if to their zeal in searching the houses of the rich; and the punishment upon all the citizens, without sparing the inclination to plunder was inatible, as was the house of the rich; and the murder of the men, and sauning or age, and without making any distinction between the guilty and the innocent. These threats- thing to them, and not only the citizens, but also, for Galba was slain in the midst of the Roman mar- but the zealots themselves also, that they sent ket-place; then Otho made emperor, and fathers against Vitellius's generals, at Bettracium in the city's wife back to him, when he became a little Italy also; for now Galba was slain in the midst of the Roman market-place; then Otho made emperor, and sought to bead his city, and as a brothel house, and described it entirely with their impure actions; nay, while their city's facade looked like the faces of women, they killed faces looked like the faces of women, they killed them with their right hands, and they had made their way to the city, and in the city, and he on the gates to disseminate, they presently attacked the men and became warriors, and drew their swords from under their finely dyed cloaks, and ran every body through whom they passed. Thus when Otho waited for such as ran away from John, and was the more bloody of the two: and he who had escaped the tyrant within the walls, was destroyed by the guards before the gates, so that all attempts of flying and deserting the Romans were cut off, if any had a mind so to do. 11. Yet did the army that was under John raise a sedition against him, and all the Idumæans separated themselves from the tyrant, and attempt ed to destroy him, and this out of their envy at his power, and hatred of his cruelty; so they got together, and slew many of the zealots, and drove the rest before them into that royal palace that was built by Grapte, who was a relation of Zætes, the king of Adiabene; the Idumæans fell in with them, and drove the zealots out thence into the temple, and all themselves to the door of John's effects; for both he himself was in that palace, and therein had he laid up the spoils he had acquired by his tyranny. In the mean time the multitude of the zealots that were dispersed over the city ran together to the temple unto those that had fled thither, and John prepared to bring them down against the people and Idumæans, and he did not enter into the temple, nor go thither himself, but he went to Hebron, another very ancient city. I have told you already, that this city is situated in a mountainous country not far off Jerusalem; and that the zealots, when they were in the temple and gained the force of the Idumæans, did not at first set out to destroy them, but set the city on fire also. So they assembled themselves together, and the high priests with them, and took counsel after what manner they should avoid their assault. Now it was God who turned their opinions to the worst advice, and thence they devised such a remedy to get themselves free, as was worse than the disease itself. Accordingly, in order to overthrow John, they determined to admit Simo, and earnestly to desire the introduction of a second tyrant into the city; which resolution they brought to perfection, and sent Matthias the high priest, to beseech this Simon to come in to them, of whom they had so often been afraid. Those also who had fled from the zealots in Jerusalem, joined in this request to him, out of the desire they had of preserving their houses and their effects. Accordingly he, in an arrogant manner, granted them his lordly protection, and came into the city in order to receive the zealots. The people also made joyful acclamations to him, at their saviour and their preser- but when he was come in with his army, he took care to secure his city, and was asked upon those that had invited him to be no less his enemies than those against whom the in-
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12. And thus did Simon get possession of Jerusalem, in the third year of the war, in the moon of Xystus, Nisan, which is the first month in his calendar. 

he was under, nor to apply himself farther in other wars, when his native country was held in waste; but now he restrained him to avenge his country, so much was he restrained by the consideration of his distance herefrom; because fortune might prevent his armies ever getting to a place of war, and his ships, if it was winter, could not sail over the sea to Italy, especially as it was still the winter season: so he restrained his nag, how vehement soever it was, at this time.

3. But now his commanders and soldiers not in several companies, and consulted openly about changing the public affairs, and out of their indignation, cried out, how "at Rome there are soldiery and cities, which shall not venture so much as to hear the fame of war, they ordain whom they please for our governors, and in hopes of gain make them emperors, while you who have gone through so many labours, and are grown into years under your helments, give leave to others to use such a power, when yet you have among yourselves one more worthy to rule than any whom they have set up. Now what juster opportunity shall they ever have of requiring their generals, if they do not make use of this that is now before them? while there is so much a better man in you than there is for Vitellius; as they are themselves more deserving than those that made the other emperors; for that they have undergone great dangers to win the throne, which you nor are they inferior in war to those that have brought that tyrant to Rome, nor have they undergone smaller labours than they; for that they are not left to bear the opposition of enemies, as those of such a lascivious emperor as Vitellius, if he be compared with their chaste Vespasian; nor wilt they endure a more barbarous tyrant, instead of a good emperor, nor choose one of you, as child, to preside over them, instead of him that is a father; because the advancement of men's own children to dignities is certainly the greatest security kings can give for themselves. Whether, therefore, we estimate the capacity of governing from the skill of a person in years, we ought to have Vespasian; or whether from the strength of a young man, we ought to have Titus; for by this means we shall have the advantage of both their ages, for that they will afford strength to those that shall be made emperors, they have already three legions, besides their auxiliaries from the neighbouring king, and will have further all the armies in the East to support them, as also those in Europe, so far as they are, as its provinces extend out of the distance and dread of Vespasian. Besides, Vitellius, as he might, is gone to Italy itself, that is, Vespasian's brother; and his other son [Domitian] the one of whom brings in so great a many of those young men that are of dignity, while you other is intrusted with the government of the city, which office of his will be no small means of Vespasian's obtaining the government. Upon the whole, the cause may be such, that if we ourselves make further delay, the senate may choose an emperor, whom the soldiers, who are the savours of the empire, will have in contempt."

4. Thus they, finding the discourses the soldiers had in their several companies; after which they got together in a great body, and encouraging one another, they declared Vespasian emperor; and they exhorted him to assume the government, as the demersive soldiers in Judæa saying that he had done. Whose those assertions was the truth I know not. 

5. It is plain by the nature of the thing, as well as by Josephus and Eusebius, that Vespasian was first of all re-
and the entrance through so narrow a passage is so dangerous, and the Roman soldiers there were more likely to be killed by their own men than by the enemy; for if you are got into it, a very safe one, and of thirty furlongs in largeness; into which is brought what the country wants in order to its happiness, and also what it requires because the country affords, more than it wants itself, is scattered distributed into all the habitable earth.

6. Justly, therefore, did Vespasian desire to obtain that government, in order to corroborate his attempts upon the whole empire; so he immediately sent to Tiberius Alexander, who was then governor of Egypt and of Alexandria, and informed him what the army had put him upon, and how he, being forced to accept of himself the government, was desirous to have for his confederate and supporter. Now as soon as ever Alexander had read this letter, he readily obliged the legions and the multitude to take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian, both of whom willingly complied with him, as already acquainted with the courage of the man, from that his conduct in their neighbourhood. Accordingly Vespasian, looking upon himself as already intrusted with the government, got all things ready for his journey to Rome. Now fame carried this news so suddenly more and more current, that he was thought, that he was emperor over the East, upon which every city kept festivals, and celebrated sacrifices and oblations for such good news; the emperors also that were in Asia, and some in Mesopotamia, who had been in communion a little before, on account of this insolent attempt of Vitellius, were very glad to take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian, upon his coming to the city, they then removed from Caesarea to Berytus, where many embassages came to him from Syria, and many from other provinces, bringing with them every city of the empire, and conferences of the people. Mucianus came also, who was the president of the province, and told him with what acuteness the people received the news [of his advancement] and how the people of every city had taken the oath of fidelity to him.

7. So Vespasian's good fortune succeeded to his wishes everywhere, and the public affairs were for the greatest part already in his hands; upon which he considered that he had not arrived at the government without divine Providence; but that a righteous kind of fate had brought the empire under his dominion, for as he called the other signs, which had been near at hand in every way, that foretold he should obtain the government, so did he remember what Josephus had said to him when he ventured to forecast his fate. He used to say: 'You were coming to the empire, and that you were to be emperor; but I was much concerned that this man was still in bonds with him. He then called for Mucianus, together with his other commanders and friends, and in the first place, he informed them what a valiant man Josephus had been, and that great hardships he had made him undergo in the siege of Jotapata. After that he related thosepredictions of which he had then suspetted no exceptions, suggested out of the fear he was in, but which had by time been demonstrated to be divine. 

*It is a shameful thing (said he,) to consider this man who had foretold the empire beforehand, and been the minister of a divine message to me, should still be retained in
of what they had done, and a feast honored on them; lost perhaps Vitellius, who sought them should get the better; and, drawing their rewards, they assaulted Cicinnus, in order to kill him; and the thing had been done by them, if the tribunes had not restrained them, not to do it; so the soldiers did not kill him, but put him in bonds, as a traitor, and were about to send him to Vitellius. When Antonius met him, he immediately, and made them put on their armour and led them against those that had revoluted; whereupon they put themselves in order of battle, and there came for the place in, and cut the chains to pieces; while Josephus received this testimony of his integrity for a reward, and was moreover esteemed a person of credit as to futurities also.

CHAP. XI.
That upon the Conquest and Slaughter of Vitellus, Josephus hastened his Journey to Rome, but Titus, his Son, returned to Jerusalem.
§ 1. And now, when Vespasian had given assurance that every man that was taken up should be set at liberty; whereupon the commanders promised themselves glorious things, from this requisit Vespasian made to a stranger. They were not satisfied with being set free; they said, "O father, it is but just that the scandal [of a prisoner] should be taken off Josephus, together with his iron chain. For if we do not bear his burden, if Primaus from his bed be waked, he be like a man that had never been bound at all." For that is the usual method as to such as have been bound without a cause. This advice was awarded by Vespasian, that when there came for him in, and cut the chains to pieces; while Josephus received this testimony of his integrity for a reward, and was moreover esteemed a person of credit as to futurities also.

2. In the mean time Antonius Primus took the third of the legions that were in Nysia, &c.; as was president of that province, and made haste to join Vespasian; whereupon Vespasian sent away Cicinnus with a great army, having a mighty confidence in him, because of his having beaten Otho. Thus Cicinnus marched out of Rome in great haste, and found Antonius about Cremona in Gall, which city is in the borders of Italy; but when he saw there that the enemy were numerous and in good order, he durst not fight, but thought of an abstract danger, so he began to think of betraying his army to Antonius. Accordingly he assembled the centurions and tribunes that were under his command, and showed them to surrender to Antonius, and this by diminishing the reputation of Vespasian, and by exaggerating the power of Vespasian. He also told them, that "with the one there was no more than the bare name of dominion, but with the other was the power of it; and that it was better for them to prevent necessity, and gain favour, and, while they were likely to be overcome in battle, to avoid the danger beforehand, and go over to Antonius willingly; that Vespasian was able of himself to subdue what had not yet submitted, without their assistance, while Vespasian could not preserve what he had already with it."

3. Cicinnus said this, and much more to the same purpose, and persuaded them to comply with him, and both he and his army deserted; but still the very same night the soldiers repeated
CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF NEAR SIX MONTHS—FROM THE COMING OF TITUS TO THE SIEGE JERUSALEM TO THE GREAT EXTREMITY TO WHICH THE JEWS WERE REDUCED.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the Sedition at Jerusalem, and what terrible Miseries affected the City by their Excesses.

§ 1. When, therefore, Titus had marched over that desert which lies between Egypt and Syria, in the manner forementioned, he came to Cæsarea, having resolved to set his forces in order at that place before he began the war. Nay; indeed, while he was assisting his father at Alexandria in settling that government which had been newly conferred upon them by God, it so happened, that the sedition at Jerusalem was revived, and parted into three factions; and that one faction fought against the other, which partition in such evil cases may be said to be a good thing, and the effect of divine justice. Now, as to the attack the zealots made upon the people, and which I esteem the beginning of the city's destruction, it hath been already explained after an accurate manner; as also whence it arose, and to how great a mischief it was increased. But, for the present sedition, one should not mistake if he called it a sedition begotten by another sedition, and to be like a wild beast grown mad, which, for want of food from abroad, fell now upon eating its own flesh.

2. For Eleazar, the son of Simon, who made the first separation of the zealots from the people, and made them retire into the temple, appeared very angry at John's insolent attempts, which he made every day upon the people; for this man never left off murdering: but the truth was, that he did not mean against the tyrant himself, but against them who set up after him. So he being desirous of gaining the entire power and domination to himself, revoluted from John, and took to his assistance Eneas, the son of Simon, the son of Eron, who were among the men of greatest power. There was also with him Hezaiah, the son of Chobar, a person of eminence. Each of these were followed by a great many of the zealots; these, being upon the inner court of the temple, laid their arms upon the holy gates, and over the holy fronts of that court. And because they had plenty of provisions, they were of good courage, for there was a great abundance of what was consecrated to sacred use, and they scrubbed not the making use of them, yet were they afraid on account of their small number, and when they had laid up their arms there, they did not stir from the place they were in. Now as to John, what advantage he had above Eleazar in the multitude of his followers, the like disadvantage had in the situation he was in, since he had his enemies over his head; and as he could not make any assault upon them without some terror, so was his anger too great to let them be at rest: nay, although he suffered more mischief from Eleazar and his party than he could inflict upon them, yet would be not leave off assaulted them, insomuch that there were continual rallies made one against another, and the temple was defiled everywhere with murders.

3. But now the tyrant Simon, the son of Gio- rac, whom the people had invited in, out of the hopes they had of his assistance in the great distresses they were in, having in his power the upper city, and a great part of the lower, did now make more vehement assaults upon John and his party, because they were fought against from above also; yet he was the more embarrassed when he attacked them, as they were beneath the attacks of the others above them. Whereby it came to pass that John did both receive and inflict on the other, and by his kindness towards Eleazar, the son of Simon, the over which he had the situation, which account he easily repelled the attacks that were made from beneath, by the weapons thrown from their hands only; but was obliged to repel that would interpret that Zacharias, who was slain "between the temple and the altar" several months before, B. iv. ch. v. sect. 4, as if he were slain there by these zealots, is perversely, as I have noted in that place already.
against the siege, and by thus setting off the nerves of their own power. Accordingly, it came to pass, that all the priests, and all the temple, and all that stood round it, that was not down, and were become an intermediate desert space, ready for fighting on both sides of it; and that almost all that was burnt, which would have been destroyed by war. So they were taken by the means of the famine, which it was impossible they should have been, unless they had prepared the way for it by this procedure.

5. And now, as the city was engaged in a war on all sides, from these treacherous crews of wicked men, the people of the city, between them, were like a great body torn in pieces. The people of the aged, and the aged and yet more aged, were yet often destroyed by this sedition, for those that were thrown by the engines came with that force that they went over all the buildings, and reached as far as the altar and the temple itself, and fell upon the priests and those that were about the sacred offices: "inasmuch, that many persons who came thither with great zeal from the ends of the earth, who had found a place in the holy temple, which was esteemed holy by all mankind, fell down before their own sacrifices themselves, and sprinkled that altar which was venerable among all nations, and in the presence of Greeks and Barbarians, with their own blood; till the dead bodies of strangers were mingled together with those of their own country, and those of profane persons with those of the dead, the blood of all sorts of death carcases stood in lakes in the holy courts themselves. And now, "O most wretched city, how misery so great as this didst thou suffer from the hands of thy enemies! And how didst thou obey my holy temple?" But thou couldst be no longer a place fit for God, nor couldst thou longer continue in being, after thou hadst been a seat of thy own people, circumcised, and after thine house itself had made the holy house itself a burying place in this civil war of thine. Yet mayest thou again grow better, if perchance thou wilt hereafter appear appease the anger of that God who is the author of thy destruction." But I must restrain myself from these passions by the rules of history, since this is not a proper time for domestic lamentations, but for historical narrations; I therefore return to the subject of Simon and his sedition.

4. And now there were three treacherous factions in the city, the one parted from the other. Eleazar and his party, that kept the sacred first-fruits, came again, swore with John and plundered the populace, and went out with zeal against Simon. This Simon had his supply of provisions from the city, in opposition to the others. When, therefore, John was assailed on both sides, he made his men turn about, throwing his darts upon those citizens that came up against him from the cloisters he had in his possession, and attacked those that attacked him from the temple by his engines of war. And if at any time he was freed from those that were above him, which happened frequently, from those, being drunk and tired, he set about with a great number upon Simon and his party; and this he did always in such parts of the city as he could come at, till he set fire on those houses that were near, and of all other provisions, he burned the holy house twenty cubits higher; for king Agrippa had at a very great expense, and with very great pains, brought thither such materials as were of gold and silver. He burned the timber very well worth seeing, both for its straightness and their largeness; but the war coming on, and interrupting the work, John let them cut, and prepared the building for other provisions, as was necessary for war; and the disastrous famine which commenced the direct occasion of that terrible famine which consumed incredible numbers of Jews in Jerusalem during this siege. Nor probably could the Romans have been so sanguinary and so inhuman as to madly destroy what Josephus here justly styles "the holy houses of that city, everywhere full." See the principal of those prophecies collected together at the end of the Essay on the Revelation, page 212. This temple, see, was designed for the residence of those twenty additional cubicles of the holy houses above the hundred which had fallen down some years before. See the note on Antiq. B. xxv. ch. 15. sect. 1.

This description of such a vast quantity of corn and
BOOK V.—CHAP. II.

with their select bodies; after these came the ensigns, with the eagle; and before these ensigns came the trumpeters belonging to them; next to these came the main body of the army in their lances being, every lance belonging to every legion came after these; and before these last their baggage; the mercenaries came last, and those that guarded them brought in the rear. Now Titus, according to the Roman usage, went in front of the army after a decent manner, and marched through Samaria to Gophna, a city that had been formerly taken by the Romans; and Titus, finding it full of Roman soldiers: and, when he had lodged there one night he marched on in the morning: and when he had gone as far as a day's march, he pitched his camp at the distance of a day's journey, and to that place he gave the name to which he was accustomed to call The Valley of Thorns, near a certain village called Gabaoth-saul, which signifies, The Hill of Saul, being distant from Jerusalem march of Cæsarea. He had with him those three legions that had accompanied his father, when he laid Judea waste, together with that twelfth legion which had been formerly beaten with Cestius; which legion, as it was otherwise remarkable for its valour, so did it march on now with great alacrity to avenge themselves on the Jews, as remembering what they had formerly felt from them. After these legions he ordered the fifth legion to march with him, by going through Emmaus, and the tenth to go up by Jericho; he also moved himself, together with the rest of the staff, marched those auxiliaries that came from the Tiberus, which was now more in number than before, together with a considerable number that came to his assistance from Syria. Those also that had been selected out of those four legions, and sent toward Messana to Italy, had their places filled up out of those soldiers that came out of Egypt with Titus, which were two thousand men, chosen out of the armies at Alexandria. Thus Titus had also all three thousand drawn from those that guarded the river Euphrates; as also, there came Tiberius Alexander, who was a friend of his, most trusted, and he had brought with him for his prudence. He had formerly been governor of Alexandria, but was now thought worthy to be general of the army [under Titus]. The reason of this was, that he had been the first who had encouraged Vespasian very lately to accept this his new dominion, and joined himself to him with great fidelity, when things were uncertain, and so when Titus was of that opinion, the senate may also followed Titus as a counsellor, very useful to him in this war, both by his age and skill in such affairs.

CHAP. II.

How Titus marched to Jerusalem, and how he was in Danger, as he was taking a View of the City. Of the Place also where he pitched his Camp.

§ 1. Now as Titus was upon his march into the enemy's country, the auxiliaries that were sent by the kings marched first, having all the other auxiliaries with them, after whom followed those that were to prepare the roads, and make out the camp; then came the commanders' baggage, and after that the other soldiers, who were completely armed to support them; then came Titus himself, and his bodyguard, and then came the people; after whom came the horse belonging to that legion. All these came before the engines, and after those engines, came the baggage, and lastly, the horse, so that all was in order, only as they were used to pass by

There being no gate on the west, and only on the west side of the court of the priests, and so no steps there, this was the only side that the soldiers, under the John of Damascus, always entered, and this way they entered of court and courtways, though upon the floor of the court of Israel. See the scheme of that temple in the description of the same house in the history. We may here note, that Titus is here called a king, and Cæsar, by Josephus; even while he was no more than the emperor's son; and, Titus, by Josephus, as the son of Cæsare, who was dead, but not the son of Vespasian, who was alive; just as the New Testament says Archelaus reigned, or was king, Matt. ii. 22, though he was properly no more than Ethnarch as such.

Of the War. B. ii. ch. vi. sect. 2. Thus also the Jews called the Roman emperor's kings, though they never took that title to themselves. We have seen, says Josephus, under the John of Damascus, that our emperor is the king, as before: We have seen that the emperor is subject to the king as supreme, 1 Pet. ii. 13, 17; which is also the language of the Apostolical Constitutions, ii. 11, 34; Act. xiv. 13; v. 10; vii. 35; xii. 25; xvi. 23; Tit. ii. 8, and in Josephus also; though I suspect that Josephus particularly means the same, nor his father, ever since his divine dreams that declared them both such, B. iii. ch. viii. sect. 9.

2 See the above note.
WAR OP THE JEWS.

him. So he diverted those perpetually with his superior forces over his side, and overthrew many of those that directly met him, and made his horse ride over those that were overthrown. The enemy indeed made a great shout at the hollowness of Titus, and exhorted one another to rush upon him. Yet did those against whom he marched fly away, and go off from him in great numbers; while those that were in the same danger with him kept up close to him, though they were wounded both on their backs and on their sides; for they had each of them but one hope of escaping, if they could assist Titus in opening himself a way that he might not be encompassed round by his own host before he got away from them. Now, there were two of those that were with him, but at some distance; the one of which was the enemy surrounded round, and slew them with his swords; and his horse also; but the other was as he leaped down from his horse, and carried off his horse with them. But Titus escaped with the rest, and came safe to the camp. So this success of Titus was the more ground of hope; and this short inclination of fortune on their side, made them very courageous for the future.

So it came now, when the legion that had been at Emmaus was joined to Cæsar at night, he removed thence, when it was day, and came to a place called Scopus; from whence the city was distant, a very plain view might be seen, and a mighty temple also; but which might be taken of the great temple. Accordingly, this place, on the north quarter of the city, and joining thereto, was a plain, and very proper for a battle or battle; the prospect was no more than six furlongs distant from it. And here it was that Titus ordered a camp to be fortified for two legions that were to be together, but order- ed the other three legions that were more distant behind them, for the fifth legion, for he thought that, by marching in the night they might be tired, and might deserve to be covered from the enemy, and with less fear might fortify themselves; and, as these were now beginning to build, the tenth legion, which came through Jericho, was already come to the place, where a certain party of armed men had for- mined the road that was into the city, and had been taken by Vespasian. These legions had orders to encamp at the distance of six furlongs from Jerusalem, at the mount called the Mount of Olives,* which lies over against the city on the east side, and is parted from it by a deep valley, interposed between them, which is named Cedron.

As the Jews had hitherto the several parties in the city had been dashing one against another perpetually, this foreign war, now suddenly come upon them after a violent manner, put the first step to their contentions one against another; and, as the seditions now saw with astonishment the Romans pitching three several camps, they began to think of an awkward sort of concord, and said one to another, "What do we here, and what do we mean, when we suffer three fortified walls to be built, to coop us in, that we shall not be able to breathe freely; while the enemy is already building a sort of city in opposition to us, and while we sit still within our own walls, and become spectators only of what they are doing, with our hands idle, and our armour laid by, as if they were about somewhat that was for our good and advantage. We are, it seems, (so did they cry out,) only courageous against our- selves, while the Romans are likely to gain the city, and burn it, and be under the same condition. Thus did they encourage one another when they were gotten together, and took their armour immediately, and ran out upon the tenth legion, and set the Romans with great eagerness, and

with a prehensile sort, as they were fortifying their houses, and made a sort of fight against two or three parties, and this, in order to perform their several works, and on that account had in a great measure laid aside their arms; for they thought the Romans would not think it safe to attack them immediately upon them, and, had they been disposed so to do, they supposed their sedition would have distracted them. So they were put into disorder unexpectedly; when some of them left the works they were about, and immediately march- ed off, while many ran to their arms, but were smitten and slain before they could turn back upon the enemy. The Jews became still more and more numerous, but their success of those that first made the attack; and while they had such good fortune, they seemed, both to themselves and to the enemy, to be many more than ten legions. Their order of fighting at first put the Romans also to a stand, who had been constantly used to fight skilfully in good order, and with keeping their rank, and not, and stood over against them; for which reason the Romans were caught unexpectedly, and were obliged to give way to the assaults that were made upon them. Now, when Titus attacked them, they put a stop to their career, yet, when they did not take care enough of themselves through the vehemence of their pur- suit, the Roman army met them, and over them, and more and more Jews sailed off the city, the Romans were at length brought into confusion, and put to flight, and ran away from their camp.

Nay, the greater part of the Jews, they were more than the five legions that Titus had at this season had in danger, unless Titus had been informed of the case they were in, and had sent them succours immediately. So he re- moved his cohorts and other troops from those back that were running away, and told himself upon the Jews on their flank, with those select troops that were with him, and slew a con- siderable number, and wounded more of them, and put them to flight, and made them run away hastily down the valley. Now, as these Jews suffered greatly in the declivity of the valley, so, when they were gotten over it, they turned and fought against the Romans, having the valley between them, and they fought with them. Thus did they continue the fight till noon; but, when it was already a little past the middle of the day, and after the assistance of the Romans with him, and those that belonged to the cohorts, to prevent the Jews from making any more sallies, and then sent the rest of his forces to the upper part of the moun- tain, to fortify their camp.

5. This march of the Romans seemed to the Jews to be a flight; and as the watchmen who was placed upon the wall, gave a signal by shak- ing his garment, there came out a fresh multitudes of Jews, and that with such mighty violence, that one might compare it to the rushing of the most terrible wild beasts. To say the truth, none of those that opposed them could resist the fury with which they made their attacks; but, as if they had been cast out of an eagle, they came with such a violence, that the Romans were put to flight and ran away to the mountains; none but Titus himself, and a few others with him, being left in the midst of the sedition. Now, these others who were his friends, desired the danger they were in, and were ashamed to have their general, earnestly exhorting him "to give way to these Jews that are fond of dying, and are not frightened by our sedition." Thus did they encourage one another when they were gotten together, and took their armour immediately, and ran out upon the tenth legion, and set the Romans with great eagerness, and

* This situation of the Mount of Olives on the east of Jerusalem — about the distance of five or six furlongs, was interposed between that mount and the city, and was the same thing that is known in the Old Testament, and is Josephus apparently, and in all the descriptions of Palestine.
BOOK V.—CHAP. III.

general in the war, and lord of the habitable earth, on whose preservation the public affairs do all depend." These persuasions Titus seemed not so much to hear, but opposed those that ran upon him, and smote them on the face; and his soldiers, being many, and strong, as they drew them to the town, and thrust them forward; while those men were so amazed at his courage and his strength, that they could not fly to the city, but declined from him on both sides, and pressed after those that fled up the hill; yet did he still fall upon their flank, and put a stop to the retreating army, and the enemy, and terror fell again upon those that were fortifying their camp at the top of the hill, upon their seeing those beneath them running away; insomuch that the battle began to be fought, and the Jews had never seen Titus so victorious. Thus were they encompassed on every side by a kind of panic fear, and some dispersed themselves one way, and others another. The followers of John the Baptist were of the general in the midst of an action, and, being under great concern for him, they loudly proclaimed the danger he was in to the entire multitude, who came to his aid, and being pressed back, and they reproached one another, that they did worse than run away, by deserting Cæsar. So they used their utmost force against the Jews, and at the same time the horsemen and footmen, when they drove them on heaps into the bottom of the valley. Then did the Jews turn about and fight them; but as they were themselves retiring, and now the Roman army had the advantage of the ground, and were above the Jews, they drove them all into the valley. Titus also pressed upon those that were near him, and sent the legion against to fortify their camp; while he, and those that were with him before the enemy, and kept them from doing further mischief; insomuch, that if I may be allowed neither to add any thing out of flattery, nor to diminish anything out of contempt, I shall proceed, and I shall say the plain truth. Cæsar did twice deliver that entire legion when it was in jeopardy, and gave them a quiet opportunity of fortifying their camp.

CHAP. III.

How the Seditious was again received within Jerusalem, and yet the Jews contrived Scares for the Romans. How Titus also threatened his Soldiers for their ungrateful Rashness.

1. As now the war abroad ceased for a while, the sedition within was revived; and on the feast of unleavened bread, which was now come, it being the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus [Nisan], in which it is believed the Jews were first gathered together, and the Passover was observed, the gates of this [immost court of the] temple, and admitted such of the people as were desirous to worship God into it. But John made use of all this violence, they then came back, and several dark signs, and armed the most inconsiderable of his own party, the greater part of whom were not purified, with weapons concealed under their garments, and sent them with great zeal to open to the gates, and to destroy the walls of the city, and fell upon the Roman soldiers, and made of the rocky precipices with iron instruments; and thereby made all the place level from Scopus to Herod's monuments, which joined to the pool called the Fountain of Bethesda; and which

* Here we see the true occasion of those vast numbers of Jews that were in Jerusalem during this siege by Titus, and pursued therein; that the siege began at the feast of the Passover, and the Paschal feast, and prelude of the gate were come from all parts of Judea, and from other countries, in order to celebrate that festival. Thus Tacitus himself informs us, that the number of men, women, and children, in Jerusalem, when it was besieged by the Romans, was 900,000, and that the Roman army that was there must have been taken from the Romans: for Josephus never mentions the number of those that were armed men, when they were given in, threw their garments away, and presently appeared in their armour. Upon which there was a very great disorder and disturbance about the holy house; while the people, who had no concern in the sedition, supposed that Titus aimed against all without distinction; as the zealots thought it was made against themselves only. So these left off guarding the gates any longer, and leaped down from their battlements before they came to an engagement, and fled away into the subterraneous caverns of the temple; while the people that stood trembling at the altar, and were about the holy house, were rolled on hither and thither, and trampled upon, and were beaten both with wooden and with iron weapons without mercy. Such also, as had differences with others, slew many persons, and cut off their own private enmity and hatred, as if they were opposite to the seditious; and all those that had for merly offended any of these plotters, were now known, and hated, and their houses were stormed upon, and they were made to die on their own private comity and hatred, as if they were opposite to the seditious; and all those that had for merly offended any of these plotters, were now known, and hated, and their houses were stormed upon, and they were made to die on their
would open their gates to them, set to the execution of their designs accordingly. But for Titus it seems, he had this and the multiple of other causes to set the Jews in suspicion; for whereas he had invited them to come to terms of accommodation, by Josephus, but one day before, he could then receive no civil answer from them; so he ordered them up to the place where they were. However, some of them that were set in the front of the works prevented him, and catching up their arms ran to the gates; whereupon some that seemed to have been ejected, at the first retired: but as soon as the soldiers were gotten between the towers on each side of the gate, the Jews ran out and encompassed them round, and fell upon them behind, while that multitude which stood upon the wall, threw a heap of stones and darts of all kinds at them, insomuch that they slew a considerable number, and wounded many more; for it was one reason, because of the reason those behind them pressed them forward; besides which the shame they were under for being mistaken, and the fear they were in of their mistaking, was to persevere in their mistake; wherefore they fought with their spears a great while, and received many blows from the Jews, though indeed they gave them as many wounds as last repelled those than had encompassed them about, while the Jews pursued them as they retired, and followed them, and threw darts at them as far as the monuments of their a.

After this, these Jews, without keeping any decorum, grew insolent upon their good fortune, and jesting upon the Romans for being deluded by their，并 they had put upon them, and making a noise with beating their shields, leaped for gladness, and made joyful exclamations; while these soldiers were received with threatenings by the Jews and with indignation by Caesar himself, [who spake to them thus:] "These Jews, who are only conducted by their madness, do every thing with care and circumspection; they contrive stratagems and lay ambuscades, and watch and make ready submission to their commanders, have now had ill success by their contrary behaviour; and by not being able to restrain their hands from some of the towers, they have been caught; and that which is the most to their reproach, they have gone on without their commanders in the very presence of Caesar. Truly (says Titus,) the law of war cannot but hold in a better manner, as my father, as will, himself when he shall be informed of this wound that hath been given us, since he who is grown old in wars, did never make so great a mistake. Our laws of war do also ever inflict capital punishment on those that in the least break into good order, while at this time they have seen an entire army run into disorder. However, those that have been so insolent shall be made immediately sensible, that even they, who conquer among the Romans without orders for fighting, are to be under disgrace." When Titus had enlarged upon this matter before the commanders, it appeared evident that he would execute the law against all those who were concerned; so these soldiers' minds sank down in despair, as expecting to be put to death, and that justly and quickly. However, the other legions came round about Titus, and entreated his favour to these their fellow-soldiers, and made supplication to him that he would pardon the rashness of a few, on account of the multitude, the weakness of all the rest, and promised for them, that they should make amends for their present fault by their more virtuous behaviour in the time to come.

So Caesar complied with their desires, and war

CHAP. IV.

The Description of Jerusalem.

§ 1. The city of Jerusalem was fortified with three walls, on such parts as were not encompassed with unpassable valleys; for in such places it hath but one wall. The city was built upon two hills, which are opposite to one another, and these hills are joined together by a broad and deep valley the corresponding rows of houses on both hills end. Of these hills, that which contains the upper city is much higher, and in length more considerable than the lower, and is called by king David; he was the father of that Solomon who built this temple at the first; but it is by us called the Upper-Market-place. But the other hill, and the lower city, is of the shape of a moon when she is horned; over against this there was a third hill, but naturally lower than Acras, and parted formerly from the upper, and lower city, by a valley; but however, in those times when the Asemoneans reigned, they filled up that valley with earth, and had a mind to join the city to the temple. They then took off part of the height of Acras, and reduced it to a less elevation than it was before, that the temple might be superior to it. Now the valley of the Cheesemongers, as it was called, and was the one that we told you before diminish at the foot of the upper city from that of the lower, extended as far as Sилоam; for that is the name of a fountain which hath sweet water in it, and this in great plenty also. But on the outside of these hills are surrounded by deep valleys, and by reason of the precipices to them belonging, on both sides they are everywhere unpassable.

2. Now, of these three walls, the one was hard to be taken, both by reason of the straitness and of that hill on which it was built, and which was above them. But besides that great advantage, as to the place where they were situated, it was also well built and compact, because David and Solomon, and the following kings, were very zealous about this work. Now that wall..."

actly united to one another, that each tower looked like a large rock of stone; natural, and afterward cut by the hands of the artificers into their present shape and corners; so little, or not at all, did their joints or connexion appear. Now as the tops of them were themselves on the north side of the wall, the king had a palace inwardly thereto adjoined, which exceeds all my ability to describe it; for it was so very curious as to want no cost nor skill in its construction, but was entirely walled about to the height of thirty cubits, and was adorned with turrets at equal distances, and with large bedchambers, that would contain beds for a hundred guests apiece, in every suit of the stony wall. Yet it is not to be expressed: for a large quantity of those that were rare of that kind was collected together. Their roofs were also wonderful, both for the length of the beams, and the splendour of their ornaments. The number of the rooms was also very great, and the variety of the figures that were about them was prodigious; their furniture was complete, and the greatest part of the vessels that were put in them were of silver and gold. There were besides many porticoes, one beyond another, round about, and in each of these porticoes were they, neither was any of the courts that were exposed to the air everywhere green. There were, moreover, several groves of trees, and long walks through them, with deep canals, and ditches, that in several parts were filled with brazen statues, through which the water ran out. There were withal many dove-courts of tame pigeons about the canals. But indeed it is not possible here to write a complete description of all the palaces; and the very remembrance of them is a torment to one, as putting one in mind what vastly rich buildings that fire which was kindled by the hosts of the Jews consumed; for these were not burnt by the Romans, but by these internal plotters, as we have already related, in the beginning of their rebellion. That fire began at the tower of Antonia, and went on to the palaces, and consumed the upper parts of the three towers themselves.

CHAP. V.

A Description of the Temple.

1. Now this temple, as I have already said, was built upon a strong hill. At first the plain and suburb were the only sufficient place for the house and the altar, for the ground about it was very uneven, and like a precipice: but when King Solomon, who was the person that built the temple, had built a wall to it on its east side, the hill was then added on to this one, being covered with a bank cast up for it, and on other parts the holy house stood naked. But in future ages the people added new banks, and the hill became a larger plain. They then broke down the wall on the north side, and took in as much as sufficed afterward for the compass of the entire temple. And when they had built walls on three sides of the temple round about, from the extremity of the hill, and had performed a work that was greater than could be hoped for, (in which work long ages were spent that by them all the rich levies were sent abroad, which were still replenished by these tributes which were sent to God from the whole habitable earth,) they then encompassed their upper parts with six long turrets, so that (as afterward) did the lowest [court of the] temple. The lowest part of this was erected to the height of three hundred cubits, and in some places more, yet did not the entire depth of the foundation appear, for they brought earth and filled up the valleys, as being desirous to make them on a level with the narrow streets of the city; where in they made use of stones of forty cubits in magnitude, which they brought from them bad, and the liberality of the people, made this attempt of theirs to succeed to an incredible degree. And what could not be so much as hoped for as ever to be accomplished, was, by perseverance and length of time, brought to perfection. 2. Now for the works that were above these foundations, these were not unworthy of such foundations; all the cloisters were done, and the pillars to them belonging were twenty-five cubits in height, and supported the cloisters. These pillars were of one entire stone each of them, and those stones were haunched, so that the roofs were adorned with cedar, curiously graven. The natural magnificence, and excellent building, and the harmony of the joints in these cloisters, so admirably formed, that one who could see them, nor was it on the outside adorned with any work of the painter or engraver. The cloisters of the [outmost] court were in breadth thirty cubits. That other court was called the Sanctuary, and this was [built] by our forefathers, and spread reports of its being made four [courts], and that the cloisters of the [first] court were called the Parthenon, and the [second] court the Propylaeum, and the [third] court the Palaestra, and the [fourth] court the Odeum, and the [fifth] court the Ecclesiasterion; and these were made eight [courts]; and the cloisters were every one of them four [court], and the spaces between them were fifteen cubits, and contained fields like small gardens. And this was the distance of ten cubits; and the cloisters were thirty cubits, and the pillars of those were four cubits in circumference. And these cloisters were of one entire stone, and the entire height of them was thirty cubits, and the space between them was fifteen cubits. And these [cloisters] were built in a straight line, and all their edges and corners were even, so that they might seem to be the temples of all the several states of the world, and the works of the wisdom of the world. And this was the distance of ten cubits; and the cloisters were thirty cubits, and the pillars of those were four cubits in circumference. And these [cloisters] were built in a straight line, and all their edges and corners were even, so that they might seem to be the temples of all the several states of the world, and the works of the wisdom of the world.

* These dove-courts in Josephus, built by Herod the Great, are, in the opinion of Reisch, the very same that are mentioned by the Talmudists, and named by them Herod's dove-courts. Nor is there any reason to suppose otherwise, since in both accounts they were expressly tame pigeons which were kept in them.

† See the description of the temple hereto belonging, chap. xv. But note, that what Josephus here says of the construction of the temple, that it was very curious, that it was very noble, that it was very spacious, that it was very holy, that it was very little for the temple, and that at first it held only one cloister, or court of Solomon's building, and that the foundation was observed to be afterward increased, in order to enable it capable of the cloisters for the other courts, &c. is without foundation in the scriptures, and that all this was formed by his own fancy, account in the Antiquities. All that is or can be true here is this, that it was a temple of the first or lowest court, but that as far as these lowest parts as equal to the elevation of the upper floor above its lowest, which was not to be hidden on ground or rock itself, on which that upper court was built, so that forty cubits visible below were reduced to twenty-five visible above, and implied the highest and highest to be fifteen cubits. The main difficulty lies here, how fourteen or fifteen steps should give an account of fifteen cubits, and the ascent on either side be one step. Possibly there were fourteen or fifteen steps at the pavement wall, and fourteen or fifteen more steps to the upper part, and four more steps to the upper part. But I determine nothing.
for them: this gate was cut out of its wall, over against the first gate. There was a gate on the other sides one southern and one northern gate, through which was a passage into the court of the women; for as to the other gates, the women were not allowed to pass through them. When they went through their own gate could they go beyond their own wall. This place was allotted to the women of our own country, and others of the same nation and that equally; the western side of this court had no gate at all, but the wall was built entirely on that side. But then the cloisters which were gates were cut through the masonry from the wall inward before the chambers: for they were supported by very fine and large pillars. These cloisters were single, and, excepting in the south and north, were no way inferior to those of the lower court.

3. Now nine of these gates were on every side covered over with gold and silver, as were the jambs of their doors and their lintels; but there was one gate that was without (the inward court of) the holy house, which was of Corinthian brass, and greatly excelled those that were only covered over with silver and gold. Each gate had two doors, each on the outside, on either side, and the two doors were forty cubits, and their breadth fifteen. However, they had large spaces within of thirty cubits, and had on each side rooms, and those, both in breadth and length. But the rooms were above forty cubits. Two pillars did also support these rooms, and were in circumference twelve cubits. Now the magnitudes of the other gates were equal one to another; but that over the Corinthian gate, which opened on the east, was much larger; for its height was fifty cubits, and was called the Holy of Holies; for after a most costly manner, as having much richer and thicker plates of silver and gold upon them than the other. These nine gates had silver and gold poured upon them by Alexander the father of Tiberius. Now there were fifteen steps, which led away from the wall of the court of the women to this greater gate; whereas those that led thence from the other gates were five steps shorter.

4. As to the holy house itself, which was placed in the midst [of the inner court] that surrounded it and enclosed it, it was covered over with golden plates. It was to twelve steps; and in front its height and its breadth were equal, and each a hundred cubits, though it was behind forty cubits narrower, for its face about it had four thickened shoulders on each side, that passed twenty cubits further. Its first gate was seventy cubits high, and twenty-five cubits broad; but this gate had no doors; for it represented the universal visibility of heaven, and that it cannot be excluded from any place. Its front was covered with gold all over, and through it the first part of the house, that was more inward, did all of it appear; which, as it was very large, so did all the parts about the more inward gate appear to shine to those that saw them: but then, as the entire house was divided into two parts within, it was only the first gate that had doors on both sides. Its height extended all along to ninety cubits in height, and its breadth fifty cubits, and its breadth twenty. But that gate which was at this and of the first part of the house, was, as we have already observed, all over covered with gold, as was its whole wall about it: it had also golden vases above it, from which clusters of grapes hung. And the inner part was lower than the appearance of the outer, and had golden doors of fifty-cubits width affixed to it. But above these doors there was a veil of equal largetness with the doors. It was a Babylonian curtain; embroidered with blue and fine linen, and scarlet, and purple, and of a countenance that was truly wonderful. Nor was this mixture of colors without its mystical interpretation, but was a kind of image of the universe; for by the scarlet there seemed to be enigmatically signified fire, by the blue, the firmament, by the purple, the sea; two of them having their colours the foundation of this resemblance but the fine flax and the purple have their own origin for that foundation, of those parts and the sea the other. This curtain had also embroidered upon it all that was mystical in the heavens, excepting that of the [twelve] signs, representing the twelve months of the year. The twelve lamps signified the seven planets; for so many there were springing out of the candlestick. Now the twelve loaves that were on the table in the circle of the zodiac and the year; but the altar of incense, by its thirteen kinds of sweet-smelling spices with which the sea replenished it, signified, but God in the possession of the place; but the things that are both in the uninhabitable and habitable parts of the earth, and that they are all to be dedicated to his use. But the immost part of the temple was all in flames, and it was also separated from the outer part by a veil. In this there was nothing at all. It was inaccessible and inviolable, and not to be seen by any; and was called the Holy of Holies. The sides of the lower part of the temple there were little houses, with passages out of one into another; there were a great many of them, and they were of three stories high; there were also entrances on each side into them from the gate of the temple. But the superior part of the temple had no such little houses any farther, because the temple was there narrower, and forty cubits higher, and of a smaller body than the lower parts of it. Thus we collect that the whole height, including the sixty cubits from the floor, amounted to a hundred cubits.

6. Now the outward face of the temple in the front wanted nothing that was likely to surprise either men's mind or their eyes; for it was covered all over with gold in weight, and, at the first rising of the sun, reflected back a very fiery splendour, and made those who forced themselves to look upon it, to turn their eyes away, just as they would have done at the sun's own rays. But this temple appeared to strangers, when they were coming to it at a distance, like a mountain covered with snow; for, as to those parts of it that were not gift, they were exceeding white. On its top it had also with sharp points, to prevent any pollution of it by birds sitting upon it. Of its stones some of them were forty-five cubits in length, five in height, and six in breadth. He who entered stood the altar, fifteen cubits high, and equal both in length and breadth; each of which dimensions was fifty cubits. The figure it was that was set in was a square, and it had corners like horses; and the passages up to it was by an insensible acclivity. It was formed without any iron tool, nor did any such iron tool so much as touch the stones. Therefore they that entered in were filled with a partation, about a cubit in height, made of fine stones, and so as to be grateful to the sight; this encompassed the holy house and the altar, and kept the people that came on sea, and the priests. Moreover, those that had the garments and the leprosy were excluded out of the city entirely: women also, when their courses
were upon them, were out of the temple; the sacred priest did not suffer from that impiety, and they were allowed to go beyond the limit before mentioned: men also, that were not thoroughly pure, were prohibited to come into the inner court of the temple, lest the priests themselves that were not pure, were prohibited to come into it also.

7. Now all those of the stock of the priests that were of any sort of meekness by reason of their modesty in their bodies, came within the partition, together with those that had no such imperfection, and had their share with them by reason of their spiritual brightness; for many of them kept on their private garments; for nobody but he that officiated had on his sacred garments; but then those priests that were without any blemish upon them, went up to the unadorned in fine linen.

They obtained chiefly from wine, out of this fear, lest otherwise they should transgress some rules of their ministration. The high priest did also go up with them; not always indeed, but on the sevenths days and new moons, and if any festivals belonging to our nation, when we celebrate every year, happened. When he officiated, he had on a pair of breeches that reached beneath his knees, and he had on his knees, and on an inner garment of linen, together with a blue garment round without seam, with fringes work, and reaching to the feet. There were also gold-veils that covered the faces of the priests, and the high priest officiating, seated his self in the midst among them. The bells signified thunder, the pomegranates lightning. But that girdle that tied the girdle to the breast, was embroidered with the name of one of the seven sons of gold, and purple, and scarlet, as also of fine linen and blue, with which colours we told you before the veils of the temple were embroidered also.

The temple was the first made of the stone, but the quantity of gold therein was greater. Its figure was that of a stomacher for the breast. There were upon it two golden buttons like small shields, which buttocked the ephod to the garment: in these buttons were enclosed two very large and very excellent sardonyxes, having the names of the tribes of that nation engraved upon them; on the other part there hung twelve stones, three in a row one way, and four in the other; a sardius, a topaz, and an emerald; a carnelian, a jasper, and a sapphire; an agate, an amethyst, an oxeyon, a beryl, and a chrysolite; upon every one of which was again engraved one of the forementioned names of the tribes. A mitre also of fine linen encompassed his head, which was tied by a band of ribband, about which there was another golden crown, in which was engraved the sacred name (of God;) it consists of four vowels. However, the high priest did not wear these garments at other times, but on a more plain habit; he only did it when he went into the most sacred part of the temple, which he did but once in a year, on that day when our custom is for all of us to keep a fast to God. And thus much concerning the city and the temple; but, for the customs and laws hereto relating, we shall speak more accurately another time; for there remain a great many things thereunto relating, which we intend to mention more in the time to come.

8. Now, as to the tower of Antonia, it was situated at the corner of two cloisters of the court of the temple, of that on the west, and that on the north: it was erected upon a rock of fifty cubits in height, and was on a great precipice: it was the work of king Herod, wherein he demonstrated his natural magnanimity. In the first place, it was built on that part of the temple where many of the firm stones have been laid even as the smooth pieces of stone, from its foundation, both for ornament, and that any one who would either try it get up or to go down it, might not be able to do so. But for this, and the mean it was, that you come to the edifice of the tower itself, there was a wall three cubits high; but within that wall all the space of the tower of Antonia itself was built upon to the height of forty cubits. The tower was very high, and this square and form of a palace, being parted into all kinds of rooms and other conveniences, such as courts and places for bathing, and healed spaces for canopys; in short, that it might seem to be composed of several cities, but by its magnificence it seemed a palace; and as the entire structure resembled that of a tower, the name of tower was given to those towers at its four corners: whereof the others were but fifty cubits high; whereas that which lay upon the southeast corner was seventy cubits high. This tower might be viewed: but on the corner, where it joined to the two cloisters of the temple, it had passages down to them both, through which the guard (for there always lay in this tower a Roman legion) went several ways among the cloisters, with their arms, on the Jewish festivals, in order to watch the people, that they might not there attempt to make any innovations in the temple.

There was also a peculiar fortress belonging to the temple, the name of which was the upper part of the new city, and the name of Bezatha, which is the name of the new city, and was the only place that hindered the sight of the temple on the north. And this shall suffice at present to have spoken about the city and the temple, because I have proposed to myself to make a more accurate description of it elsewhere.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the Tyranous Simon and John Hasmoneus, also, as Titus was going round the Wall of the City, Nicobarus was wounded by a Dart; which Act proved very fatal to Titus on the Siege.

§ 1. Now the warlike men that were in the city, and the multitude of the seditionists that were with Simon, were ten thousand, besides the Idumeans. Titus ten thousand had fifty commandors, over whom this Simon was supreme. The Idumeans that paid him homage were five thousand; and the Idumeans, and others, who had great names, were Jacob the son of Simon, and Simon the son of Cathlai. John, who had seized upon the temple, had six thousand armed men, and a great number of armed men also that had come over to him, and left off their opposition; were two thousand four hundred, and had the same commandor that they had formerly, Eleazar, together with Simon the son of Arius. Now, while these factions fought one against another, the people were their pray on both sides, as we have said already; and that part of the people which would not join with them in their wicked practices, were plundered by both factions. Simon held the upper city and the great wall as far as Cedron, and as much of the old wall as went from Sioam to the east, and which went down to the sea of Galilee, which was king of the Abinabeus, beyond Esparates: he also held that fountain, and the Acre, which was no other than the lower city; he also held all that reposed to the part of Jerusalem, the mother of Monobazus. But John held the temple and the parts thereto adjoining, for a great way, as also Ophias, and the valley called the Valley of the Flowers, and many of the cities, and the country also that lay in the midst between those two cities, and which was divided amongst the Idumeans and the Idumeans. And the Antipatricians, and the country also that lay in the midst between those two cities, and which was divided amongst the Idumeans and the Idumeans. And the Antipatricians, and the country also that lay in the midst between those two cities, and which was divided amongst the Idumeans and the Idumeans.

* These three guards that lay in the tower of Antonia must be those that guarded the city, the temple, and end tower of Antonia.
BOOK V.—CHAP. VI.

3dly, and the suburbs left naked. But now
while the timber was being cut to the bough, and the whole army was earnestly engaged
in their works, the Jews were not, however, quiet; and
it happened that the people of Jerusalem,
who had been hitherto plundered and murdered,
were now of equal courage and vigor; and
they should have a breathing time, while the others
were very busy in opposing their enemies with
a city at the city; and that they should now be avenged
on those that had been the authors of their
miseries, in case the Romans did but get the

3. However, John stood behind out of fear
of Simon, even while his own men were earnest in
making a sally upon their enemies without.
Yet did not Simon lie still, for he lay near the place
of the siege; he brought his engines of war, and
disposed of them at due distances upon the wall; both
those which they took from Cestius formerly, and
those which they got when they seized the garri-
on that lay in the tower Antonia. But though they
had these engines in their possession, they had
so little skill in using them, that they were
in a great measure useless to them; but a few
there were who had been taught by deserters
how to use them, which they did after an awkward manner. So they cast stones
and arrows at those that were making the banks;
also ran out upon them by companies, and
Nicht, that those that covered themselves with hurdles spread over their
banks, and their engines were opposed to them
when they made their excursions. The
engines, that all the legions, and the rest for them,
were admirably contrived; but still more
extraordinary ones belonged to the tenth legion;
those that threw darts, and those that threw stones, were more curiously
made than the rest, by which they not only repelled the excursions
of the Jews, but drove those away that
were upon the walls also. Now, the stones
that were cast were of the weight of a talent,
and were carried two furlongs and farther. The blow
they gave was no way to be sustained, not only
by those that stood first in the way, but by those
that were beyond them for a great space. As
for the Jews, they at first watched the coming
of the stone, for it was of a white colour, and could
therefore not only be perceived by the great
noise it made, but it could be seen what came,
by its brightness: accordingly, the watch-
men that sat upon the towers gave them notice
when the engine was let go, and the stone came
their way; it was in this manner, and in this
language, the son cometh: so those that
were in its way stood off, and threw themselves
down upon the ground; by which means, and by
their thus guarding themselves, the stone fell
down and did them no harm. But the Romans con-
trived how to prevent that, by blacking the stone,
who then could aim at them with success, when
the stone was not discerned beforehand, as it had
been till then; and so they destroyed many or

* What should be the meaning of this signal or watch-
word? Later scholars who were versed in the Greek
language, The son cometh, or what mistake there is in
the reading, I cannot tell. The MSS. both Greek and Latin,
for their, is used in the first part of the text. This
groundless conjectural alteration of the text from τοῦ ἸΟΥΣ
ο ἸΩΣ, that not the son or a stone, but that the arrow
or dart cometh, as hath been made by Dr. Hudson, and not
corrected by Havercamp. Had Joseph written verses in his
first edition of these books of the war in pure Hebrew, or
not the Jews then used the pure Hebrew at Jerusalem, the
feeling and expression of a son in an likened
the peace and goodwill that is to come, that
would come at the head of the Roman army for their de-
struction. But even this interpretation has but a very
small degree of probability. It seems to me to be an in-
formation, by more conjectures, I would read ΠΗΡΙΟΣ
instead of ἸΟΥΣ, though the likeness be not so great as in ἸΟΥΣ;
because that is the word used by Josephus just as
fore, as I have already noticed, on this very same occasion,
while ἸΟΥΣ, an arrow or dart, is only a poetical word, and
never used by Josephus elsewhere, and in, indeed, no way suit-
able to this occasion. That throwing arrows or darts, but great stones at this time.
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them at one blow. Yet did not the Jews, under all this distress, permit the Romans to raise their banks in quiet; but they shrewdly and boldly ex- ploited the height at which they stood, and repelled them both by night and by day.

4. And now, upon the finishing the Roman works, the workmen measured the distance there was between the tower and this bank, and laid a line which they threw to it from their banks, for they could not measure it any otherwise, because the Jews would shoot at them, if they came to measure it themselves; and when they found that the engines could reach the wall, they brought them thither. Then did Titus set his engines at proper distances, so much nearer to the wall, that the Jews might not be able to repel them, and gave orders they should go to work; and when therefore a prodigious noise echoed round about from three places, and that on the sudden that great noise, which was heard in the city, were within the city, and no less a terror fell upon the seditionists themselves; whereas both sorts, seeing the common danger they were in, communicated with each other by the sudden and fierce factions cried out one to another, that they acted entirely as in concert with their ene- mies; whereas they ought, however, notwithstanding the very great enemy they had, and the last action they had, in their present circumstances, to lay aside their enmities one against another, and to unite together against the Romans. Accordingly, Si- nom the son of Zebediah, who was in the temple, by proclamation, to go upon the wall; also Simon himself, though he could not believe that Simon was in earnest, gave them the same leave. So on both sides they laid aside their hatred and their peculiar quarrels, and formed themselves into one body; they then ran round the walls, and having a vast number of torches with them, they threw the fire on the machines, and shot darts per- petually upon those engines that remained; and the battering ram, which battered the wall, nay, the bolder sort escaped by troops upon the hurdles that covered the machines, and pulled them to pieces, and so upon their backs they began to go to them, and beat them, not so much by any skill they had, as principally by the boldness of their attacks. However, Titus himself still sent assistance to those who were in the temple; and, placing horsemen and archers on the several sides of the engines, and thereby beat off those that brought the fire to them; he also thereby repelled those that were thrown from the towers, and then set the engines to work in good earnest; yet did not the wall yield to these blows, excepting where the battering-ram of the fifteenth legi- on went against it; while the walls of the city still continued unburst; for the wall was not presently in the same danger with the tower, which was extant far above it; nor could the fall of that part of the tower easily break down any part of the wall itself together with it.

5. And now the Jews intermitted their sallies for a while; but when they observed the Ro- mans dispersed all abroad at their works, and in their several camps, (for they thought the Jews had retired out of weariness and fear,) they all at once made a sally at the tower Hippicus, through an obscure gate, and at the same time brought fire to burn the works, and went boldly up to the Romans, and to their very fortifications themselves, where, at the cry they made, those that were near them came presently to their as- sistance, and those farther off came running after them; and here the boldness of the Jews was too hard for the good order of the Romans; and as those that were so pressed upon those that were now gotten to- gether. So this fight about the machines was very hot, while the one side tried hard to set them on fire, and the other side to prevent it; on both sides there was a confused cry made, and many of those in the forefront of the battle were slain.

However, the Jews were now too hard for the Romans, by the furious assaults they made them; and the fire caught hold of the work, and burnt it up; and the Romans, who had themselves, had been in danger of being burnt, had so many of those select soldiers that came from Alexandria opposed themselves to prevent it: for these were the bravest of the bravest, and had fought against a thousand men, and were so brave that they opened no way to their accusers. But when Titus saw the flames threaten the house, he ordered it to be turned to ashes, and the soldiers were dispersed; and by this means the flames spread, and burnt up the towers; and when Titus saw the flames approaching his tents, he ordered his soldiers to go out, and then fell upon the Jews, and drove them all into the city, and saved the works from the fire. Now, it happened to Titus to see the whole of the Jews in the streets, and the most generous part of them were alive, who, by Titus's order, was crucified before the wall, to see whether the rest of them would be affrighted, and abate of their obstinacy. But after they had seen the murder of the Idumeans, and were talking to a certain soldier of his acquaintance before the wall, was wounded by a dart shot at him by an Arab, and died immediately; leaving the greatest clamour to the Jews, and the seditionists. For he was a man of great em- phase, both for his actions and his conduct also.

CHAPTER VII.

How one of the Towers erected by the Romans fell down of its own accord; and how the Ro- mans, after great slaughter, had been made, put possession of the first wall. How also Titus made a solemn assembly upon the occasion, and also concerning Longinus the Roman, and Cae- sar the Jew.

§ 1. Now on the next night, a surprising dis- turbance fell upon the Romans; for whereas Titus had given orders for the erection of this tower of a certain wall which has been built upon upon them at every bank, he might from them drive those away who were upon the wall, it so happened that one of those towers fell down about three in the morning, and therefore noise, fear fell upon the army, and they, suppos- ing that the enemy was coming to attack them, ran all to their arms. Whereupon a disturbance happened also, and a noise made, as if the body could tell what had happened; they went on after a disconsolate manner; and seeing no enemy appear, they were afraid one of another, and every one drove his neighbour from him, and the watchword with great earnestness, as though the Jews had invaded their camp. And now they were like people under a panic fear, till Ti- tus was informed of what had happened, and gave orders that all should be acquainted with it: and then, though with some difficulty, they got clear of the disturbance they had been under.

2. Now these towers were very troublesome to the Jews, who otherwise opposed the Romans very courageously; for they shot at them out of their lighter engines from those towers, as they did also by those that threw darts, and the archers, and those that flung stones. For neither could the Jews reach those that were over them, by reason of their height, and it was not practicable to take them, nor to overtop them, they were so heavy; nor to set them on fire, because they were covered with plates of iron. So they re- tirest out of the reach of the darts, and did not miss the stone by the smallest chance, while they fell upon, so the Romans pressed upon those that were now gotten to- gether. So this fight about the machines was very hot, while the one side tried hard to set them on fire, and the other side to prevent it; on both sides there was a confused cry made, and many of those in the forefront of the battle were slain.
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grown weary of fighting, and of keeping guard, and were retired to lodge on the night times as the night comes on. And now, as the accounts also thought by them to be superfluously to guard the wall, there being, besides that, two other fortifications still remaining, and the night was dark, Longinus, one of the equestrian officers, was seen in concert on all occasions; so a great many grew lazy and retired. Then the Romans mounted the breach, where Nico had made one, and as soon as men set to work, several well-armed men were out of the second wall; so that those who had gotten over that wall opened the gates, and received all the army within it. And thus did the Horatians, on the twentieth day of the fiftieth day of the siege, which was the seventh day of the month Artemisia, (Jyar,) when they demolished a great part of it, as well as they did of the northern parts of the city, which had been demolished also by Cestius formerly.

3. And now Titus pitched his camp within the city, at that place which was called the Camp of the Assyrians, having seated upon all that lay as far as Cedron, but took care to be out of the reach of the Jews' darts. He then presently began his attacks, upon which the Jews divided themselves into two parts: one was posted at the wall; while John and his faction did it from the tower of Antonia, and from the northern cloister of the temple, and fought the Romans before the monument of the king Alexander; and Simon's army also took for their share the spot of ground which was near John's monument, and fortified it as far as to that gate where water was brought into the tower Hippocaeus. However, the Jews made violent sallies, and that frequently also, and in bodies together, out of the gates, and there fought the Romans; and when they were pursued all together to the wall, they were beaten in those fights, as well as in the skill of the Romas. At last the Jews, when they fought them from the walls, they were too hard for them; the Romans being encouraged by their power, joined to their skill, as were the Jews by their boldness; and which was nourished by the fear they were in, and that hardness which is nature to our nation under calamities; they were also encouraged still by the hope of deliverance, as were the Romans by their hopes of subduing them in a single time. Nor did they prove weary; but attacks and fightings upon the wall, and perpetual sallies out in bodies, were there all the day long; nor were there any sort of warlike engines that were not used against them. And the night itself had much ado to part them, when they began to fight in the morning; nay, the night itself was passed without sleep on both sides, and was made upon the one and the other, while the one was afraid lest the wall should be taken, and the other lest the Jews should make sallies upon their camps; both sides also lay in their armour during the night time, and thereby were ready at the first appearance of light to go to the battle. Now, among the Jews, the ambition was who should undergo the first dangers and thereby gratify their commanders. Above all did Simon and his faction; as did Simon, and to that degree was he regarded by every one of those that were under him, that at his command they were very ready to kill themselves, with their own hands. The Romans so courageous was their usual custom of conquering, and discourse of being defeated, their constant wars, and perpetual warlike exercises, and the grandeur of their dominion; and what was now their chief encouragement was, he was present everywhere with them all; for it appeared a terrible thing to grow weary, while Caesar was there, and fought bravely as well as they did, and was himself at once an object of such as behaved themselves valiantly, and he who was to reward them also. It was, besides, esteemed an advantage at present to have any one's valor known by Caesar, on which account many of them appeared to have more sincerity than strength to keep guard. And now they were about this time standing in array before the wall, and that in a strong body, and while both parties were throwing their darts at each other, there was a great shout of the Roman army, and of the army of the Iomans, and leaped into the very midst of the army of the Jews; and as they dispersed themselves upon this attack, he slew two of their men of the greatest courage one of them he struck in his mouth as he was coming to sunder him, the other was slain by him with that very dart which he drew out of the body of their man who ran him through his side, as he was running away from him; and when he had done this, he first of all ran out of the midst of his enemies to his own side. So this man signalized himself for his valour, and many there were who were ambitious of gaining the like reputation. And now the Jews were unconcerned at what they suffered themselves from the Romans, and were only solicitous about what mischief they could do them; and death itself seemed a small matter to them, if at the same time they could but kill any one of their enemies. But Titus took all care of his own safety from harm, as well as to have them overcome their enemies. He also said, that inconsiderable violence was madness, and that this alone was the true courage, which was joined with conduct. He therefore commanded his men to take care, when they fought their enemies, that they received no harm from them at the same time, and thereby show themselves to be truly valiant men.

4. And now Titus brought one of his engines to the middle tower of the north part of the wall, in which a certain stone, which Castor, lay in ambush, with ten others like himself, the rest being fled away by reason of the archers. These men lay still for a while, as in great fear, under their breastplates: but when the tower was shaken, they arose, and Castor did then stretch out his hand, as a petitioner, and called for Cesar, and by his voice moved his compassion, and begged of him to have mercy upon them; and Titus, in the innocency of his heart, believing him to be in earnest, and hoping that the Jews did now repent, stopped the working of the battering-rams, and forbade the attack at the present time, and bade Castor say what he had a mind to say to him. He said, that he would come down, if he would give him his right hand for his security. To which Titus replied, that he was deceived with such an agreeable conduct, and would be well pleased if all the Jews would be of his mind, and that he was ready to give the like security to the city. Now five of the ten assembled with him, and pretended to beg for mercy, while the rest cried out aloud, that they would never be slaves to the Romans, while it was in their power to die in a state of freedom. Now while these men were quarrelling for a long while, the attack was delayed; Castor also sent to Simon, and told him that they might take some time for consultation about what was to be done, because they included the power of the Romans for a considerable time. And at the same time that he sent thus to him, he appeared openly to exhort those that were obstinate to a wise and prudent purpose for their security; but they seemed very angry at it, and brandished their naked swords upon the breastworks, and struck themselves upon their breasts, and fell down as if they had been mad. Hereupon Titus, and those with him, were amazed at the courage of the men, and as they were not able to see exactly what was done, they admired at their great spirit, and their brave valour. During this interval, a certain person shot a dart at Castor, and wounded him in his nose, whereupon he presently pulled out the dart, and
showed it to Titus, and complained that this was unfair treatment. So Cæsar reproved him that shot the darts, and sent Josephus, who then stood by him, to get them in. But Josephus said that he should not go to him, because these pretended petitioners meant nothing that was good; he also restrained those friends of his who were zealous to go among them. But still there was one Cæcina, a deserter, who said he would go to him. Castor also called to them, that somebody should come and receive the money which he had with him; but this made Cæcina the more earnestly to run to him with his business open. Then did Castor take up a great stone, and threw it at him which missed him because he guarded himself against it, but still it wounded another soldier that was coming to him. When Cæsar understood that this was a delusion, he perceived that mercy in war is a pernicious thing, because such cunning tricks have less place under the exercise of greater severity. So he caused the engine to work more strongly than before, on account of his anger at the deceit put upon him. But Castor and his companions set their engine at him again, and leaped through the flame into a hidden vault that was under it, which made the Romans farther suppose that they were men of great courage, as having cast themselves into the fire.

CHAP. VIII.
How the Romans took the second Wall twice, and get ready for taking the third Wall.

§ 1. Now Cæsar took this wall there on the fifth day after he had taken the first; and when the wall was taken, he sent into it with a thousand armed men, and those of his choice troops, and this at a place where were the merchants of wool, the braziers, and the market for cloth, and possibly theบรก, the more distant of the wall. Wherefore if Titus had either demolished a larger part of the wall immediately, or had come in, and, according to the law of war, had laid waste what was left, his victory would not, I suppose, have been mixed with any loss to himself. But now, out of the hope he had that he should make the Jews ashamed of their obstinacy, by not being willing, when he was able, to afflict them more than he needed to do, he did not widen the breach of the wall, in order to make a safer retreat upon occasion; for he did not want troops for that purpose, nor for those that did them such a kindness. When therefore he came in, he did not permit his soldiers to kill any of those they caught, nor to set fire to their houses, but only to take to the soldiers, if they had a mind, to fight without any harm to the people, and promised to restore the people's effects to them; for he was very desirous to preserve the city for his own sake, and the temple for the sake of the city. As for the people, he had them of a long time ready to comply with his proposals; but as to the fighting men, this humanity of his seemed a mark of his weakness, and those imagined that he made these proposals because he was not able to take the rest of the city. They also threatened death to the people if they should any one of them say a word about a surrender. They moreover cut the throats of such as talked of peace, and then attacked those Romans that were come within the wall. Some of them they met in the narrow streets, and some they fought against from their houses, while they made a sudden sally out at the upper gates, and assaulted such Romans as were beyond the wall, till those that guarded the walls were forced to turn away the space, that they might be defended by their houses, and retired to their several camps. Upon which a great noise was made by the Romans that were within, because they were surrounded by rapine, and by rapine, and by terror. And so he made use of this relaxation in order to

of their estates, and had all now of their hands off from molesting with their usual appointment; when he must contribute subsistence money to the soldiers was now come, he gave orders that the commanders should put the army into battle array in the face of the enemy, and destroy their huts of their pay. So the soldiers, according to custom, opened the cases wherein before their arms lay covered, and marched with their breastplates on, as did the others; nor was there any thing either so grateful to the soldiers, as this order of service, as that sight. For the whole old wall, and the north side of the temple, was full of spectators, and one might see the houses full of such as looked at them; nor was there any part of the city which was not covered over with their multitudes: nay, a very great consternation seized upon the hearts of the Jews themselves, when they saw all the army in the same place, together with the fineness of their arms, and the good order of their men. And I cannot but think that the sedition would have changed their minds at that sight, unless the crimes they had committed, and the great horror that they suspected of forgiveness from the Romans; but as they believed death with torments must be their punishment, if they did not fight, they fought so strong for their lives, as they did not much better to die in war. Flee also prevailed so far over them, that the innocent were to perish with the guilty, and the city was to be destroyed with their holy places, which they did not yet submit to the Romans, which they would not have suffered, had they not known that God was with them. As for themselves, whatever they had to do, they were to depart, and beget a new, the greatest part of their city is already taken; and when those that are within it are under greater miseries than if they were taken, although their walls be still standing? For that the Romans are not acquainted with that famine which is in the city, whereby the people are already consumed, and the fighting men will in a little time die so too; for although the Romans should have off the siege, and not fall upon the city with their swords in their hands, yet was there such a stupendous war that beset them within, and was augmented every day, and the walls of the city were in the contest of the Romans, and that the Romans would not be mindful of their past actions, to their shame and dishonour, unless they persevered in their insatiable behaviour to the end; because they were naturally mild in their conquests, and preferred what was profitable, before what their parochial events dictated to them; which press of their foes not in leaving the city empty of inhabitants, nor the country desert; on which account Caesar did not offer them a reconciliation. Whereas, if he took the city by force, he would not save any of them, and this especially, if he rejected his offers in these their utmost distresses; for the walls that were already taken could not but assure them that the third wall would quickly be taken also. And although their fortifications should prove too strong for the Romans to break through them, yet was there no such a stupendous war that beset them within.
WAR OF THE JEWS.

..."O inestimable creatures! are you so unmindful of those that used to assist you, that you would be revenged by your weapons and your hands against the God of Israel? Who out of all the nations of the world, would dare to rise up against you, and quarrel with any other nation by such means? and when was it that God, who is the Creator of the Jewish people, did not avenge them when they had been revenged of their enemies? wherefore you must believe this, and do not believe that when you fight with such violence, and how great a Supporter you have professedly denied! Will not you recall to your minds the great things done for your forefathers and this holy place, and how great enemies of yours were by him subdued under you? I even tremble myself, in declaring the works of God. They are worthy to be hear and now; however, bearken to me, that you may be informed, how you fight not only against the Romans, but against God himself. In old time there was one Necon, king of Egypt, who was also called Pharaoh; he came with a prodigious army of soldiers, and seized queen Sarah, the mother of our nation. What did Abraham our progenitor do? did he defend himself from this injurious person by war, although he had three hundred and eighteen captains under him, and an immense army under each of them? Indeed the number of his horse was so great that, as he passed through the streets without God's assistance, and only spread out his hands towards this holy place, which you have now polluted, and reckoned upon him as upon his king, instead of turning to God; was not our queen sent back without any dishonour to her husband, the very next evening? while the king of Egypt fled away, adoring this place, and casting up the shedding thereof in the blood of your own countrymen; and he also trembled at those views which he saw in the nile also, and bestowed both silver and gold on the Hebraeans; this is a simple thing, compared with God. Shall I say nothing, or shall I mention the remotest of our fathers into Egypt, who, when they were used tyrannically, and were fallen under the power of foreign kings for four hundred years together, and might have defended themselves by war and by fighting, did yet do nothing but commit themselves to God? Who is there that does not know that Egypt was overthrown with all sorts of wild beasts, and consumed by all sorts of disasters? how their land did not bring forth the fruits of the Nile failed of water? how the ten plagues of Egypt happened, and did not cease? how by those means our fathers were sent away under a guard without any bloodshed, and without amusing any danger, because God conducted them by his mercy, and did not Palestine groan under the ravage the Assyrians made, when they carried away our sacred ark? did their idol Dagon, and as also did that entire nation of those that carried it away; how they were smitten with a leprosy, so struck this part in the secret parts of their bodies, when their very bowels came down together with what they had eaten, till those hands that stole it away were obliged to bring it back again, and the sound of cymbals and timbrels, and other obloquies, in order to appease the anger of God for the violation of his holy ark. It was God who sent those enemies to you, and to the wise men who had been wretched and plundered these great things for our fathers, and this because they did not meddle with war and fighting, but committed it to him to judge about their affairs. Berlin, king of Assyria?"

Josephus supposes, in this his admirable speech to the Jews, that not Abraham only, but Pharaoh, king of Egypt, prayed toward their temple at Jerusalem, or toward Jerusalem itself. Concerning which, see verses 16 and next, of the 8th chapter of the psalms, in which the tabernacle and temple did after stand; and this long before either the Jewish tabernacle or temple. This was the famous command given by God to Abraham, to go two or three days' journey on purpose to offer up his son there, unadvantageous to such a notion. This does not belong to his same admirable speech, call it the Scripture, as the Jewish Philosopher on the
BOOK V.—CHAP. X.

the ten of Antipater, brought upon us Sosias, and Sosias brought upon us the Roman army; they were then encompassed and besieged for six months, till, as a punishment for their sins, they were taken, and the city was plundered by the Romans, who burnt and carried away as many of the Jews and their goods as were never given to our nation; but that we are always given up to be fought against, and to be taken; for I suppose, that such as inhabit this holy place ought to commit the disposal of all things to God, and then only to disregard the assistance of men, when they resign themselves up to their Arbitrator, who is above. As for you, what have you done of those things which are recommended by our legislator? and what have you not done of those things that he hath commanded? How much more impious are you than those which were quickly taken? You have not avoided so much as those sins that are usually done in secret; I mean thefts, and treacherous plots against men, and adulteries. You are quarrelling about marriage and marriage, and invent strange ways of wickedness. Nay, the temple itself is become the receptacle of all, and this divine place is polluted by the hands of those men, who have gone to church and have been reverenced by the Romans, when it was at a distance from them, when they have suffered many of their own customs to give place to our law. And I ask you, are you not impiously abused to be your supporter? To be sure then you have a right to be petitioners, and to call upon him to assist you, so pure and holy shall your request be, that you may have reason to hope for the like vengeance upon them? Did not that king accept of money from our king on this condition, that he should make war upon the city, and yet, after the city was taken, he came down to burn the temple? while the Romans do demand no more than that accosted tribute which our fathers paid to their fathers; and if they may but once obtain that, they never aim to destroy the city, nor to touch this sanctuary: nay, they will grant you besides, that your posterity shall be free, and your possessions secured to you, and will prevent all wars, and the like; and is it plain madness to expect that God should appear as well disposed towards the wicked as towards the righteous, since he knows when it is proper to punish them for their sins? accordingly he brake the power of the Assyrians the very first night that they pitched their camp. Wherefore, had he judged that our nation was worthy of freedom, or the Romans of punishment, he had immediately inflicted punishment upon those Romans as he did upon the Assyrians, when Pompey began to meddle with our nation, or when after him Sosias came up against us, or when Vespasian laid waste Galilee, or lastly, when Titus came first of all near to the city; although Magna and Sosias did not only suffer more in bodies, but also in name. Vespasian go from the war he made against you to receive the empire, and as for Titus, those springs that were formerly almost dried up, when they were under your power, now he is come more plentifully than they did before: accordingly you know that Siloam, as well as all the other springs that were without the city, did so far fail, that water was sold by distinct measures, whereas they now have such a great quantity of water for your enemies, as is sufficient not only for drink both for themselves and their cattle.

This drying up of the Jerusalem fountain of Siloam, which was a beautiful instance of a Divine discovery, whereby he caused the enemies of the Jews to want it, and those both in the days of Zedekiah and of Titus, (and this last as a certain event would be known by the Jews at that time, as Josephus

but for manifesting their guidance have. The wonder-
man's going out, they did the coming in of the Romans; and if any one did but afford the least shadow of suspicion of such an intention, his threat was out immediately.

3. But as for the richer sort, it proved all one to them, how tormentor they were or how themselves hunted; for the thing had been less barbarous had necessity forced them to it; but this was done to keep their madness in exercise, and as making provision of provisions for themselves for the following days. These men went also to meet those that had crept out of the city by night, as far as the Roman guards, to gather some plants and to make wine; for the vine does bear wild; and when those people thought they had got clear of the enemy, they snatched from them what they had brought with them, even while they had frequently sustained them, and that by calling upon the tremendous name of God, to give them back some part of what had they brought; though these would not give them the least crumb, and they were to be well paid for that they were only spared, and not slain at the same time.

4. These were the afflictions which the lower sort of people suffered from these tyrant's guards. But as for the rich, when they were rich, they were carried before the tyrants themselves; some of whom were falsely accused of laying treacherous plots, and were destroyed; others were accused of betraying the city to the Romans; but the readiest way of all was this, to suborn somebody to affirm that they were resolved to desert to the enemy. They would go to the lowest rooms of the Tyrian society, in what he had by Simon, was sent back again to John, as of those who had been already plundered by John, Simon got what remained; insomuch as that they were the poorest and the last necessity the Cretans were resorted to another, and divided the dead bodies of the poor creatures between them: so that although, on account of their ambition after dominion, they sought another, the Tyrians and the Cretans well agree in their wicked practices; for be that did not communicate what he had got by the miseries of others to the other tyrants, seemed to be too little guilty, and in one respect only; and he that did not know of what was so communicative to him, grieved at the loss, as at the loss of what was a valuable thing, that he had no share in such barbarity.

5. It is therefore impossible to go distinctly over every instance of these men's iniquity. I shall therefore speak my mind here at once briefly, that neither did any other city over suffer such miseries and destruction, nor had any nation more fruitful in wickedness than this was, from the beginning of the world. Finally, they brought the Hebrew nation into contempt, that they might themselves appear excellent in everything, and impious with regard to strangers. They confessed what was true, that they were the slaves, the scum, and the spurious and abortive offspring of our nation; that they overthrew the city themselves, and forced the Romans, whether they would or not, to gain a melancholy reputation, by acting gloriously against them, and did almost as if they were unable to draw that which they enjoyed, and that it seemed to think came too slowly; and indeed, when they saw that temple burning from the upper city, they were neither troubled at it, nor did they shed any tears over the destruction of it, seeing these passions were discovered among the Romans themselves. Which circumstances we shall speak of hereafter in their proper place, when we come to treat of each matters.

CHAP. XI.

How the Jews were treachery to the Wine of the City. Concerning Antiochus Epiphanes; and how the Jews overthrew the Banks that had been raised by the Romans.

§ 1. So now Titus's banks were advanced a great way, notwithstanding his soldiers had been
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very much distressed from the wall. He then set a guard upon them and ordered they should be made free for those that went away to their valleys to gather food. Some of these were indeed fighting men, who were not contented with what they got by disguise; but the greater part of them having come to nothing, came to such an utter desertion by the concern they were under for their own relations; for they could not hope to escape only, together with their wives and children, without the knowledge of the seditious; nor could they think of leaving these relations to be slain by the robbers on their account; may, the severity of the famine made them bold in that respect. But they divided them into small bands, and instructed after the Macedonian manner, whosoever it was they took that name. Yet were many of them unworthy of so famous a nation; for it had so happened, that many of them would be preserved and flourished more than any other kings that were under the power of the Romans, till a change happened in his condition; and when he was become an old man, it was plain, that we ought not to call any man happy before he is dead. But this son of his, who was then come thither before his father was decaying, said, that "he could not but wonder what wonders were to be expected in making their attacks upon the wall." Now he was a warlike man, and naturally bold in exposing himself to dangers; he was also so strong a man, that he could not be deterred by the fear of having success. Upon this Titus smiled, and said, "He would share the pains of an attack with him." However, Antiochus went as he then was, and with a great many Roman auxiliaries, and a large number of the soldiers, out of the wrath and hatred they bore the Jews, nailed those that they caught, one after another, and another after another, to the crosses; and it was that great a tumult yet that room was wanting for the crosses, and crosses wanting for the bodies."

2. But so far were the seditions from repenting at this sight, and that, on the contrary, they made the rest of the multitude believe and rejoice; for they brought the relations of those that had deserted upon the wall, with such of the populace as were very eager to go over upon the security offered them. But the city was yet a great deal divided upon this point, as we have before declared; for some would not leave their houses, because they feared they were to be afterwards put to death, or to have their goods seized. So the soldiery, out of the wrath and hatred they bore the Jews, nailed those they caught, one after another, and another after another, to the crosses; and it was that great a tumult yet that room was wanting for the crosses, and crosses wanting for the bodies."

3. Now, when Titus had taken the banks upon the twelfth day of the month Artemisius [Jyar.] so had they much ado to finish them by the twenty-sixth day of the same month, after which they had laboured continually. The sea being several days within the city who were so eager to desert, till the truth was known; yet did some of them run away immediately as unto certain punishment, selecting from among their relations the persons they desired the most, and on this account deserted, either by force, or if compared with that by famine. So Titus commanded that the heads of many of those that were caught should be cut off, that they might not be thought deserters, and might be credited on account of the calamity they were under, and sent them in to John and blasphem with this exhortation, that "they would now at last leave off their ill behaviour, and not force us to destroy the city, whereby they would have those advantages of repentance, even in their utmost distress, that they would preserve verge of the city."

4. In answer to which, the seditions at reprouached upon Caesar himself, and upon his father also, and cried out with a loud voice, at his having been in such a long time be followed by his decision. In answer to which, the seditions at reprouached upon Caesar himself, and upon his father also, and cried out with a loud voice, at his having been in such a long time be followed by his decision. In answer to which, the seditions at reprouached upon Caesar himself, and upon his father also, and cried out with a loud voice, at his having been in such a long time be followed by his decision. In answer to which, the seditions at reprouached upon Caesar himself, and upon his father also, and cried out with a loud voice, at his having been in such a long time be followed by his decision. In answer to which, the seditions at reprouached upon Caesar himself, and upon his father also, and cried out with a loud voice, at his having been in such a long time be followed by his decision. In answer to which, the seditions at reprouached upon Caesar himself, and upon his father also, and cried out with a loud voice, at his having been in such a long time be followed by his decision. In answer to which, the seditions at reprouached upon Caesar himself, and upon his father also, and cried out with a loud voice, at his having been in such a long time be followed by his decision. In answer to which, the seditions at reprouached upon Caesar himself, and upon his father also, and cried out with a loud voice, at his having been in such a long time be followed by his decision. In answer to which, the seditions at reprouached upon Caesar himself, and upon his father also, and cried out with a loud voice, at his having been in such a long time be followed by his decision. In answer to which, the seditions at reprouached upon Caesar himself, and upon his father also, and cried out with a loud voice, at his having been in such a long time be followed by his decision. In answer to which, the seditions at reprouached upon Caesar himself, and upon his father also, and cried out with a loud voice, at his having been in such a long time be followed by his decision. In answer to which, the seditions at reprouached upon Caesar himself, and upon his father also, and cried out with a loud voice, at his having been in such a long time be followed by his decision. In answer to which, the seditions at reprouached upon Caesar himself, and upon his father also, and cried out with a loud voice, at his having been in such a long time be followed by his decision. In answer to which, the seditions at reprouached upon Caesar himself, and upon his father also, and cried out with a loud voice, at his having been in such a long time be followed by his decision. In answer to which, the seditions at reprouached upon Caesar himself, and upon his father also, and cried out with a loud voice, at his having been in such a long time be followed by his decision. In answer to which, the seditions at reprouached upon Caesar himself, and upon his father also, and cried out with a loud voice, at his having been in such a long time be followed by his decision. In answer to which, the seditions at reprouached upon Caesar himself, and upon his father also, and cried out with a loud voice, at his having been in such a long time be followed by his decision. In answer to which, the seditions at reprouached upon Caesar himself, and upon his father also, and cried out with a loud voice, at his having been in such a long time be followed by his decision. In answer to which, the seditions at reprouached upon Caesar himself, and upon his father also, and cried out with a loud voice, at his having been in such a long time be followed by his decision. In answer to which, the seditions at reprouached upon Caesar himself, and upon his father also, and cried out with a loud voice, at his having been in such a long time be followed by his decision. In answer to which, the seditions at reprouached upon Caesar himself, and upon his father also, and cried out with a loud voice, at his having been in such a long time be followed by his decision. In answer to which, the seditions at re...
which sudden appearance of the flames, a consternation fell upon the Romans, and the shrewdness of the contrivance discouraged them; and indeed this was the very time when they thought they had already gained their point, cooled their hopes for the time to come. They also thought it would be to no purpose to take the pains to extinguish the fire, and leave it to burn itself out if it were not extinguished. The banks were swelled up already [and become useless to them.]

5. Two days after this Simon and his party, made an attempt to destroy the other banks; for the Romans had brought their engines to bear there, and began already to make the wall shake. And here one Tephathus of Garstis, a city of Galilee, and Magnaeorus, one who was derived from some of Queen Mariamme's servants, and with them one from Adiabene, he was the son of Neba-bes, and called by the name of Chagirius, from the ill fortune he had, the word-signifying a lame man, snatched some torches, and ran suddenly upon the engines. Nor were there during this war any men that ever sallied out of the city who would not be without their spears, still in their own boldness, or in the terror they struck into their enemies. For they ran out upon the Romans, not as if they were enemies, but friends, without fear or danger; for they did not leave their enemies till they had rushed violently through the midst of them, and set their machines on fire. And though they had darts thrown at them on every side, and were ambushed with their ensamblades, and swords, yet did they not withdraw themselves out of the dangers they were in, till the fire had caught hold of the instruments; but when the flames came, the Romans cast away their camp to save their engines. Then did the Jews hinder their succours from the wall, and fought with those that endeavoured to quench the fire, with all their rage, and dismay their bodies were in. So the Romans pulled the engines out of the fire, while the hordled that covered them were on fire; but the Jews caught hold of the battering-rams through the flames itself, and held them fast, although the iron upon them was become red hot; and now the fire spread itself from the engines to the banks, and prevented those that came to defend them, and all this while the Romans kept their round about with a flame, and despairing of saving their works from it, they retired to their camp. Then did the Jews become still more and more in the city, and completely cut off those that were within the city to their assistance; and as they were very bold upon the good success they had had, their violent assaults were almost irresistible; may the Medes and Persians, and the Assyrians, had they been left in their tents, which the Romans were left in their enemies' camp, and fought with their guards. Now there stood a body of soldiers in array before that camp, which succeeded one another by turns in their arms; and as to those the Jews was terrible, that he who left his post there, let the occasion be whatsoever it might be, he was to die for it; so that body of soles, preferring rather to die fighting courageously, than as a punishment for their cowardice, stood firm; and at the necessity these men were in of standing to it, many of the others had already joined them; and when they had set the engines against the wall, they kept the multitude from coming more of them out of the city which they could the nearer attack, because they had made no provision for preserving or guarding their bodies at this time; for the Jews fought now hand to hand with all that came in their way, and without any assistance, and with all their rage, and their enemys in their ansam, the ramp, and the Romans gave way more to their boldness, then they did to the absence of the harm they had received from them.

6. And now Titus was come from the tower of Antoninus first to look out for a place for raising other banks, and reproached the soldiers greatly for permitting their own wall to be in danger, when they had taken the walls of the city, and destroyed their own forts. But when they saw the besieged, while the Jews were allowed to rally out against them, though they were already in a sort of prison. He then went round about the enemy with some chosen troops, and fell upon their bank himself; so the Jews who had been before assaulted in their faces, wheeled about to Titus, and continued the fight. The armies also were now mixed one among another, and the dust that was raised so far hindered them from seeing one another, and the noise that was made so far hindered them from hearing one another, that neither side could discern an enemy from a friend. However, the Jews did not flinch, though not so much from their real strength, as from their despair of deliverance. The Romans also would set up their standards, by their side, and regard they had to glory, and to their reputation in war, and because Caesar himself went into the danger before them; inasmuch that I cannot but think the Romans would have been left to themselves, even the whole multitude of the Jews, as very angry were they at them, had these not prevented the upshot of the battle, and retired into the city. And when they saw the Jews preserved, the Romans were demolished, these Romans were very much cast down upon the less of what had cost them so long pains, and this in one hour's time. Thus ended this battle, and many indeed coming from the city with their usual engines of war only.

CHAP. XIII.

Titus thought fit to encompass the City round with a Wall: after which the Flees was consumed the People by whole Houses and Families together.

§ 1. And now did Titus consult with his counsellors what was to be done. Those that were of the warmest temper thought he should bring the whole army against the city, and above the wall; for this being the case of the number of their army had fought with the Jews, but that in case the entire army was to come out, they would not be able to sustain their attack. But some of the least warlike among them were of those that were for a more cautious management; some were for raising their banks again, and others advised to let the banks alone, but to send the other army that was coming out of the Jews, and so to leave the enemy to the famine, and this without direct fighting with them; for that was not to be endured, especially as to those who are desirous to die by the sword, while a more terrible misery than that is reserved for them. However, Titus did not think it fit for so great an army to lie entirely idle, and that they were in vain to fight with those that would be destroyed one by another; he also showed them how impracticable it was to cast up many more banks, for want of materials, and to guard against the Jews coming out, still more impracticable; as also, that to encompass the whole city round with a wall, was not very easy, by reason of its magnitude, as also of another accounts dangerous, upon the likeness the Jews might make out of the city. For although they might guard the known passages out of the city, such as those that are laid aside upon the them by the delay of the siege, but such passages out, as being well acquainted with all such places; and if any provisions were carried out by such means, and the siege by the barbarians be delayed. He also owned, that he was said that
the length of time thus to be spent, would diminish the glory of his success; for though it be true that many of the inhabitants of the city were sick, it was not the only thing, or the least part of that to do what we do in a little time is still necessary to the gaining reputation. That, therefore, his opinion was, that if they aimed at quickness in their work, they would build a wall round about the whole city, which was, he thought, the only way to prevent the Jews from coming out any way, and then they would either starve them out, or they would build another wall to prevent them from surrenders it up to him, or be still more easily conquered when the famine had farther weakened them. For that besides this wall, he would also build a trench, and would not take care then to have banks raised again, when those that would oppose them were become weaker. But that if any one should think such a work to be too great, and not to be finished without much difficulty, he ought to consider that it is not fit for Romans to undertake any small work; and that none but God himself could accomplish any great thing whatsoever.

2. These arguments prevailed with the commanders. So Titus gave orders that the army should be distributed to their several shares of this work; and indeed there now came upon the camp a certain divine favor, so that they did not only part the whole wall that was to be built among them, nor did only one legion strive with another, but the lesser divisions of the army did that honor to each other, that each was ambitious to please his decurion, each decurion his centurion, each centurion his tribune, and the ambition of the tribunes was to please their superiors. The commanders, while Cæsar himself took notice of and rewarded the like contention in those commanders; for he went round about the works many times every day, and took a view of what was done. Titus began the wall from the camp of the Cappadocians, and then the camp was pitched, and drew it down to the lower parts of Cæsarea: thence it went along the valley of Cedron, to the Mount of Olives, it then bent towards the south, and encompassed the mountain as far as the rock called Paterios, and that other hill which lies next it, and is over the valley which reaches to Siloam; whence it bended again to the west, and went down to the valley of the Fountains, beyond which it went up again at the monuments of Ananias the high priest, and encompassing that mountain where Pompey had formerly pitched his camp, it returned back to the north side of the city, and Thabor, as far as a certain village called the house of the Erebusi; after which it encompassed Herod's monument, and there on the east was joined to Titus's own camp, where it began. Now the length of this wall was forty furlongs, one only short, and on this side without were erected thirteen places to keep garrisons in, whose circumference, put together, amounted to ten furlongs; the whole was completed in three days; so that what would naturally have required some months, was done in so short an interval as is incredible. When Titus had therefore encompassed the city with this wall, and put garrisons into proper places, he went round the wall at the first watch of the night, and observed how the guard was kept; the second watch he allotted to Alexander; the commanders of legions took the third watch. They also cast lots among themselves, whether would be the watch in the night time, and who should go all night long round the spaces that were interposed between the garrisons.

3. Still all hope of escaping was now cut off from the Jews, together with their liberty of going out of the city. Then did the famine widen its progress, and deprived the people by whole houses and families; the upper rooms were full of women and children that were dying by famine, and the lanes of the city were full of dead bodies of the aged: the children also an hundred thousand dead bodies were cast out of the city and will be burnt up, like shadows, all swelled with the famine, as fell down dead, wherever their misery seized them. As for burying them, those that were sick died and fell down dead, and those that were hearty and well were deferred for doing it by the great multitude of those dead bodies, and by the uncertainty there was how soon they should be buried; and so for wanting room they were burying others, and many went to their cisterns before that fatal hour was come to have them all empty of water; nor was there any lamentations made under these calamities, nor were heard any mourners' complaints; but the famine confounded all unto rational passions; for those who were just going to die looked upon those that were gone to the rest, before them witty sayings and open mouths, a deep silence also, and a kind of deadly night, his seized upon the city; while yet the robbers were still more terrible than these miseries were then themselves; for the number of robber ships was no other than graves of dead bodies, an plundered them of what they had, and carry them off the coverings of their bodies, went out laughing, and played the proverbial jesting; and to cut short the matter, there was not so much as the least thing to be seen that was not the case of the city itself. But the Romans were very joyful, since none of the seditionous could now make sallies out of the city, because they were themselves discovered, and the famine rendered them incapable of doing it. These Romans besides had great plenty of corn and other necessaries out of Syria and out of the adjoining provinces; many of whom were near to the walls, and the Romans perceived and showed the people what great quantities provisions they had, and so make the enemy more sensible of their famine, by the great plenty of provisions they had.
any pain affect their bodies, since they could still bear the dead bodies of the people as dogs do, and fill the prisons with those that were sick.

CHAP. XIII.
The great Mourners and Sacrileges that were in Jerusalem.

§ 1. Accordingly Simon would not suffer Matthias, by whose means he got possession of the city, to go off without torment. This Matthias was the son of Boethus, and was one of the high priests, one that had been very faithful to the people, and in great esteem with them; he, when the multitude were distressed by the zealots, among whom John was numbered, persuaded the people to admit this Simon to come in to assemble them, while he had made no terms with him, nor expected any thing that was evil from him. But when Simon was come in, and had gotten the city under his power, he extorted him that had advised them to admit him as his enemy equally with the rest, as looking upon that advice as a piece of his simplicity only: so he had him then slain, and condemned to die for being on the side of the Romans, without giving him leave to make his defence. He condemned also his three sons to die with him; for he took fourth he prevented others to fly away to Titus before. And when he begged for this, that he might be slain before his sons, and that as a favour, on account that he had procured the death of his three sons to him, he got his order that he should be slain the last of them all; so he was not slain till he had seen his sons slain before his eyes, and that by being produced over against the Romans; as being persuaded that he was really dead, on whose account alone they could venture to desert to the Romans. But when Josephus's mother, who was the most barbourous of all his guards, she also jested upon him, and told him that he might wish whether those to whom he intended to go over, would send him any succour or not; but still he forbade their dead bodies should be buried. After the slaughter of these, a certain priest, Ananias, the son of Masambalus, a person of reputation, as also Aristarchus, the son of the sanhedrim, and born at Emmaus, and with them fifteen men of figure among the people, were slain. They also kept Josephus's father in prison, and made of the miserable that we citizens whosoever should either speak to him himself, or go into his company among others, for fear he should betray them. They also slew such as joined in with these men, without any farther examination.

2. Now when Judas, the son of Judas, who was one of Simon's under officers, and a person intrusted by him to keep one of the towers, saw this procedure of Simon, he called together ten of those under him, that were most faithful to him, (perhaps this was done partly out of pity to those that had so barbarously been put to death, but principally, in order to provide for his own safety,) and spoke thus to them: "How long shall we bear these miseries? or what hopes have we of deliverance by thus continuing faith ful to such wicked wretches? Is not the famine already come against us? Are not the Romans in a manner gotten within the city? Is not Simon become unfaithful to his benefactors? and is there not reason to fear he will very soon bring us to the like punishment, while the security the Romans offer us is sure? Come on, let us sur round the city wall, and save ourselves and the city. Nor will Simon be very much hurt, if, now he desairs of deliverance, he be brought to justice a little sooner than he thinks on." Now these things being prevail'd upon by those arguments: so he sent the rest of those that were under him, some one way, and some another, that no discovery might be made of what they had resolved upon. Accordingly, he called to the Romans from the tower about the third hour: but they, some of them out of spies, despised what he said, and others of them did not believe him to be in earnest, though the greatest number did delay not, in order to have got possession of the city in a little time, without any hazard. But when Titus was just coming thither with his armed men, Simon was acquainted with the matter; and before he came, he already took the tower into his own custody, before it was surrendered, and seized upon these men, and put them to death in the sight of the Romans; and himself, in addition to his dead bodies, he threw them down before the wall of the city.

3. In the mean time Josephus, as he was going round the city, and his head otherwise than was that was thrown at him; upon which he fell down as giddy. Upon which half of his the Jews made a salty, and he had been hurried away into the wilderness, and at his being acquainted with the news; as being persuaded that he was really dead, on whose account alone they could venture to desert to the Romans. But when Josephus's mother, who was the most barbourous of all his guards, she also jested upon her, "that she had always been of opinion, since the siege of Jotapata, [that he would be slain," and she should never enjoy him; and also made great lamentation privately to the maid servants that were about her, and said, "that this was all the advantage she had of bringing so extraordinary a person as this son into the world, that she should be made up by the firmness of her, by whom she expected to have been married herself." However, this false report did not put his mother to pain, nor afford occasion to the rest to speak of him for a while. And when Titus was come to take the city, upon the security that would be given them. This sight of Josephus encouraged the people greatly, and brought a great concurrence of others to their confessions.

4. Hereupon some of the deserters, having no other way, leap'd down from the wall immediately, while others of them went out of the city with such instruments of defence; and thereupon they fled away to the Romans. But here a worse fate was accomplished to them, than what they had found within the city; and they met with a quicker death from the men to protect his wound, and came out, and cried aloud, "that it would not be long ere they should be punished for this wound they had given him." He also delivered up his sword to the band of the Romans, and came to come out, upon the security that would be given them. This sight of Josephus encouraged the people greatly, and brought a great concurrence of others to their confessions.
BOOK V.—CHAP. XII.

as was said before for twenty-five. But when this convention was discovered in one instance, and said to those that were with him, that it was proper for them to use divine things while they were fighting for the Divinity, without fear, and that such whose warfare is for the temple, should live of the temple; on which account he emptied the vessels of that sacred wine and oil, which the priests kept to be poured on the burnt-offerings, and which lay in the inner court of the temple, and distributed it among the multitude, who, in their anointing themselves, and drinking, used [each of them] above a hin of them. And here I cannot but speak my mind, and what the concern I am under dictates to me, and it is this: I suppose, that had the Romans made any longer delay in coming against these villains, that the city would either have been swallowed up by the ground opening upon them, or been overflowed by water, or else been destroyed by such thunder as the country of Sodom perished by; for it had brought forth a generation of men much more atheistical than those that suffered such punishments; for by their madness it was that all the people came to be destroyed.

7. And, indeed, why do I relate these particular calamities? While Manneus, the son of Lazurus, came running to Titus at this very time, and told him, that there had been carried out through the gates of the city so many dead bodies, that it was no fewer than a hundred and fifteen thousand eight hundred and eighty dead bodies, in the interval between the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus, [Nisan,] when the Romans pitched their camp by the city, and the first day of the month Panemus, [Tamuz.] This was itself a prodigious multitude; and though this man was not himself set as a governor at that gate, yet was he appointed to pay the public stipends for carrying these bodies out, and so was obliged of necessity to number them, while the rest were buried by their relations; though all their burial was but this, to bring them away, and cast them out of the city. After this man there ran away to Titus many of the eminent citizens, and told him the entire number of the poor that were dead, and that no fewer than six hundred thousand sand were thrown out at the gates; though still the number of the rest could not be discovered; and they told him farther, that when they were no longer able to bear the sight of the sight of the Romans spied them, they disordered them, and pulled this polluted money out of their bowels; which money was still found in a few of them, with their bells. Augustus, his wife; for the Roman emperors did ever both honour and adorns

this temple; whereas this man, who was a Jew, seized upon what were the donations of foreigners, and said to those that were with him, that it was proper for them to use divine things while they were fighting for the Divinity, without fear, and that such whose warfare is for the temple, should live of the temple; on which account he emptied the vessels of that sacred wine and oil, which the priests kept to be poured on the burnt-offerings, and which lay in the inner court of the temple, and distributed it among the multitude, who, in their anointing themselves, and drinking, used [each of them] above a hin of them. And here I cannot but speak my mind, and what the concern I am under dictates to me, and it is this: I suppose, that had the Romans made any longer delay in coming against these villains, that the city would either have been swallowed up by the ground opening upon them, or been overflowed by water, or else been destroyed by such thunder as the country of Sodom perished by; for it had brought forth a generation of men much more atheistical than those that suffered such punishments; for by their madness it was that all the people came to be destroyed.

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WARS OF THE JEWS

BOOK VI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT ONE MONTH—FROM THE GREAT EXTREMITY TO WHICH THE JEWS WERE REDUCED TO THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS

CHAP. I.

That the Miseries of the Jews still grew worse; and how the Romans made an Assault upon the Tower of Antonia.

§ 1. Thus did the miseries of Jerusalem grow worse and worse every day, and the sedition was still more irritated by the calamities they were under, even while the famine preyed upon themselves, after it had preyed upon the people; and indeed the multitude of carcasses that lay in heaps one upon another, was a horrible sight, and produced a pestilential stench, which was a hindrance to those that would make saddles out of the city, and fight the enemy; but as those were to go in battle array, who had been already used to ten thousand murders, and would tread upon those dead bodies as they marched along, so were not they terrified, nor did they paint them any longer. But they did deem this affront offered to the deceased to be an ill omen to themselves; but as they had their right hands already polluted with the murders of their countrymen, and in that condition ran out to fight with foreigners, they seemed to me to have cast a reproach upon God himself, as if he were too slow in punishing them; for the work was not now gone on with, as if they had any hope of victory; for they gloried, after a brutish manner, in that despair of deliverance they were already in. And now the Romans, already well armed and greatly dressed in getting the materials together, raised their banks in one and twenty days, after they had cut down all the trees that were in the country that adjointed to the city, and that for ninety furlongs round about, as I have already related. And truly the very view itself was a melancholy thing; for those places which were before adorned with trees and pleasant gardens, were now become a desolate country every way, and its trees were all cut down; nor could any foreigner that had formerly seen Judea and the most beautiful suburbs of the city, and now saw it as a desert, but lament and mourn at so great a change, for the war had laid all the signs of beauty quite waste; nor, if any one that had known the city had come to a sudden to it now, would he have known it again; but though he were at the city itself, yet he would have inquired for it notwithstanding.

2. And now the banks were finished, they afforded a foundation for fear both to the Romans and to the Jews; for the Jews expected that the city would be taken unless they could burn those banks, as did the Romans expect that, if these were once burnt down, they would never be able to take it; for there was a mighty scarcity of materials, and the bodies of the soldiers began to fall with such hard labours, as did their souls faint; so many were marched over, that all success easy, the very calamities themselves that were in the city proved a greater discouragement to the Romans than to those within the city; for they found that the first men of the Jews to be not at all mollified among such sore afflictions, while they had themselves perpetually less and less hopes of success, and their banks were forced to the same extent, as the enemy, till the Roman engines to the firmness of their wall, and their closest fights to the boldness of their attack; and, what was their greatest discouragement of all, did the Roman garrison among them, and the multitude of the miseries they were under, by their sedition, their famine, and the war itself; insomuch as they were ready to imagine that the violence of their attacks was invincible, and that the alacrity they showed would not be discouraged by their calamities; for what would not those be able to bear, if they should be fortunate, who turned their very misfortunes to the improvement of their valor? These considerations made the Romans to keep a strict guard about their banks than they formerly had done.

3. But now John and his party took care for securing themselves afterward, even in case this wall should be thrown down, and fell to their work before the Batterying rains were brought against them. Yet did they not compass what they endeavoured to do, but as they were gone out with their torches, they came back under great discouragement before they came near to the banks; and the reasons were these: that, in the first place, their conduct did not seem to be unanswerably just, but they met too in different times and at distinct intervals, and after a slow manner, and timorously, and, to say all in a word, without a Jewish courage; for they were new in the art of their enemies' devices in what is on walls, and in this respect, is, in boldness, in violence of assault, and in running upon the enemy all together, and in persevering in what they go about, though they do not attain a great deal, yet they generally act it in a more lugubrious manner than usual, and at the same time found the Romans set in array, and more courageous than ordinary, and that they guarded the houses round about, and surrounded their entire armour, and this to such a degree on all sides, that they left no room for the fire to get among them, and that every one of these sorts were in such good courage, that they would sooner die than desert their ranks; for besides their notion that all their hopes were cut off, in case these theirs works were once burnt, the soldiers were greatly ashamed that subtlety should quite be too hard for courage, madness for answer, multitude for skill, and Jews for Romans. The Romans had now also another advantage, in that their engines for siege co-operated with them in throwing darts and stones as far as the Jews, when they were coming out of the city; whereby the man that fell became an impediment to him that stood next him, as did the danger of going farther make them less zealoes in all actions; and for those that ran under the darts, some of them were terrified by the good order and closeness of the enemies' ranks, before they came to a close fight, and others were disarmed with their spears, and turned back again; at length they reproached one another for their cowardice, and retired without doing any thing.

This attack was made upon the first day of the month Panemus [Tamu.] So when the Jews were retrenched, the Romans brought their engines, although they had all the while stoutly thrown at them. They were assaulted by fire and sword, and by all sorts of darts which necessity afforded the Jews to make use of; for, although these had great dependence on their engines, and were the greater part of the Roman engines, yet did they endeavour to hinder the Romans from bringing them. Now these Romans struggled hard, on the contrary, to bring into the enemy, that they should not be superior to the multitude of the miseries they were under, by their sedition, their famine, and the war itself; insomuch as they were ready to
not give way to any of those dangers that came upon them from above, and so they brought their enemies beneath them, and routed them in the same manner as the other, and were so wounded by the stones thrown down upon them, some of them threw their shields over their bodies, and partly with their hands and partly with their shields, and partly with crowns, they undermined its foundations, and with great pains they removed four of its stones. Then night came upon both sides, and put an end to this struggle for the present; however, that night the wall was so shaken by the battering rams in that place where John had used his stratagem before, and had undermined their banks, that the ground then gave way, and the wall fell down. Thereafter, when the night was over, and the Jews saw that the wall was now gone down, then they were not afraid, but they set a guard to keep the place from the Romans. And so it continued, until the Jews were utterly defeated and driven out of their city. But the Romans, after they had taken the city, proceeded to destroy the Temple and all its buildings, and the city was left in ruins for many years to come.

4. When this accident had unexpectedly happened, the minds of both parties were variously affected: for though one would expect that the Jews would be discouraged, because this fall of their wall was unexpected by them, and they had made no provision in that case, yet did they pull up their courage, because the tower of Antonia itself was still standing; and the unforeseen joy of the Romans at this fall of the wall was soon quenched by the sight they had of another wall which John and his party had built within it. How easily the second was broken in a manner not to be compared to that of the first, because it seemed a thing of greater facility to get up to it through the parts of the former wall that were now broken down, than to get up to it from the other body of land; and so the first venture now to go up to this wall; for that as first ventured so to do must certainly be killed.

4. And now Titus, upon consideration that the algebra of his hopes and by good words, and that exhortations and promises do frequently make men to forget the hazards they run, nay, sometimes to despise death itself, got together the most courageous part of his army, and tried what he could do with his men by these methods. Of fellow-soldiers, (said he) to make an exhortation to men to do what hath no peril in it, is on that account inglorious to such to whom that exhortation is made; and indeed so is it, in himself that makes the exhortation an argument of his own cowardice also. Therefore he sought not only to be made use of, when affairs are in a dangerous condition, and yet are worthy of being attempted by every one themselves; but rather to exhort others with you, that it is a difficult task to go up this wall; but that it is proper for those that desire reputation for their valor to struggle with difficulties in such cases, will then appear, when in particular cases, the courage here necessary shall not go unrewarded in those that first begin the attempt.

And let my first argument to move you to it be taken from what probably some would think reasonable, that I mean the constancy and patience of these Jews, even under their ill successes; for it is unbecoming you, who are Romans and our soldiers, who have in peace been taught how to make wars, and have also been used to conquer in those wars, to be inferior to Jews either in action of the hand, or in courage of the soul, and this especially when you are at the conclusion of your victory, and are assisted by God himself; for as to our misfortunes, they have been owing to the madness of the Jews, while their sufferings have been owing to your valour, and to the assistance God hath afforded you; for as to the seditions they have had, and the famine they are under, and the siege they now endure, and the fall of their walls without our enginewhs what can they all be but demonstrations of God's anger against them, and of his assistance afforded us! It will not therefore be proper for you either to show yourselves inferior to those to whom you are really superior, or to betray that divine assistance, which is afforded you. And indeed, how can it be esteemed otherwise than a base and unworthy thing, that while the Jews, who need not be much ashamed if they be deserted, because they have long learned to be slaves to others, do yet despise death, that they may be so no longer; and do make sallies into the very midst of us frequently, not in hopes of conquering us, but merely for a demonstration of their courage; we, who have gotten possession of almost all the world that belongs either to land or sea, to whom it will be a great shame if we do not conquer them, do not once undertake any attempt against our enemies wherein there is much danger, but sit still idle, with such brave arms as we have, and only wait till the famine and fortune do become more favorable to us, as when we have it in our power, with some small hazard, to gain all that we desire. For if we go up to this tower of Antonia, we gain the city; we shall be likewise safe, because we are not afraid of the danger we should be in if we were to go up to the top of the hill, and be upon our enemies where they cannot fore they can have no help from any body; the dangers promise us no less than a certain and sudden victory. As for myself, I shall at present waive any commendation of those who die in war, and omit all mention of those men who are slain in the midst of their martial bravery; yet cannot I forbear to imitate upon those who are of a contrary disposition, that they may die in time of peace by some indiscretion or other, since their souls are condemned to the grave, together with their bodies. For what man of virtue is there who does not know, that those souls which are severed from their fleshly bodies in battles by the sword, are received by the ether, that purest of elements, and joined to that company which are placed among the stars; that they become propitious heroes, and show themselves thus to their posterity afterward? While upon those souls that wear away in and with their discomfitures, and bodies, conscious witnesses of nothing to them, nothing to their posterity, and nothing to their friends, that they are not afraid of anything; every virtue and all the remainder of the world that in this case, the soul at the same time comes to the utmost bounds of life, and of its body, and of its memorial also. But since fate hath determined that death is come to necessity upon all men, a sword is a better instrument for that purpose than any disease whatsoever. Why is it not then a very mean thing for us not to yield up to that to the public benefit, which we must yield up to fate? And this discourse have I made upon the supposition that those who at first attempt to go upon this wall must needs be killed in the attempt, though still men of true courage have a chance to escape even in the most hazardous undertakings. For, in the first place, that part of the former wall that is thrown down is easily to be ascended with the assistance of those who died ignobly in their beds by sickness. Roland here also produces two parallel passages, the one according to the text of Ammianus, the other to the second mention of this whole in the 23rd chapter of the second book of the history of the war in the army, as being to go out of the world gloriously and happily."

8 Roland notes here, very pertinently, that the tower of Antonia stood higher than the floor of the temple, or court of the priests. See E. c. vii. sect. 3. 9 Be E. vi. ch. ii. sect. 3. 10 Be B. vi. ch. ii. sect. 3. 11 Be E. vi. ch. ii. sect. 3. The other of Valerius Maximus, lib. xi. cap. 6, who says, that the Jews, and Titus and Lucullus, in the army, as being to go out of the world gloriously and happily."
WARS OF THE JEWS

6. Upon this speech of Titus, the rest of the multitude were affrighted at so great a danger. But there was one, whose name was Sabinus, a soldier that served among the cohorts, and a Syrian: who appeared to be of very great fortune, both in the actions he had done, and the courage of his soul he had showed; although any body would have thought, before he came to the temple, that he was a weak constitution of body, that he was not fit to be a soldier; for his colour was black, his flesh was lean and thin, and lay close together; but there was a certain courage within him, which made him rush into the temple, and a small body, which body was indeed much too narrow for that peculiar courage which was in him. Accordingly, he was the first that rose up, when he then spake and exhorted all to themselves. But he said to Cæsar; I first ascend the wall, and I heartily wish that my fortune may follow my courage and my resolution. And if some ill fortune grudge me the success of my undertaking, take notice that my ill success will not be unexpected, but that I choose death voluntarily for thy sake. When he had said this, and had spread out his shield over his head with his left hand, and had, with his right hand, drawn his sword, he marched up to the wall, just about the sixth hour of the day. There followed him eleven others, and no more, that were most eager to imitate his bravery: but of all, this was the principal person of them all, and went first, as excited by a divine fury. Now those that guarded the wall shot at them from thence, and most innumerable darts upon them from every side, and the two sides of the stones upon them, which overthrew some of those eleven that were with him. But as for Sabinus himself, he met the darts that were cast at him; and though he was sometimes overcome, and the bravery of his soul, and as, withal, they imagined more of them had got upon the wall than really had, they were put to flight. And now one cannot but consider how he had been, as he was to write, as stimulius of virtuous men, and always hindering the performance of glorious achievements: this was the case of the man before us, when he had just obtained his possession, he was not only astonished at the certain large stone, and fell down upon it headlong, with a very great noise: upon which the Jews turned back, and when they saw him to be alone, and fell down, and were not in danger of any side. However, he got upon his knees, and covered himself with his shield, and he was forced to relax his right hand, by the multitude of the wounds that had been given him, till at length he was quite covered over with darts, before he gave up the ghost. He was the man who deserved the most of his bravery: but, as might be expected, he fell under so vast an attempt. As for the rest of his partners, the Jews dashed three of them to pieces with stones, and all the rest to death; and the others of a troop of horsemen, and two trumpet-ers; these went without noise, about the ninth hour of the night, through the ruins, to the tower of Antonia; and when they had cut the throats of the first guards of the place, as they were asleep, they possessed the wall, and ordered the trumpeter to sound his trumpet. Upon which the rest of the guard got up on the sally, and ran away, before any body could see how many they were that were gotten up; for, partly from the fear they were in, and partly from the shout of those of the Romans that were before them, they imagined that a great number of the enemy were gotten up. But as soon as Cæsar heard the signal, he ordered the army to put on their armor, and to array themselves in order of battle, commanders, and first of all ascended, as did the chosen men that were with him. And as the Jews were flying away to the temple, they fell into the camp of the Romans, and shut the crows of the two banks. Then did the seditious of both the bodies of the Jewish army, as well that belonging to John, as that belonging to Simon, drive them out of themselves to the tower of Antonia, to the highest degree of force and alacrity; for they esteemed themselves entirely ruined if once the Romans got into the temple, as did the Romans look upon the same thing as the beginning of their entire conquest. So a terrible battle was fought at the entrance of the temple, while the Romans were forcing their way, in order to get possession of that temple, and the Jews were driving them back to the tower of Antonia; in which battle the darts were on both sides useless, as well as the spears, and both sides drew their swords, and fought it out hand to hand. Now during the struggle, the positions of the men were undistinguishable on both sides, and they fought at random, the men being intermixed one with another, and confounded by reason of the narrowness of the place, that there was that was made fell on the ear after an indistinct manner, because it was so very loud. Great slaughter was now made on both sides, and the combatants trod upon the bodies, and the armour of those that were dead, and dashed them to pieces. Accordingly, to which sidesoever the battle inclined, those that had the advantage exulted one another to go on, as did those that were beaten make great lamentation. But still there was no room for flight nor for pursuit, but disorderly revolutions and retreats, while the armies were steadied in one another; and the Jews of the two banks were staggered in the large tower, that were in the first rank were under the necessity of killing or being killed, without any way for escape; for those on both sides that were behind, forced those before them to go on, without leaving any space between the armies. At length the Jews' violent zeal was too hard for the Romans' skill, and the battle already inclined entirely to the Romans; and the ninth hour of the night, till the seventh hour of the day, while the Jews came on in crowds, and had the danger the temple was in for their motive: but he was not forced to relax his right hand, by the multitude of the wounds that had been given him, till...
up to them. So it was at present thought sufficient by the Romans to take possession of the tower of Antonia. 3. But there was one Julian, acentury, that came from Bithynia, a man he was of great reputation, whom I had formerly seen in that war, and that he could do as he liked. He spied the situation of this tower, its strength of body, and the courage of its garrison. This man, seeing the Romans giving ground, and in a sad condition, for he stood by Titus at the tower of Antonia, leaped out, and of himself alone put the Jews to flight; when they were already conquerors, and made them retire as far as the corner of the inner court of the temple: from him the multitude fled away in crowds, as supposing that neither his strength nor his violent attacks could be those of a mere man. Accordingly he rushed through the midst of the Jews, as they were dispersed all abroad, and killed those that he caught. Nor, indeed, was there any night that appeared more wonderful in the eyes of Caesar, or more terrible to others. He pursued it by night, as he was himself pursued by fate, which it was not possible that he, who was but a mortal man, should escape; for as he had shoes all full of thick and sharp nails, and his arm was so strong, that when he ran on the pavement of the temple, he slipped, and fell down upon his back with a very great noise, which was made by his armour. The Jews then threw stones after him, as they turned back; whereupon those Romans that were in the tower of Antonia set up a great shout, as they were in fear for the man. But the Jews got about him as much as they could, and stoned him with stones, and with their swords on all sides. Now he received a great many of the strokes of these iron weapons on his shield, and often attempted to make a change of ground; but some of the stones that struck at him; yet did he, as he lay along, stab many of them with his sword. Nor was he soon killed, as being covered with his helmet and his breastplate in all those parts of his body where he might be mortally wounded; he also pulled his neck close to his body, till all his other limbs were shattered, and nobody durst come to defend him, and then he yielded to his fate. Now Caesar was deeply affected on account of this man of so great fortitude, and especially as he was killed in the sight of so many people; he was desirous himself to come to his assistance, and the place would not give him such an opportunity as could have done it too much terrified to attempt it. Thus when Julian had struggled with death a great while, and had let but few of the stones get to his body, that were thrown at him, and had at last his throat cut, though not without some difficulty, and left behind him a very great name, not only among the Romans, but among his enemies also; then did the Jews catch up his dead body, and put the Romans to flight again, and shut them up in the tower of Antonia. Now those that most signalized themselves, and fought most zealously in this battle of the Jewish side, were one Aëneas and Gythepheus of John's party, and of Simon's party were Malechias, and Judas the son of Simon, and another son of Simon, Pheletus, the commander of the Idumeans; and of the Zealots, two brethren, Simon and Judas, the sons of Jairus.

* No wonder that this Julian, who had so many nails in his shoes, slipped upon the pavement of the temple, which was made of slates, and not of stone. 1 This was a remarkable day indeed, the 17th of Panemus, [Tammuz, A. D. 70, when, according to Dacier's pre- diction, as I have elsewhere related, the Romans caused the sacrifice and oblation to cease, Dan. ix. 77. For from the month of February, A. D. 68, about which time this prediction of Dacier was made, to the year 70, was just three years and a half. See Ep. Lloyd's Tables of Chronology, published by Mr. Marshall, on this year.

1 The same in the New Testament is always so styled, and was thus called, at least, in the common language of the Jews in Judea, which was the Syrian dialect.

2 Our present copies of the Old Testament want this Jerusalem upon the Mount of Olives or Jebus, which it seems was in Josephus's copy.
he might not see the house of God set on fire; on which account he is celebrated among all the Jews as the Mosiac, and his memorials and his memory become immortal, and will be conveyed fresh down to our posterity through all ages. This, John, is an excellent example in such a time of danger to his nation. The very nature to promise, that the Romans shall still forgive thee. And take notice, that I, who make this exhortation to thee, am one of thine own nation; I, who am a Jew, do make this promise to thee. And it will become thee to consider who I am that give thee this counsel, and whence I am derived; for while I am alive I shall never be in such slavery, as to forget the kindness or to forgive the laws of our forefathers. Thou hast indignation at me again, and maketh a clamour at me, and reproachest me; indeed, I cannot deny but I am worthy of worse. For these writings of the ancient prophets contain in them; and particularly that oracle which is just now going to be fulfilled upon this miserable city! For they foretold, that in that city, wherein, when some body shall begin the slaughter of his own countrymen. And are not both the city and the entire temple now full of the dead bodies of your countrymen? Is it God, therefore, is it God himself, who has done this thing to thee, so as to make thy city and temple by means of the Romans, and is going to pluck up this city, which is full of your pollutions.

2. As Josephus, upon these words, with groans and in his eyes, his voice was interrupted by sobbing. However, the Romans could not but pity the afflication he was under, and wonder at his conduct. But for John, and those that were with him, they were but the more exasperated against the Romans on this account, and were desirous to get Josephus also into their power; yet did that discourse influence a great many of the better sort, and all the more, that they were in fear of the guards set by the sadist, that they tarried where they were, but still were satisfied that both they and the city were doomed to destruction. Some also were there, knowing that the wretches that you are, by our permission put up this partition wall before your sanctuary! Have not you been allowed to put up the pillars there, do you allow us to build upon your grave in Greek, and in your own letters, this prohition. That no foreigner should go beyond that wall! Have we not given you leave to build upon such a site, as the Romans would not build? And what do you do now, you perverses villains! Why do you trample upon dead bodies in this temple? and why do you pollute this holy house with the blood of both foreigners and Jews themselves! I appeal to the gods of my own country, and to every god that ever had any regard to this place, (for I do not suppose it to be now regarded by any of them;) I also appeal to my own countrymen, and to those Jews that are now with me, and even to you yourselves, that I do not force you to defile this your sanctuary; and if you will but change the place whereon you will fight, no Roman shall enter that temple again, or come near your sanctuary, or offer any affront to it; any, I will endeavor to preserve you your holy house, whether you will or not."

1 John 2:1-3 (KJV)
Joseph, both here and in many places elsewhere, speaks so, that it is most evident he was fully satisfied and made use of these now for the destruction of that wicked nation of the Jews, which was, for certain, the true state of this matter, as the Roman, who was so loudly and clearly foretold, See Legal Accomp. of Prophecy, P. 64, 80.

2 Josephus had before told us, B. v. ch. 51, sect. 1. that this fourth son of Matthias ran away to the Romans before his father's and brother's slaughter, and not after it, as here. The former account is, in all probability, the truest; for had not that fourth son escaped before the others were caught and put to death, he had been caught and put to death with them. This last account, therefore, looks like a forgery, and is, I believe, nothing more than a misrepresentation of what was written in the place before us.

3 Of the temple itself, See Saviour's到处, See Legal Accomp. of Prophecy, ch. 1, sect. 7. That these seditions Jews over the direct occasions of their own destruction, and of the conflagrations of their city and temple, and that Titus earnestly and earnestly
8. As Josephus explained these things from the month of Caesar, both the robbers and the tyrant feared the unexpected movements, as being the fruit of Titus's fear, and not from his good-will to them, and grew insolent upon it. But when Titus saw that these men were neither to be moved by comnmission, nor to be stopped by their folly, nor to be driven from the temple, and the presence of their tyrant, who exhorted some, and best and threatened others, to act courageously. Now, it so happened that this last was for so many days a watchman over the temple, and every one concluded that this day would begin his promotion, if he fought bravely. What were the great encouragements of the Jews to act vi-

contended with each other who should fight the most strenuously, both single men and entire re-
tained them to witness the experiments, as being under the eye of Titus's fear, and not from his good-will to them, and grew insolent upon it. But when Titus saw that these men were neither to be moved by comission, nor to be stopped by their folly, nor to be driven from the temple, and the presence of their tyrant, who exhorted some, and best and threatened others, to act courageously. Now, it so happened that this last was for so many days a watchman over the temple, and every one concluded that this day would begin his promotion, if he fought bravely. What were the great encouragements of the Jews to act vi-

the Roman soldiers of the most valiant out of every hundred, and committing a thousand to each tribune, and making Cerealis tribune in chief, he gave orders that the soldiers should attack the guards of the temple about the ninth hour of that day. But as he was now in his armour, and preparing to go down with them, but the guards and the rest of them, by reason of the greatness of the danger, and what the com-

manders suggested to him; for they said, that he "would do more by sitting above in the tower, than by coming down, and hazarding his own person in the forefront of them; for that they would obey the holiest Carolus tribune upon their wills.‴ With this advice Caesar complied, and said, that "the only reason he had for such compliance with the soldiers was that, he might be able to judge of their courageous actions, and that he would not fight the battle, and be reduced to the mis-

of his reward, and no cowardly soldier might go unpunished; but that he might himself be an eyewitness, and able to give evidence of all that was done, who was the seducer of the people with rewards to the soldiers. So he sent the soldiers about their work at the hour fore-

mentioned, while he went out himself to a higher place in the tower of Antonia, where he might see what was done, and there waited with impatience to see the event.

6. However, the soldiers who were sent did act harm to the Romans than to the Jews; because they were joined together under their shields, and made their sallies more regularly than the others did, and each of them remembered their watchword: while the Jews were perpetually dispersed abroad, and made their att-

acks and retreats at random, and so did fre-

quently seem to one another to be enemies; for every one of them received those of their own mes that came back in the dark as Romans, and made an assault upon them; so that more of them were wounded by their own men than by the enemy. And now the nature of the fight was discerned by the eye afterward. Then did they stand in battle array in distinct bodies, and cast their darts regularly, and of them neither side yielded or grew weary. The Romans feared to save both, both here and everywhere most evi-

dent in Josephus."

7. In the mean time the rest of the Roman army had, in seven days' time, overthrown some [some] foundations of the tower of Antonia, and had made a ready and broad way to the temple. Then did the legions come near the first court," and began to raise their banks. The one bank was over against the northwest corner of the inner temple; another was at that northern edifice which was between the two gates; and of the other two, one at the western cloister of the outer court of the temple, the other against its northern cloister. However, these works were thus far advanced by the Romans, particularly being obliged to bring their materials from the distance of a hundred furlongs. They had farther difficulties also upon them, some times by the showers, at other times by the great heat; and they should overcome the Jewish armies laid for them, and by that boldness of the Jews which their despair of escaping had inspired them with; for of some of their horsemen, when they went out to gather wood or hay, let their horses feed, without having their bridles on, during the time of foraging; upon which horses the Jews sallied out in whole bodies, and seized them. And when this was continually done, and Caesar believed what the truth was, that the horses were stolen more from the negligence of his own men than by the valour of the Jews, he determined to use greater severity to oblige the rest to take care of their horses; so he com-

manded that one of those soldiers who lost their horses should be capitally punished; whereby he so terrified the rest, that they preserved their horses for the time to come; for they did not any longer let them go from them to feed by themselves; and, at the same day, they went always along with them when they wanted necessaries. Thus did the Romans still continue to make war against the temple, and to raise their banks again.

8. Now, after one day had been interposed * Court of the Gentiles.  † Court of Israel.  ‡ Court of the Gentiles.
since the Romans ascended the breach, many of the soldiers were pressed by the famishing multitude to the present failure of their ravages, that they got together and made an attack on those Roman guards that were upon the Mount of Olives, and this about the eleventh hour of the day. But first, that it would not expect such an onset, and, in the next place, that they were then taking care of their bodies, and that therefore they should very easily best them. But the Romans were apprized of their coming to attack them beforehand, and running together from the neighboring camps on the sudden, prevented them from getting over their fortification, or from beating them forth in such a way that was bad about them. Upon this came on a sharp fight, and here many great actions were performed on both sides; while the Romans showed both their courage and their skill in war, as did the Jews come on them with immoderate violence, and intolerable passion. The one part were urged on by shame, and the other by necessity; for it seemed a very shameful thing to the Romans to let the Jews go, now they were taken in a kind of net; while the Jews had but one hope of saving themselves, and that was in case they could by violence break the breach in the wall; and in whom, whose part he was, Pedanius, belonging to a party of horsemen, when the Jews were already beaten and forced down into the valley together, spurred his horse on a sudden, shot in great vehemence, and caught up a certain young man belonging to the enemy by his neck, as he was running away; the man was, however, of a robust body, and in his arm he had Pedanius' horseman, who, perceiving this, seized upon that his prey, as upon a precious treasure, and carried him as his captive to Caesar; whereupon Titus admired the man that had seized the other for his great strength, and ordered the man that was caught to be punished [with death] for his attempt against the Roman wall, but be- took himself to the siege of the temple, and to pressing on the raising of the banks.

3. In the mean time the Jews were so distressed by the fights they had been in, as the war advanced higher and higher, and creeping up to the base of the temple, that they, as were, cut off those limbs of their body which were infected, in order to prevent the distemper's spreading farther; for they set the northwest cloister, where the temple towers above the Antonia, over the fire, and after that brake off about twenty cubits of that cloister, and thereby made a beginning in burning the sanctuary; two days after which, or on the twenty-fourth day of the forenamed month, Pedanius or Tamus, [Pedamus or Tamus] the Roman set fire to the cloister that joined to the other, when the fire went fifteen cubits farther. The Jews, as is manner, cut off its roof; nor did they entirely fire off what they were about till the tower of Antonia was parted from the temple, even when it was in their power to have stopped the fire; nay, they lay still while the temple was fire, and as was desired, to fire, and fire the fire to be for their own advantage. However, the armies were still fighting one against another about the temple, and the war was managed by concert of sallies of particular parties against one another.

10. Now there was at this time a man among the Jews; low of stature he was, and of a despise, no character of more: either as of his family, or in other respects: his name was Jonathan. He went out at the high priest Joses' commandment, and uttered many insolent things to the Romans, and presented himself in a way of ten men to a single combat. But many of those that stood there in the army heffid him, and many of them (as they might well be) were afraid of him. Of the Court of the Gentiles.
perished. As for Caesar himself, he could not, however, but commiserate those that thus perished, although they got up thither without any order; they did not stop nor question of giving them any relief. Yet was this some comfort to those that were destroyed, that every body might see that person grieve, for whose and our sakes those that got up thither set open to them, and leaped up, and exhorted those that were about him to do utmost to relieve them. So every one of them died cheerfully, as carrying along with them these words and this intention of Caesar as a sepulchral monument. Some there were indeed who retired into the wall of the cloister, which was broad, and were preserved that got not to the fire, but were then surrounded by the Jews: and although they made resistance against the Jews for a long time, yet were they wounded by them, and at length they all fell down dead.

2. At the last, a young man among them, whose name was Longus, became a decoration to this sad affair; and while every one of them that perished was wonder at his complexion; and the man appeared to deserve it beyond all the rest. Now the Jews admired this man for his courage, and were farther desirous of having him slain; so that they were not so disposed upon the security given him for his life. But Cornelian his brother persuaded him, on the contrary, not to tarnish their own glory, nor that of the Roman nation, but to stand firm, and to lift up his sword before both armies, as slew himself. Yet there was one Artorius among those surrounded with the fire, who escaped by his great voice, which was so loud, that it was called to him Lucius, one of his fellow-soldiers that lay with him in the same tent, and said to him, "I do leave thee hair of all I have, if thou wouldst go and tell the Roman people; I am running to receive him readily: Artorius then threw himself upon him, and saved his own life, while he that received him was dashed so vehemently against the stone pavement by the other's weight, that he died immediately. This melancholy accident made the Romans sad for a while, but still it made them more upon their guard for the future, and was of advantage to them in the war, by which they were greatly damaged through their unacquaintedness with the places, and with the nature of the inhabitants. Now this cloister was built by Titus, in the time of Annæus, in the war he made against Simon, over the gates that led to the Xystus. The Jews also cut off the rest of that cloister from the temple, after they had burnt it, and most of the people that day, but the next day the Romans burnt down the northern cloister entirely as far as the east cloister, whose common angle joined to the valley that was called Cedron, and was built over it; on which account the depth was frightful. And this was the state of the temple at that time.

3. Now, of those that perished by famine in the city, the number was prodigious; and the miseries they underwent were unspeakable; for so much as the shadow of any kind of food did any where appear, a war was commenced previous to the day of the fifty-seventh, on one day, and another about it, snatching from each other the most miserable supports of life. Nor would men believe that those who were dying had so

food, but the robbers would search them when they were expiring, lest any one should have concealed food in their bosoms, and counterfeited eating and drinking; yet, contrary to this law, they ran about stumbling and staggering along like mad dogs, and reeling against the doors of the houses like drunken men; they would also, in the great distress they were in, run into the same houses two or three times in one and the same day. Moreover, their hunger was so intolerable, that it obliged them to chew every thing, while they gathered such things as the most sordid animals would not touch, and endured to eat them; nor did they at length abstain from girdles and shoes, and the very leather which belonged to their shields they pulled off and gnawed: the very wips of old bay became food to some, and some gathered up fibres, and sold a very small weight of them for four Attic [drachmas]. But why do I describe the shameless impudence that the famine brought on men in their eating inanimate things? While I am going to relate a matter of fact, the like to which no history relates, etc. For we have innumerable witnesses to it in my own age: and besides, my country would have had little reason to thank me for suppressing the miseries that she met with; for I have innumerable witnesses to it in my own age: and besides, my country would have had little reason to thank me for suppressing the miseries that she met with.

4. There was a certain woman that dwelt beyond Jordan; her name was Mary, her father was Eleazar, of the village of Bethzeb, of which Solomon was formerly a priest in her family and her wealth, and had fled away to Jerusalem with the rest of the multitude, and was with them besieged therein at this time. The other side of the city she already seized upon, such as I mean she had brought with her out of Peræa, and removed to the city. What she had treasured up besides, as also what food she had contrived to save, had been also carried off by the rapacious guards, who came every day running into her house for that purpose. This put the poor woman into a very great passion, and by the frequent reproaches and imprecations she cast at these rapacious villains, she had provoked them to anger against her; but none of them, either out of the indignation she had raised against herself, or of the fear of the Jews, would take away her life: and if she found any food, she perceived her labours were for others, and not for herself, and it was now become impossible for her any more to find any more while she lived, so pierced through her very bowels and marrow, when also her passion was fired to a degree beyond the famine itself; nor did she consult with any thing but with her passion and the necessity she was in. She then attempted most unnatural things, and, snatching up her son, who was a child sucking at her breast, she said, "O thou miserable infant, for whom I preserve thes: the famine in this war, this famine, and this sedition! As to the war with the Romans, if they preserve our lives, we must be slaves. This famine also will destroy us even more than the war if they preserve not us. Yet these seditions rogue s more terrible than both the other. Come on; be thou my food, and be thou a fury to these seditions varis, and
WARS OF THE JEWS.

a byword to the world, which is all that is now wanting to complete the calamities of us Jews." As soon as she had said this, she slew her son, and cast him into the flames, and when she had kept the other half by her concealed. Upon this the seditious came in presently, and shouting the horrid scent of this food, they took to their heels, that they would eat her throat immediately if she did not show them what food she had gotten ready. She replied, that "she had saved a very fine portion of it for them," and that she did not think they were left of her son. However they were seized with a horror and amazement of mind, and stood astonished at the sight, when she said to them, "This is mine own son, and what hath been of him was mine of the most bitter doging. Come, eat of this food; for I have eaten of it myself. Do not you pretend to be either more tender than a woman, or more compassionate at former insults; but do abominate this my sacrifice, as I have eaten the one half, let the rest be preserved for me also." After which those men went out trembling, because they were alarmed at anything as they were at this, and with some difficulty they left the rest of that meat to the mother. Upon which the whole city was full of this horrid sight, and every body lashed and saw this miserable case before their own eyes, they trembled, as if this unheard of action had been done by themselves. So those that were thus distressed by the famine were very desirous to die, and they did, till they were at length very happy, because they had not lived long enough either to hear or to see such miseries.

5. This sad instance was quickly told to the Romans, some of whom did not believe it, and others pitied the distress which the Jews were under: but there were many of them who were hereby induced to a more bitter hatred than ordinary our nation. He excused himself before God as to this matter, and said, that "he had proposed peace and liberty to the Jews, as well as an oblivion of all their former insolencies, but that they, instead of concord, had chosen sedition; instead of peace, war; and before antitye and abundance, a famine. That they had begun with their own hands to burn down that temple, which we have preserved hitherto; and that therefore they deserved to eat such food as this was. That, however, this horrid action of eating an own child ought to be covered, while they would be overthrown by their very country itself, and men ought not to leave such a city upon the habitable earth, to be seen by the sun, wherein mothers are thus fed, altho' the Romans had been spared, and the fathers for the mothers to eat of, since it is they that continue still in a state of war against us, as they have undergone such miseries as these." And at the same time that he said this, he reflected on the desperate condition these men must be in, nor could he expect that such men could be recovered to sobriety of mind, after they had ended their days so much afflicted for the avoiding of which it only was probable they might have repented.

CHAP. IV.

§ 1. When the Banks were completed, and the Battering-Rams brought and could do nothing, Titus gave Orders to set Fire to the Gates of the Temple; in no long Time after which the holy House itself was burnt down, even against his Consent.

§ 2. And now two of the legions had completed their banks on the eighth day of the month. When Titus gave orders that the battering-rams should be brought, and set over against the western edifices of the temple wall; for, before these were brought, the flames of all the other buildings had heated the wall for six days together without ceasing, without making any impression upon it, but the vast largeness and strong connection of the stones was superior to that engine. The other legions did, indeed, undermine the foundations of the northern gate, and, after a world of pains, removed the outermost stones; yet was the gate still held by them, and, after a most alarhing sight, they fell upon them, and fought with them; some of them they thrust down, and threw them back wards headlong, others of them they met and slew with the battering-rams. Then, when the workmen, despairing of all such attempts by engines and crowns, brought their ladders to the cloisters. Now the Jews did not interrupt them longer, but they threw down the ladders again, and slew them with their swords before they could bring their shields to protect them; so, some of the ladders they carried away, and burnt them in the bathhouse.

3. In the mean time there desisted to him Ananus, who, being out of Jerusalem, to Emmaus, the most block of all Simon's guards, and Archelaus, the son of Magadatus, they hoping to be still forgiven, because they left the Jews at a time when they were so conquerors. Titus objected this to these men, as a cunning trick of theirs; and as he had been informed of their other barbarities towards the Jews, he was going in all haste to have them both slain. He told them, that "they were not driven to this desertion, because of the utmost distress they were in, and did not come away of their own good disposition; and that those did not come away until the gates of the city were already set on fire, out of which they now hurried themselves away." However, the security he had promised desperates overspread the city, and made it impossible to secure, although, though he did not give them the same privileges that he had afforded to others. And now the soldiers had already put fire to the gates, and the fire that went over them quickly was fed with the flames of the wood that was within it, whence it spread itself all on the sudden, and caught hold of the cloisters. Upon the Jews seeing this fire, all about them, their spirits sunk together, and their thoughts were upon what they were under the effect of, that not one of them made any haste either to defend himself or to quench the fire, but they stood as mute spectators of it only. However, they did not so grievous at what was now burning, as to grow wiser thereby for the time to come; but as though the holy house itself had been on fire already, they were carried away with the desperation against the Romans. The fire prevailed during that day and the next; for the soldiers were not able to burn all the cloisters that were round about together at one time.

3. But then, on the next day, Titus commanded part of his army to quench the fire, and to make a road for the more easy marching up of the ladders, while he himself went with the rest and ordered the wall.
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bled the six principal personages, Tiberius Alexander, the commander (under the general) of the western army; Mithridates, the commander of the fifth legion; and Larpus Lepidas, the commander of the tenth legion, and Titus Frigius, the commander of the fifteenth legion; there were also two others, who lay still for a time on the two legions that came from Alexandria, and Marcus Antonius Julianus, procurator of Judea; after these came together also the rest of the procurators. These, however, seemed to give them advice that they should lay up their arms in his house, and he might save it; but that if he did, he must then look upon himself as a traitor, and lay even himself in the same danger as they. And indeed, he ought not to have ventured upon such a thing, but rather to have made the house as secure as possible, and then to have brought in the other armies, and the host that came upon the house; and so the Jews were not left in the house, but in the temple, and under a strong guard; and so the temple and the holy house was enclosed as far as the holy house iteself. At which time one of the soldiers, without staying for any orders, and without any concern or dread of being cut off himself, came upon him at the greatest height, and was buried only by a certain divine fury, snatched somewhat out of the materials that were on fire, and being lifted up by another soldier, he set fire to the golden window, through which there was a passage to the rooms that were round about the holy house, on the north side of it. As the flames went upward, the Jews made a great clamour, such as so mightly an affliction required, and ran together to press upon the gates; and great were their lives any longer, nor suffered anything to restrain their force, since that holy house was perishing, for which they said it was that they kept such a guard about it.

6. And now a certain person came running to Titus, and told him of this fire, as he was resting himself in his tent, after the last battle; whereas he said that he could not go to the fire, but that he would go to the fire, and that it was in great haste, and as it were in great clamour and tumult raised, as was natural upon the disorderly motion of so great an army. Then did Caesar, both by calling to the soldiers that were fighting still, and by giving them a signal to them with his right hand, order them to quench the fire. But they did not hear what he said, though he took so loud, having their ears already dined by a great noise another way: nor did they attend to the signal he made with his hand neither, as still some of them were distracted with fighting, and others with passion.

But as for the legions that came running thither, neither any persuasions nor any threatenings could restrain their violence, but each one's own passion was his commander at this time; and as they were coming into the houses, a great number of them were trampled on by one another, while a great number fell among the ruins of the cloisters, which were still hot and smoking, and by the smoke the other legions were destroyed in the same manner: and so those whom they had conquered, and when they were come near the holy house, they made as if they did not so much as hear Caesar's orders to the contrary, but they encouraged those that were before them to set it on fire. As for the seditions, they were in too great distress already to afford their assistance (towards quenching the fire;) they were every where slain, and every where beaten, and for the greater part of the people, they were weak and without arms, and had their threats cut wherever they were brought. Now, round about the altar lay dead bodies, heaped upon one another, and the people using up to it ran a quantity of their blood, whether also the dead bodies that were slain above (on the altar) fell down.

7. And now since Caesar was nowable to restrain the enthusiastic fury of the soldiers, and the fire proceeded on more and more, he went into the holy place of the temple, with his com manders, and saw the altar, which was already in flames, and he found it to be far superior to what the relations were invented before the days of Herod the Great, and had been built by him; though the latter Jews always deny it, and say, that even Herod's altar was founded to be so an absurdity only.
of foreigners contained, and not inferior to what we ourselves boasted of, and believed about it. For the Jews who had been persuaded to its inward parts, but was still consuming the rooms that were about the holy house, and Titus, supposing what the fact was, that the house itself and the destruction of such a city in haste, and endeavoured to persuade the soldiers to quench the fire, and gave order to Liberaleis the centurion, and one of those spearmen that were about him, that he would make them that were with them fight with their staves, and to restrain them; yet were their passions too hard for the regards they had for Caesar, and the dread they had of him who forbade them, as was their hatred of the Jews, and a certain vehement inclination to fight them, too hard for them also. Moreover, the hope of plunder induced many to go on, as having this opinion, that all the places within were full of money, and that seeing that all round about it was made of gold. And besides, one of those that went into the place prevented Caesar, when he ran so hastily out to restrain them, and saw the fire hanging upon the hinges of the gate, in the dark; wherefore the flame burst out from within the holy house itself immediately, when the commands were retired, and Caesar with them, and when nobody was forbid those that were without to set fire to it. And thus was the holy house burnt down, without Caesar’s approbation. 8. Now, although any one would justly lament the destruction of such a city, as this was, since it was the most admirable of all the works that we have seen or heard of, both for its curious structure and its magnitude, and also for the vast wealth bestowed upon it, as well as for the glorious reputation it had for its holiness; yet might such a one comfort himself with this thought, that it was fate that decreed it so to be, which is inevitable, both in the living creatures, and as to works and places also. However, one cannot but wonder at the accuracy of this period relating; for the same month and day were now observed as that I all before, wherein the holy house was burnt formerly by the Babylonians. Now the number of years that passed from its first foundation, which was laid by king Solomon, till this its destruction, which happened in the third year of the reign of Vespasian, are collected to be one thousand one hundred and thirty, besides seven months and fifteen days; and from the consecration of it, which was done by Haggai, in the second year of Cyrus the king, till its destruction under Vespasian, there were six hundred thirty-nine years and forty-five days.  

CHAP. V.  
The great Distress the Jews were in upon the Conflagration of the holy House. Concerning a False Prophet, and the Signs that preceded this Destruction.  
§ 1. While the house was on fire, every thing was plundered that came to hand, and ten thousand of those that were caught were slain: nor was there a commiseration of any age, or any reverence of gravity; but children, and old men, and profane persons, and priests, were all slain in the same manner; so that this war went round all sorts of men, and brought them to destruction, and as well those that made supplication for their lives, as those that defended themselves by fighting. The flame was also carried a long way, and made an echo, together with the groans of those that were slain; and because this hill was high, and the works at the temple were very great, one would have thought the whole city had been consumed by the fire, and either greater or more terrible than this noise for there was at once a shout of the Roman legions, who were marching all together, and a loud clashing of the temples and the town, surrounded with fire and sword. The people also that were left above, were beaten back upon the enemy, and under a great coaction, and they were in some disorder; the multitude also that was in the city joined in this outcry with those that were upon the hill. And besides, many of those that were nurtured in the temple, and brought up under the law, when nobody was to hold them in check, when they saw the fire of the holy house, they exerted their utmost strength, and broke out into groans and outcries again; Perea did immense number of garments, and other precious round about the city, and augmented the force of the entire noise. Yet was the misery itself more terrible than this disorder; for one would have thongs into those bodies, as they ran upon such as fled from them. And saw it was the multitude of those that were thus put out one of the inner court of the temple] by the Romans, and had much ado to get into the outward court, and from thence into the city, while the remainder of the populace fied into the cloister of that outer court. As for the priests, some of them plucked up from the holy house the spikenard that were upon it, with their bases, which were made of gold, and shut them in the Romans instead of darics. But then as they gained nothing by so doing, and as the fire burst upon them, they retired to the wall, that was nine cubits broad, and there they tarried; yet did two of these, who were among them, who might have saved themselves by going over to the Romans, or have borne up with courage, and taken their fortune with others, throw themselves together with the holy house; their names were Neilus the son of Belga, and Joseph the son of Daleus. 2. At this time the Romans judging that it was vain to spare what was round about the holy house, burnt all those places, as also the remains of the cloisters and the gates, two excepted; the one and the other, and the other on the east side which, however, they burnt afterward. They also burnt down the treasury chambers, in which was an immense quantity of money, and immense sum of garments, and other precious goods there reposed; and to speak all in a few words, there it was that the entire riches of the Jews were heaped up together, while the rich people had there built their stoves, and chambers (to contain such furniture.) The soldiers also came to the rest of the cloisters that were in the outer court of the temple, whither the women and children, and a great mixed multitude of the people fled, in number about six thousand. But before Caesar had determined any thing about these people, or given the commanders any orders relating to them, the soldiers were in such a rage, that the cloister on fire, as the flame came to pass, that some of these were destroyed by throwing themselves down headlong, and that it is a wonder our commentators here take notice of it.
BOOK VI.—CHAP. V

some were burnt in the cloisters themselves. Nor did any one of them escape with his life. A false prophet was the occasion of these people's distress, for, in the midst of their declamation in the city that very day, that "God commanded them to get up upon the temple, and that there they should receive miraculous signs for the first time," there was a great number of false prophets suborned by the tyrants to impose on the people who denounced this to them, that they should wait for deliverance instead of being zealous and at war, and from them they might be buoyed up above fear and care by such hopes. Now, a man that is in adversity does easily comply with such promises; for when that a seduc er makes him believe that he shall be delivered from those miseries which oppress him, then it is that the patient is full of hopes of such deliverance.

3. Thus were the miserable people persuaded by these deceivers, and such as belied God himself; while they did not attend nor give credence to the signs that were so evident, and did so plainly forewarn the tyrants to the inner court of the temple, that the people had got fatigued, without either eyes to see or minds to consider, did not regard the denunciations that God made to them. Thus there was a start received for the second time and again a comet, that continued a whole year. Thus also before the Jews' rebellion, and before those combinations which preceded the war, when the people were so great in crowds, to the fear of unleavened bread, on the eighth day of the month Xanthicis, [Nisan,] and at the ninth hour of the night, so great a light shone round about the temple and holy house, that it appeared to last for bright day time; which light lasted for half an hour. This light seemed to be a good sign to the unskillful, but was so interpreted by the sacred seers as the divine fury in the room of the law. And the Roman procurator, where he was whipped till his bones were laid bare; yet did not he make any supplication for himself, nor shed any tears; but turned his whole labor and effort to the idea of doing all that was possible, at every stroke of the whip his answer was, "Wo, wo to Jerusalem." And when Albinus (for he was then their procurator) asked him, "Who he was! and whence he came! and why he uttered such words!" he made no manner of reply to what he said, but still did not leave off his melancholy ditty, till Albinus took him to be a madman, and dismissed him. Now, during all the time that passed before the war began, this man did not go near any of the citizens, nor was seen by them while he said so, as if it were his premeditated vow, "Wo, wo to Jerusalem." Nor did he give ill words to any of those that beat him every day, nor good words to those that gazes at him; nor did he apply to all men, and, indeed, no other than a melancholy presage of what was to come. This cry of his was the loudest of the festivals; and he continued this ditty for seven years and five months, without growing hoarse, or being tired therewith, until the very time that he saw his presage in earnest fulfilled in our siege, when it ceased; for as he was going round upon the wall, he cried out, with a twitted voice: "Wo, wo to the city again, and to the people, and to the holy house." And just as he added at the last, "Wo, wo to myself also," there came a

"Roland here justly takes notice, that these Jews, who had despaired of the true Prophet, were deservedly accused and condemned by those false ones.

1 Whether Josephus means, that this star was different from that comet which lasted a whole year, I cannot certainly understand; for Moses and Hesiod make different ones from one another.

2 He means Josephus, as we see by the text 2 Macc. xxi. 41: "When Pythagoras read it, this 9th of Xanthicis or Nisan was at a week before the Passover on the 16th: about which time the Jews had been there, this 8th, or, as Hesiod, 9th of Xanthicus, was supposed to be the day of the Sabbath. And, indeed, one may say, that the Jews built LXXX and tents within the temple, at the Feast of Tabernacles: which the Romans may have the knowledge of, and may have that phenomenon observed, but that, since it is expressly told us in Nechoth, viii. 16, that in still older times, the Jews made booths in the courts of the temple, the Jews may be justly permitted to say the same. And, indeed, the modern rabine are of very small authority in such matters of remote antiquity."
WAR OF THE JEWS.

came out of one of the engines, and smote him, and killed him immediately; and, as he was\thus struck the very same preague, he gave up the ghost.

4. Now, if any one consider these things, he will find that God takes care of mankind, and by the very same instruments that is for their preservation, but that men perish by those miseries which they madly and voluntarily bring upon themselves; for the Jews, by demolishing the tower of Antonia, had made their temple four-square, while at the same time they had it written in their sacred oracles, that "then should their city be taken, as well as their holy house, when their temple should become a four-square." But now, what did the most elevate them in undertaking this war, was an ambiguous oracle that was found also in their sacred book; according to which their country should become the government of the habitable earth." The Jews took this prediction to belong to themselves in particular, and many of them believed that they were called to settle in their determination. Now, this oracle certainly denoted the government of Vespasian, who was appointed emperor in Judea. However, it is not probable that it is true, although they said it beforehand. But these men interpreted some of these signs according to their own pleasure, and some of them they utterly despised, until their madness was demonstrated, both by the taking of their city, and their own destruction.

CHAP. VI.

How the Romans carried their Ensigns to the Temple, and made joyful Acclamations to Titus. The speech that Titus made to the Jews whose they made Supplication for Mercy. What Reply they made thereto; and how that Reply moved Titus's Indignation against them.

§ 1. And now the Romans, upon the flight of the sectaries into the city, and upon the burning of the holy house, having set on foot all the buildings round about it, brought their ensigns to the temple, and set them over against its eastern gate; and there did they offer sacrifices to them, and the day was called Titus's. He also made the greatest acclamations of joy. And now all the soldiers had vast quantities of the spoils which they had gotten by plunder, that in Syria a soldier paid his half, and in Judea, their full value. But as for those priests that kept themselves still upon the wall of the holy house, there was a boy that, out of the thirst he was in, desired the Roman, who, with great patience, filled him from his right hand as a security for his life, and confessed he was thirsty. These guards commiserated his age, and the distress he was in, and gave him the cup of water, and then went off, and filled away to his own friends; nor could any of those guards overtake him; but still they reproached him for his perfidiousness. To which he made this answer: "I have not broken the agreement; for the security I had given me was not in order to my staying with you, but only in order to my coming down safely, and taking up some water; both which things I have performed, and this cup think myself to have been faithful to my engagement." Hereupon those

* Take Havercombe's note here.—This, says he, is a remarkable place; and Tertullian truly says in his Apologetic, ch. xvi. p. 163, that "the entire religion of the Roman army consisted in worshipping the ensigns, in inventing by the ensigns, and preserving the ensigns before all the other gods." See what Havercombe says upon this place of Tertullian.

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who the child had improperly been admiring at his coming, and that on account of age. On the fifth day afterward, the priests, being, with the flames down, and when they were brought to Titus by the guards, they begged for their lives; but he replied, that "the time of pardon was over as to them, and that the very holy house, on whose account only they could justly hope to be preserved, was destroyed, and that it was agreeable to our office, that priests should perish with the house itself to which they belonged." So he ordered them to be put to death.

2 But as for the tyrants themselves, and those that were with them, when they found that they were in that walled round, without any method of escaping, they desired to treat with Titus by word of mouth. Accordingly, such was the kindness of his nature, that he never of free will, sitting down un

§ 1. I hope you, Sir, are now satiated with the miserables of your country, who have not had any just notions, either of our greatness, or of your own greatness; who have been so with our enemies, after a violent and insconsiderate manner, made such attempts as have brought your people, your city, and your holy house, to destruction. You have been the men of the man of the man of the

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Yet do you stand still at this very time in your armour; nor can you bring yourselves so much as to pretend to the comfort of the utmost extremity. O miserable creatures! What is it you depend on? Are not your people dead? Is not your holy house gone? Is not your city in my power? Is not your very temple on my hands? And do you still deem it a part of your value to die? However, I will not imitate your madness. If you will throw down your arms, deliver up your bodies, and live you shall live; and I will act like a mild master of a family; what cannot be healed shall be punished, and the rest I will preserve for my own use.

3. To that end he made this reply, that "they could not accept of it, because they had sworn never to do so, but they desired they might have leave to go through the wall that had been made about them, with their wives and children; for that they would go into the desert, and leave the city to him." At this Titus had great indignation, that, when they were in the case of these already taken captives, they should pretend to make their own terms, as if they had been conquerors. So he ordered this proclamation to be made to them, that "they should no more come out to him as deserters, nor hope for any other quarter from henceforth, nor spare nobody, but fight them with his whole army; and that they might save themselves as well as they could; for that he would shut them up within a little space of time out of war." So he gave orders to the soldiers both to burn and to plunder the city, who did nothing indeed that day, but on the next day they set fire to the repository of the archives, to Acre, to the council-house, and to the place called Ophel; at which time the fire proceeded as far as the palace of queen Helena, which was in the middle of the city; both of them were burnt, and as were also those houses that were full of the dead bodies of such as were destroyed by famine.

4. On the same day it was, that the sons and brethren of Jesus the king, together with many other of the eminent men of the populace, got together there, and besought Caesar to give them his right hand for their security; upon which, though he was very angry at all that were now remaining, yet did he not lay aside his old moderation, but received these men. At that time indeed, he kept them all in custody, but still he bound the king’s and imperial body with him to Rome, in order to make them hostages for their country’s fidelity to the Romans.

CHAP. VII.

What afterwards befell the Scythians, when they had done a great deal of mischief, and suffered many misfortunes; and also how Caesar became Master of the upper City.

'1. And now the seditions rushed into the royal palace, into which many had put their effects, because it was so strong, and drove the Romans away from it. It was the only thing that had crowded into it, who were in number about eight thousand four hundred, and plundered them of what they had. They also took two of the Romans alive; the one was a porter, the other a footman. They then cut the throat of the footman, and immediately had him drawn through the whole city, as revenging themselves upon the whole body of the Romans by this one instance. But the horseman said he had something to suggest to them in order to their preservation; whereupon he was brought before Simon, who had not the heart to execute him; but as he was delivered to Ardalus, one of his commanders, to be punished, who bound his hands behind him, and put a riband over his eyes, and then brought him out upon the place, which was as intending to cut off his head. But the man prevented that execution, and ran away to the
WARs OF THE JEWS.

Romans, and this while the Jewish executioner was drawing out his sword. Now when he was gotten away from the enemy, Titus could not think of putting him to death, but because he deemed him unworthy of being a Roman soldier and was taken on account of having been taken alive by the enemy, he took away his arms, and ejected him out of the legion whereinto he had belonged, which, in one that had a sense of shame, was a penal severity than death itself.

2. On the next day, the Romans drove the robbers out of the lower city, and set all on fire as far as Siloam. These soldiers were indeed glad to see some city destroyed; but they missed the plunder, because the seditions had carried off all their effects, and were retired into the upper city; for they did not yet at all repent of the mischiefs they had done, but were insolent as if they had done well; for as they saw the city on fire, they appeared cheerful, and put on joyful countenances, in expectation, as they said, of death to end their miseries. Accordingly, as the people were now slain, the holy house was burnt down, and the city was on fire, there was nothing farther left for the enemy to do. Yet did not Josephus say even in this his most extremity, to beg of them to spare what was left of the city; he spoke largely to them about their barbarity and impiety, and gave them his advice in other respects, though he blamed nothing more than to be laughed at by them; and as they could not think of surrendering themselves up, because of the oath they had taken, much less would they fight with the Romans any longer upon the square, as being surrounded on all sides, and a kind of prisoners already; yet were they so accustomed to kill people, that they chose rather to fight with them in their right hands from acting accordingly. So they dispersed themselves before the city, and laid themselves in ambush among its ruins, to catch those that attempted to fly up, to the Romans; accordingly many such deserters were caught by them, and were all slain; for these were too weak by reason of their want of food to fly away from them, so their dead bodies were thrown to the dogs. Now every other sort of death was thought more tolerable than famine, insomuch, that though the Jews despaired of mercy, yet would they fly to the Romans, and would themselves, even of their own accord, give up themselves among the murderous rebels also. Nor was there any place in the city that had no dead bodies in it, but what was entirely covered with those that were killed either by the famine, that followed; and all was full of the dead bodies of such as had perished either by that sedition or by that famine.

3. So now the last hope which supported the tyrants and that crow of robbers who were with them, was in the caves and caverns underground; whither, if they could once fly, they did not expect to be searched out, but endeavoured, that after the whole city should be destroyed, and the Romans gone away, they might come out again, and escape from them. This was no better than a dream of theirs, for they were not able to lie hidden either to find or from the Romans. For ever, they depended on these underground subterrages, and set more places on fire than did the Romans themselves; and those that fled out of their city, set fire on fire, into the ditch, that they killed them without mercy and pillaged them also; and if they discovered food belonging to any one, they seized upon it and swallowed it down, together with their blood also; any, they were now come to fight one with another about their plunder; and I cannot but think, that had not their destruction prevented it, their barbarity would have made them taste even of the dead bodies themselves.

CHAP. VIII.

How Cæsar raised Banks round about the upper City, and when they were completed, gave orders that the Machines should be brought. He then possessed himself of the whole City.

§ 1. Now when Cæsar perceived that the upper city was so steep that it could not possibly be taken, he raised about it about raising banks, that he might distribute the several parts of that work among his army, and this on the twentieth day of the month Louis, [A.B.] Now the carriage of the materials was a difficult task, since all the trees, as I have already told you, that were about the city within the distance of a hundred furrows, had their branches cut off already, in order to make the former banks. The works that belonged to the four legion were erected on the west side of the city, over against the royal palace; but the whole body of the auxiliary troops, with the rest of the city, that about raising banks, was at the banks at the Yxestus, whence they reached to the bridge, and that tower of Simon which he had built as a citadel for himself against Joke, when the Jews were there.

2. It was at this time that the commanders of the Idumeans got together privately, and took counsel about surrendering themselves up to the Romans; and when they came to Titus, and entreated him to give them his right hand for their security. So Titus thinking that the tyrants would yield, if the Idumeans, upon whom all depended, once withdrew from them, after some reluctance and delay, complied with them, and gave them security for their lives, and sent the five men back. But as these Idumeans were preparing to march out, Simon perceived it, and immediately slew the five men that had gone to Titus, and took their commanders, and put them in prison, of whom the most eminent was Jacob the son of Soas; but as for the multitude of the Idumeans, who did not at all know what to do, now their commanders were taken from them, he had them watched, and secured the walls by a more numerous garrison. Yet could not that garrison resist those who were deserting, for although a great number of them were slain, yet were the deserters many more in number. Thus all received the Romans, because Titus himself grew negligent as to his former orders for killing them, and because the very soldiers grew weary of killing them, and because they got some money by sparing them; for they left only the populace, and sold the rest of the multitude, with their wives and children, and every one of them at a very low price; and the buyers were few: and although Titus had made proclamation beforehand, that no deserter should come alone by himself, that so they might bring out or from the Romans. However, they depended on these underground subterrages, and set more places on fire than did the Romans themselves; and those that fled out of the city, set fire to it, into the ditch, that they killed them without mercy and pillaged them also; and if they discovered food belonging to any one, they seized upon it and swallowed it down, together with their blood also; any, they...
ch., v. c., and Reial de Spols Temple, p. 129—130.

† These various sorts of spicis, even more than those that which Moses prohibited, Exod. xxi. 24. we see were by force, nor, indeed, by any other way than by sur

m. And thus did the Romans, when they had taken such great pains to weaken walls, got it, and they did with good reason, for the men of these towers were too strong for all mechanical engines whatsoever, concerning which we have treated of before.

3. So they now left these towers of themselves or rather they were ejected out of them by God himself, and fled immediately to that valley which was under Siloam, where they again recovered themselves out of the dread they were in for a while, and ran violently against that part of the Roman wall which lay on that side; but as their courage was too much depressed to make their attacks with sufficient force, and their power was now broken with fear and affliction, they were repulsed by the guards, and dispersing themselves at distances from each other, went down into the subterranean caverns. So the Romans being now become masters of the walls, they both placed their engines upon the towers, and made joyful acclamations for the victory they had gained, as having found the end of this war much lighter than its beginning for when they had gotten upon the last wall without any bloodshed, they could hardly believe what they found to be true; but seeing nobody to oppose them, they stood in doubt what such an unusual solitude could mean. But when they went in numbers into the lanes of the city, with their engines drawn, they slew those whom they overtook without mercy, and set fire to the houses whither the Jews were fled, and burnt every soul in them, and laid waste the whole city, as soon as they were come to the houses to plunder them, they found in them entire families of dead men, and the upper rooms full of dead, corpses, that is, of such as had been slain, and stood in a horror at this sight, and went out without touching anything. But although they had this comissionization for such as were destroyed in that manner, yet had they not the same for those that were still alive, but they ran every one with whom they met with, and obstructed the very lanes with their dead bodies, and made the whole city run down with blood, to such a degree indeed that the fire of many of the houses was quenched with these men's blood. And truly so it happened, that though the sinners left off at night, it was not till the evening of the next day the night; and as all was burning, came that eighth day of the month Porcius [Elul], upon Jerusalem, a city which had been liable to so many miseries during the last ten years, and which people joyed as much happiness from its first foundation, it would certainly have been the envy of the world. Nor did it on any other account so much deserve these sore misfortunes, as by producing such a generation of men as were the occasion of this its overthrow.

CHAP. IX.

What Injunctions Caesar gave when he was come within the City. The number of the Captives, and of those that perished in the Siege; as also, concerning those that had escaped into the subterranean Caverns, among whom were the tyrants Simon and John themselves.

§ 1. Now when Titus was come into this [upper] city, he admired not only some other places of strength in it, but particularly those strong towers which the tyrants in their mad conduct had relinquished: for when he saw their solid altitude, and the magnitude of their size, and the exactness of their joints, as also how great was their breadth, and how extensive their mass in the public worship under Herod's temple, particularly cinnamon and cassia; which Roland takes part of the same notice of, as agreeing with the latter testimony of the Talmudists.
length, he expressed himself after the manner following: "We have certainly had God for our assistance, and it was no other than God who ejected the Jews out of these fortifications; for what could the hands of men, or any machines, do towards overthrowing these towers? But, at the same time he had many such discourses to his friends: he also let such go free as had been bound by the tyrants, and were left in the prisons. To conclude, when he entirely destroyed the city and overthrew its walls, he left those towers as a monument of his good fortune, which had proved his auxiliary, and enabled him to take what could not otherwise have been taken by him.  

32. The soldiers were already quite tired with killing men, and yet there appeared to be a vast multitude still remaining alive, Caesar gave orders that they should kill none but those that were in arms, and opposed them, but should take the rest alive. But, together with those whom they had orders to slay, they slew the aged and infirm; but for those that were with their flourishing age, who might be useful to them, they drove them together into the temple, and shut them up within the walls of the court of the women; over which Caesar set one of his freedmen, named Ephraim, one of his own friends, which last was to determine every one's fate, according to his merits. So this Fronto slew all those that had been seditions, and robbers, who had been impeached one by another; but of the young men he chose out the tallest and most beautiful, and reserved them for the triumph; and as for the rest of the multitude that were only charged with robbery, he put them into bonds, and sent them to the Egyptian mines. Thus also sent a great number into the provinces, as a present to them, that they might be destroyed, for gold, for silver, for arms, for wars, for wild beasts; but those that were under seventeen years of age were sold for slaves. Now during the days wherein Fronto was distinguishing these men, there perished, for want of food, eleven thousand; some of whom did not taste any food; through the hatred their guards bore to them, and others would not take in any when it was given to them. The multitude also was so very great, that they were in want even of corn for their sustenance.

3. Now the number of those that were carried captive by the whole war was collected to be ninety-seven thousand; as was the number of those who perished during the whole siege eleven thousand, the greater part of whom were of the same nation [with the citizens of Jerusalem] but not belonging to the city itself: for they were come up from all the country to the feast of unleavened bread, and were on a sudden shut up by an army, which at the very first occasioned so great a strain to them, that there came a pestilential destruction upon them, and soon afterward such a famine as destroyed them more suddenly. And that this city could so ruin so many people in it, is manifest by that number of them which was taken under Cestius, who being desirous of informing Nero of the multitude, however, he would not believe it, and the number was increased by a conversation of that nation, entered the high priests, if the thing were possible, to take the number of their whole multitude. So these high priests, upon the command of the prophet, called the people over, when they slay their sacrifices, from the ninth hour till the eleventh, so that a company not less than ten thousand to every sacrifice, (for it is lawful for every man to make but one,) so that in the space of the four days, from the ninth hour till the ninth hour, amounts to two hundred thousand and two hundred persons that were pure and holy, for as to those who have the leprosy, or the gonorrhoea, or women that have their monthly courses, or such as are otherwise polluted, it is not lawful for them to be partakers of this sacrifice; nor indeed for any foreigners neither, who come hither to worship.  

4. Now this vast multitude is indeed collected out of remote places, but the entire nation was now shut up by fate, as in a prison, and the Roman army encompassed the city when it was encompassed by fate; [for] the multitude of that whose perished, exceeded all the destructions that either men or God ever brought upon the world; for, to speak only of what we have, we have seen Caesar, and, as some of them, some they carried captives, and others they made a search for under ground, and when they found where they were, they broke up the city, and cut off the men, women, and children, were also found slain there above two thousand persons, partly by their own hands, and partly by one another, but chiefly destroyed by the flames; but then the dead bodies were most offensive to those that lighted upon them, insomuch that some were obliged to get away immediately, while others were so greedy of gain, that they would go among the dead bodies that lay on heaps, and tread upon them; for a great deal of treasure was found in these cavers, and the hope of gain made every way of getting it to be esteemed lawful. Many also of those that had been put in prison by the tyrants were now brought out: for they did not leave off their barbarous cruelty at the very last: yet did God avenge himself upon that people, which was more than justice.  

As for John, he was cast into prison with his brethren, in these cavers, and begged that the Romans would now give him their right hand for security, which he had often prudently sought before: but for Simon the Zealot, who was dead, they had gazed hard with the distress he was in, till he was forced to surrender himself, as we shall relate hereafter; so he was reserved for the triumph, and to be thrown slain; as also John condensed in perpetual imprisonment. And now the Roman set fire to the extreme parts of the city, and burnt down them all, and entirely demolished its walls.

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* See the several predictions, that the Jews, if they become destitute of their kindness and wickedness, should be sent again, or sold, into Egypt, for their punishment, *Deut. xxiii. 9.* Jer. xx. 8. Hos. vii. 13. Isa. 5. xl. 4. *For it is a fire sent against the house of Joseph.* Ezek. xlix. 1. 19. *And of the wild beasts;* page 176, 191, and Rendal's Palæstina, tom. ii. page 715.

† The whole multitude of Jews that were destroyed during the entire seven years before this time, in all the countries of and bordering on Judea, is summed up by Archbishop Usher, from Lypscius, out of Josephus, at the year of Our Lord 3055, and set out at Jerusalem, see the note on B. ii. ch. xx. sect. 3. This number ought to be here induced, but not to be added to the number of the last year, just 11,700. As Josephus's own reasoning: whereas it is in his present recite no less than 2,700,000, while last number is, however, nearest 4,000,000. But what is here chiefly remarkable is a text, that so few numbers ever came those to destroy the Jews was not; but that the most of the beneficialities of justice were just these come up out of the other countries of Ga lien, Josephus, Flavius, and other region remoters, to the Romans, in what numbers, and with what force, they should be gotten together, and perish in the siege of any one city whatever, as now happened in Jerusalem.
BOOK VII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT THREE YEARS—FROM THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS, TO THE SEDITION OF THE JEWS AT CYRENE.

CHAP. I.

How the entire City of Jerusalem was demolished, excepting three Towers: and how Titus commanded his Soldiers in a Speech made to them, and distributed Rewards to them, and thus dissuaded many of them.

§ 1. Now as soon as the army had no more people to slay or to plunder, because there remained none to be the objects of their fury, (for they would not have spared any, had there remained any other such work to be done,) Caesar gave orders that they should now demolish the entire city and temple, but should leave as many of the towers standing as were of the greatest eminency, that is, Phasaelus, and Hippicus, and Mariaman, and so much of the wall as enclosed the city on the west side. This wall was spared, in order to afford a camp for such as were to lie in garrison, as were the towers also spared, in order to demonstrate to posterity what kind of city it was, and how well fortified, which the Roman valor had subdued; but for all the rest of the wall, it was so thoroughly laid even with the ground by those that dug it up to the foundation, that there was left nothing to make those that came thither believe it had ever been inhabited. This was done with moreflagrancy to heap on the madness of those that were for innovations; a city otherwise of great magnificence, and of mighty fame among all mankind, and had sent forth to its own country as a guard the tenth legion, with certain troops of escoeurs, and companies of footmen. So, having entirely completed this war, he was desirous to commemorate his whole army on account of the great exploits they had performed, and to bestow proper rewards on such as had signalized themselves therein. He had therefore a great tribunal made for them, in the midst of the palace where he had formerly encamped, and stood upon it with his principal commanders about him, and spoke so as to be heard by the whole army in the manner followed:—That he returned them the abundance of thanks for their good will which they had showed to him: he commanded them for that ready obedience they had exhibited in this whole war, which obedience had appeared in the many and great danglers which they had courageously undergone; as also, for that courage they had shown, and had thereby augmented of themselves their country’s power, and had made it evident to all men, that neither the multitude of their enemies, nor the strength of their places, nor the largeness of their cities, nor the rash boldness and bawdy rage of their antagonists, were sufficient at any time to get clear of the Roman valor, although some of them may have fortune in many respects on their side. He said further, that it was but reasonable for them to put an end to this war, now it had lasted so long, for they had nothing better to wish for when they entered into it; and that this happening in such a manner was very agreeable to the meekness of their city, their assembly, and their peace, and to the majesty of Rome; and that the Romans had willingly accepted of those for their governors, and the curators of their dominions, whom they had chosen for them, and had sent forth to defend them in the war. And these words were written by the Romans themselves, who were still continued under the management of those whom they had pitched on, and were thankful to them for pitching upon them. That accordingly, although he did both admire,
and tenderly regard them all, because he knew that those who had gone as commissioners about their work as their abilities and opportunities would give them leave; yet he said, that he would immediately bestow rewards and dignities on those who had been the most bravely, and with greater force, and had signalized their conduct in the most glorious manner, and had made his army more famous by their noble exploits; and he added that he was willing to take more pains than another should miss of just retribution for the same; for that he had been exceeding careful about this matter, and that the more so, because he had much rather reward the virtues of his fellow-soldiers than punish such as had offended.

3. Hereupon Titus ordered those whose business it was to read the list of all that had performed great exploits in this war, whom he called to him by their names, and commended them before the company, and rejoiced in them in the same manner as a man would have rejoiced in his own exploits. He also put on their heads crowns of gold, and golden ornaments about their necks, and gave them long spears of gold, and ensigns that were made of silver, and rewarded them with great gifts, and dainties, and besides this, he plentifully distributed among them out of the spoils, and the other prey they had taken, silver, and gold, and garments. So well did all these honors bestow themselves on them, according to his own appointment made to every one, and he had wished all sorts of happiness to the whole army, he came down, among the great nation of the Romans, which were made to rise grand, and then betook himself to offer thank-offerings [to the gods], and at once sacrificed a vast number of oxen, that stood ready at the altars, and distributed them to the army to eat for their refreshment. And when he had stayed three days among the principal commanders, and so long feasted with them, he sent away the rest of his army to the several places where they would be every one best situated; but permitted the tenth legion to stay as a guard at Jerusalem, and did not send them away beyond Euphrates, where they had been before. And as he remembered that the twelfth legion had given way to the Jews, under Cestius, their general, he expelled them out of all Syria, for they had lain formerly at Raphana; and so he went on the way to a place called Neatina, near Euphrates, which is in the limits of Armenia and Cappadocia; he also thought fit that two of the legions should stay with him, till he was come to Egypt. He then went down with his army to that Cesarreum which lay by the seaside, and there laid up the rest of his spoils in great quantities, and gave order that the captives should be kept there; for the winter season hindered them from sailing into Italy.

CHAP. II.

How Titus exhibited all sorts of shows at Cesarea Philippi. Concerning Simon the Tyrant, how he was taken, and reserved for the Triumph.

4. Now, at the same time that Titus Cesar lay at the siege of Jerusalem, did Vespasian set on board a merchant ship, and sailed from Alexandria to Rhodes; whence he sailed away in ships with three rows of oars, and as he touched at several cities that lay in his road, he was joyfully received by them all, and so passed over from Ionia into Greece; whence he set sail from Corea to the promontory of Iapyx, where he was joined with Euphrates by land. But for Titus, he marched from that Cesarea which lay by the seaside, and came to that which is named Cesarea Philippi, and stayed there a considerable time.

The Tyreans,Raabah, as Rabadam in part observes here, is the same place Tertullian calls Thmumidum. The name Raabah, of whom they relate, that he pleaded up Simon as a seditious, and made Jerusalem become as soke, and the and exhibited all sorts of shows there. And here Titus was a great favourite, and gave the Jews some being thrown to wild beasts, and often in multitudes forced to kill one another, as if they were their enemies. And here it was that Titus went after the Jews, that had been brought to the RTS, which was made after the manner following: This Simon, during the siege of Jerusalem, was in the upper city, but when the Roman army was come into the city, and was laying the city waste, he then took the most faithful of his friends with him, and among those were some that were stonemasons, with those iron tools which belonged to their occupation, and as grand and an executioner in showing punishments to us for a long time, and let himself and all them draw into a certain subterraneous cavern that was at visible above ground. Now, so far as he was digged of old, they went onward at it without disturbance; but when they met with solid earth, they dug a mine under ground, and this, in hopes that they should be able to proceed so far as to rise from under ground, and then place, and by that means escape. But when they came to make the experiment, they were disappointed of their hope; for the miners could make but a small progress, and in about a year they laid open, so much that their provisions, though they distributed them by measure, began to fail them. And now Simon, thinking he might be able to stand by his own strength, and by the help of the rock, and buttoned upon him a purple cloak, and appeared out of the ground in the place where the temple had formerly been. At the first, it was thought he was dead; and those that were made to see him, and they stood still where they were; but afterward they came nearer to him, and asked him who he was? Now Simon would not tell them, and they would not know him; and when they ran to call him, 'Terentius Rufus,' who was left to command the army there, came to Simon, and learned of him the whole truth, and kept him in bonds, and let Cesare know he was taken. Thus did God bring this man to be punished for what bitter and savage tyranny he had exercised against his countrymen, by this destruction of his body, and its miserable and ignominious state, and the while he was not subdued by violence, but voluntarily delivered himself up to them to be punished, and that on the very same account that he had before; but the Jews excited the accounts against many Jews, if they were falling away to the Romans, and had barbarously slain them; for wicked actions do not escape the divine anger, nor is justice so barbarous as to punish offenders, but in time it takes those that transgress its laws, and inflict its punishments upon the wicked in a manner so much more severe, as they expected to escape it on account of their not being punished distastefully. Simon was made sensible of this by falling under the indignation of the Romans. This rise of his out of the ground did also occasion the discovery of a great number of others the sedition of which was kept safe under ground. But for Simon, he was brought to Cesare in bonds, when he came back to that Cesarea which was on the sea; who ordered that he should be kept apart from it, and that the triumph which he was to celebrate at Rome upon this occasion.

CHAP. III.

How Titus, upon the Celebration of his Brother's and Father's Birthdays, had many of the Jews slain. Concerning the Demolition of the Temple in at Antioch, by means of the Tyranocracies and Impiety of one Antiochus, a Jew.

1. While Titus was at Cesarea, he celebrated the birthday of his brother [Domitian] after mountain of the house in the high places of a Jew; for this mountain was very long before famous, and the one Raabah, of whom they relate, that he pleaded up Simon as a seditious, and made Jerusalem become as soke, and the
BOOK VII.—CHAP. IV.

1. A splendid manner, and started a great deal of the punishment intended for the Jews in honour of him; for the number of those that were now slain in one day was uncommon to be conceived, and fought with one another, exceed two thousand and five hundred. Yet did all this seem to the Romans, when they were thus destroyed ten thousand, that they were to bear; the reason wherefore the Jews were accounted to have destroyed each other, be that they would by that means discover who they were that had plotted against them, since they would not do so; and when the people of Antioch tried to prevent them by forcing them to rest on the seventh day, but forcing them to do all that they usually did on other days; and to that degree of distress did he reduce them in this manner, that the rest of the seven days was dissolved not only at Antioch, but the same thing which took thence its rise, was done in other cities also, in like manner, for some small time.

2. Now, after these misfortunes had happened to the Jews at Antioch, a second calamity befell them, the description of which when we were going about, we promised in the account foregoing: for upon this accident, whereby the chief square market place was burnt down, as well as the archives, and the place where the public records were preserved, and the royal palace, and the magnificent palace of the king (and it was not without difficulty that this was then put a stop to, which was likely, by the fury wherewith it was carried along, to have gone over the whole city,) Antiochus accused the Jews of the disturbance; and he not only accused them, but the senate, and the province, and the king, and the king's secretary, and the council of the people, and the Jews, and the houses, and the synagogues, and the magistrates, and the Jews, in a manner setting fire to themselves to the city; nor was it without difficulty that one Caesar, the legate, could prevail with them to permit the affairs to be laid before Caesar; for as to Cœanus, the president, the son of Syria, Vespasian had already sent him away; and so it happened, that he was not yet come back thither. But when Caesar had made a careful inquiry into the matter, he found out the truth, and that not one, but all was accused by Antiochus had any hand in it, but that all was done by some vile persons greatly in debt, who supposed that if they could set fire to the most precious house, and then accuse them, they should have no further demands made upon them. So the Jews were under great disorder and terror, in the uncertain expectation of what would be the upshot of these accusations against them.

CHAP. IV.

How Vespasian was received at Rome, as also how the Germans revolted from the Romans, but were subdued. The state of the Mediterranean, and of Myria, but were compelled to return to their own Country again.

§ 1. AND now Titus Caesar, upon the news that was brought him concerning his father, that his coming was much desired by all the Italians, and that the Romans had great alacrity and splendour, betook himself to rejoicing and pleasures to a great degree, as now Macrobeth, and afterward by the Romans, a governor of their own, who was exempt from the jurisdiction of the other civil governors. He was called procurator, consul significant, and it Alexander's eldest brother, as Dr. Rudge takes notice on this place out of Fuller'sMiscellany. He had the title of Flaminian, but was allowed them as Babylonia under the Assyrians, as the history of Babylonia implies.
was about Alexandria, and Thas was laying the siege of Jerusalem, a great multitude of the German army, with respect to him and his expedition under him, and as the Gauls in their neighborhood joined with them, they conspired together, and had thereby great hopes of success, and that they should be able to take the Romans. The motives that induced the Germans to this attempt for a revolt, and for beginning the war, were these: in the first place, the nature of the people, which was destitute of just reasonings, and ready to throw themselves rashly into danger, upon small hopes; in the next place, the hatred they bore to the Romans; and thirdly, they were never been conscious of subjecting to any but the Romans, and that by compulsion only. It sides these motives, it was the opportunity that age: accord ingly, he marched against the rest prevailed with them so to do; for when they saw the Roman government in a great internal disorder, by the continual changes of its rulers, and made all the changes of those that were to be governed. Moreover, the people had been so harassed by their civil miseries, that they were still more earnest for his coming immediately, as supposing they should then be firmly delivered from their calamities, and believing they should then recover their secure tranquility and prosperity; and for the soldiers, they had the principal regard to him, for they were chiefly apprised of his great exploits in war; and since they had experienced the want of all the virtues and good qualities of other commanders, they were very desirous to be freed from that great shame they had undergone by their means, and heartily to receive such a prince as might be a support and an ornament to them. And as this good-will to Vespasian was universal, those that enjoyed any remarkable dignities could not have patience enough to stay in Rome, but made haste and set out at a very great distance from it: say, indeed, none of the rest could endure the delay of seeing him, but did all pour out of the city in such crowds, and were so universal in the opinions that it was easier and better for them to go out than to stay there, that this was the very first time that the city joyfully perceived itself almost empty of its citizens; for those that abid within were fewer than those that went out. But as soon as the news was come that he was hard by, and those that had met him at first related with what good humour he received every one that came to him, they was that the whole multitude that had remained in the city, with their wives and children, came into the road and waited for him there; and for those whom he passed by, they made all such works as were in the power of the joy he experienced; and the public tranquility, and styled him their benefactor and savior, and the only person who was worthy to be received with great joy at the gates of Rome; and nor was it easy for him to come to the royal palace, for the multitude of the people that mingled about him, where last he performed his sacrifices of thanksgiving to his household gods, for his safe return to the city. The multitude did also betake themselves to feasting; which feasts and drink offerings they celebrated by their tribes, and their families, and then their neighbours, and still prayed God to grant that Vespasian, his sons, and all their posterity, might reign in peace for a very long time, and that his dominion might be preserved from all opposition. And this was the manner in which Rome so joyfully received Vespasian, and they drew immediately into a state of great prosperity.

2. But before this time, and while Vespasian

* This Claudius, and Cilicia, and Cretica, are names well known in Tuscus; the two former as moving sedition among the Etruscans, and the latter as the last nation that was taken by Vespasian, just as they are here described in Josue, which is in the case also of Fontes Agrigp, and Embesias. The former belongs to the very favourable account given of Domitian, particularly as to his death from him; and the latter gives the true account of his death on the 20th of the 5th month, and he was very loved and used, and generally hated, when Suetonius wrote about him. Cilicia. Tusc.
for those Scythians, who are called Sarmatians, being a very numerous people, transported themselves to the Propontis, as they were neither being perceived: after which, by their violence and entirely unexpected assault, they slew a great many of the Romans that guarded the frontiers, and the consular legate Pontianus Agrippa came to meet them, and fought courageously against them, he was slain by them. They then overran all the region that had been subject to him, and met with such success as he who would had told him that he would have annihiliated the troops of his king's messengers, and then came back to Antioch. And when the senate and people of Antioch earnestly entreated him to come upon their theatre, and become their guest, he assembled, and expected him, he complied with great humanity; but when they pressed him with much earnestness, and continually begged of him, he said, "I am not worthy of the people of the city who gave this very pertinent answer: "How can this be done, since that country of theirs, whither the Jews must be obliged then to retire, is destroyed, and little of their own remains?" Whereupon the people of Antioch, when they had failed of success in this their first request, made him a second; for they desired that the Jews should be required to receive the missiles on which the Jews' privileges were engraven. However, Titus would not grant that neither, but permitted the Jews of Antioch to continue to enjoy the same privileges in that city which they had before, and then departed for Egypt, and as he came to Jerusalem in his progress, and compared the melancholy condition he saw it then in, with the ancient glory of the city, and the whole greatness of its people, and as its ancient splendor, he could not but pity the destruction of the city, so far was he from boasting that so great and goodly a city as that was, had been taken by him, but every day, he frequently cursed those that had been the authors of their revolt, and had brought such a punishment upon the city; insomuch, that it was openly appeared, that he did not desire that such a calamity as this punishment of theirs amounted to, should be a demonstration of his courage. Yet was there no small quantity of the riches and ornament of the city left in its ruins, a great deal of which the Romans dug up; but the greatest part was discovered by those who were captives, and so they carried it away as much as the gold and silver and the rest of that most precious furniture which the Jews had, and which the owners had treasured up under ground against the uncertain fortunes of war.

3. So Titus took the journey he intended into Egypt, and passed over the desert very suddenly, and came to Alexandria, and took up a resolution to go to Rome by sea. And as he was so accompanied by two legions, he sent to Pompey the great again to the places whence they had before come, the fifth he sent to Myas, and the fifteenth to Panonia: as for the leaders of the captives, Titus sent Simeon and John Baptist to the king of the Scythians, whom he had selected out of the rest as being eminently tall and handsome of body, he gave order that they should be soon carried to Italy, as resolving to produce them in his triumphs. So when he had had a prosperous voyage to his mind, the city of Rome behaved itself in its reception, and their meeting him at a distance, as it did in the case of his father. But what made the most splendid appearance, in Titus' opinion, was, when his father met him, and received him, but still the multitude of the citizens conceived the greatest joy when they saw them all three together, as they did at this time: nor were many days overpast, when they determined to have but one triumph that should be common to both of them, on account of the glorious exploits they had performed, although the same had deemed each of them a separate triumph by himself. So when notice had been given beforehand of the day appointed for this

* Since in those latter ages this Sabbanitic river, once so famous, which, by Joseph's account here, runs passable and boundless, has been utterly dried up, Phileas, Nat. Hist. xxxi. 11, ran perpetually on six days, and rested every seventh; (though it may be supposed by six of them, and the seventh day of this river, being called the seventh day of the Jewish day, or Sabbath,) it is quite vanished, I shall add no more about it; only see Dr. Hudson's note. In Varrat's Geography, I. 17, the reader will find several descriptions of such rivers and the same, though none of their periods were that of just a week, as of old this appear to have been.

** Vespasian, and his two sons, Titus and Domitian.
pompous solemnity to be made on account of their victories, not one of the immense multitude was left in the city, and every body went out as far as to gain only a station where they might stand, and left only such a passage as was necessary for those that were to be seen to go along it. And as they were thus got out before hand by companies, and in their several ranks, under their several commanders, in the night time, and were about the gates, not of the upper palaces, but those near the temple of Iea; for there it was that the emperor had rested the foregoing night. And as soon as ever it was day, Vespasian and Titus came out crowned with laurels; and in those ancient purple habits which were proper to their family, and then went as far as Octavian’s walks; for there it was that the senate, and the principal rulers, and those that had been recorded as of the equestrian order, waited for them. Now a tribunal had been erected before the cloisters, and ivory chairs had been set upon it, when they came and sat down upon them. Whenupon the soldiery made an acclamation of joy to them immediately, and all gave them attestations of their valor: while they were themselves without their arms, and only furnished with spears, and crowded with laurels; then Vespasian accepted of these shouts of theirs; but while they were still disposed to go on in such acclamations, he gave them a signal, and when every body entirely of every corpse held their peace, he stood up, and covering the greatest part of his head with his cloak, he put up the accustomed solemn prayers: the like prayer put up also; after which prayers Vespasian made a short speech to all the people, and then sent away the soldiers to a dinner prepared for them by the emperors. Then did what gate which was called the gate of the pomp, because pompous shows do always go through that gate; there it was that they tasted some food, and when they had put on their triumphal garments, and had offered sacrifices to the gods that were placed at those gates, they sent the triumph forward, and marched through the theatres, that they might be the more easily seen by the multitude.

6. Now it is impossible to describe the multitude of the shows as they deserve, and the magnificence of them all; such indeed as a man can not really think of, performed, either by the labour of workmen, or by their own hands, or to the rarities of nature; for almost all such curiosities as the most happy men ever got by piece-meal, were here brought upon another, and made immortal in their first and natural form: and all brought together on that day, demonstrated the vastness of the dominions of the Romans; for there was here to be seen a mighty quantity of all sorts, and gold, and ivory, confronned into all sorts of things, and did not appear as carried along in pompous show only, but, as a man may say, running along like a river. Some parts were composed of the rarest purple hangings, and so carried along; and others accurately represented to the life what was embroidered by the arts of the Babyliouans. There were also portions of others, that were transparent, some in crowns of gold, and some in other ornaments, as the workmen pleased: and of these such a vast number were brought, that we could not but think they were paid by the sacrifice of any of them to be rarities. The images of the gods were also carried, being as well wonderful for their largeness, as made artificially, and with great skill of the workmen: nor were any of these images of any other than very costly materials and adorned with purple garments. Besides these, one might see that even the greatest number of the captives was not unadorned, while the variety that was in their garments, and their fine texture, concealed from the sight the greater part of their bodies. So that at this greatest surprise of all, was the structure of the pages, that were borne along; for indeed to that met them could not but be afraid that the bears were not made directly enough to support them, such was their magnificence: for many of them were so made, that they were on three or even four stories, one above another. The magnificence of the buildings their stones were of, both pleasure and surprise; for upon many of them were laid carpets of gold. There was also wrought gold and ivory fastened about them; and many of the walls were covered, in several ways, and variety of constrictions, affording a most lively portraiture of itself. For there was to be seen a happy country laid waste, and in the same manner cut off, while some of them ran away, and some were carried into captivity, with walls of great altitude and magnitude overthrown, and ruined by machines; and the walls of the most populous cities upon the tops of hills seized on, and an army pouring itself within; for as also every piece of earth was taken to the slaughter, as it were, and the earth by them ran down, not into a land cultivated, nor as drunk for men, or for cattle, but through a land still as fire upon every side; for the Jews related that much a thing as that had happened; but indeed was so, and it was there really present. On the top of every one of these pages was placed the commander of the city that was taken, and the manner where he was taken, and the ships he was taken in, and the number of the ships the Romans received a great number of ships; and for the other spoils, they were carried in great plenty. But for those that were taken in the temple of Jerusalem, they made the greatest of them all; that is, the golden table, of the weight of many talents; the candlestick also, that was made of gold, though its construction was not changed from that of which we speak of, for its middle shaft was fixed upon a base, and the small branches were produced out of it in a great length, having the likeness of a trident in the position, and had upon several of them brass for a lamp at the tops of them. These lamps were in number seven, and represented the dignity of the number Seven among the Jews; and the last which was placed, was the law of the Jews. After these spoils passed by a great many men, carrying the images of victory, whose structure was entirely either of agreeing with Moses’s description, Exod. xxxv. 21. 22. (3)

* See the representations of these Jewish vessels, as they still stand on Titius’s triumphal arch at Rome, in Radauer’s curious book, de Anno Titii, published in 1695 through the kindness of the late Mr. Andrew Bell. The obelisk at the end of Vespasian’s column at Rome, may also answer to the description of the Xenophon, as given by the writer of the Life of Xenophon, who observes that "the obelisk at Rome is a stone gift, taking its shape from the obelisk at the Temple of Solomon, and placed upon the arch of Titus, and it is forty feet high, and its base is a square of twenty-five feet." The obelisk is similar in shape to the stone obelisk at the Temple of Saturn in Rome, which was brought to England in 1680 and is now in the Field of Dreams. The obelisk at the Temple of Jupiter in Rome is also similar in shape to the one at the Temple of Solomon. The obelisk at the Temple of Apollo in Corinth is also similar in shape to the one at the Temple of Solomon. The obelisk at the Temple of Venus in Rome is also similar in shape to the one at the Temple of Solomon. The obelisk at the Temple of Mars in Rome is also similar in shape to the one at the Temple of Solomon.
BOOCl VII—CHAP. VI.

§ 1. Now Lucullus Bassus was sent as legate into Judea, and there he received the army from Cæsareis Vitellissius, and took that city which was in Herodion, together with the garrison that was in it: after which he got together all the soldiers that were there, (which was a large body, but dispersed into several parties,) with the tenth legion, and resolved to make war upon Macherus; for it was highly necessary that this citadel should be taken, and the entrance of drawing away many into a rebellion, by reason of its strength: for the nature of the place was very capable of affording the surest hopes of safety both to the present and to the next day; it is certain death to those that attack it; for what was walled in it was itself a very rocky hill, elevated to a very great height, which circumstance alone made it very hard to be subdued. It was also so contrived by nature, that it could not be easily ascended; for it is, as it were, situated about with such valleys on all sides, and so increased depth, that the eyes cannot reach their bottoms, and such as are not easily to be passed over, and even such as it is impossible to fill up with earth. This is the reason that valley which extends to threescore furlongs, and did not end till it came to the lake Asphaltites; on the same side it was also that Machærus had the tallest top of the hill elevated above the rest. But then for the valleys that lay on the north and south sides, although they be not so large as that already described, yet is it in like manner an inpracticable thing to think of getting over them: a large valley that lies on the east side, its depth is found to be no less than a hundred cubits. It extends as far as a mountain that lies over against Machærus, with which it is bounded.

§ 2. Now when Alexander Janneus, the king of the Jews, observed the nature of this place, he was the first who built a citadel here, which afterward was demolished by Gabinius, when he made war against Aristobulus. But when Herod came to be king, he thought the place to be worthy of the utmost regard, and of being built on; and he began the work upon the former foundation; there were noble preparations made for their feasting at home: for this was a festival day to the city of Rome, as celebrated for the victory obtained by the Romans over the Parthians, and at that was now put to their civil miseries, and for the commencement of their hopes of future prosperity and happiness.

§ 3. After these triumphs were over, and after the affairs of the Romans were settled on the nearest foundations, Vespasian resolved to build a temple to Peace, which he finished in so short a time that war was by word of command, without the smallest practice or artifices, in a manner, whereof all human expectation and opinion: for he having by Providence a vast quantity of wealth, besides what he had formerly gained in his other campaigns, besides great sums of money that were bestowed by states; for in this temple was collected and deposited all such rarities as men at present time used to wander all over the habitable world to see, when they had a desire to see one of them after another: he also laid up therein those golden vessels and instruments that were taken out of the Jewish temple, as ensign of his glory. But still he gave order that they should lay up their laws, and the purifications, the solemn processions of the holy place, in the royal palace itself, and keep them there.

§ 4. Now within this place there grew a sort of tree, that degenerates on account of its largeness, for it was now so inferior to any figtree whatsoever, either in height or in thickness: and the report is, that it had lasted ever since the time of Herod, and we have last so long had it not been cut down by those Jews who took possession of the place afterward. But still in that which encompasses the city on the north side, there is a certain place called Bassara, which produces a root of the same name with itself; its colour is like that of flame, and towards the evening it sends out a certain ray like lightning; it is not only taken by such as it has seen, but it recedes from their hands, nor will yield itself to be taken quietly, until either the urine of a woman, or the menstrual blood, is poured upon it; and even if it is taken by such as it has seen, it recedes from their hands, unless any one take and hang the root itself down from his hand, and so carry it away. It may also be taken another way, without danger; in this: They dig a trench on round it, till the hidden part of the root be very small: they by him to have been derived from king Solomon, of which we have already seen he had a great opinion; Ant. B. viii. ch. ii. sect. 5. We also may hence learn the true case how Joseph had been shewn Daniel, the difference of that of the Jews and Christians in the New Testament, in the second and the third centuries. See Ant. B. vi. ch. viii. sect. 5; B. ii. ch. ii. sect. 3.
wholly intent upon what they said. Now a cer-
tain person belonging to the Roman camp, who
had just made a trip to Alexandria, came sud-
denly, when nobody expected such a thing, and
carried him off, with his armor itself, while in
the mean time those that saw it were in a
state of such consternation, that Rufus prevented
their assistance, and car-
ried Eleanzar to the Roman camp. So the general
of the Romans ordered that he should be taken
up naked, set before the city to see, and
sorely whipped before their eyes. Upon this
accident that befell the young man, the Jews
were terribly confounded, and the city with one
voice said that they knew of no grief greater
than that of having to see him, and that no
thing improved greater than could be supposed
upon the calamity of a single person. When Bassus
perceived that, he began to think of using a
stratagem against the enemy, and was determined
to aggravate their grief, in order to prevent
with them to surrender the city for the preservation
of that man. Nevertheless, he did it in his hope; for he
commanded them to set up a crucifix as if it
were just going to hang Eleanzar upon it immediately,
the sight of this occasioned a sore grief among
those that were in the citadel, and they pressed
upon theRomans themselves that the Jews
had bear to see him thus destroyed. Whereupon
Eleanzar besought them not to disgrace him,
now he was going to suffer a most miserable
death through the Roman power, by yielding to the Roman power and good
fortune, since all other people were now conquered
by them. These men were greatly moved with this,
and the more encouraged others according to
the city that interceded for him, because he was an
eminent and very numerous family; they
now yielded to their passion of commiseration.
The Romans then sent out immediately certain messengers,
and treated with the Romans, in order to a surrender
of the citadel to them, and desired that they
might be permitted to go away, and take
Eleanzar along with them. Then did the Romans
and their general accept of these terms, while the
multitude of strangers that were in the lower
part of the city, hearing of the agreement that
was made by the Jews for themselves alone,
were resolved to fly away privately in the night
time; but as soon as they had opened their gates
these men came to terms with Bassus in behalf of
him of it; whether it were that they saved
the others' deliverance, or whether it were done out
of fear, lest an occasion should be taken against
them upon their escape, is uncertain. It was
certain, however, that this agreement did not
out prevent the enemy, and got away, and fed
for it; but for those men that were caught within
they were slain, to the number of about
seventy, as were the women and children
made slaves. But as Bassus thought he must
perform the covenant he had made with those
that had surrendered the citadel, he let them
and restored Eleanzar to them.

5. When Bassus had settled these affairs, he
marched hastily to the forest of Jardan, as it
was called; for he had heard that a great number
of the Romans had taken his city; amongst
themselves who were thus treated, there were three
hundred, as were the women and children
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routed them, who received them with great courage, and so while the one side fought desperately, and the other would not yield, the fight was long and bloody. But after the battle did not answer the expectation of the assailants; for so it happened, that no more than twelve fell on the Roman side, with a few that were wounded; but not one of the Jews escaped out of this battle, but they were all killed, being in the whole not fewer in number than three thousand, together with Judas, the son of Jairus, their general, concerning whom we have before spoken, that he had been a captain of a certain band at the siege of Jerusalem, and by going down into a certain vault under ground, had escaped his death. 

6. About the same time it was that Cæsar sent a letter to Bassus, and to Liberiæus Maximus, who was the procurator of Judea, and gave orders that all Judea should be exposed to sale; for he did not find any city there, but reserved the country for himself. However, he assigned a place for eight hundred men only, whom he had dismissed from his army, yea, for them for their habitation; it is called Emesa, and is distant from Jerusalem three score furlongs. He also laid a tribute upon the Jews whereasover the country beyond the said line, and that every year bring two thousand shekels to the capital, as they used to pay to the same temple at Jerusalem. And this was the state of the Jewish affairs at this time.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the Calvinity that befell Antiochus, King of Commagene. As also concerning the Alma and what great Mischiefs they did to the Armenians.

§ 1. And now, in the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian, it came to pass, that Antiochus, the king of Commagene, with all his family, fell into very great calamities. The occasion was this: Cotænianus Petus, who was president of Syria at this time, whether it were done out of regard to truth, or whether out of hatred to Antiochus, (for which was the real motive was never thoroughly discovered,) sent an epistle to Cæsar, and therein told him that "Antiochus, with his son Epiphanes, had resolved to rebel against the Romans, and had made a league with the king of Commagene; in order not to fit to prevent them, lest they prevent us, and begin such a war as may cause a general disturbance in the Roman empire." Now Cæsar was disposed to take some means against such this discovery was made; for the neighbourhood of the kingdoms made this affair worthy of greater regard; for Samosata, the capital of Commagene, lies upon Euphrates, and, upon any such alliance, could afford an easy passage to the Parthians, and could also afford them a secure reception. Petus was accordingly believed, and had authority given him of doing what Cæsar and his commanders in the case; so he set about it without delay, and fell upon Commagene before Antiochus and his people had the least expectation of his coming: he had with him to blow into the legions and troops of horsemen. These kings also came to his assistance; Aristobulus, king of the country called Chalcidene, and Sohereus, who was called king of Commagene, went also in Cavalleria, and made up his forces when he entered the king;

It is very remarkable that Titus did not people this now desolate country of Judea, but ordered it to be all sold. He also ordered, in reply, the Jews, when they were ready for their old inhabitants, the Jews, at their future restoration. See it. Accomp. of Prophecies, p. 77.

There the city of Emesa, Amman in Euphrates and others, which was the place of the government of Julius Africame, in the beginning of the third century, and which they made to their capital, and after which rebuilding it was called Nicopolis, is entirely different from

that Emesa which is mentioned by St. Luke, mat. xvi., see Bale's Palatina, lib. ii. page 430, and under the same name Ammonus was. But whether in St. Luke may be well be the same with this Ammonus we are more or less, especially since the Greek copies here unusually write, as Jerom writes, in St. Luke, though the Latin copies my only 30. The place also allotted for these 600 soldiers, so to a Roman guard, is, in this place, not very likely to be found from Jerusalem as was the other Amman or Nicopolis.
New there was a nation of the Alans, which we have formerly mentioned somewhere, as being seedyans, an inhabitant of the Jax Medes. The nation about this time laid a design of falling upon Medes and the parts beyond it, in order to plunder them; with which intention they treated with the king of Hyrcania; for he was made their leader, and was ready to give them aid, which was only to supply their number with one another in their single capacity, and in their communities, who should run the greatest lengths in impiety towards God, and in most bloody actions towards their own; they therefore compelling the multitude, and the multitude earnestly labouring to destroy the men of power. The one part were desirous of tyrannizing over others, and the rest of offering violence to others, and of plundering such as were richer than themselves. They were the Sicari who first began these transgressions, and first became barbarous men; they forced them to feed, they forced them to drink, they gave them no words of reproach unaided, and no works of perdition untried, in order to destroy those whom their contrivances affected. Yet did John attempt to more moderate than he was himself, for he set only shrew all such as gave him good counsel to do what was right, but treated them worst of all, as the greatest good had among the citizens; nay, he filled his entire city with ten thousand instances of wickedness, such as a man who was already hardened sufficiently for the facts and all his mischiefs, and who they did not have the care for the food was lawful that was set upon his table, and he rejected those purifications that the law of his country had ordained: so that it came to pass, when a beggar fell ill, who was provoked by this sight, laid waste the country, and drove a great multitude of the men, and a great quantity of other prey they had gott out of both kingdoms, falling with them, and then retreated back to their own country.

CHAPTER VIII.

Concerning Medes, and those Sicarii who kept it; and how Silus beheld himself to form the Visper of that Citadel. Elenzor's Speech to the besieged.

§ 1. When Basus was dead in Judea, Flavius Silva succeeded him as procurator there; when he saw that all the rest of the country was subdued in this war, and that there was but only one strong hold that was still in rebellion, he got all his army together that lay in different places, and made an expedition against it. This fortress was called Masada. It was one Eleezor, a potent master of the enemy of the king of these Sicarii, that had seized upon it. He was a descendant from that Judas who had persuaded abundance of the Jews, as we have formerly related, not to submit to the Romans, and had been the chief of the conspiracy with them to make one; for then it was that the Sicarii got together against those that were willing to submit to the Romans, and treated them in all respects as if they had been their enemies, both by plundering them of what they had, by driving away their cattle, and by setting fire to their houses; for they said, that they differed not at all from the inhabitants of that freedom which the Jews thought worthy to be contended for to the utmost, and by owning that they preferred slavery under the Romans before such a contention. Now, this was the policy of those of those who were partners with them in their rebellion, joined also with them in the war against the Romans, and went farther lengths with them in their impudent undertakings against others; and they were againicted of dissembling in such their pretences, they still more abused those that justly re- garded for their wickedness. And, indeed, that was a time most fertile in all manner of wicked practices, insomuch that no kind of evil deeds were then left undone; nor could any one of them do any thing that was new, so deeply were they inflected with one another in their single capacity, and in their communities, who should run the greatest lengths in impiety towards God, and in most bloody actions towards their own; they therefore compelling the multitude, and the multitude earnestly labouring to destroy the men of power. The one part were desirous of tyrannizing over others, and the rest of offering violence to others, and of plundering such as were richer than themselves. They were the Sicari who first began these transgressions, and first became barbarous men; they forced them to feed, they forced them to drink, they gave them no words of reproach unaided, and no works of perdition untried, in order to destroy those whom their contrivances affected. Yet did John attempt to more moderate than he was himself, for he set only shrew all such as gave him good counsel to do what was right, but treated them worst of all, as the greatest good had among the citizens; nay, he filled his entire city with ten thousand instances of wickedness, such as a man who was already hardened sufficiently for the facts and all his mischiefs, and who they did not have the care for the food was lawful that was set upon his table, and he rejected those purifications that the law of his country had ordained: so that it came to pass, when a beggar fell ill, who was provoked by this sight, laid waste the country, and drove a great multitude of the men, and a great quantity of other prey they had gott out of both kingdoms, falling with them, and then retreated back to their own country.
BOOK VII.—CHAP. VIII.

joining, he presently gazed it, and put garrisons into the most proper places of it: he also built a wall round about the palace, and placed some of the besieged might easily escape: he also set his men to guard the several parts of it: he also pitched his camp in such an agreeable place as he could find, and placed his troops in such a place the rock belonging to the fortress did make the nearest approach to the neighbouring mountain, which yet was a place of difficulty for getting places of provisions; for it was not only food that was to be brought from a great distance [to the army], and this with a great deal of pains to those Jews who were appointed for that purpose, but water was also to be brought to the camp, because, and its breadth made no fountain that was near it. When therefore Silvax had ordered these affairs beforehand, he fell to besieging the place; which siege was likely to stand in need of a great deal of skill and pains, by reason of the strength of the fortress, the nature of which I will now describe.

3. There was a rock, not small in circumference, and very high. It was encircled with valleys of such vast depth downward, that the eye could not reach their bottoms: they were abrupt, and such as no animal could walk upon, excepting for a few only that are called serpents, who subsist in order to afford a passage for ascent, though not without difficulty. Now, of the ways that lead to it, one is that from the lake Asphaltilus, and its breadth made no fountain that was near it; and there is one by the west, where the ascent is easier: the one of these ways is called the Serpent, as resembling that animal in its narrowness and its perpetual winding, and the other descends by the precipices of the rock, and returns frequently into itself, and lengthening again by little and little, hath much ado to proceed forward; and he that得了 it must needs have the constant use of his leg and then on the other: there is also nothing but destruction, in case your feet slip; for on each side there is a vastly deep chasm and precipice, sufficient to quell the courage of every body by the terror it intuines into the mind.

When, therefore, a man hath gone along this way for thirty furlongs, the rest is the top of the hill, not ending at a small point, but is no other than a vast elevated platform upon the highest part of the mountain. Upon this top of the hill Jonathan the high priest first of all built a fortress, and called it Masada; after which the rebuilding of this place was undertaken by the care of King Herod, to a great degree: he also built a wall round about the entire top of the hill, seven furlongs long: it was composed of white stone, its height was two, and its breadth eight cubits: two gates were also erected upon that wall thirty-eight towers, each of them fifty cubits high; out of which you might pass into lesser edifices, which were built on the inside, round the entire wall; for the king reserved the top of the hill, which was of a flat, and better mould than any valley for agri culture, that such as committed themselves to this fortress for their highest safety, might not even there be quite destitute of food, in case they should ever be in want of it from abroad. Moreover, he built a palace therein at the western ascent, to prevent any one from being able to lay siege to the citadel, but inclined to its north side. Now the wall of this palace was very high and strong, and had at its four corners towers sixty cubits high. The furniture next of the edifices, and of the cloisters, and of the baths, was of great variety, and very costly; and these buildings were supported by pillars of single stones on every side; the height of Masada was called the Sebaste Promontory. Accordingly he got upon that part of the rock, and ordered the army to bring earth; and when they fell to that work with alacrity,

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for several ages, as if there had been no fountains there. Here was also a road dug from the palace, and leading to the very top of the mountain, which yet could not be seen by day as were without [the walls]; nor, indeed, could enemies easily make use of the plain roads; for the road at the east side, as we have already taken notice, could not be walked by reason of its nature; and for the western road, he built a large tower at its narrowest place, at no less a distance from the top of the hill than a thousand cubits; which tower could not possibly be passed by, nor could it be easily taken; nor, indeed, could those that walked along it, without any fear, such as its contrivance, easily get to the end of it; and after such access to this city not fortified, both by nature and by the hands of men, in order to frustrate the attacks of enemies.

4. As for the fortress that was within this fortress, it was still more wonderful, on account of its spending and long continuance; for here was laid up corn in great quantities, and such as would subsist men for a long time; here was also wine and oil in abundance, with all kinds of fruits and dates heaped up together; all which Eleazar found there, when he and his Sichari got possession of the fortress by treachery. These fruits were inferior to such fruits newly laid in, although they were little short of a hundred years from the laying in these provisions, [by Herod,] till the place was taken by the Romans by the sea, when the Romans got possession of those fruits that were left, they found them not corrupted all that while; nor should we be mistaken, if we suppose that they built the city and kept it tolerably enduing so long; this fortress being so high, and so free from the mixture of all terrone and muddy particles of matter. There was also found one here a large quantity of arms, and the instruments of war, which had been treasured up by that king, and were sufficient for ten thousand men; there was cast iron, and brass, and tin, which show that he had taken much pains to have all things here ready for the greatest occasions; for the report goes how Herod thus prepared this fortress on his own account, as a refuge against two kinds of danger; the one for fear of the multitude of the Jews, lest they should depose him, and restore their former kings to the government; the other danger was greater and more terrible, which arose from Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, who did not conceal her intentions, but spoke often to Antony, and desired him to cut off Herod, and entreated him to bestow the kingdom of Judea upon her. And it is a great wonder that Antony did never comply with her commands in this point, as he was so miserably enslaved to his passion for her, nor should any one have been surprised if she had been gratified in such her request. So the fear of these dangers made Herod rebuild Masada, and thereby leave it for the finishing stroke of the Romans in this Jewish war.

5. Since therefore the Roman commander Silvax had now built a wall on the outside, round about this whole place, as we have said already, and had thereby made a most accurate provision against any one, the height of which he undertook the siege himself, though he found but one single place that would admit of the banks he was to raise; for behind that tower which secured the road that led to the palace, and to the top of the hill, from the west, there was a certain eminency of the rock, very broad and very prominent, but three hundred cubits beneath the highest parts of theMasada: it was called the Sebaste Promontory. Accordingly he got upon that part of the rock, and ordered the army to bring earth; and when they fell to that work with alacrity,
and abundance of them together, the bank was raised, and became solid for two hundred cubits in height. Yet was not this bank thought sufficiently high for the use of the engines that were to be set upon it; but still another elevated wall was also constructed, and stones from the engines, now, and so made those that fought from the walls of the place to retire, and would not let them lift up their heads above the works. At the same time Silvas ordered that great battering-rum which he had made to be brought thither, and to be set against the wall, and to make frequent batteries against it, which, with some difficulty, broke down a part of the wall and quite overthrew it. However, the Sicarii made haste, and presently built another wall within that, which should not be liable to the same misfortune from the machines which had been used before: it was made great, and yard wide, and so was capable of avoiding the terrible blows that affected the other. It was framed after the following manner: they laid together great beams or sleepers, laid out and lengthways, one close to the side of another, and the same way in which they were cut: there were two of these rows parallel to one another, and laid at such a distance from each other as the breadth of the wall required, and earth was put into the space between those rows. Now, that the earth might not fall away upon the elevation of this bank to a greater height, they farther strengthened it with beams over it, and thereby bound those beams together that lay lengthways. This work of theirs was like a real bulwark; and when the machines were applied, the ground was weakened by its yielding, and had its materials by such concussions were shaken closer together, the pile by that means became firmer than before. When Silvas saw this, he thought it not to endeavour the taking of this wall by setting fire to it: so he gave order that the soldiers should throw a great number of burning torches upon it; accordingly, as it was now on fire, it burned; when it was once set on fire, its hollowness made that fire spread to a mighty flame. Now at the very beginning of this fire, a north wind that then blew put out the flames from the Romans; for, by bringing the flame downward, it drove it upon them, and they were almost in despair of success, as fearing their machines would be burnt: but after the wind was changed into the south, as if it were done by Divine Providence, and blew strongly the contrary way, and carried the flame, and drove it against the wall, which was now on fire through its entire thickness. So the Romans, having now assistance from God, returned to their camp with joy, and resolved to attack their enemies the very next day; on which occasion they set their watch more carefully than that night, lest any of the Jews should run away from them without being discovered.

6. However, neither did Eleazar once think of flying away, nor would he permit any one else to do so. But he, and saw their wall burned down by the fire, and could devise no other way of escaping, or room for their further courage, and setting before their eyes what the Romans were doing to their countrymen, and their wives, if they got them into their power, he consulted about having them all slain. Now, as he judged the best thing they could do in their present circumstances, he gathered the most courageous of his companions together, and encouraged them to take that course by a speech which he made to them in the manner following: "Since we, as true and long-suffering children of the church, have been vassals to the Romans, nor to any other than to God himself, who alone is the true and just Lord of mankind, the time is now come that obliges us to make that resolution true in practice. And let us not at this time bring a reproach upon ourselves for self-construction, while we formerly would not undergo slavery, though it were in vain, and having no other choice but slavery, choose such punishments also, as are intolerable: I mean this upon the supposition that the Romans once reduce us under their power while we are alive. We were the very first that revolted from them, and we are the last that fight against them; and I cannot but esteem it as a favour that God hath granted us, that it is still in our power to die bravely, and in a state of freedom, which bath not been the case of others, who were conquered unexpectedly. It is very plain that we shall be taken within a day's time, but that, it is easy for us to die in a manner, together with our dearest friends. This is what our enemies themselves cannot by any means hinder, although they be very desirous of it, nor can they therefore be made to suffer any more to fight them, and beat them. It had been proper indeed for us to have conjectured at the purposes of God much sooner, at the very first, when we were so desirous of delivering our liberties, and when we received such sure treatment from one another, and worse treatment from our enemies, and to have been warned that the end had come, of a taking the Jewish nation into his favour, and had now condemned them to destruction; for had he either continued favourable, or been in a less degree displeased, he would have averted the destruction of so many men, or delivered his most holy city to be burnt and demolished by our enemies. To be sure, we weakly hoped to have preserved ourselves, and ourselves alone, still in a state of freedom, as if we had been guilty of so sins ourselves against God, nor been more friends with those of others: we also taught other men to preserve their liberty. We ourselves were convinced how God hath convinced us that our hopes were in vain, by bringing such distress upon us in the extreme state we are now in, and is before us, that the danger is very great to our country, which was in itself unconquerable, hath not proved a means of our deliverance; and even while we have still great abundance of food, and a great part of our messengers, as to our comfort do not want, we are openly deprived by God himself of all hope of deliverance; for that fire which was driven upon our enemies, did not in its own accord turn back upon the wall which we had built: this was the effect of God's anger against us for our manifold sins, which we have been guilty of in a most insolent and extravagant manner with regard to our own country, in the punishment of which let us not receive from the Romans, but from God himself, as execrated by our own hands; for these will be more moderate than the other. Let our wives die before they are destroyed, and our children before they have tasted of slavery; and after we have slain them, let us bestow that glorious benefit upon another more mutually, and preserve their freedom and their excellent funereal monuments for us. But first let us destroy our money and the fortresses by fire, for I am well assured that the
would be a great grief to the Romans, that they shall not be able to seize upon our bodies, and shall fail of our wealth also; and let us spare now zealously to put this wise in practice, and be in a manner filled with pleasure at it; and thought death to be a good thing, yet had those that were most affectionate a commiseration for their wives and families; and when these were especially moved by the prospect of their own certain death, they looked wistfully at another, and by the tears that were in their eyes, declared their dissent from his opinion. When Eleazar saw these people in such fear, and that their souls were deserted at so prodigious a proposal, he was afraid lest perhaps these effeminate persons should by their lamentations and tears ensue them those that heard what he had said courageously; so he did not leave off exhorting them, but stirred up himself, and recollecting proper words, and being given to them, he undertook to speak more briskly and fully to them, and that concerning the immortality of the soul. So he made a lamentable groan, and fixing his eyes on all, he said to them in this sort:

"Truly I was greatly mistaken, when I thought to be assisting to brave men who struggled hard for their liberty, and to such as were resolved also to pass away; but now I see, that to look upon the happy person as one that ought to make no delay in this matter, nor to await any one to give you good advice; for the laws of our country, and of God himself, have, from ancient times, and as soon as ever we could use our reason, continually taught us and our forefathers to corroborate the same doctrine by their actions, and by their bravery of mind, that it is life that is a calamity to men, and not death; for this last affords our souls their liberty, and sends them by a removal into their own place of purity, where they are to be insensible of the miseries that are most frequent, that is, being brought down to a mortal body, they are partakers of its miseries; and really, to speak the truth, they are themselves dead; for the union of what is divine, to what is animal, is true, whereas the soul, when it is imprisoned in a mortal body; for by moving it after a way that is invisible, it makes the body a sensible instrument, and causes it to advance farther in its actions than mortal nature could otherwise do. However, it when it is freed from that weight which draws it down to the earth, and is connected with it, it obtains its own proper place, and does then become a partaker of that blessed power, and those abilities which are then every way incapable of being hindered in their operations. It continues invisible, indeed, to the eyes of men, as does God himself; for certainly it is not itself seen, while it is in the body, for it is there after an invisible manner, and when it is freed from it, it is still not seen. It is this soul which is in the same nature, and that an incorruptible one also; but yet it is the cause of the change that is made in the body, for whatsoever it be which the soul touches, that lives, and grows, and whatsoever is removed, it withers away and dies; such a degree is there in it of immortality. Let me produce the state of sleep as a most evident demonstration of this change upon those who live in their own souls, who are dead, but whose body does not distract them, have the sweetest rest depending on themselves, and conversing with God, by their alliance to him, they then go every where, and forget all futurities beforehand. And why are we afraid of death, while we are so pleased with the exercise of our philosophy? for these good men do but unwillingly undergo the time of life, and look upon it as a necessary service, and make haste to let their souls long from this bed, when misfortunes press them to it, nor drives them upon it, these have such a desire of a life of immortality, that they tell others of men beforehand that they are about to depart; and nobody admires them, but every one thinks them happy men, and gives them letters to be carried to their familiar friends [that are dead,] so firmly and certainly do they believe that souls never pass from one another in the other world.] So when these men have heard all such commands that were to be given them, they deliver their body to the flames of fire; and, in this manner, they die in thought and separation from the body in the greatest purity, they die in the midst of hymns of commendation made to them; for their dearest friends conduct them to the place of departure. For the rest of mankind conduct their fellow-citizens when they are going a very long journey, who at the same time weep on their own account, but their friends look upon the happy person as one that is to be made partakers of the immortal order of beings. Are not we, therefore, ashamed to have lower notions than the Indians! and by our own practice, and the manner of our departure, we show that our country, which are so much desired and imitated by all mankind! But put the case that we had been brought up under another persuasion, and taught that life is the greatest good which men are capable of, and that death is a calamity; however, the circumstances we are now in ought to be an inducement to us to bear such calamity courageously, since it is by the will of God, and by necessity, that we are to die; for it now appears that God hath made such a decree against the whole Jewish nation, that we are to be deprived of this life; we are to be delivered over to our enemies, not to make the use of. For, do not you ascribe the occasion of our present condition to yourselves, nor think the Romans are the true occasion of this, for we are deprived of that which is true, when we come so destructive to us all: these things have not come to pass by their power, but a more powerful cause hath intervened, and made us afford them an occasion of their appearing to be conquerors over us. What Roman weapons, I pray you, were those, by which the Jews of Cassarea were slain? On the contrary, when they were no way disposed to rebel, but were all the while keeping their annual festival, and did not so much as lift up their hands against the citizens of Cassarea, yet did these citizens run upon them in great crowds, and cut their throats, and the throats of their wives and children, and this without any regard to the Romans themselves; who never took us for our enemies till we revolted from them. But some may be ready to say, that truly the people of Cassarea had always a quarrel against those that lived among them; and that when an opportunity offered itself they were not a vituperate to have had against them. What then shall we say to those of Scythopolis, who ventured to wage war with us on account of the Greeks? Nor did they do it by way of revenge upon the inhabitants of the city of which the bodies do not distract them, have the sweetest rest depending on themselves, and conversing with God,
they and their whole families, after the most inhuman manner, which was all the requital that was due to the men for the manner in which they had extinguished the others; for that very same destruction which they had prevented from falling upon the others, did they suffer themselves from them, as if they had been the most guilty of all. But certainly it was a strange thing that they should be the authors of suffering to themselves, and not more bitter enemies to us than were the Romans themselves:—nay, even those of Damascus, when they were able to fall upon that people, which did not slay by their Jewish law, but only by the violence of their city, with the most barbarous slaughters of our people, and cut the throats of eighteen thousand Jews, with their wives and children. And as that with tormentors also, we have been informed they were more than sixty thousand:—those indeed being in a foreign country, and with us all the sins that we had committed, and all the other crimes, and to all the other calamities which young men might sustain. One man will be obliged to hear the voice of his son divulging his father, when his hands are bound, and, by the laws of liberty, and have a sword in them; let them, then, be subject to us in our glorious design; let us die before we become slaves under our enemies, and let us go out of the world, together with our children and our wives, in a state of freedom. This is that our laws command us to do; this it is that our wives and children crave at our hands, and we must be so good to ourselves, and so good to our children, and so good to human men; that we must all be subject to one another. § 1. Now, as Eleazar was proceeding on this exhortation, they all cut him off short, and made haste to do the work, as full of an unconquerable ardour of mind, and moved with a demasculine fury. So they went their ways, as one still undevouring to be before another, and as thinking that this engender would be a demonstration of their courage and good conduct if they could avoid appearing in the last class; so great was the zeal they were in to slay their wives, and children, and themselves also. Nor indeed, were they came to the work itself did their courage fail them, as one might imagine it would have done; but they then held fast the same resolution without wavering, which they had upon the hearing of Eleazar's speech, while yet every one of them still retained the natural passion of revenge to themselves and their families because the reasoning they went upon appeared to them to be very just, even with regard to those that were nearest to them; for the husband tended to take his wives and children into arms, and gave the longest parting kisses to them, with tears in their eyes. Yet at the same time did they complete what they had resolved against the Jewish rabbinists:—"We are born that we may die, and die that we may live."
solved on, as if they had been executed by the hands of strangers; and they had nothing else for their comfort but the necessity they were in of doing this execution, to avoid that prospect they were daily upon their enemies. Nor was there at length any one of these men found that scrupled to set their part in this terrible execution, but every one of them despised his dearest relations. Miserable men, indeed, were they! whose distress forced them to slay their own wives and children with their own hands, as the lightest of those evils that were before them. So they being not able to bear the grief they were under for what they had done any longer, and esteeming it an injury to those they had slain, to live even the shortest space of time upon their ladders from their they had in a heap, and set fire to it. They then chose ten men by lot out of them, to slay all the rest; every one of whom laid himself down by his cross and end, then they in turn one another in doing or suffering; so, for a conclusion, the nine offered their necks to the executioner, and he who was the last of all took a view of all the matters and to their exhortation, and among so many that were slain should want his assistance to be quite despached, and when he perceived they were all slain, he set fire to the wood with great desire and he cast his sword entirely through himself, and fell down dead near to his own relations. So these died with this intent, that they would lose not so much as the soul and the body, but alive to be subject to the Romans. Yet was there an ancient woman, and another who was of km to Elenar, and superior to most women in piety and learning, with five children, who had perished with them in the same under ground, and had carried water thither for their drink, and were hidden there when the rest were intent upon the slaughter of one another. These other, after they had left the body of the women and children being within included in that computation. This calamitous slaughter was made on the fifteenth day of the month Xanthippe, or the 14th.

2. Now for the Romans, they expected that they should be fought in the morning, when accordingly they put on their armor, and laid aside their planks upon their ladders, and banks to make an assault upon the fortress, which, they did; but saw nobody as an enemy, but a terrible solitude on every side, with a fire within the place, as well as a period, silence. So they were at a loss to guess at what had happened. At length they made a shout, as if it had been at a blow given by the battering ram, to try whether they could bring any one one to them; and the second of them clearly distributed of what was said and what was done, and the manner of it; yet did they not easily give their attention to such a desperate undertaking, and did not believe the Jews had done it. They also immediately put the fire out, and quickly cutting themselves a way through it, they came within the palace, and so met with the multitude of the lain, but could take no pleasure in the fact, though it were done to their enemies. Nor could they do other than wonder at the courage of their resolution, and the incommodious contempt of death which so great a number of them had shewn, when they went through with such an action as that was.

CHAPTER X

That many of the Sicarii fled to Alexandria also, but what Danger they were in there was unknown, that Temple, which had formerly been built by Onias the High Priest, was destroyed.

§ 1. When Masada was thus taken, the general left a garrison in the fortress to keep it, and he himself went to Cæsarea; for there were now no enemies left in Egypt at all, but the fortresses all overthrown by so long a war. Yet did this war afford disturbances and dangerous disorders even in places very far remote from Judea; for still it came to pass, that while we have slain at Alex-

andria in Egypt; for as many of the Sicarii as were able to fly thither, out of the seditions wars in Jude, were not content to have saved themselves, but must needs be under all the new disturbances, and persuaded many of those that entertained them to assert their liberty, to esteem the Romans to be no better than themselves, and to look upon Cæsar as an Egyptian Master. But when part of the Jews of reputation opposed them, they slew some of them, and with the others they were very pressing in their exhortations to revolt by these, but when the principal men of the senate saw what madness they were come to, they thought it no longer safe for themselves to overlook them. So they all killed the Sicarii together, and accused the madness of the Sicarii, and demonstrated that they had been the authors of all the evils that had come upon them. They said also, that these men, not they all Jews from Judea, having no sure hope of escaping, because as soon as ever they shall be known, they will be soon destroyed by the Romans, they come hither and fill us all with these calamities which be long to them, who have not been takers with them in any of their sins." Accordingly they exhorted the multitude to have a care lest they should be brought to destruction by their means, and to make their appeal to Rome, and for what had been done, by delivering these men up to them; who being thus apprized of the greatness of the danger they were in, complied with what was proposed, and ran with haste to the presence upon the Sicarii, and seized upon them; and indeed six hundred of them were caught immediately; but as to all those that fled into Egypt, and to the Thracian Tylus, but it was not long ere they were caught also, and brought back, whose courage, or whether we ought to call it madness, or hardness in their opinions, every body was amazed at. For when all sorts of tortures and vexations of their bodies that could be devised were made use of to them, they could not get any one of them to comply so much as to confess, or seem to confess, that Cæsar was their lord; but they preserved their own opinion in spite of all the distress they were brought to, as if they received these tortures and the fire itself with bodies insensible of pain and with soul that in a manner rejoiced under them. But what was most of all astonishing to the beholders, was the courage of the children; for not one of these children did so far overcome by these tortures, as to name Cæsar for their lord: so far does the strength of the courage (of the soul) prevail over the weakness of the body.

2. Now Lupa did then govern Alexandria, who from Delta and the lower parts near Pelusium, by an account, as he adds, that their greatest name in Egypt, must mean the Proper or Upper Egypt, because it does sometimes rain in the other parts. See the note on Antiq. B. ii. ch. vii. sect. 2; and B. ii. ch. i. sect. 6.
Conceiving Jonathan, one of the Sicans, that he had raised up a sedition in Cyrene, and was a false accuser (of the innocent).

§ 1. AND now did the madness of the Sicani, like a disease, reach as far as the cities of Cyrene; for one Jonathan, a vile person, and by trade a weaver, came thither, and prevailed with the king. And as the king was at Antiochus the king of Syria, when he made war with the Jews and came to Alexandria; and as Ptolemy received him very kindly on account of the Jews, and doted upon him, he assured them, that if he would comply with his proposal, he would bring all the Jews to his assistance, and when the king agreed to do so far as he was able, he desired him to give him a temple to build a temple somewhere in Egypt, and to worship God according to the customs of his own country; for that the Jews would then be so much readier to fight against Antiochus, and he might destroy it. So he sent out after him both horses and footmen, and easily overcame them, because they were unarmed men: of these many were slain in the fight, but some were brought to Catullus. As for Jonathan, the head of this plot, he fled away at this time, but upon a great and very diligent search, which was made over all the country for him, he was taken the same as Ptolemy and his proposals, and gave him a place one hundred and eighty furlongs distant from Memphis. That Nomen was called the Nomus of Heliopolis, where Onias built a temple in the same, like to that of Jerusalem, but such as resembled a tower. He built it of large stones, to the height of sixty cubits; he made the structure of the altar in imitation of that in his own country, and in like manner adorned with gifts, excepting the make of the candlestick, for he did not make a candlestick, but had a single lamp hung out of a piece of gold, which illuminated the place with its rays, and which he hung by a chain of gold; but the entire temple was encompassed with a wall of burnt brick, though it had gates of stone. The king also gave him a large country for a revenue in money, that both the priests might have a plentiful provision made for them, and that God might have great abundance of what things were necessary for his worship. Yet did not Onias do this out of a sober disposition, but he had a mind to contend with the Jews at Jerusalem, and could not forget the indignation he had for being reproached with this. Accordingly he thought that by building this temple he should draw away a great number from them to himself. There had been also a certain ancient prophecy made by a certain priest who was named Hesekiah, about six hundred and sixty years before, that this temple should be built by a man that was a Jew, in Egypt. And this is the history of the building of that temple.

4. And now Lapus, the governor of Alexandria, was upon the receipt of Caesar's letter, came to the temple, and carried out of it some of the donations dedicated thereto, and shut up the temple itself. And as Lapus, a little afterward, Paulinus succeeded him. This man left none of those donations there, and threatened the priests severely if they did not bring them all out; nor did he omit any who were desirous of worshiping God there, so much as to come near the whole sacred place. But when he had shut up the gates, he made it entirely inaccessible, insomuch that there remained no longer the least fragment of any divine worship that had been in that place. Now the duration of the time, from the building of this temple till it was shut up again, was three hundred and forty-three years. *

Of this temple of Onias's building in Egypt, see the account given by Joseph. ch. xi. But whereas it was elsewhere, both Of the War, R. c. i. sect. 1, and in the Antiquities as now quoted, said, that this temple was like to that in Jerusalem, it is not like it, but like a tower, sect. 3, there is some reason to suspect the Roman authors, and that either the negative particle is here to be blunted out, or the word entirely altered.

We must observe, that Josephus here speaks of Antiochus, who profaned the temple, as now alive, when they say he was dead (which was in the lifetime of Josephus, but whereas it seems not to have been actually built till about fifteen years afterward. Yet because it is mentioned here that it was not like it, it was not like it, but like a tower, sect. 3, there is some reason to suspect the Roman authors, and that either the negative particle is here to be blunted out, or the word entirely altered.

1 Joe, xii. 30. 2 Ser. 30. 30. 35. 3
ANTIOCHITY OF THE JEWS.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS AGAINST APION.*

BOOK I.

§ 1. I suppose that, by my books of the Antiquities of the Jews, most excellent Epaphrodi- tus, I have shown that the Jews, under the providence of Divine Providence, have been so happily situated, that our Jewish nation is of very great antiquity, and had a distinct subsistence of its own originally: as also, I have therein declared, how we came to inhabit this country where we now live. These Antiquities contain the history of five thousand years, and are taken out of our sacred books, but are translated by me into the 13 books, so Blicium, or the greatest, I intend, of such a number of people giving ear to the reproaches that are laid against us by those who bear ill-will to us, and will not believe what I have written concerning the antiquity of our nation, while they take it for a plain sign that our nation is of a late date, because they are not so much as vouchsafed a bare mention by the most famous historiographers among the Greeks; I therefore, I have thought myself upon this occasion to write somewhat briefly about these subjects, in order to convict those that reproach us, of spite and voluntary falsehood, and to correct the ignorance of others, and withal to instruct all those who are desirous of knowing the truth, of what great antiquity we really are. As for the witnesses whom I shall produce for the proof of it, it is evident to every one that those facts are said to be of the greatest reputation for truth, and the most skilful in the knowledge of all antiquity, by the Greeks themselves. I will also show that those who have written so reproachfully and falsely about us, are to be convicted by what they have written themselves, and not otherwise. I shall also endeavour to give an account of the reasons why it hath so happened, that there have not been a great number of Greeks who have made mention of our nation in their histories; I will, however, bring those Greeks to light, who have not omitted such our history, for the sake of those that either do not know them, or pretend not to know them already.

2. And now, in the first place, I cannot but greatly wonder at those men, who suppose that we must attend to none but Greeks, when we are inquiring about the most ancient facts, and must inform ourselves of their truth from them only, while we must not believe ourselves nor other men; for I am convinced, that the very reverse is the truth of the case: I mean this, if we will not be led by their opinions, but will make inquiry after truth from facts themselves; for they will find, that almost all which concerns the Greeks happened not long ago; nay, one may say, is of yesterday only. I speak of the building of their cities, the inventions of their arts, and the description of their laws; and as for their care about the writing down of their histories, it is very near the last thing that they set about. However, they acknowledge themselves so far that they were the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, and the Phcenicians, (for I will not now reckon antiquity of the Jewish nation. As to the place, they all imagine that these two books were written where the former were, I mean at Rome; and I confess, that I myself believed both these determinations till I came to finish my notes upon these books, when I met with plain indications that they were not of that age, but of about the time of the third year of Domitian, or at least wrote nothing later than his days, so as to be perfectly agree to my own determinations, from Justinus of Thessalonicam, that he wrote or finished his own life after the 2d of Trajan, or A. D. 100, to which Noddian also agrees, de Herc. No. 263. [Epaphroditus.] —Bisseius Praetorius, says Flavius Josephus, went to Rome about the year A. D. 93, which indeed, is too obvious at their entrance to be overlooked even by a careless peruser; they being directly intended against those that would not believe what he had advanced in those books concerning the great
Accordingly they compose one another in their own bosoms into purpose, and are not ashamed to give us the most contradictory accounts of the same thing: and I should spend my time to little purpose, if I should pretend to teach the Greeks. The history, however, is by no means ready; what a great disagreement there is between Hellanicius and Aquiliani about their genealogies: in how many cases Aquiliani erects the descent of the gods together with their wisdom, as they had among them. But as for the place where the Grecians inhabit, ten thousand destructions have overthrown it, and blotted out the memory of former times; and it is said that till that time they were ever beginning a new way of living, and supposed that every one of them was the origin of their new state. It was also late, and with difficulty, that they could ever get any letters that would advance their use of these letters to the greatest antiquity, pretend that they learned them from the Phoenicians and from Cadmus; yet is nobody able to demonstrate whether they have any writing preserved from that time, neither in their temples, nor in any other public monuments.

This appears, because the time when those lived who went to the Trojan war, so many years before the great wind goes false, that no inquiry is made, whether the Greeks used their letters at that time; and the most prevailing opinion, and that nearest the truth, is, that the present writers, and not those letters was unknown at that time. However, there is not any writing which the Greeks are to be genuine among them ancestor than Homer's poems," who must plainly be confessed later than the siege of Troy; for, if we may, the report goes, that even he did not leave the poems in writing, but that their memory was preserved in songs, and they were put together afterwards. It is the reason of such a number of variations as are found in them. As for those who set themselves about writing their histories, I mean such as Cadmus of Miletus, and Aquilanius of Argos, and those others that may be mentioned as succeeding Aquilanius, they lived but a little while before the Persian expedition into Greece. But then for those that first introduced philosophy, and the consideration of things celestial and divine among them, such as Pherecydes the Syrian, and Pythagoras and Theales, all with one consent agree, that they learned them, and that they knew of the Egyptians and the Chaldeans, and wrote but little. And these are the things which are supposed to be the oldest of all among the Greeks; and they have much ado to believe that the writings ascribed to those men are genuine.

3. How can it then be other than an absurd thing for the Greeks to be so proud, and to vaunt themselves to be the only people that are accquainted with antiquity, and that have delivered the true accounts of those early times after an accurate manner! Nay, who is there that cannot easily gather from the Greek writers themselves, that they knew but little and so good foundation when they set to write, but rather wrote their histories from their own conjectures?

*This preservation of Homer's poems by memory, and not by his own writing them down, and that thence they were stylized rhapsodies, as sung by him, like ballads, by parts, and not composed and connected together in complete works, are opinions well known from the ancient commentators. Men say, though such supposed poems to myself, as well as to Fabricius, Biblioth. Gr. p. 389, and to others, highly improbable. Nor does Josephus say there ever lived among the Greeks those who knew of Homer's poems, but that they did not fully own any ancients writings pretending to such antiquity, which is true.*

Josephus then considered that Josephus here means, how all the following Greek historians looked on Herodotus as a fabulous author, and presently, sect. 14, he affirms that they knew of most of the Egyptian history, greatly complain of his mistakes in the Egyptian history; as also that Strabo, B. ii. p. 507, the most accurate geographer and historian, esteemed him such as that...
pious to write history were not solicitous for the discovery of truth, although it was very easy for them always to make such a profession; but the history of events fell to them as did so to the world, write well, and make an impression upon mankind thereby; and in what manner of writing they thought they were able to exceed others, to them nothing is more natural than to have the world betook themselves to the writing of fabulous narrations; some of them endeavoured to please the cities or the kings, by writing in their countries' names, and to fill their books with faults and transactions, or with the writers of such transactions, and thought to make a great figure by so doing. And indeed these do what is of all things the most natural in history, for it is the great character of true history, that all concerned therein both speak and write the same things; while these men by writing differently are not satisfied, yet the nature of the history, for it is the study of mankind, the history, and least of all to that part which concerns the affairs of our several countries.

6. As to the care of writing down the records of what is past, from the first nation and earliest of these the Egyptians and Babylonians; that the priests were intrusted therewith, and employed a philosophical concern about it; that they were the custodians of these records; that the Phœnicians, who were mingled among the Greeks did especially make use of their letters both for the common affairs of life, and for the keeping down the history of common transactions, I think I may omit any proof, because all men allow it so to be. But now as to our forefathers, that they took so less care about writing what is past, is easily to be explained; first, it was little of the same sort of history, part of it was not to be committed of his own accord to be a writer, nor is there any disagreement in what is written; they being only prophets who have written the oracles, and it is uncertain who learned them of God himself by inspiration; and others have written what hath happened in their own times, and that in a very distinct manner also.

7. For we have not an instance where a multitude of books among us, disagreeing from and contradicting one another, [as the Greeks have,] but only twenty-two books, which contain the records of all the past times, which are justly believed to be divine. And of them, five belong to Moses, which contain his laws and the traditions of the origin of mankind till his death. This interval of time was not so long a time of years; but as to the time from the death of Moses till the reign of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, who reigned after Xerxes; the prophets, who were after Moses, wrote what was done, as I have said, in their times in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God, and precepts for the conduct of human life. It is true, our history hath been written since Artaxerxes very particularly, but hath not been esteemed of the like authority with the former by our forefathers, because there hath not been an exact succession that hath continued from the first; but we have given credit to these books of our own nation, is evident by what we do: for during so many ages as have already passed, no one hath been so bold as to attempt to take anything from them, or to make any change in them; but it is become natural to all Jews, immediately and from their very birth, to esteem those books to contain divine doctrines, and to persist in them, and, if occasion be, will willingly die for them. For it is no new thing for our captives, many of them in number, and frequently in time, to see to endure racks and deaths of all kinds upon the theatre, that they may earlier, and reach so much wider than that of Thucydides, is, therefore, greatly greater; so is the most part of Thucydides, which belongs to his own times, and all under his own observation, much the most certain.

1. Of this accuracy of the Jews, before our Saviour's time, is carefully preserving their genealogies all along, particularly those of the priests, see Josephus, Life, sect. 4. This accuracy of the Jews, before our Saviour's time, is carefully preserving their genealogies all along, particularly those of the priests, see Josephus, Life, sect. 4. This accuracy of the Jews, before our Saviour's time, is carefully preserving their genealogies all along, particularly those of the priests, see Josephus, Life, sect. 4.
not be obliged to say one word against our laws and the records that contain them; whereas there are many all among the Greeks who undertake to contradict me about the true state of those affairs! who, although they pretend to have written their own memoirs, yet could not they be acquainted with our affairs which fought against them.

11. This digression I have been obliged to make of my own accord, in order to expose the vanity of those that profess to write histories: and I suppose I have sufficiently declared that this custom of transmitting down the histories of others than those nations which have been better preserved by those nations which are called Barbarians, than by the Greeks themselves. I am now willing, in the next place, to say a few things to those that take pleasure to prove that our constitution is but of late time, for this reason, as they pretend, that the Greek writers have said nothing about us; after which I shall produce testimonies for our antiquity out of the writings of foreigners: I shall also demonstrate that such as cast reproaches upon our nation do it very unjustly.

12. As for ourselves, therefore, we neither inhabit a maritime country, nor do we delight in merchant adventurers, nor in the trading manners of the Greeks, as arises from it; but the cities we dwell in are remote from the sea, and having a fruitful country for our habitation, we take pains in cultivating all the things that are necessary to educate our children well; and we think it to be the most necessary business of our whole life, to observe the laws that have been given us, and to keep those in use as far as we can, as we did not suffer them to be corrupted by mixing among the Egyptians, by their intercourse of exporting and importing their several kinds of goods; and among the Persians, who lived by the seaside, by means of their love of lucra in trade and merchandise. Nor did our forefathers betake themselves, as did some others, to robbery; nor did they, in order to gain more wealth, fall into foreign wars, although our country contained many ten thousands of men of courage sufficient for that purpose. For this reason it was that the Phoenicians themselves came soon by trading and navigation to be known to the Grecians, and by their means the Egyptians became known to the Grecians also, as did all those peoples which follow voyages over the seas carried carves to the Grecians. The Medes also and the Persians, whom they were lords of Asia, became well known to them; and thus it is especially true of the Persians, who led their armies to the utmost of the land [Europe.] The Thracians were also known to them by the nearness of their countries, and the Scythians by the means of those that sailed to Fontus; for it was so in general that all manner of nations, and those that inhabited near the eastern or western seas, became most known to those who were desirous to be writers; but such as had their habitations farther with nearer men were for the most part unknown to them; which things appear to have happened as to Europe also, where the city of Rome, that hath this bag time been surpassed in the performance of such great actions in war, is yet never mentioned by Herodotus, nor by Thucydides, nor by any of their contemporaries; and it was very late, and with great difficulty, that the Romans became known to the Greeks. Nay, those that were reckoned the most exact historians, and Ephorus for one, were so very ignorant of the state of the Greeks, as to be unacquainted with any thing whatsoever, that was either said or done in it. How impudent then must those deserve to be esteemed, who undertake to contradict me about the true state of those affairs! who, although they pretend to have written their own memoirs, yet could not they be acquainted with our affairs which fought against them.

10. There have been indeed some bad men, who have attempted to calumniate my history, and look it to be a kind of scholastic performance, for the exercise of having been concerned in all its transactions; for I acted as general of those among us that are named Galilæans, as long as it was possible for us to make any opposition against the Romans, and became a captive: Vespasian also and Titus had me kept under a guard, and forced me to attend them continually. At the first I was put in bonds, but I had the strictest regard to truth; and accompanied Titus when he came from Alexandria to the siege of Jerusalem; during which time there was nothing done which escaped my knowledge; for I was, as I before said, in that Roman camp I saw, and wrote down carefully; and what information the deserters brought [out of the city.] I was the only man that understood them. Afterwards I was put in prison, and when all my materials were prepared for that work, I made use of some persons to assist me in learning the Greek tongue, and by these means I composed the history of these transactions. And I was so well assured of the truth of what I related, that I first of all appealed to those that had the supreme command in that war, Vespasian and Titus, as witnesses for me, for to them I presented those books first of all, and after them to many of the Romans who had been in the war. I also sold them to many of our own men who understood the Greek philosophy; among whom were Julius Aulus, Herod [king of Chalcis], a person of great gravity, and king Aprippus himself, a person that deserved the greatest admiration. Now all these men bore their testimony to me, that I had not deviated from the truth, nor would not have dissembled the matter, nor been silent, if I, out of ignorance, or out of favour to any side, either had given false colours to actions, or omitted instantly them.
he rebuilt, and made very strong by the walls he built about it, and by a most numerous garrison of two hundred and forty thousand men, whom he put into it, and each others had not known. How can it then be any wonder, if our nation was no more known to many of the Greeks, nor had given them any occasion to meet with us or any mention of us, save an a little one, so remote from the sea, and had a conduct of life so peculiar to themselves?

13. Let us now put the case, therefore, that we made use of this argument concerning the Greek nation, in order to prove that our nation was not ancient, because nothing is said of them in our records: would not they laugh at us all, and probably chat in some surmounting more than this answer, which I have now alleged, and would produce their neighbouring nations as witnesses to their own antiquity? Now the same thing will I endeavour to do: for I will bring the Samarians and the Phenicians as my principal witnesses, because nobody can complain of their testimony as false, on account that they are known to have borne the greatest ill-will at all times; for this answer is very true to the Egyptians in general all of them, while of the Phenicians it is known the Tyrians have been most of all in the same ill disposition towards us, as the story is of the people of Carthage; for I am of the opinion that it was the same of the Chaldeans, since our first leaders and ancestors were derived from them, and they do make mention of us Jews in their records, on account more especially of this reason that the same, as I have said, have been confirmed to us. Now, when I shall have made my assertion good, so far as concerns the others, I will demonstrate that some of the Greek writers have made mention of the Phenicians, as the fourth tribe, which may not have even this pretence for contradicting what I have said about our nation.

14. I shall begin with the writings of the Egyptian nation, and first, in the sacred records written in the Egyptian language, which it is impossible for me to do. But Manetho was a man who was by birth an Egyptian; yet had he made himself master of the Greek learning, as is very evident; for he wrote the history of his own country in the Greek tongue, by translating it, as he saith himself, out of their sacred records: he also finds great fault with Herodotus for his ignorance and false relations of Egyptian affairs. Now this Manetho, in the second book of his Egyptian history, writes concerning us in the following manner: I will set down his very words, as if I were to bring very many good and useful witness.—There was a king of ours whose name was Timaus. Under him it came to pass, I know not how, that God was averse to us, and then the nation found themselves in a most barren manner; nay, some they slew, and led their children and their wives into slavery. At length they made one of themselves king, whose name was Salum, and when he was already seventy, both the upper and lower regions pay tribute, and left garrisons in places that were the most proper for them. He chiefly aimed to secure the estate and to be foremost in that, and the Assyrians who had then the greatest power, would be desirous of that kingdom, and invade them; and as he found in the State Nomos, [Seth-rite,) a city very proper, came to that purpose, which lay upon the Subastic channel, but with regard to a certain theologic notion was called Avarus: this...
15. But now I shall produce the Egyptians as witnesses to the antiquity of our nation. I shall therefore bring in Manetho again, and what he says respecting Moses and the events in the case; and thus he says—"When this people or shepherds were gone out of Egypt to Jerusalem, Tadmor, the king of Egypt, who dwelt there, being afterward twenty-five years, and four months, and then died; after him his son Chebron took the kingdom for thirteen years; after whom came Amonophis, for twenty years and seven months; then came his sister Amenophes, for twenty-one years and nine months; after her came Mephares, for twelve years and nine months; after him was Meparamuthus, for twenty-five years and ten months; after him was Thamos, for nine years and eight months; after him came Amonophis, for thirty years and ten months; after him came Oros, for thirty-six years and five months; then came his son Amonophes, for twelve years and one month; then was her brother Rathiobis, for nine years; then was Aencheres, for twelve years and five months; then another Aencheres, for twelve years and three months; after him Armais, for four years and one month; after him was Ramses, for one year and four months; after him Amaus, for sixty years and two months; after him Amenophes, for nineteen years and six months; after him came Sethosis and Ramesses, who had an army of his people; and a naval force. This king appointed his brother Armais to be his deputy over Egypt. [In another copy it stood thus: After him came Sethosis and Ramesses, two brethren, the former chief of the naval forces, and in a hostile manner destroyed those that met him upon the sea; but as he slew Ramesses in no long time afterward, so he appointed another of his brethren to be over Egypt.] He also gave him all the other authority of a king, but with these only injunctions, that he should not wear the diadem, nor be injurious to the queen, the mother of his children, and that he should not meddle with the oppressions of the king, while he made an expedition against Cyprus and Phoenicia, and besides against the Assyrians and the Medes. He then subdued them all, some by his fleet and army, and some by the terror of his great army; and being puffed up by the great successes he had had, he went still on more boldly, and overthrew the cities and kings. But he died in the midst of his exploit. But after some considerable time, Armias, who was left in Egypt, did all those very things, by way of opposition, which his brother had forbidden him to do, without fear; for he used violence to the queen, and continued to make use of the rest of the concubines, without sparing any of them: say, at the persuasion of his friends, he put on the diadem, and set up to oppose his brother. But then, he who was set over the priests of Egypt, wrote letters to Sethosis, and informed him of all that had happened, and how his brother had set up to oppose him: therefore he turned back to Pelusium immediately, and recovered his kingdom again. The country also was called from his name Egypt; for Manetho says, that Sethosis himself was called Egyptus, as was his brother Armias called Danams."

16. This is Manetho's account. And evident it is from the number of years by him set down belonging to this interval, if they be summed up together, that these shepherds, as they are here called, who were no other than our forefathers, who were driven out of Egypt, and inhabited this country, three hundred and ninety-three years before Damaus came to Argo, although the Argives look upon him as their most ancient king. Manetho, therefore, bore this testimony to two points of the greatest consequence to our purpose, and those from the Egyptian records themselves. In the first place, then, after that we came at weal out of another country into Egypt, and that withal, our deliverance out of it was as ancient in time as to have preceded the siege of Troy almost a thousand years; but then, as to those things which Manetho adds, not from the Egyptian records, but, as he confesses himself, from some stories of an uncertain original, I will dispute them hereafter particularly, and shall demonstrate that they are no better than incredible fables.

17. I will now, therefore, pass from these records, and come to those that belong to the Phoenicians, and their several men and monuments. I think it fit to mention some attestations to what I have said out of them. There are, then, records among the Tyrians, that take in the history of many years, and these not extended to the rise of the kingdom of Argo, but to the sea, and the land in which the Argo were related; for Hiron, the king of Tyre, was the friend of Solomon our king, and had such friendly ship transmitted down to him from his forefathers. He also contributed to the splendid buildings of Solomon's temple, and made him a present of one hundred and twenty talents of gold. He also cut down the most excellent timber out of that mountain which is called Lebanon, and sent it to him for adorning the roof. Solomon also not only made him many other presents, by way of requital, but gave him a country in Galilee also, that was called Charan, from which art it is probable that he had a Phoenician inclination of theirs, which cemented the friendship that was betwixt them; for they sent mutual presents to one another, with a desire to have each other's commerce, and he that Solomon was superior to Hiron, as he was wiser than he in other respects: and many of the epistles that passed between them are still preserved among the Tyrians. Now that this may not depend on my bare word, I will produce for a witness Dias, one that is believed to have written the Phoenician history after an accurate manner. This Dias, therefore, writes thus in his history of the Phoenicians: "Upon the death of Abiba his, his son Hiron took the kingdom. This king raised banks at the eastern parts of the city and constructed the harbor of Olympos, which stood before on an island by itself, to the city, by raising a causeway between them, and adorned that temple with donations of timber. He moreover cut down the timber, and had timber cut down for the building of temples; the strictest sense, that they had no one king so ancient as he; for it is certain that they owned nine kings before him, and James at the head of them; see Authentica Rerum, e.v. But it is, of this Egyptian chronology could not but be a Phoenician: but that he was ancient so very ancient by them, and that they knew they had been first of all the rest of the world, is universally agreed. Many doth suppose a degree of years always imply the most ancient of all without exception, but is sometimes to be received very ancient only, as in the case of the like superlative degrees of other words also.

See for preceding note. § 1 Kings ii. 13.
18. And now I shall add Menander the Ephesian, as an additional witness. This Menander wrote the acts that were done both by the Jews and Barbarians under every one of the Tyrian kings, and had taken much pains to learn their history out of their own records. Now, when he was writing about those kings that had reigned at Tyre, he came to Hiram, and says thus: "Up on the death of Abibalus, his son Hiron took the kingdom; he lived fifty-three years, and reigned thirty-four. He raised a bank on that called the Brocaeus Pillar of Ashdod, which is in Jupiter's temple; he also went and cut down timber from the mountain called Libanus, and got timber of cedar for the roofs of the temple of Jerusalem. He also made and built new ones; besides this, he consecrated the temples of Hercules and of Astarte. He first built Hercules' temple in the month Pertius, and that of Astarte in the month of Ashemtar. He also made an expedition against the Tityans, who would not pay him their tribute; and when he had subdued them to himself, he returned home. Under this king Nabobulus, who had mastered the problems which Solomon king of Jerusalem had recommended to be solved, now the time from this king to the building of Carthage is thus calculated: "Upon the death of Hiron, Beleazarus his son took the kingdom; he lived forty-three years, and reigned seven years: after him succeeded his son Abdastartus; he lived twenty-nine years and reigned nine years. Now four sons of his nurse plotted against him, and slew him, the eldest of whom reigned twelve years: after them came Astartus, the son of Beleazarus, who reigned eighteen years. He was succeeded by his brother Asemus, who reigned forty-four years: after him came his brother Asemus, who reigned fifty-four years, and reigned during eight months, and was slain by his brother Phaleus, who took the kingdom, and reigned but eight months, then was taken, and died by lubo-lus, the priest of Astarte, who reigned thirty-two years, and lived sixty-eight years: he was succeeded by his son Diodorus, who lived forty-five years; and reigned nine years: he was succeeded by Matgeonus, his son; he lived thirty-two years, and reigned nine years: Pygmalis succeeded him; he lived fifty-six years, and reigned forty-seven years. Now, in the hundredth year of his reign, his sister fled away from him, and built the city Carthage, in Libya." So the whole time from the reign of Hiron, till the building of Carthage, which was the most prominent place of Belus, was the fifty-five years and eight months. Since then the temple was built at Jerusalem, in the twelfth year of the reign of Hiron, there were from the building of the temple until the building of Carthage, one hundred forty-three years and eight months. Wherefore, what occasion is there for alleging any more testimonies out of the Phoenician history? and, if hath any one more, what have I said is so thoroughly confirmed already? And, to be sure, our ancestors came into this country long before the building of the temple; for we know, according to the promise of the Lord, that we should possess the whole land by war, that we built our temple. And this is the point that I have clearly proved out of our sacred writings in my Antiquities.
by it also, and that more eminent in its height, and in its great splendour. It would perhaps require too long a narration, if any one were to describe how high, how broad, and how magnificent as it was, it was finished in fifteen days. Now in this palace he erected very high walls, supported by stone pillars, and by plantations that enveloped it and rendered the prospect, as this resemblance of a mountainous country. This he did to please his queen, whom he had brought up in Media, and was fond of a mountainous situation."

20. This is what Berosus relates concerning the forementioned king, as he relates many other things also in the third book of his Chaldean history, wherein he complains of the Greek writers for supposing, without any foundation, that Babylon was built by Semiramis" and assigns to Belus the building of it, and multiplies and re- plentifuling it with all sorts of trees, he rendered the prospect as an exact resemblance of a mountainous country. This he did to please his queen, whom he had brought up in Media, and was fond of a mountainous situation.

21. These accounts agree with the true histories in our books: for in them it is written, that Nebuchadnezzar is found in the third book of his Chaldean history, wherein he complains of the Greek writers for supposing, without any foundation, that Babylon was built by Semiramis" and assigns to Belus the building of it, and multiplies and replenishing it with all sorts of trees, he rendered the prospect as an exact resemblance of a mountainous country. This he did to please his queen, whom he had brought up in Media, and was fond of a mountainous situation."

The great improvements that Nebuchadnezzar made in Babylon, had been so strongly contrasted with the ancient and authentic testimonies which ascribe the first building to Nimrod, and its first rebuilding to Semiramis, that it was not without difficulty we were able to reconcile the two.

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21. These accounts agree with the true histories in our books: for in them it is written, that Nebuchadnezzar is found in the third book of his Chaldean history, wherein he complains of the Greek writers for supposing, without any foundation, that Babylon was built by Semiramis" and assigns to Belus the building of it, and multiplies and replenishing it with all sorts of trees, he rendered the prospect as an exact resemblance of a mountainous country. This he did to please his queen, whom he had brought up in Media, and was fond of a mountainous situation."

The great improvements that Nebuchadnezzar made in Babylon, had been so strongly contrasted with the ancient and authentic testimonies which ascribe the first building to Nimrod, and its first rebuilding to Semiramis, that it was not without difficulty we were able to reconcile the two.
with Men both night and day, and enjoined him not to pass over a place where an ox had fallen down again; and to abstain from all sorts of reproaches. After which he adds thus: "This he said and did in imitation of the doctrines of the Grecian philosophers, as I believe, and framed his own philosophy." For it is very truly affirmed of this Pythagoras, that he took a great many of the laws of the Jews into his own philosophy, which raised his thoughts and other ideas into the Grecian civility, and indeed was thought worthy of imitation by some of them. This is declared by Theophrastus, in his writings concerning the relations between the Jews and Persians; among whom he enumerates some others, and particularly that called Corban; which oath can enable him to speak so much concerning them, a man may call a thing devoted to God. Nor indeed was Herodotus of Halicarnassus acquainted with our nation, but mentions it after a way of his own, when he says that the Colchians had been to Colchis. His words are these: "The only people who were circumcised in their privy members originally, were the Colchians, the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians; but the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Parthians, call all these things the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians, confess that they learned it from the Egyptians. And for those Syrians who live about the river Tigris and the Parthians, and their neighbours the Macedons, they say they have lately learned it from the Colchians; for these are the only people that are circumcised amongst mankind, and appear to have done the very same thing with the Egyptians. But as for the Egyptians and Ethiopians themselves, I am not able to say which of them received it from the other." This therefore is what Herodotus says, "That the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians, were the first in Philistia that were circumcised. But there are no inhabitants of Palestine that are circumcised excepting the Jews; and therefore it must be his knowledge of them that makes him say, in Philistia, "The only people that are circumcised amongst mankind, and appear to have done the very same thing with the Egyptians. But as for the Egyptians and Ethiopians themselves, I am not able to say which of them received it from the other." This is what Herodotus says, "The only people that are circumcised amongst mankind, and appear to have done the very same thing with the Egyptians. But as for the Egyptians and Ethiopians themselves, I am not able to say which of them received it from the other." This is what Clearchus says, "That he did not write about the Jewish affairs by the by, but composed an entire book concerning the Jews themselves, out of which book I am willing to run over a few things, of which we have been treating, by way of epitome. And, in the first place, I will demonstrate the time when this Hezekiah lived; for he mentions the sight that was between Ptolemy and Demetrius at Gaza, which was fought on the eleventh year of their heads were crooked; that they had round ears on their heads; that their jaws and faces were like nasty hares' heads, which had been broken in the smallest places. But theโซนิ are not a strange people, but heathen Medes, like the other parts of Xerxes' army; and that the Solyms, Solsi, and Solsians, were like a mixture of Jews and heathens. The other Solyms were not a strange people, but heathen Medes, like the other parts of Xerxes' army; and that the Solyms, Solsi, and Solsians, were like a mixture of Jews and heathens. They were named, as they were called, by the men they were not considered a people as the Jews, nor so likely to be desired by Xerxes for his army. For Judah, whom he was always very favourable. As for the rest of Cherilus' description, among them, did not only know the Jews, but, when they lighted upon any of them, admired them also, it is easy to see how much more than the Jews, for they were neither the scholar of Aristotle, and inferior to none of the Peripatetics whomsoever. And in his first book of the Rhetoric, concerning sleep, says, "That Aristotle was the first that set down his own discourse with him. The account is this, as written down by him: "Now, for a great part of this what he said, it would be too long to recite it, but I believe in it both wonder and philosophy, it may not be amiss to discourse of: Now, that I may be plain with thee, Hyperchides, I shall herein seem to thee to relate, though they will resemble dreams themselves. Hereupon Hyperchides answered modestly, and said, For that very reason it is that all of us are very desirous of hearing the what he said, it would be too long to recite it, but I believe in it both wonder and philosophy, it may not be amiss to discourse of: Now, that I may be plain with thee, Hyperchides, I shall herein seem to thee to relate, though they will resemble dreams themselves. Hereupon Hyperchides answered modestly, and said, For that very reason it is that all of us are very desirous of hearing the
under the death of Alexander, and on the hundredth, and fourteenth Olympiad, as Cestor says in his history. For when he composed this Olympiad, he says further, "That on this Olympiad Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, beat in battle Dariusus, the son of Antigonus, who was named Poliorcetes, the conqueror." For, in my opinion, all that Alexander died on the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad: it is therefore evident that our nation flourished in his time, and in the time of Alexander, and, in the same sense, Herodotus says to the same purpose, as follows: "Ptolemy got possession of the places in Syria after that battle at Gaza: and many, when they heard of Ptolemy's moderation, and his justice, and his humanity, went to Egypt, and were willing to assist him in his affairs; one of which (Hecateus says) was Hestekias, the high priest of the Jews, a man of about 80 years. But as he says, all the priests of the Jews took tithes of the products of the earth, and managed public affairs, and were in number not above fifteen hundred at that time. Hestekias mentions Hestekias a second time, and says, that "as he was possessed of so great a dignity, and was become familiar with us, so did he take certain of those that were of his age, and explained to them all the circumstances of their people, and he heard and all their habitation and policy down in writing." Moreover, Hecateus declares again, "What regards us, we have for our laws, and that we resolve to endure these things rather than transgress our own law, because we think it right for us to do so."—Whereupon he adds, that "although they are in a bad reputation among their neighbours, and among others, it is not to them, and have been often injured injuriously by the kings and governors of Persia, yet can they not be dis- satisfied from acting but what they think best; but that when they are stripped on this account, and have torments inflicted upon them, and they are brought to the most terrible kinds of death, they meet them after an extraordinary manner, beyond all other people, and will not renounce the religion of their forefathers." Hecateus also produces demonstrations not a few of this their resolute tenaciously: of their laws, when he speaketh of Hellen: "Asia the Babylon," and had an intention to rebuild the temple of Belus that was fallen to decay, and in order thereto, he commanded all his soldiers in general, and did thither; but the Jews, and they only, would not comply with that command: nay, they underwent stripes and great losses of what they had on this account, till the king for gave them, and permitted them to live in quiet. He adds farther, "That when the Macedonians came to them into that country, and demolished the (old) temples and the altars, they assisted them in demolishing them all; but [for not assisting them in rebuilding them] they either underwent losses, or sometimes obtained forgiveness, or did not offend men deserve to be admired-on that account." He also speaks of the mighty populousness of our nation, and says, "That the Persians fell into Babylon, and also that a number of people to Babylon, as also that not a few thousands were removed after Alexander's death into Egypt and Phoenicia, by reason of the rebellion of the Seleucids, Alexander the Great." Herodotus says to the same end, and says, that "when a person takes notice in his history how large the country is in which we inhabit, as well as of its excellent character, and says, "That the last and greatest of the Seleucids, Philip the last, and a man who is generally of a most excellent and most fruitful soil; nor is Judea of lesser dimensions." The same man describes our city and our land's structure, and very large, and inhabited from the most ancient times. He also discoursed of the multitude of men in it, and of the concrescence of its people, after the following manner: There are many strong places and villages (says he) in the country of Judea; but one strong city there is, about fifty furlongs in circumference, which he calls Jerusalem. But this was built by a hundred thousand men, or thereabouts. The walls were made of hewn stone, and composed of stone stairs gathered together, having each side twenty cubits long, and its altitude ten cubits. But it is a large edifice, wherein there is an altar and a candlestick both of gold, and in weight two talents: upon these there is a light that is never extinguished, neither by night nor by day. The temple is encompassed with judicial edifices therein: nothing at all is there placed, neither grove, nor any thing of that sort. The priests abide therein both nights and days, performing certain purifications, and of oil which is not the least drop of wine while they are in the temple. Moreover, he attests, that we Jews went as allies, and allying one with another under the same army, concerning the actions of a man that was a Jew. His words are these: "As I state above, (says he) a man, whose name was Musolam: he was one of the Jewish horsemen who conducted us; he was a person of great courage, of a strong body, and a firm soul, and a brave and exact archer that was either among the Greeks or barbarians. Now, this man, as people were great people passing along the road, and a certain setting sun was also rising, and it being late requiring them all to stand still, inquired where they stood for. Hereupon the augur showed him the bird from whence he took his augury, and told him, that if the bird stood where he was R. v. ch. iv. sect. 3, makes it wall 55 furlongs, besides the suburbs and gardens; nay, he says, R. v. ch. ii. sect. 1, that Titus's wall about is at some small distance, because the gardens and suburbs were destroyed, was not less than 53 furlongs. Nor, perhaps, were its foundations as great as the days of Herod in any more than the three 130.080, because rooms was always to be left for vastly greater number which came up at the three great festivals; so nothing to build a probable barrack in their number between the days of Herodes and Josephus, which was at least 300 years. But a more probable account of it would be, in my description of the Jewish nation. However we are not to expect that such behemoth as Ur, Urusius, or Hecateus, or the rest, wrote the facts as they were, and taking many mistakes in the Jewish history, while yet they strongly confirm the same history in the general, and are the most original testimonies of Josephus concerning them. I hope the preceding may be of some use."

* This Hestekias, which is here called a high priest, is not meant in Josephus's catalogue: the real high priest at that time being rather Onias, as Archilochus Lubber supposes. However, Josephus often uses the word high priest in the plural number, as living many at the same time. See the note on Ant. R. x. ch. viii. sect. 8.

† So I read the text with Havercamp, though the place be difficult.

‡ This number of acreous or Egyptian acres, 3,000,000, each acreus containing a square of 100 Egyptian cubits, (about three quarters of an English acre, and just twice the size of a British acre), contained in the country of Judea, was about one third or a little more, or, in number, acreus in the whole land of Judea, suppose it was 100. As for the Jewish tabernacle, it was contained in the country of Judea, will be about one third of an acreus in the whole land of Jud in, suppose it was taken in 100. As for the Jewish tabernacle, and the estimation for the fruitful parts of it, it is true, they have in Hesekian is, not, therefore, very wide from the truth. The 50 furlongs is a common measure in the cities where the Jews Jerusalem presently, are not very wide from the truth also, as Josephus himself describes it, who, in the War, 8.

§ See the preceding note.
they ought all to stand still; but that if he get
up and-row outward, they must go forward, but
that the Greeks alone remain still. Moscianus made no reply, but drew his bow,
and shot at the bird, and hit him, and killed
him; and as the arrow and some others were
wound, and he asked them, he answered them thus: "How are you so mad
as to take this most unhappy bird into your
hands? for how can this bird give us any true
intelligence for our guide? and others, for I am not one of the Fiscus, policy
not foresee how to save himself; for had he been
able to foreknow what was future, he would not
have come to this place, but would have been
advised to leave the Jews, and not be at him,
and kill him." But of Hecateus’s testimonies
we have said enough: for so as to such desire
to know more of them, they may easily obtain
them from his book itself. However, I shall not
think it too much for me to name Agatharchides,
as having made mention of us Jews, though in
way of derision at our simplicity, as he supposes
it to be; for when he was discoursing of the af-
fairs of the Macedonians into Syria, and left her husband Demetri-
us, while yet Seleucus would not marry her as
she expected, but, during the time of his raising an
army, he went forth, and reproached, with some harshness,
Antioch; and how, after that, the king came
back, and, upon his taking of Antioch, she fled to
Seleucia, and had it in her power to sail away
immediately; yet did she wait, with a dream, which
forbade her so to do, and so was caught, and
put to death. When Agatharchides had
precisely this story, and laid upon Strabo,
œuvre, he, of such a book of our nation, is lies, and to make use of those writers'own testimonies against themselves; and that, in
general, this self-contradiction hath happened to
many other authors, by reason of the great
numbers of people, I conclude is not unknown to such
as have read histories with sufficient care; for
some of them have endeavoured to disgrace the
nation of our forefathers, and some of the
most glorious cities, and have cast reproaches
upon certain forms of government. Thus hath
Theopompus abused the city of Athens, Poly-
eides, the city of Corinth, and Polyclitus,
the Tripolitis (for he is not Theopompus, as is
supposed by some) done by the city of Thebes.
Times also hath greatly abused the foregoing people and others also: and this ill treatment
they use chiefly when they have a contest with
men of the greatest reputation; some out of envy
and malice, and others, as supposing that, by this
foolish talking of theirs, they may be thought
worthy of being remembered themselves: and
indeed they do by no means fail of their hopes,
with regard to the foolish part of mankind, but
of sober judgment still condemn them of
great malignity.

24. Now the Egyptians were the first that cast
reproaches upon us; in order to please which
nation, some others also made a boast of this
truth, while they would neither own that our
forefathers came into Egypt from another coun
try, as the fact was, nor give a true account of
our departure thence. And indeed the Egypt-
tians took many occasions to hate us and envy
us; in the first place, because our ancestors had
had the dominion over their country, and when
they were delivered from them, and gone to their
own country again, they lived there in great
persecution. In the next place, the difference of our
religion from theirs hath occasioned great en-
emy between us, while our way of divine wor-
ship did, as much as might be, to differ from theirs.
Hieron was appointed by their laws does of the
nature of God exceed that of brute beasts; for
so far do they all agree through the whole country, to esteem such ani-
mals as gods, although they differ one from anoth-
er in the peculiar worship they severally pay
to them. And certainly men they are, entirely of
vain and foolish minds, who have thus assent-
ced to themselves: from whence it is that they
had notions concerning their gods, and could not
think of imitating that decent form of divine wor-
ttheir leaders, which neither the Macedonians nor our blessed
Saviour did ever approve of.

* A glorious testimony of the observation of the Sab-
bath by the Jews. See Alex. B. viii. ch. i. sect. 4; ch. vi.
sect. 2; Of the Life, sect. 24, and War, B. iv. ch. i. sect. 15.
* Not their law, but the superstitions interpretation of
ill-disposed passion blinded the other’s mind so
entirely, that he could not discern the truth.

25. Now the Egyptians, and the Chaldeans, and
Phrygians, together with so many of the Greek writers, will
be sufficient for the demonstration of our anti-
city, and those of our nation. The Thucydides,
Theophrastus, and Theodosius, and Museses,
and Aristophanes, and Hermogenes, Euhemerus also,
and Conon, and Zopyrion, and perhaps many
other authors, who have this same nature of book,
have made distinct mention of us. It is true,
many of the men before mentioned have
made great mistakes about the true accounts of
our nation in the earliest times; some they
had not preserved in their ill-written books; yet have they
all of them afforded their testimony to our anti-
quity, concerning which I am now treating.
However, Demetrius Phalereus, and the elder Philo,
with Eupolemus, have not greatly missed the truth about our affairs: whose lesser mistakes
ought therefore to be forgiven them; for it was
not in their power to understand our writings with
the utmost perfection.
ship which we made use of, though, when they saw our institutions approved of by many others, they could not but envy us on that account; for some of them have proceeded to that degree of folly as to pollute their own country, as not to scruple to contradict their own ancient records, nay, to contradict themselves also in their writings, and yet were so blinded by their passions as not to deplore it.

36. And now I will turn my discourse to one of their principal writers, whom I have a little before made use of as a witness to our antiquity; I mean the aforementioned Manetho, who, in his work on the Egyptian history out of their sacred writings, and promised this: that "our people had come into Egypt, many ten thousands in number, and so increased; and when they had further confected, "We went out of that country afterward, and settled in that country which is now called Judaea, and there built Jerusalem and its temple."

I mention the following ancient records: but after this be he permitted himself, in order to appear to have written what rumours and reports passed abroad about the Jews, and introduced incredible narrations, as if he would have continued the Egyptian history, so that should any of those who suffered leprosy and other distempers, to have been mixed with us, as he says they were, and that they were condemned to fly out of Egypt together; for the case of those who had suffered the same thing, though on that account he durst not set down the number of years of his reign, which yet he had accurately done as to the other kings he had named; he tried to mix with certain fabulous stories to this king, as having in a manner forgotten how he had already related, that the departure of the shepherds for Jerusalem had been five hundred and eighteen years before; for Tuthmosis was king when they went away. Now, from his days, the reigns of the intermediate kings, according to Manetho, amounted to three hundred and thirty-three years, as he says himself, till the two brothers, Sethos and Hermonæus; the one of which, Sethos, was called by that other name of Egyptian, and the other, by that of Danan. He also says, that Sethos cast the other out of Egypt, and reigned fifty-nine years; as did his eldest son Rhampees reign after him sixty-six years. When Manetho therefore had acknowledged, that our forefathers were gone out of Egypt so many years ago, he introduces his fictitious king Amenophis, and says thus: "This king was desirous to become a spec- tacular man, and as bad Oure, one of his predecessors in that kingdom, desired the same before him; he also communicated that his desire to his namesake Amenophis, who was the son of Papis, and used to partake of a divine nature, both as to wisdom and the knowledge of futurities." Manetho adds, "how this namesake of his told him, that he might see the gods, if he would clear the whole country of the lepers and of the other impure people; that the king was pleased with this injunction, and got together all that had any defect in their bodies out of Egypt, and that their number was one hundred thousand; whom he sent to those quarries which were on the east side of the Nile, that they might work in them, and might be separated from the rest of the Egyptians." He says further, that "there were some of the learned priests that were polluted with the leporosity; but that still this Amenophis, the wise man and the prophet, was afraid that the gods would be angry at him and at the country, and his remaining the inhabitants of this book, and some parts of the next, one may easily perceive that our usually cool and candid author Josephus was too high a character, and indulges in the praisability of a splendid style; accordingly, I esteem not to read these sections with less pleasure than I do the rest of his writings, though I fully believe the supervisor omit on the Jews, and that he has been endeavours to give the facts and opinions were wholly groundless and unreasonable.

[This is a very valuable testimony of Manetho, the laws of Osiris and Moses were not then in existence, but in opposition to the customs of the Egyptians. See the note on Aretæus, B.iii. ch. vi. sect. 2.]
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returned back and came to Memphis, where he took Apis and the other sacred animals which he had sent for to him, and presently marched into Egypt, where he pitched a camp for his Egyptian army, as a great number of Egyptians, for the king of Ethiopia was under an obligation to him, on which account he received him, and took care of all the multitude with him that were supplied and provided with food that was necessary for the food of the men. He also allotted cities and villages for this exile, that was to be from its beginning during those unfatigable determined thirteen years. Moreover, he pitched a camp for his Egyptian army, as a great number of Egyptians, to king Amenophis, upon the borders of Egypt. And this was the state of things in Ethiopia. But for the people of Jerusalem, when they came down together with the Egyptians, they treated the men in such a barbarous manner, that those who saw how they subdued the forementioned country, and the horrid wickedness they were guilty of, thought it a most dreadful thing; for they did not only set the cities and villages on fire, but were not satisfied till they had been guilty of sacrilege, and destroyed the images of that, the crocodile, and the baboon, which were supposed sacred animals that were worshipped, and forced the priests and prophets to be the executioners and murderers of those animals, and then ejected them of their names. It was, according to these, that when Moses was also reported, that the priest, who ordained their polity and their laws, was by birth of Heliopolis, and his name Osiris, from Osiris, who was the god of Heliopolis, and that when he was gone over to these people, his name was changed, and he was called Moses.

27. This is what the Egyptians relate about the Jews, and those, who are touched by the Egyptians, and ship some things away of them, which is the same as the books of the Egyptians, that the king Amenophis, upon the borders of Egypt, a king of Ethiopia, came over to the land of Egypt, and took battle with the shepherds and the polluted people, and beat them, and slew a great many of them, and pursued them to the bounds of Syria. These and the like accounts are written by Manetho. But I will demonstrate that these things, and tell the right story, after I have made a distinction which will relate to what I am going to say about them; for this Manetho had granted and thought that what this Egyptian told of the Egyptian, but that they had come from another country, and subdued Egypt, and then went away again out of it. But that those Egyptians who were afterwards crucified and burnt, in that time, which Moses mingled with us afterward, and that Moses who brought the people out was not one of that company, but lived many generations earlier, I shall endeavour to demonstrate from Manetho's own accounts themselves.

28. Now, for the first occasion of this fiction, Manetho supposes what is no better than a ridiculous thing; for he says, that the Egyptians desired to see the gods. What gods, I pray, did he desire to see? If he meant the gods whom their laws ordained to be worshipped, the ox, the goat, and the baboon, those gods which they already had; but for the heavenly gods, how could he see them, and what should occasion this his desire? To be sure, it was because another king before him had already seen them. He had then been informed what sort of gods they were, and after what manner they had been seen, insomuch that he did not stand in need of any new artifice for obtaining this sight. However, this prophet, by whose means the king thought to compass his design, was a wise man. If so, how came he not to know that such his desire was impossible, and that he might formerly have been informed at those that had treated them so courteously, and this according to the prediction of the prophet, yet certainly, when they were come out of the mines, and had received of the king of the country, they would have grown milder towards
him. However, had they ever so much hated him in his lifetime, they might have laid a private plot against himself, but would hardly have made war against all the Egyptians; I mean this on the account of the great kindred they were as to each other; neither had they had such men. Nor, still, if they had resolved to fight with the men, they would not have had impudence enough to fight with their gods: nor would they have ord- dered them contrary to Litys of their own country, and to those in which they had been bred up themselves. Yet are we beholden to Manetho, that he does not lay the principal charge of this most monstrous leprosy upon those that came over from Jerusalem, but says that the Egyptians themselves were the most guilty, and that they were their priests that contrived these things, that men of substance in the cities, and policed people were forced to send to Jerusalem, and bring their auxiliaries from thence. What friendship, I pray, or what relation was there formerly between them, that required this assistance? On the contrary, they were at all times enemies, and greatly differed from them in their customs. He says, indeed, that they compiled immediately, upon their promising them that they should be admitted into Egypt, as if they were very well known that country out of which they had been driven by force. Now, had these men been in want, or lived miserably, perhaps, they might have undertaken so hazardous an enterprise; but as they dwelt in a happy city, and had a large country, and one better than Egypt itself, how came it about, that for the sake of those that had of old been their enemies, and those that were maimed in their bodies, and of those whom none of their own relations would endure, they should run such hazards in assisting them, and would not have foreseen that the king would run away from them: on the contrary, he saith himself, that "Amenophis's son had three hundred thousand men with him, and met them at Pelusium." Now, to be sure, those that came could not be ignorant of this; but for the king's repentance and flight, how could they possibly guess at it? He then says, that "those who opposed, were surprised, and made this invasion, got the granaries of Egypt into their possession, and perpetrated many of the most horrid actions there." And thence he reproaches them, as those who not of themselves, but of the king, undertook them as enemies, or as though he might accuse such as were invited from another place for so doing, when the natural Egyptians themselves had done the same things before their coming, and had taken oaths so to do. However, "Amenophis, some time afterward, came upon them, and conquered them in battle, and slew his enemies, and drove them before him as far as Syria." As if Egypt were so easily taken by people that came from any place whatsoever, and as if those that had conquered it by war, when they were informed that Amemophis was alive, did neither fortify the land of Ethiopia into it, although they had great advantages for doing it, nor did get their other forces ready for their defence; but that he followed them over the sandy desert, and along it far as Israel is reached, and yet with not an easy thing for an army to pass over that country, even without fighting.

30. Our nation, therefore, according to Manetho and the other Egyptian country writers and Josephus, were not any of the Egyptians mingled with us. For it is to be supposed that many of the leprous and diseased people were dead in the mines, since they had been there so long in an unsound condition; many others must be dead in the battles that happened afterward, and more still in the last battle and flight after it.

31. It now remains that I debate with Manetho about Moses. Now, the Egyptians acknowledge him to have been a wonderful and a divine person: nay, they would willingly lay claim to him themselves, though after a most abusive and in- credible practice; for their chief city, of which they boasted, was founded by Moses, their priest, in a most splendid manner, and called settlements, and one of the priests of that place, and was ejected out of it among the rest, on account of his leprosy: although it had been demonstrated to them not that he lived and reigned over the people, and the leprous and eighteen years earlier, and then brought our forefathers out of Egypt into the country that is now inhabited by us. But now that he was not present in this case that came upon, from Jerusalem, but says that the Egyptians themselves were the most guilty, and that they were their priests that contrived these things, that men of substance in the cities, and policed people were forced to send to Jerusalem, and bring their auxiliaries from thence. What friendship, I pray, or what relation was there formerly between them, that required this assistance? On the contrary, they were at all times enemies, and greatly differed from them in their customs. He says, indeed, that they compiled immediately, upon their promising them that they should be admitted into Egypt, as if they were very well known that country out of which they had been driven by force. Now, had these men been in want, or lived miserably, perhaps, they might have undertaken so hazardous an enterprise; but as they dwelt in a happy city, and had a large country, and one better than Egypt itself, how came it about, that for the sake of those that had of old been their enemies, and those that were maimed in their bodies, and of those whom none of their own relations would endure, they should run such hazards in assisting them, and would not have foreseen that the king would run away from them: on the contrary, he saith himself, that "Amenophis's son had three hundred thousand men with him, and met them at Pelusium." Now, to be sure, those that came could not be ignorant of this; but for the king's repentance and flight, how could they possibly guess at it? He then says, that "those who opposed, were surprised, and made this invasion, got the granaries of Egypt into their possession, and perpetrated many of the most horrid actions there." And thence he reproaches them, as those who not of themselves, but of the king, undertook them as enemies, or as though he might accuse such as were invited from another place for so doing, when the natural Egyptians themselves had done the same things before their coming, and had taken oaths so to do. However, "Amenophis, some time afterward, came upon them, and conquered them in battle, and slew his enemies, and drove them before him as far as Syria." As if Egypt were so easily taken by people that came from any place whatsoever, and as if those that had conquered it by war, when they were informed that Amemophis was alive, did neither fortify the land of Ethiopia into it, although they had great advantages for doing it, nor did get their other forces ready for their defence; but that he followed them over the sandy desert, and along it far as Israel is reached, and yet with not an easy thing for an army to pass over that country, even without fighting.

32. And now I have done with Manetho, I will inquire into what Chersones says. For he also, when he pretended to write the Egyptian history, sets down the same name for his king that Manetho did, Amemophis, as also of his son Ramesses, and then goes on thus: "The goddess Isis appears to Amemophis in his sleep, and bids him leave the land of Egypt, and launch a vessel to the west of the sea. But that Phiritians, the sacred scribe, saith to him, that in case he would purgethe Egyptians, and was the first to call Moses a prophet. And Moses, after his return from Ethiopia, was called pitch. But that Joseph scribes: that their names were Egyptian originally, that of Moses had the origin of Tyre, and that of Joseph Petesepus: that these two names were known to the Egyptians. But Joseph Petesepus: that these two names were known to the Egyptians.
systems that could not sustain their attacks, but fled into Ethiopia, and left his wife with child behind him, who lay concealed in certain caverns, and there brought forth a son, whose name was Meneas, and after their return the Jews pursued the Jews into Syria, being about two thousand, and then received his father Meneas out of Ethiopia.\(^\text{33}\)

This is the account Cheremon gives us. I now take it for granted, that what I have said already hath plainly proved the falsity of both these narrations; for had there been any real death of these chieftains in Ethiopia, they should not quite disagree about the particulars. But for those that invent lies, what they write will easily give us very different accounts, while they please out of their own heads. Now, Manetho says, that the king's desire of seeing the gods, was the origin of the election of the polluted people; but Cheremon signifies that this did not till all the multitude that were expelled, they agree exceedingly well, the former reckoning them eighty thousand, and the latter about two hundred and forty thousand. But after what has been described these polluted persons as sent first to work in the quarries, and says, that after that, the city Avaris was given them for their habitation, and that they had made war with the rest of the Egyptians, that they invited the people of Jerusalem, and the Egyptians, and they invaded Egypt with them again; that thereupon Amasis fled into Ethiopia. But, then, Cheremon commits a most ridiculous blander in not informing us who this army of so many ten thousands were, or whence they came, whether they were native Egyptians or whether they came from a foreign country. Nor indeed, has this man, who forged a dream from ISIS, about the leprous people, assigned the reason why the king would not bring them any nearer to him, nor why they being over the mountains, they were not permitted to come down Joseph as driven away at the same time with Moses, who yet died four generations before Moses, which four generations make almost seven hundred years in all, and besides the city that was built in Ammon, that was called Rameses, the son of Amnon, by Manetho's account, was a young man, and assisted his father in this war, and left the country at the same time with his, and fled into Ethiopia. But Cheremon makes him to have been born in a certain cave, after his father was dead, and that he then overcame the Jews in battle, and drove them into Syria, being in number about two hundred thousand. O the levity of the man! For he had neither told us who these three hundred and eighty thousand were, nor how the four hundred and thirty thousand people, they came or went over to Rameses. And what is the strangest of all, it is not possible to learn out of him who they were whom he calls Jews, or to which of these two parties he applies that denomination: whether to the two hundred and fifty thousand leprous people, or to the three hundred and eighty thousand that were about Pefulus. In the story, it is the larger confusion of such writers as sufficiently confute themselves; for had they been only confuted by other men, it had been more tolerable. I shall now add to these accounts about the duration of human ages. See Ameni, Rec. Part II. p. 966, 1010, 1020.
should be still so great a multitude remaining? Or after what manner did they pass over the desert, and get the land which we now dwell in, and build our city, and that temple which hath been so famous among all mankind? And besides this, who hath sent thee to have spoken to me as a legislator, than by giving us thy bare name; and to have informed us of what nation he was, and what parents he was derived from; and to have answered all the rest of the things which they desired to know, concerning matters of injustice, and the things which he undertook to make such laws concerning the gods, and concerning the nation itself, and that which was afterward changed. The reason of which is plain, that the former name brought reproach and hatred upon them; and when they undertook that built the city they thought they did honor to the city by giving it such a name. So we see that this fine fellow had such an unbounded inclination to the glory of his nation, that he had imagined that robbery of temples is not expressed by the same name, and name among the Jews as it is among the Greeks. But why should a man say any more to a person who tells us such improbable lies? However, since this book is arisen to competent length, I will make another beginning, and endeavour to add what still remains to perfect the history, and finish the following book.

This is the meaning of Hierothes in Greek, not a Hebrew.

BOOK II.

§ 1. In the former book, most honoured Eupateridus, I have demonstrated our antiquity, and compared the truth of what we say, that from the writings of the Phoenicians, and Chaldeans, we have, moreover, produced many of the Grecian writers as witnesses thereof. I have also made a composition of what I have heard from Manetho and Herodotus, and of certain others of our enemies. I shall now, therefore, begin a confutation of the remaining authors who have written any thing concerning us; although I confess I have had no doubt upon me about Apion the grammarian, whether I ought to take the trouble of confuting him or not; for some of his writings contain such base and false assertions which the others have laid against us, some things that he hath added are very frigid and contemptible, and for the greatest part of what he says, it is very scurrilous, and to speak more than the plain truth, it speaks him to be a very unlearned person, and what he lays together looks like the work of a man of very bad morals, and of one no better in his whole life than a mountebank. Yet, because there are a great many men so very foolish, that they are rather caught by such orations than by what is written with care, and take pleasure in ridiculous and trifling fables, I have thought it necessary not to let this man go off without examination, who had written such an accusation against us, as if he would bring us to make an answer in open court. For I also have observed, that many men are very much delighted when they see a man who first began to reproach another, to be himself exposed to contumies on account of the devices he hath himself been guilty of. However, it is not a very easy thing to get over this man's discourse, nor to know plainly what he means: yet dost thou not find amidst a great confusion and disorder in his falsehoods, to produce, in the first place, such things as resemble what we have examined already, and relate to the departure of our forefathers out of Egypt; and, in the second place, he accuses the Jews that are inhabitants of Alexandria; as, in the third place, he mixes with those things such accusations as concern the sacred purifications, and the other legal rites used in the temple.

The former part of this second book is written against the calamities of Apion, and then, more briefly, against the lies of Apollonius Mole. But after that, Josephus makes very particular reference to those adver-

§ 2. Now, although I cannot but think that I have already demonstrated, and that more than I have said, that our fathers were not originally Egyptians, nor were thence expelled, neither on account of bodily diseases or on account of any calamities of that sort; yet will I take notice of what Apion adds upon that subject: for in his third book, which relates to the affairs of Egypt, he speaks thus:—"I have heard of the ancient men of Egypt, that Moses was born in Heliopolis, and that he thought himself destined to follow the customs of his forefathers, and offered his prayers in the open air towards the city walls; but that he reduced them all to be directed towards Jerusalem, and the situation of Heliopolis: that he also set up pillars instead of gnomons, under which was represented a cavity like that of a boat, and the shadows that fell from their tops fell down upon that cavity, that it might go round about the like course as the sun itself goes round in the other." This is that wonderful relation which we have given by this great grammarian. But that it is a false one is so plain, that it stands as a seed of few words to prove it, but is manifest from the works of Moses; for when he erected the first tabernacle of the tabernacle, he ordered for any such kind of representation to be made at it, nor ordain that those that came after him should make such a one. Moreover, when in a future age, Solomon built his temple, in Jerusalem, he avoided all such needless decorations as Apion hath here devised. He says further, how "he had heard of the ancient men, that Moses was born at Heliopolis." To be sure that was because, being a younger man himself, he believed those that by their elder age were acquainted and conversed with him. Now this grammarian, as he speaks of it, refers it to the poet Homer's country, no more than he could comparatively but a little while ago: yet does he thus easily determine the age of Moses who preceded them such a vast number of years, depending on his ancient men's relation; which shows how nugatory a liar he was. But this is to his chronological determination of the time when he says he brought the hebrews people, the

* Called by Tiberius, Cymbeaon Ammon, the drum of the world.

* This seems to have been the first ditt that had been made red, it was a particular reply to those adversities of the Jews, and gives us a large and excellent demonstration and vindication of that truth which was settled for the Jewish nation by Moses, their great legislator.
blind and the lame, out of Egypt, see how well this most accurate grammarian of our times agrees with the author of the present book. Malmheo says, that the Jews departed out of Egypt in the reign of Tethomis, three hundred and ninety-three years before Denaus fled to Argos; Lissimius states that there were kings in the territory of Egypt, one thousand seven hundred years ago; Molon and some others determined it as every one pleased; but this Apion of ours, as deserving to be believed for all before them, hath not done it exactly to have been in the seventh Olympiad, and the first year of that Olympiad; the very same year in which he says that Carthage was built by the Phenicians. The reason why he added this building of Carthage was, to be sure, in order, as he thought, to strengthen his assertion by so evident a character of chronology. But he was not aware that this character contains his assertion, for if we may give credit to the Phenician records as to the time of the first coming of their colony to Carthage, they relate that Hierom their king was above a hundred and fifty years old, when they first met with them, concerning whom I have formerly produced testimonies out of those Phenician records; as also that this Hierom was a friend of Solomon when at fortysix years of age, and gave him great assistance in his building that temple; while still Solomon himself built that temple six hundred and twelve years after the Jewish nation was delivered for the number of those that were expelled out of Egypt, he hath contrived to have the very same number, with Lysimachus, and says they were a hundred and twenty; but then in order to keep it from seeming to reproach this reproachful appellation against us, [that we were originally Egyptians,] in order to bestow it on the Alexandrians as a reward for the privilege of being a fellow-citizen with them: he also is apprized of the ill-will the Alexandrians bear to these Jews who are their fellow-citizens, and so proposes to bestow a great reward on those who shall thereby include all the other Egyptians also, while in both cases he is no better than an impudent liar.

4. But let us now see what those heavy and wicked crimes are, which Apion charges upon the Alexandrian Jews. "They came (says he) out of Syria, and inhabited near the tempestuous sea, and were in the neighbourhood of the dash- ing of the waves." Now, if the piece of habitations includes any thing that is reproachful, this man reproaches not his own real country. [Egypt.] but what he pretends to be his own country, Alexandria; for all are agreed in this, that the part of that city which is near the sea is the best part of all for habitation. Now, if the Jews gained that part of the city by force, and have kept it hitherto without an impediment, it is certain of their valour; but in reality it was Alexander himself that gave them that place for their habitation, when they obtained equal privileges there with the Macedonians. Nor can I doubt that what Apion would have said, had their habitation been at Necropolis, and not been fixed hard by the royal palace (as it is;) nor had their nation had the denomination of Macedonians given them till this very day (as they have,) Had this man now read the epistles of king Alexander, or those of Polemy the son of Lagus, or met with the writings of the succeeding kings, or that edict which is still standing at Alexandria, and contains the privileges which the great [Julius] Cæsar bestowed upon the Jews; had this man, I say, known the reason that he had to answer to the beseigers of the city, and the importance of the word Sabbath, it either contains an instance of his great impudence or gross ignorance; for the words Sabbo and Sabbath are widely different. And, when the translation in the Jewish language rests not from all sorts of work; but the word Sabbo, as he affirms, de-
the founder of that city gave them the privileges belonging to the kings. After the same manner do the Jews that inhabit Ephesus and the other cities of Ionia, enjoy the same name with those that were originally born there, by the grant of the succeeding princes; nay, the kindnesse and beneficence of the princes, even in the greatness of their power, that it hath granted leave to almost all others to take the same name of Romans upon them; I mean not particularly men only, but entire and large nations themselves also; for those anciently named Iberi, and Tyrrheni, and Sabini, are now called Romans. And if Apion reject this way of obtaining the privilege of a citizen of Alexandria, from the very miserable state of being himself an Alexandrian hereafter; for otherwise, how can he who was born in the very heart of Egypt be an Alexandrian, if this way of accepting such as was designed of to secure the government of Cyrene, be once abrogated? although, indeed, these Romans, who are now the lords of the habitable earth, have forbidden the Egyptians to have the privilege of a citizen of Alexandria, or open it to such; while the late Cleopatra, who is willing to partake of such a privilege himself as he is forbidden to make use of, endeavours by calumnies to deprive those of it who might have been entitled to it; Alexander did not therefore, get some of our nation to Alexandria, because he wanted inhabitants for this his city, on whose building he had bestowed so much care and expense, as to give them people as a reward, because he had, upon a careful trial, found them all to have been men of virtue and fidelity to him; for, as Hecateus says concerning us, "As we perform the Offices of Elephants, and national Tremendities to such a degree, that, for the equity and the fidelity which the Jews had exhibited to him, he permitted them to hold the country of Samaria free from tribute. Or, shall I say it was Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, as to those Jews who dwelt at Alexandria?" For he intrusted the fortresses of Egypt into their hands, as believing they would keep them faithfully and valiantly for him; and when he was about to send them into the world, he gave them such a free use of it, and had not indeed had in them a great many sacrifices to God, and dedicated to him such great gifts, as we have heard above. And as for Ptolemy Philometor and his wife Cleopatra, they committed their whole kingdom to the Jews, when Onias and Dositheus, both Jews, whose names are laughed at by Apion, were the most enemies, in the generality of the Jews, and of all the Egyptians. But instead of reproaching them, he ought to admire their actions, and return them thanks for saving Alexandria, whose citizen he pretends to be for whom these Alexandrians were making war with Cleopatra the queen, and were in danger of being utterly ruined, these Jews brought them to terms of agreement, and freed them from the miseries they were left in, by sending only Onias a small army afterward upon the city, at the time when Tharsus the Roman ambassador was there present." Yes, I desire to say, and that he did rightly and reasonably so doing; for that Ptolemy who was called Physco, upon the death of his brother Philometor came from Cyrene, and would have ejected Cleopatra from the government of Cyrene, and had not that virtue which he might obtain it for himself unjustly. For this cause, then, it was, that Onias undertook a war against him on Cleopatra's account; nor could Ptolemy keep him from her, for he was reposeb in him in their distress. Accordingly God gave a remarkable attestation to his righteous procedure; for when Ptolemy Phusor had justly given himself up to the protection of the Jews, and had caught all the Jews that were in the city, [Alexandria,] with their children and wives and exposed them naked and in bonds to his elephants, he then saw an insuperable nation to such a degree, that, for the equity and fidelity which the Jews had exhibited to him, he permitted them to hold the country of Samaria free from tribute. Or shall I say it was Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, as to those Jews who dwelt at Alexandria?" For he intrusted the fortresses of Egypt into their hands, as believing they would keep them faithfully and valiantly for him; and when he was about to send them into the world, he gave them such a free use of it, and had not indeed had in them a great

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of their royal authority, and forced others in their
madness to act wickedly. But what need I
enlarge upon this head any farther, when she left
Apion to say more? She left him to say, that her
husband, and the father of their common chil-
dren, and compelled him to resign up his gov-
ernment, with the army, and to follow her into
Egypt; and said Apion had taken at Alexandria,
she came to that pitch of cruelty, that she declared she had some hope of preserving
her affairs still, in case she could kill the Jews, though it were with her own hand; to
such a degree of barbarity and perfidiousness
she had arrived. And doth any one think that we cannot boast ourselves of any thing, if, as
Apion says, this queen did not at a time of famine
distribute victual among us? However, she did
at length merit with the punishment she deserved.
As for us Jews, we appeal to the great Caesar
what charges we being the authors of perfidy:
ity we showed to him against the Egyptians; as
also, to the senate and its decrees, and the epis-
THE OF AUGUSTUS CAESAR, WHEREBY OUR RIGHTS TO BE RESTORED
le of Augustus Caesar, whereby our merits [to
be restored, and with equal care and merit as
have looked upon those epistles, and, in particular,
to save examined the testimonies given on our be-
half under Alexander and all the Ptolemies, and
the infamous manner of the conduct of the Ro-
man emperors. And if Germanicus was not able
to make a distribution of corn to all the inhab-
itants of Alexandria, that only shows what a bar-
ren land it was at that time; and the least corn was
then of corn, but tends nothing to the accusation
of the Jews for what all the emperors have
thought of the Alexandrian Jews is well known;
for this distinction was quite otherwise emi-
mitted with regard to the Jews than it was with
regard to the other inhabitants of Alexan-
dria. But they still were desirous to preserve
what a king had first given in their care, I
must say the necessity of the river; nor did
those kings think them unworthy of having the
entire custody thereof upon all occasions.
5. But, besides this, Apion objects to us thus,—
If the men, provided they are not Egyptians,
why do they not worship the same gods with the
Alexandrians? To which I give this an-
swer: Since you are yourselves Egyptians,
you, why do you not worship the same gods
and sacrifices for the same reason? And if
we have in your country, and so many laws,
War you say they are the same, but these
laws have not the same relation to your
religion as to ours. Therefore we shall not
be at a loss to answer you, knowing that
all the Jews, but indeed in general men, because you breed up
in the same manner, and submit to the same laws as all men;
that of man, although the nature of all men seems
to be one and the same. Nor, if there be
differences in opinion among you Egyptians,
which are the same in every respect to
Alexandria from another country, and had
original laws of their own before, should perserove
in the observance of those laws? But still he
charges us with being the authors of perfidy:
which accusation, if it be a just one, why is it
not laid against us all, since we are known to be all
of one mind. Moreover, those that search into
such matters will soon discover that the authors
of sedition have been such citizens of Alexandria
as Apion is; for while they were the Grecians
and Macedonians who were in possession of this
city, there was no sedition raised against us, and
we were permitted to observe our ancient so-
lemnities; but when the number of the Egyp-
tians therein came to be considerable, the times
were so confounded, that these seditions broke
out still more and more, while our people conti-
nued uncorrupted. These Egyptians, therefore,
were the authors of these troubles, who, having
written this story is an argument for evi-
dence of Grecians, indulged all of them the evil
manners of the Egyptians, and continued their
ancient hatred against us; for what is here so
preeminent charged upon us, is owing to the
differences that are amongst them themselves,
though many of them have not obtained the privileges of
AGAINTS APION.—BOOK II.

7. However, I cannot but admire those other
authors who furnished this man with such
materials: I mean Nannius and Aponius
[the son of Molo],* who, while they accuse us
for not worshipping the same gods whom others
worship, they think themselves not guilty of
impious when they tell us how it came about
to our temple; whereas it is a most shameful thing for freemen to forge
lies on any occasion, and much more so, to forge
them about our temple, which was so famous over
the world, and was preserved so sacred by us;
for Apion had the impudence to pretend, "that
the Jews placed an a>s head in their holy place," and he affirms, "that this was discovered when
Antiochus Epiphanes spoiled our temple, and
found that a>s head there made of gold, and
worth a great deal of money." To this my first
answer shall be this, that Apion does not say
such thing among us; Egyptian ought by no
means to have thrown it in our teeth, since an as

* Called more properly Molo or Apostanius Molo, as
hereafter; for Aponius, the son of Molo, was another
person, as Strabo informs us, lib. xiv.
is not a more contemptible animal than "**" and goats, and other such creatures, which among the Romans are found. And it will not say farther, how comes it about that Apion does not understand this to be no other than a palatable lie, and to be confuted by the thing itself as utterly false? For Jews are always governed by the same laws, in which we constantly persevere, and although many misfortunes have befallen our city, as the like have befallen others, and although Titus, [Quintus] and Pompey the Great, and Lucinius Crassus, and last of all Titus Caesar, have conquered us in war, and gotten possession of our temple; yet have they none of them despoiled it or excised any thing but what was agreeable to the strictest justice, although what they found we are not at liberty to reveal to other nations. But for Antiochus, as our thankfulness has shown, he did just as he was bidden by the king, and had stipulated to do, and in order to fulfill the law of the Jews, as they commanded him, and for a singular virtue, showed himself more just and righteous than the rest. And as the case was, they brought up a suspicion upon him, and, at length, astonishment, what their meaning should be; that at last he inquired of the senate, and sought to be released; and that when the king bade him sit down, and tell him who was the king, he said, "This is not a question of the law, but of those various sorts of food that were set before him, the man made a lamentable complaint, and with sighs, and tears in his eyes, gave his reasons for this. And it is said, that he was a Greek, and that as he set over this province, in order to get his living, he was seized upon by foreigners, on a sudden, not brought to this temple, and shut up there; and he was seen by nobody, but was fattened by these curios provisions thus set before him; and that truly, at the first, such unexpected advices would strike him with a horror: and when he saw, while, they brought a suspicion upon him, and, at length, astonishment, what their meaning should be; that at last he inquired of the senate, and sought to be released; and that when the king bade him sit down, and tell him who was the king, he said, "This is not a question of the law, but of..."
every one of which had by our law, a peculiar degree of separation from the rest. Into the first court every body was allowed to go, even foreigners, and none but women, during their courses, were excluded from the rest. Yet this very day the Jews went into the second court, as well as their wives, when they were free from all uncleanness; into the third went the Jewish men when they were clean and purified; into the fourth went the priests, having on their sacerdotal garments; but for the most sacred place, none went in but the high priests clothed in their peculiar garments.

Now, it may seem there is no such city as Dora; but there are offices of religion, that the priests are appointed to go into the temple but at certain hours; for in the morning, at the opening of the inner temple, those that are to officiate receive the sacrifices, as they do again at noon, till the doors are shut. Lastly, it is not so much as lawful to carry any vessel into the holy house, nor is there anything there by bowld, the censer, and the candlestick, which are all written in the law; for there is nothing farther there, nor are there any mysteries periphrastic to have been spoken of, nor any fasting. For the place where I have now said is publicly known, and supported by the testimony of the whole people, and their opening the temple in the days of the feast; and the word of the Lord is that a holy house was seventy cubits high, and twenty cubits broad; they were all plated over with gold, and almost of solid gold itself; and there were no fewer than twenty thousand men that had no law to ever leave them open, though it seems this lamp-bearer of ours opened them easily, or thought he opened them, as he thought he had the ass's head in his hand. Whether, therefore, he returned it to us again, or whether Apion took it and brought it into the temple again, that Antiochus might find it, and afford a handle for a second false of Apion's, is uncertain.

9. What then can we say of Apion, but that he is wandering in that concerned these things, while still he uttered incredible words about them; but it is a great shame for a grammarian not to be able to write true history. Now, if he knew, to say na, we are not allowed to offer such things at the altar, except what is prepared for the sacrifices.

10. Nay, this miracle of piety derides us further, and adds the following pretended facts to his former fable; for he says, that this man related, as he said, the Jews, and promised that he would deliver Apollo, the god of Dora, into their hands, and that he would come to our temple, if they would all come up with him, and bring the whole multitude of the Jews with them; that Zabidis made him a certain wooden instrument, and put it round about him, and set three rows of lamps therein, and walked after it, and saw the moon, and thus appeared to those that stood a great kind of star, and that the city of star walking upon the earth; that the Jews were terribly frightened at so surprising an appearance, and stood very quiet at some distance, and that Zabidis, while they continued so very quiet, went into the holy house, and carried off that golden head of an ass, (for so facetiously does he write,) and then did this man, that is himself, and Lyons on him a burden of foot-soldiers and lies; for he writes of no being, and not knowing the cities he speaks of, he changes their situation; for Idumea borders upon our country, and is near to Gaza, in which city as Dora, all being there, be, it is true, a city named Dora, in Phoenicia, near Mount Carmel, but it is four days' journey from Idumea. Now, then, why does this man accuse us, because we have not gods in common with other nations? If our forefathers were so easily prevailed upon to have Apollo come to them, and thought they saw him walking upon the earth, and the Greek who see those who have so many festivals, wherein they light lamps, yet at this rate, have never seen a candlestick? but still it seems that while we are not allowed to offer such things in the temple, but are only permitted there to be so many ten thousands of people, nobody met him. He also, it seems, even in a time of war, found the walls of Jerusalem desolate of soldiers. He has gone on with the rest; I omit the rest of his story. As for the rest of the holy house, with a view to gold, and almost of solid gold itself, and there were no fewer than twenty thousand men that had no law to ever leave them open, through it seems this lamp-bearer of ours opened them easily, or thought he opened them, as he thought he had the ass's head in his hand. Whether, therefore, he returned it to us again, or whether Apion took it and brought it into the temple again, that Antiochus might find it, and afford a handle for a second false of Apion's, is uncertain.

11. Apion also tells a false story, when he mentions an oath of ours, as if we 'were by God, the maker of the heaven, and earth, and sea, to bear no good will to any foreigner, and particularly to none of the Egyptians. For the story is that the law commanded that that oath should go into a place, whereunto the noblest men among the Jews are not allowed to enter unless they be priests. This, therefore, is the utmost degree of justice, as if a wronger, in order to avoid being guilty of, but on account of the calamities they were under; for as to the Grecians, we are rather remote from them in place, than different from them in our institutions; in so much that we have no enmity with them, or any jealousy of them. On the contrary, it hath so happened, that many of them have come over to our laws, and some of them have continued in their observance, although others of them had not courage enough to persevere, and so departed from them again; or did any body ever hear this oath sworn by us: Apion, or any one as such: Apion, only one who heard it, for he indeed was the first composer of it.

12. However, Apion deserves to be admired for his great prudence, as to what I am going to say, which is this, that "there is a plain mark among us, that we neither have just laws, nor worship God as we ought to do, because we are not governors, but are rather in subjection to Gentiles, sometimes to one nation and sometimes to another, and that our city has been liable to several calamities, while their city (Alexandria) had been of old time an imperial city, and not used..."

* Judges, in the Greek, by a gross mistake of the transcribers.

+ See the note of the transcribers. See Of the War, B. v. ch. v. sect. 4

† Two hundred, in the Greek, contrary to the twenty in the War, B. vii. ch. v. sect. 3
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

100 to be in subjection to the Romans." But now this man has better leave off his bragging, for every body but himself would think, that Apion said what he had said against himself; for there are very few nations that have had the good fortune to keep their own national peculiarities, but still the mutations in human affairs have put them into subjection under others; and most nations have been often subdued, and brought into subjection by others. Now for the Egyptians, perhaps they are the only nation that have had this extraordinary privilege, to have never served any of those monarchs who subdued Asia and Europe, and this on account, as they pretend, of their ignorance of Aposion, who had been so regard to the misfortunes of the Athenians, or of the Macedonians, the latter of whom were styled by all men the most courageous, and the former of whom were the most religious. I say nothing of such kings as have been famous for piety, particularly of one of them whose name was Creus, nor what calamities he met with in his city. But I will now mention the temple of Athems, of the temple at Ephesus, of that at Delphi, nor of ten thousand others which have been burnt down, while nobody cast reproaches on those that were inhabitants, but on the priests that were the actors therein. But now we have met with Apion, an accuser of our nation, though one that still forgets the miseries of his own people the Egyptians; but it is that Sosus, who was once so celebrated a king of Egypt, that hath blinded him: now we will not bring of our kings, David and Solomon, though they conquered many nations: actually we will let them alone. However, Apion is ignorant of what every body knows, that the Egyptians were servants to the Persians, and afterwards to the Macedonians, who were the lords of Asia, and were not better than slaves, while we have enjoyed liberty formerly; say, more than that, have had the dominion of the cities that lie round about us, and this nearly for a hundred and twenty years to day, until Pompey Magnus. And when all the kings every where were conquered by the Romans, our ancestors were the only people who continued to esteem their confederates and friends, on account of their fidelity to them. 13. But says Apion, "we Jews have not had any wonderful men amongst us, not any inventors of arts, nor any eminent for wisdom."—He then enumerates Socrates, and Zeno, and Cleantius, and some others of the same sort; and, after all, he adds himself, to which is the most wonderful thing of all that he says, and proves that he is a liar, because it hath such a citizen as he is in it; for he was the fittest man to be a witness to his own deserts, although he hath appeared to all others no better than a tricked mountebank, of a corrupt life, and still discourses; on which account one may justly pity Alexandria, if it should value itself upon such a citizen as he is. But as to our own men, 

we have had those who have been as deserving of commendation, and who are, as such as have perused our Antiquities cannot be ignorant of them.

14. As to the other things which he sets down as being to the prejudice of the Greeks, I shall let them pass without apology, that he may be allowed to be his own accuser, and the accuser of the rest of the Egyptians. However, he accuses them of beingGomorries, and for abstaining from swine's flesh, and lengthens at us for the circumscription of our private members. Now, as for our slaughter of tame animals for sacrifices, it is common to us and to all other men; but the case of Apion, that sacrifices are forbidden us, does not demonstrate himself to be an Egyptian; for had he been either a Greek or a Macedonian, (as he pretends to be,) he had not shown any masses ness at it, for those people glory in sacrificing whole hecatombs to the gods, and make use of those sacrifices for feasting; and yet it is not the world thereby rendered destitute of cattle, as Apion was afraid would come to pass. Yet, if all men had followed the manners of the Egyptians, the world had certainly been made desolate as to mankind, but had been filled full of the wildest sort of heathens, for which reason the Grecians, I say, nothing of such kings as have been famous for piety, particularly of one of them whose name was Creus, nor what calamities he met with in his city. But I will now mention the temple of Athems, of the temple at Ephesus, of that at Delphi, nor of ten thousand others which have been burnt down, while nobody cast reproaches on those that were inhabitants, but on the priests that were the actors therein. But now we have met with Apion, an accuser of our nation, though one that still forgets the miseries of his own people the Egyptians; but it is that Sosus, who was once so celebrated a king of Egypt, that hath blinded him: now we will not bring of our kings, David and Solomon, though they conquered many nations: actually we will let them alone. However, Apion is ignorant of what every body knows, that the Egyptians were servants to the Persians, and afterwards to the Macedonians, who were the lords of Asia, and were not better than slaves, while we have enjoyed liberty formerly; say, more than that, have had the dominion of the cities that lie round about us, and this nearly for a hundred and twenty years to day, until Pompey Magnus. And when all the kings every where were conquered by the Romans, our ancestors were the only people who continued to esteem their confederates and friends, on account of their fidelity to them. 13. But says Apion, "we Jews have not had any wonderful men amongst us, not any inventors of arts, nor any eminent for wisdom."—He then enumerates Socrates, and Zeno, and Cleantius, and some others of the same sort; and, after all, he adds himself, to which is the most wonderful thing of all that he says, and proves that he is a liar, because it hath such a citizen as he is in it; for he was the fittest man to be a witness to his own deserts, although he hath appeared to all others no better than a tricked mountebank, of a corrupt life, and still discourses; on which account one may justly pity Alexandria, if it should value itself upon such a citizen as he is. But as to our own men, 

"This notorious disgrace belongs peculiarly to the modern times, as every one is well acquainted with the old prophecies of the Jews, noted both section 4 already, and here, may be confirmed by the testimony of Todrach, an Egyptian of the time of Sestius, in his Journal, lib. 1, cap. 459. And thus this a transferable composition of the ancient production of God, by Ezek. xxix. 14, 15.—"But the Egyptians should be a house of which the Lord is the king" and there is no reason to suppose, that they should not have more abounds than the nations."

should not exist itself any more above the nations. However, he accuses them of beingGomorries, and for abstaining from swine's flesh, and lengthens at us for the circumscription of our private members. Now, as for our slaughter of tame animals for sacrifices, it is common to us and to all other men; but the case of Apion, that sacrifices are forbidden us, does not demonstrate himself to be an Egyptian; for had he been either a Greek or a Macedonian, (as he pretends to be,) he had not shown any masses ness at it, for those people glory in sacrificing whole hecatombs to the gods, and make use of those sacrifices for feasting; and yet it is not the world thereby rendered destitute of cattle, as Apion was afraid would come to pass. Yet, if all men had followed the manners of the Egyptians, the world had certainly been made desolate as to mankind, but had been filled full of the wildest sort of heathens, for which reason the Grecians, I say, nothing of such kings as have been famous for piety, particularly of one of them whose name was Creus, nor what calamities he met with in his city. But I will now mention the temple of Athems, of the temple at Ephesus, of that at Delphi, nor of ten thousand others which have been burnt down, while nobody cast reproaches on those that were inhabitants, but on the priests that were the actors therein. But now we have met with Apion, an accuser of our nation, though one that still forgets the miseries of his own people the Egyptians; but it is that Sosus, who was once so celebrated a king of Egypt, that hath blinded him: now we will not bring of our kings, David and Solomon, though they conquered many nations: actually we will let them alone. However, Apion is ignorant of what every body knows, that the Egyptians were servants to the Persians, and afterwards to the Macedonians, who were the lords of Asia, and were not better than slaves, while we have enjoyed liberty formerly; say, more than that, have had the dominion of the cities that lie round about us, and this nearly for a hundred and twenty years to day, until Pompey Magnus. And when all the kings every where were conquered by the Romans, our ancestors were the only people who continued to esteem their confederates and friends, on account of their fidelity to them. 13. But says Apion, "we Jews have not had any wonderful men amongst us, not any inventors of arts, nor any eminent for wisdom."—He then enumerates Socrates, and Zeno, and Cleantius, and some others of the same sort; and, after all, he adds himself, to which is the most wonderful thing of all that he says, and proves that he is a liar, because it hath such a citizen as he is in it; for he was the fittest man to be a witness to his own deserts, although he hath appeared to all others no better than a tricked mountebank, of a corrupt life, and still discourses; on which account one may justly pity Alexandria, if it should value itself upon such a citizen as he is. But as to our own men, 

we have had those who have been as deserving of commendation, and who are, as such as have perused our Antiquities cannot be ignorant of them.
and labour with fortitude, and for a contempt of death. And I beg of those that shall peruse this writing to bear in mind, that it is not my purpose to write an encomium upon ourselves, but I shall esteem this as a most just apology for us, and taken from those our laws, according to the manner of the learned and upright, a doctrine of the ear, I must confesse, the many and the lying objections that have been made against us. Moreover, since this Apollonius does not do like Apion, and lay a continued accusation against us, but does it only by state and by labours, I have no objections to make. In short, he accuses us of too great boldness, and madness in our conduct: as, he says, that we are the weakest of all the barbarians, and that this is the reason why we are the only people who have made no improvements in human life. Now I think I shall have then sufficiently disproved all these his allegations, when it shall appear that our laws enjoy the very reverse of what he says, and that we very carefully observe those laws ourselves. And if be compelled to make mention of the laws of other nations, that are condemned, and to detract from the whole mankind of which we have pretended to deprecate our laws in comparison of their own: nor will there, I think, be any room after that for the blacksmith, which is the usual title such laws ourselves, an epitome of which I will present to the reader, or that do not, above all men, continue in the observation of them.

To do good in the word of God, and not to fall backward: I would advance this, in the first place, that those who have been admirers of good order, and of living under common laws, and who began to introduce them, must have been the first, when they are better than other men, both for moderation, and such virtue as is agreeable to nature. Indeed, their endeavour was to have every thing that they ordained believed to be very ancient, that they might not be thought to imitate others, but might appear to have delivered a regular way of living to other men. Since, then, this is the case, the excellency of a legislator is seen in providing for the people's living after the best manner, and in prevailing with those that are to use the laws he ordains for them, to have a good opinion of them, and in obliging them to persevere in them, and to make no changes in them, neither in prosperity nor adversity. Now, I venture to say, that our legislator is the most of others, and that every place has been among the Greeks, and that he always used to persuade them of it, and that he is the character of our legislator: he was no impostor, no deceiver, as his revilers say, though unjustly, but such as they as they bring Minos to be, who have been among the Greeks, and who are no imitators after him: for some of them suppose that they had their laws from Jupiter, while Minos said, that the revelation of his laws was to be referred to Apollo, and his oracle at Delphi; whether they really thought they were so derived, or supposed, however, that they could persuade the people easily that so it was. But which of these it was who made the best laws, and which had the greatest reason to believe that God was their author, it will be easy, upon comparing those laws themselves together, to determine; for it is time that we come to that point. And without that which was a real proof of his resurrection, a resurrection being a most material event. See almost as strange a use of the like words viventur diebus, to persuade God, Ant. B. v. ch. v. sect. 9.

That is Moses really was, what the heathen legislators pretended to be, under a divine direction; nor does it appear that these were very recent revelations, such as the received, either in these legislatures or oracles, were mere deceptions of men, without any deismal impressions, nor that Josephus too, who has his own contemporary authors did still believe them to be supernatural.

This whole very large passage from [1] to [2], is corrected by Dr. Hudson, from Eusebius's citation of it, Prop. Evangel. viii. 3. which is here not a little different from the present MSS. of Josephus.
there are innumerable differences in the particular customs and laws that are among all mankind, which may briefly be reduced under the following heads: some legislators have permitted their governments to be under monarchies, others put them under oligarchies, and others under a single form; but one great obstacle to this has been that they had no regard to any of these forms, but he ordained our government to be what, by a strained expression, may be termed a theocracy. By sacrifice and the power of the gods, he subdued the whole world; and by persuading all the people to have a regard to him, as the author of all things that were enjoyed either in common by all mankind, or by each one of them individually, and that all that they themselves obtained by praying to him in his greatest difficulties. He informed them, that it was impossible to escape God's observation, even in any of our own sins; and the will of God, which is not to be impeached, and which people were prejudiced with other opinions beforehand. But our legislator, who made his actions agree to his laws, did not only prevail with those that were most religious to agree with the will of God, but so firmly imprinted this faith in the people upon all their posterity, that it never could be removed. The reason why the constitution of this legislation was ever better directed to the utility of all, than other legislations were, is this: that Moses did not make religion a part of virtue, but he saw and he ordained other virtues to be parts of religion; I mean justice, and fortitude, and temperance, and a universal agreement of the members of the community with one another; for all our actions and studies, and all our worldly ordinances (whether as a city or a state), have a reference to piety towards God; for he hath left none of these in suspense, or undetermined. For there are two ways of coming at any virtue of learning, and of the conduct of life; one is by instruction in words, the other by practical exercises. Now other lawgivers have separated these two ways in their opinions, and choosing one of those ways of instruction, or that which best pleased every one of them, neglected the other. Thus did the Pagan and the Christian practice by technical exercises, but not by words; while the Athenians, and almost all the other Greeks, made laws about what was to be done or left out, and reduced the exercises they thereto in practice.

18. But for our legislator, he very carefully joined these two methods of instruction together: he imposed both the verbal instruction, and the government of every one's diet, that he left nothing of the very smallest consequence to be done at the pleasure and disposal of the person himself; accordingly they all of them, and of all the laws they were supposed to obey, obtained by praying to him in his greatest difficulties. He informed them, that it was impossible to escape God's observation, even in any of our own sins; and the will of God, which is not to be impeached, and which times of rest should be interposed; that, by living under that law as under a father and a master, we might be guilty of no sin, neither voluntary nor of ignorance; for we did not suffer the guilt of ignorance to go on without punishment, but demonstrated the laws to be the best, and the most necessary instruction of all others, permitting the people to leave off their other worship, and their pollutions, and hearing the law, and learning it exactly, and this not once or twice, or oftener, but every week; which thing all other legislators seem to have neglected, and allowed time to pass.

19. And indeed the greatest part of mankind are so far from living according to their own laws, that they hardly know them; but when they have sinned, they learn from others that they have transgressed the law. Those also who are in the highest and principal posts of the government confess they are not acquainted with those who are supervisors of the law, or for their assessors in public administrations as profess to have skill in those laws: but for our people, if any body do but ask any one of them about our laws, he will most readily tell them all that he will tell his own name, and this in consequence of our having learned them immediately as soon as ever we became sensible of any thing, and of our having them as it were engraved on our souls. Our transgressors of them are but few, and it is impossible, when any do offend, to escape punishment.

20. But I say: the principal thing is that it principally creates such a wonderful agreement of minds amongst us all; for this entire agreement of ours in all our notions concerning God, and our having no different opinions concerning the worship of God, procures among us the most excellent concord of these our manners that is anywhere among mankind; for no other people but we Jews have avoided all discourse use to God that may not be pleasing every one of them, neglected the other. Thus did the Lacedaemonians and the Cretians teach by practical exercises, but not by words;
is affected, but some of the philosophers have been moosten enough to indulge such conclusions, while some of them have undertaken to use such words as entire take away the nature of God, as others of them have taken away his providence. Nor do we pretend that even amongst us any difference in the conduct of our lives, but all our works are common to us all. We have one sort of discourse concerning God, which is common to all whatsoever; nor is there amongst us any difference in the way of speaking concerning the conduct of our lives, that all other things ought to have piety for their own sakes, more so far from our women and servants themselves. 21. And indeed, hence hath arisen that accu- sation which some make against us, that we have made publicans or of new operations, or of new ways of speaking; for others think it a fine thing to persevere in nothing that has been delivered down from their forefathers, and to be attached to the sharpest wisdom when these men venture to transgress those traditions; whereas we, on the contrary, suppose it to be our only wisdom and virtue to do actions or nothing that are contrary to our origin; or to proceed from ours is a just and sure sign that our law is admirably constituted; for such laws as are not thus well made are convicted upon trial to well-worn sentences, or to be found out. 22. But while we are ourselves persuaded that our law was made agreeably to the will of God, it would be impious for us not to observe the same; for what is there in it that any body would change? and what can be invented that is better? or what can we take out of other people's laws that will exceed it? Perhaps some would have the entire settlement of our government altered. And where shall we find a better or more righte- ous constitution than ours? while this makes us esteem God to be the governor of the universe, and permit the priests in general to be the ad- ministrators of the principal affairs, and withal intrust the government over the other priests to the chief high priest himself; which priests our legislator, at their first appointment, did not advance to that dignity for their riches or, or any abundance of other possessions, or any plenty they had, as the gifts of fortune; but he intrusted the dispensation of human worship and to those that exceeded others in an ability to per- suade men, and in prudence of conduct. These men had the main care of the law and of the other wars, when conducting matters with them; for they were the priests who were ordained to be the spectators of all, and the judges in doubtful cases, and the punishers of those who were more condemned to suffer punishment. 23. What form of government then can be more truly than this? what more worthy kind of wor- ship can be paid to God than we pay, where the entire body of the people are prepared for reli- gion, where an extraordinary degree of care is required in the priests, and where the whole po- lity is so ordered as if it were a certain religious association, according to laws, when they with all the law, not to observe for a few days' time, and call them mysteries and sacred ceremonies, we observe with great pleasure and an unshaken resolution during our whole lives. What are the things then that we are commanded or forbidden? They are sim- ple and easily known. The first command is con- cerning God, and affirms that God contains all things, and is a being every way perfect and happy, self-sufficient, and all other beings are ob- scure. All materials, let them be ever so costly, are unworthy to compose an image for him, and all arts are unartful to express the notion we have of him. We can neither see nor think of any thing like him, nor is it agreeable to piety to form a resemblance of him. We see his works, the light, the heaven, the earth, the plants and the monstrous generations of animals, the productions of fruits. These things hath God made, not with hands nor, with labour, nor as wanting the assistance of any co-operation, but that he has willed that they should be made, and be good also, they were made, and became good immediately. All men ought to follow this being, and to worship him in the exercise of virtue; for this way of wor- ship of God is the most holy of all others. 24. There ought also to be but one temple for one God; for likeness is the constant foundation of agreement. This temple ought to be the seat of God of all men. His priests are to be continually about his worship, over whom he that is the first by his birth is to be their ruler perpetually. His holiness must be shown in sacrifices to God, together with those priests that are joined with him, to see that the laws be observed, to determine controversys, and to punish those that are convicted of injustice; while he that does not of them shall be subject to the same punishment as if he had been guilty of impiety towards God himself. When we offer sacrifices to him, we do it not in order to serve ourselves or be drunken; for such excesses are against the will of God, and would be an occasion of injuries and of luxury; but by keeping ourselves sober, orderly, and ready for our other occupations, and not to be more temperate than others. And for our duty at the sacrifices themselves, we ought, in the first place, to pray* for the common welfare of all, and after that our own: for we are made for fellowships one with another, and he who prefers the common good before what is peculiar to himself, is above all acceptable to God. And let our prayers and sup- plications be made humble and communion that he would give us what is good, (for he hath already given that of his own accord, and hath proposed the same publicly to all,) as that we may duly receive it, and by keeping it, may preserve it. Now the law has appointed several purifications at our sacrifices, whereby we are cleansed after a funeral, after what some- times happens to us in bed, and after accompanying with our wives, and upon many other occa- sions which it would be too long now to set down. And this is our doctrine concerning God and his worship, and is the same that the law appoints for our practice. 25. But then, what are our laws about mar- riage? That law owns no other mixture of sexes but that which he has appointed, of a man with his wife, and that this be used only for the procreation of children. But it abhors the mix- ture of a male with a male; and if any one do that, death is his punishment. It commands us also, when we marry, not to have regard to portion, nor to take a woman by violence, nor to per- suade her deceitfully and knavishly, but to de- mand her in marriage of him who hath power to- able, that although the temple of Jerusalem was built as the only place where the whole nation might come to offer their sacrifices, yet is there no mention of the sacri- fices themselves, but of prayers only, in Solomon's great and usual form of devotion at Jerusalem: 1 Kings viii. 2. And the law concerning the sacrifices in the Apostolical Constitutions, vii. 37, and of the War above, R. vii. ch. v. sect. 6. * We may here observe how known a thing it was among the Jews and heathens, in this and many other in- stances, where they solemnize such festivals, are not able to ob- serve for a few days' time, and call them mysteries and sacred ceremonies, we observe with great pleasure and an unshaken resolution during our whole lives. What are the things then that we are commanded or forbidden? They are sim- ple and easily known. The first command is con- cerning God, and affirms that God contains all things, and is a being every way perfect and happy, self-sufficient, and all other beings are ob- scure. All materials, let them be ever so costly, are unworthy to compose an image for him, and all arts are unartful to express the notion we have of him. We can neither see nor think of any thing like him, nor is it agreeable to piety to form a resemblance of him. We see his works, the light, the heaven, the earth, the plants and the monstrous generations of animals, the productions of fruits. These things hath God made, not with hands nor, with labour, nor as wanting the assistance of any co-operation, but that he has willed that they should be made, and be good also, they were made, and became good immediately. All men ought to follow this being, and to worship him in the exercise of virtue; for this way of wor- ship of God is the most holy of all others. 24. There ought also to be but one temple for one God; for likeness is the constant foundation of agreement. This temple ought to be the seat of God of all men. His priests are to be continually about his worship, over whom he that is the first by his birth is to be their ruler perpetually. His holiness must be shown in sacrifices to God, together with those priests that are joined with him, to see that the laws be observed, to determine controversys, and to punish those that are convicted of injustice; while he that does not of them shall be subject to the same punishment as if he had been guilty of impiety towards God himself. When we offer sacrifices to him, we do it not in order to serve ourselves or be drunken; for such excesses are against the will of God, and would be an occasion of injuries and of luxury; but by keeping ourselves sober, orderly, and ready for our other occupations, and not to be more temperate than others. And for our duty at the sacrifices themselves, we ought, in the first place, to pray* for the common welfare of all, and after that our own: for we are made for fellowships one with another, and he who prefers the common good before what is peculiar to himself, is above all acceptable to God. And let our prayers and sup- plications be made humble and communion that he would give us what is good, (for he hath already given that of his own accord, and hath proposed the same publicly to all,) as that we may duly receive it, and by keeping it, may preserve it. Now the law has appointed several purifications at our sacrifices, whereby we are cleansed after a funeral, after what some- times happens to us in bed, and after accompanying with our wives, and upon many other occa- sions which it would be too long now to set down. And this is our doctrine concerning God and his worship, and is the same that the law appoints for our practice. 25. But then, what are our laws about mar- riage? That law owns no other mixture of sexes but that which he has appointed, of a man with his wife, and that this be used only for the procreation of children. But it abhors the mix- ture of a male with a male; and if any one do that, death is his punishment. 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dispose of her, and is fit to give her away by the nearness of his kindred; but the Scripture probably could, both that we should not dissolve our own constitution, nor show any envious mind towards those that would cultivate a friendship with us. Accordingly, the legislator takes all those that have the use to observe our laws, so to do; and this after a friendly manner, as esteem ing that a true union, which not only extends to our own stock, but to those that would live after the same manner with us: yet does he not allow those that come to us by accident only, to be admitted into communion with us.

30. However, there are other things which our legislators ordain for and beforehand, which of necessity we ought to do in common to all men; as to afford fire, and water, and food, to such as want it; to show them the roads; nor to let any one lie unburied. He also would have us treat those that are esteemed our enemies with moderation; for he doth not allow us to set their country on fire, nor permit us to cut down those trees that bear fruit; any, further, he foresees he might spoil those that have been slain in war. He hath also provided for such as are taken captive, that they may not be injured, and especially that the captives be not sold into slavery. He hath taught us gentleness and humanity so effectually that he hath not despised the care of brute beasts, by permitting no other than a regular use of them, no matter for any other: but when some of them come to our houses, like suppliants, we are forbidden to slay them; nor may we kill the dams, together with their young ones; but we are obliged to shew them respect, and not kill those creatures that labour for mankind. Thus hath our lawgiver contrived to teach us an equitable conduct every way, by using us with moderation, and equally extending to us the same time he hath ordained, that such as break these laws should be punished, without the allowance of any excuse whatsoever.

31. Now the greatest part of offences with us are capital; as, if any one be guilty of adultery; if any one force a virgin; if any one be so impudent as to attempt sodomy with a male, or if, upon another's making an attempt upon him, he submits to be so used. There is also a law for slaves of the like nature, that can never be avoided. Moreover, if any one cheats another in measures or weights, or makes a known bargain and then breaks it, or cheats any other man, he is not deemed a thief, but is considered as one steal what belongs to another, and takes what he never deposited, all these have punishments allotted them; not such as are met with among other nations. He also provides that no person should ever be insulted by any attempts of unjust behaviour towards parents, or for impunity against God, though they be not actually accomplished, the offenders are destroyed immediately. H. never, the reward for such as live exactly according to the laws, is not silver nor gold; it is not a garland of olive branches or of smallice, nor any such public sign of commendation; but every good man hath his own science, which he wishes to see the law clearly understood, and his own interests served. And it is enacted that no one shall be guilty of such an action as to set up a law, by virtue of our legislator's prophecies, and the spirit of the security God himself affords such a one, be he never so callous. One who believes this affords him a true friendship, and it also forbids the revelation of secrets even though an enormity arise between them. If any judge take bribes, his punishment is death: he that overlooks one that offers him a petition, and this when he is able to relieve him, he is a guilty person. What is not by any one intrusted to another, ought not be required back again. No one is to touch another's goods. He that takes what he may not demand is guilty of theft; and when he has loaned things, and many more of the like sort, are the rules that unite us in the bonds of society one with another.

32. Nay, indeed, in case it had so fallen out, that our nation had not been so thoroughly known among all others as it is, and that they are, and ought to be, subject to our laws and had not been so open and manifest as it is, but that somebody had pretended to have written these laws himself, and had
us have put us to such deaths not out of their hatred to us when they had subdued us, but rather out of their desire of the knowledge of God, and had continued a long time in the firm observance of such laws as ours. I cannot but suppose that all men would admire them on a reflection on their thing contrary to their own laws, and that many men would wonder at us, if we are more courageous in dying for our laws than all other men are; for other men do not easily submit to the easier things in which they are instructed, by dar- ing with our hands, and eating but little, and being contented to eat and drink, not at random or at every one's pleasure, or being under invio- lable rules in living with the suffrages of those that are esteemed gods by other people, I am on account of the very name of God ascribed to them. But since our antagonists think to run us down upon the comparison of their religion and ours, it is not possible to keep silence here, especially while what I shall say to confute these men will not be now first said, but hath been already said by most of the highest reputation also: for who is there among those that have been admired among the Greeks for wisdom, who hath not greatly blamed both the most famous poets and most celebrated legis- lators, for spreading such notions originally among the body of the people concerning the gods? such as these; that they may be allowed to them; that they are begotten one by another, and that after all the kinds of generation you can imagine. They also distinguish them in their order in the places and ways they used; and the Lacedaemonians did seem to observe their laws exactly, while they enjoyed their liberty, yet that when they underwent a change of their fortune, they forgot almost all those laws; while we, having been under ten thousand changes that happened among the kings of Asia, have never betrayed our laws under the most pressing distresses we have been in: nor have we neglect- ed them either out of sloth or for a livelihood. Nay, if any one will consider it, the difficulties and labours laid upon us have been greater than when they are at peace, and yet the Lacedaemonians did not shun ploughing their land, nor exercised any trades, but lived in their own city, free from all such painstaking, in the same manner as the other men have all these e- xercises as might improve their bodies, while they made use of other men as their servants for all the necessary of life, and had their food pre- pared for them by others; and these good and humane actions they do for no other purpose but this, that by their actions and their sufferings they may be able to conquer all those against whom they make war. I need not add here, that they have not been fully able to observe their laws; for, not only a few single persons, but multitudes of them have in heaps neglected those laws and have delivered themselves, together with their arms, into the hands of their enemies.

33. Now, as for ourselves, I venture to say, that so one can tell of so many, nay, not more than one or two that have betrayed our laws, no- not out of fear of death itself: I do not mean such an easy death as happens in battles, but that which comes with bodily torments, and seems to be like that of a rotten tree, and of any living thing. Now I think those that have conquered * It may not be amiss to set down here a very remark- able testimony of the great philosopher Cicero, as to the preference of laws to philosophy. "I will," says he, "be a philosopher, when my food allowed me to." I prefer this little book of the Twelve Tables alone to all the volumes of the philosophers. 1

1 Or, we have observed times of rest and sorts of food allowed us [in] which we might be offended at. I prefer this little book of the Twelve Tables alone to all the volumes of the philosophers. 1

2 See Ant. R. iv. ch. xiii. sect. 10, and its note.
and lament and mourn for such their affections. But what is the grossest of all in point of lasci- viousness, is that the eldest is considered the master of all of them, and their amours; which how can it be other than a most absurd supposal, especially when it reaches to the male gods, and to the male children of those gods? Moreover, the chief of all their gods, and their first father himself, overlooks those goddesses whom he hath deluded and begotten with child, and suffer them to be kept in prison, or drowned in the sea. He is also bound up by fate, that he cannot save his own offspring, nor can he bear their deaths without shedding of tears. These are fine things indeed, as are the rest that follow. Moreover, the utterly true, are so impudently looked on in heaven by the gods, that some of them have confessed they sawed those that were found in the very act. And when the mother of them, who is their king also, hath not been able to restrain himself in the violence of his lust, from lying with his wife so long as they might know the heavenly deities are servants to men, and will sometimes be builders for a reward, and sometimes will be shepherds; while others of them, like malefactor, are kept in prison of beasts. And whatsoever persons are there who would not be provoked at such stories, and rebuke those that forgave, and condemn the great silliness of these actions, that is a great pity. For truly, others there are that have advanced a certain timorousness and fear, as also madness and fraud, and any other of the vilest passions, into the nature and form of things and have personal and whole cities, offer sacrifices to the better sort of them; on which account they have been absolutely forced to esteem some gods as the givers of good things, and to summon them from averted of evil. They also endeavoured to move them as they would the vilest of men, by gifts and presents, as looking for nothing else than to receive some great mischief from them unless they pay them such wages.

32. Wherefore it becomes our inquiry, what should be the occasion of this unjust management, and of these scandals about the Deity! And truly I suppose it to be derived from the impiety of the Athenian legislators in revoking all of the true nature of God; nor did they explain to the people even so far as they did comprehend of it, nor did they compose the other part of the polity; but left it to the natural settlements and regulations to the people for the admission of any foreign gods as they thought proper. The painters also, and statues of Greece, had therein great power, as each of them thus contrived a shape [proper for a god:] the one to be formed out of clay, and the other by making the bare picture of such a one. But those workmen that were principally admired, had the use of ivory and of gold as the constant materials for their new statues: whereby it comes to pass that some temples are quite deserted, while others are very much adorned and ornamented with all the rites of all kinds of purification. Besides this, the first gods, who have long flourished in the honours done them, are now grown old, [while those that flourished after them are fallen and] in their room as a second rank, that I may speak the most honourably of them that I can:] may, certain other gods there are, who are newly intro-duced, and who daily and hourly the gods, by way of digestion, have said already, and yet have left their place of worship desolate:] and for their temples, some of them are already deserted, and others are in a state of ruin, and built anew, according to the plans of men; whereas, they ought to have preserved their opinion about God, and that worship which is due to him, always and immutably the same.

37. But now this Appolonius Molo was one of those foolish and proud men. However, nothing that I know, nor that is observable in other poets, and real philosophers among the Greeks, nor were they acquainted with those frigid pretences of allegories, [which had been alleged for such things:] on which account they justly despised them, but have still agreed with us as to the true and becoming notions of God: whence it was that Plato would not have political settlements and admiss of any of the other poets, and dismis- ses even Homer himself with a gurand on his head, and with anointment poured upon him, and the because he should not destroy the right notions of God with his faulcy. Plato indeed imitated our legislator in this point, that he enjoined his citizens to have the main regard to the precept, that every one of them should learn their law, their institution. Now some say that they should not admit of foreigners intermixing with their own people at ran lorn; and provided that the commonwealth should keep itself pure, and committed to their own laws. Appolonius Molo did no way consider this, when he made it one branch of his accu- sation against us, that we do not admit of such as have such and such a form. Nay, others have fellowship with those that chose to observe a way of living different from ourselves; yet not this method peculiar to us, but common to all men. Moreover, the Lacedemonians continued in their way of exiling all their citizens that leave their own city, and leave to others to travel abroad, as suspects that those two things would introduce a dissolution of their own laws: and perhaps there may be some reason to blame the rigid so- verity of the Lacedemonians, for they thereby deprived the privilege of their city on no foreginers, nor indeed would give leave to them to stay among them; whereas we, though we do not think it fair to admit of those that desire to partake of ours, which I think I may reckon to be a plain indication of our humanity, and at the same time of our magnanimity.

38. But I shall say no more of the Lacedemo- nians. As for the Athenians, who glory in having made their city to be common to all men, whatever they are, behaving as behoved to the cities that have spoken the laws to all those who punished those that did but speak one word contrary to their laws about the gods, without any mercy; for on what other account was it that Socrates was put to death by them? For certainly he neither betrayed their city to its enemies, nor was he guilty of any sacrilege with regard to any of their temples; but it was on this account, that he was certain new orths, and that he ad- mitted of those that desire to partake of ours, which I think I may reckon to be a plain indication of our humanity, and at the same time of our magnanimity;
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at their mysteries. Protagoras also, who was thought to have written somewhat that was not orthodox, and that the gods had been seized upon and put to death, if he had not fled immediately away. Nor need we at all wonder that they thus treated such considerations, since they did not suffer even women also; for they very lately also a certain woman, because she was accused by somebody that she initiated people into the worship of strange gods, it having been forbidden so to do by one of their laws; and a capital punishment had been decreed to such as introduced a strange god; it being manifest, that they who make use of such a law, do not believe those of other nations to be real gods, of the consequence they have not allowed them- selves the advantage of more gods than they already had. And this was the happy administration of the affairs of the Athenians! Now, as to the Scythians, they take a pleasure in killing men, and suffer little from brute beasts: yet do they think it reasonable to have their institutions observed. They also slew Anacharsis, a person who was accused of his wisdom about the Greeks, when he returned to them, because he appeared to come fraught with Grecian customs; one may also find many to have been punished according to the same law. And to be sure Apollonius was greatly pleased with the laws of the Persians, and was an admirer of them, because the Greeks enjoyed the advantage of them, and the way of life was the same opinions about the gods which they had! This last was exemplified in the temples which they burnt, and their courage in coming and amidst eating and drinking they entered the temple; Apollonius has imitated all the Persian institutions, and that by his offering violence to other men's wives, and castrating his own sons. Now, we have a custom of instructing men, and of bearing abuse even a brute beast: and as for us, neither hath the fear of our governors, nor a desire of following what other nations have in so great esteem, been able to withdraw us from our own laws; nor have we exerted our courage in raising up wars to increase our wealth, but only for the observance of our laws: and when we with patience bear other losses, yet when any persons would compel us to break our laws, then it is that we choose to go to war, though it beyond our ability to pursue it, and bear the greatest calamities, and to sit down at table distributing of our wealth. Nay, what reason can there be why we should desire to imitate the laws of other nations, while we see they are not observed by their own legislators? And is it a reproach to the inhabitants of Athens, that our form of government suffers them not to associate with any others, as well as their contempt of marriage? And why do not the Eleusins and Thebans abolish that unnatural and impudent lust, which makes them lie with males? For they will not show a sufficient sign of their repentance of what they of old thought to be very excellent, and very advantageous in their practices, unless they entirely avoid all such actions for the time to come: nay, such things are still inserted into the body of their laws, and had once such a power among the Egyptians that they sacrificed to them themselves, such practices to the gods themselves as a part of their good character; and, indeed, it was according to the same manner that the gods married their other sisters. This the Greeks represented as an apology for their own absurd and unnatural pleasures.

39. I omit to speak concerning punishments, and how capable ways of escaping the grpe.}* Why should have been blamed some heathen legislators when they allowed so easy a composition for single fornication, as an obligation to marry the virgin that was corrupted, is hard to say, seeing he had himself truly foreseen that the latter was the one that has not entered them, nor need they be heard, and for corrupting (virgins?) they need only marry them; if the excuse they may have in denying the facts, if any one attempts to inquire into them: for amongst other nations it is a studied art, how men may transcend the bounds of their laws. But of our thing is permitted amongst us; for though we be deprived of our wealth, of our cities, or of the other advantages we have, our law continues immortal; nor can any Jew go so far from his own country as to be so affrighted at the severest lord, as not to be more affrighted at the law than at him. If, therefore, this be the disposition we are under, with regard to the laws... But of our thing is permitted amongst us, that our laws are most excellent; and if still they imagine, that though we so firmly adhere to them, yet are they bad laws notwithstanding, what penalties then do they deserve to undergo, who do not observe their own laws, which they esteem so far superior to theirs? Whereas, therefore, length of time is esteemed to be the truest touchstone in all cases, I would make that a testimonial of the excellency of our laws, and of that belief thereby delivered to us concerning God. For as there is no more time of judging in the case of another, if any one will but compare its duration with the duration of the laws made by other legislators, he will find our legislator to have been the ancient of all ages. 40. We have already demonstrated that our laws have been such as have always inspired admiration and imitation in all other men; nay, the philosophers of the earliest Greek philosophers. However genuine they observed the laws of their own countries, yet did they, in their actions and their philosophical doctrines, follow our legislator, and notwithstanding the friendly communication one with another. Nay further, the multitude of mankind itself have had a great inclination of a long time to follow our religious observances; for there is not a city of the Grecians, nor any of the barbarians, nor any nation whatever, whither our custom of resting on the seventh day hath not come, and by which our fasts, and lighting up lamps, and many of our prohibitions as to our food, are not observed; they also endeavour to imitate our mutual concord with one another, and the charity of our legislator towards men, so as to pension men to it, but it prevails by its own force; and as God himself pervades all the world, so hath our law passed through all the world also. So that if any one will but reflect on his own sect and his own family, he will have reason to give credit to what I say. It is therefore but just, either to condemn all mankind of indulging a wicked disposition, when they have been so desirous of imitating laws that are to them foreign and evil in themselves, rather than following laws of their own that are of a better character or else our own custom leave off their enmity against us. Nor are we guilty of any envious behaviour towards them when we honour our own legislator, and believe what he, by his prophetic authority, hath taught us concerning God. For though we shall not be able ourselves as to understand the excellency of our own laws, yet would the great multitude of those who desire to imitate them, justify us in greatly valuing ourselves upon their account. See Horob Cenntment, page 61. I am almost ready to suspect for that yepas, we should here read ypegau, and that corrupting wedlock, or other men's wives, is the crime for which these heathens wickedly allowed this composition to the money. 1 Or for corrupting other men's wives the same allowance.
JOSEPHUS'S DISCOURSE

41. But as for the [distinct] political laws by which we are governed, I have delivered them accurately in my books of Antiquities; and have only mentioned them now, so far as was necessary to my present purpose; without proposing to alter them, or to change the laws of other nations, or to make an encomium upon our own; but in order to convict those who have written about us unjustly, and in an impudent affectation of disguising the truth. And now I think I have sufficiently completed what I proposed in writing these books. For whereas our accusers have pretended, that our nation are a people of a very late original, I have demonstrated that they are exceeding ancient; for I have produced as witnesses thereto many ancient writers, who have made mention of us in their books, while they said no such writer had so done. Moreover, they had said, that we were sprung from the Egyptians, while I have proved that we came from another country into Egypt; while they had told lies of heathen and unrighteous, it is necessary to speak of it. Hades is a place in the world not regularly finished; a subterraneous region, wherein the light of this world does not shine. Therefrom it is evident, that in this region the light does not shine, it cannot be but there must be in it perpetual darkness. This region is allotted as a place of custody for souls, in which one righteous sentence shall deservedly be passed upon all men; when the unjust, and those that have been disobedient to God, and have given honour to such idols as have been the vain operations of the hands of men, as to God himself, shall be adjudged to this everlasting punishment, as having been the causes of desolation; while the just shall obtain an incorruptible and never-fading kingdom. These are now indeed confined in Hades, but not in the same place wherein the unjust are confined.

3. For there is one descent in this region, at whose gate we believe there stands an archangel with a host; which gate when those pass through that are conducted down by the angels appointed over souls, they do not go the same way, but the just are guided to the right hand, and are led with praises by the angels appointed over that place, unto a region of light, in which the just have dwelt from the beginning of the world; not constrained by necessity, but ever enjoying the prospect of the good things they see, and rejoicing in the expectation of those new enjoyments which will be peculiar to every one of them, and esteeming those things beyond what we have here; with whom there is no place of toil; no burning heat, no piercing cold; nor are any cries heard save the praises which the angels sing; and of the just, which they see always, smiles upon them, while they wait for the rest and eternal new life in heaven, which is to succeed this region. This place we call the bosom of Abraham.

4. But as to the unjust, they are dragged by force to the left hand by the angels allotted for punishment, no longer going with a good name, but as prisoners driven by violence; to whom are sent the angels appointed over them to reproach them, and threaten them with their terrible looks, and to thrust them still downwards. Now these angels that are set over these souls drag them into the neighbourhood of hell itself; who when they are hard by it, continually hear the noise of it, and do not stand closer to the vapour itself; but when they have a near view of this spectacle, as of a terrible and exceeding great prospect of fire, they are struck with a fearful expectation of a future judgment, and an effect punished thereby; not only so, but where they see the place [or choir] of the fathers and of the just, even hereby are they punished; for a shade deep and large is fixed between them; insomuch that a just man that hath compassed upon them cannot be admitted, nor can one that is unjust, if he were bold enough to attempt it.

5. This is the discourse concerning Hades, wherein the souls of all men are confined until a proper season which God hath determined, when he will make a resurrection of all men from the
CONCERNING HADES.

dead—not procurring a transmigration of souls from one body to another, but raising again those very bodies, which you Greeks, seeing to be dissolved, do not believe [their resurrection.] But learn not to disbelieve: for while you believe that the body is never eternally dissolved, and that it is immortal by God, according to the doctrine of Plato, and this in time, be not incredulous, but believe that God is able, when he hath raised to life that body which was made as a compound of the same elements, to make it immortal; for it must never be said of God, that he is able to do some things and unable to do others. We have therefore believed that the body will be raised for all things; although it be dissolved, it is not perished; for the earth receives its remains, and preserves them; and while they are like seed, and are mixed among the more fruitful soil, they flourish, and what is sown is indeed sown bare grain, but at the mighty sound of God the Creator, it will sprout up, and be raised in a clothed and glorious condition, though not before it has been dissoloved, and mixed [with the earth.] So that we have not rashly believed the resurrection of the body: for although it be dissolved for a time on account of the corruption, that never grows old, and is cast into the earth, as into a potter's furnace, in order to be formed again, not in order to rise again such as it was before, but in a state of purity, and also a whole creation of a known glory. And to every body shall its own soul be restored. And when it hath clothed itself with that body, it will not be subject to misery, but being itself pure, will enjoy its pure body, and rejoice with it, with which it having walked Righteous now in this world, and never having it as a snare. It will receive it again with great gladness. But, they receive their bodies not changed, nor freed from diseases or distempers, nor made glorious, but with the same diseases wherein they died; and such as they were in the world, the same shall they be when they shall be faithfully judged.

6. For all men, the just as well as the unjust, shall be brought before God the Word; for to him hath the Father committed all judgment, and be, in order to fulfill the will of his Father, shall come as judge, whom we call Christ. For Minos and Rhadamanthus are not the judges, as you Greeks do suppose, but he whom God and the Father hath glorified, concerning whom we have elsewhere given a more particular account, for the sake of those who seek after truth, having exercised the sovereign judgment of the Father towards all men, hath prepared a just sentence for every one, according to his works; at whose judgment-seat, when all the angels, and demons, and dead that stand, the just will send forth one voice, and say, JUST IN THIS JUDGMENT; the rejudicator to which will bring a just sentence upon both parties, by giving justly to those who have done well, an everlasting fruition, but allowing to the lovers of wicked works eternal punishment. To these belong the unquenchable fire, and that without end, and a certain fiery worm never dying, and not destroying the fire, but burning it out of the body with never-ceasing grief: neither will sleep give ease to these men, nor will the night afford them comfort; death will not free them from their punishment, nor will it be soothing, nor the prayers of their kindred profit them; for the just are not longer seen by them, nor are they thought worthy of remembrance. But the just shall receive glory by the same means, and the heavenly kingdom, in which there is no sleep, no sorrow, no corruption, no care, no night, no day measured by time, no sun, moon, stars, no alteration of seasons, no changes of heaven by necessity, and measuring out the

bonds and conversions of the seasons, for the better illumination of the life of aeternity, no moon decreasing and increasing, or introducing a variety of seasons, nor will she then moisten the earth; no burning sun, no Bear turning round the pole, no Orions, no stars, no common stars in the place of the creature, no constellations, no circumpolar stars. The earth will not then be difficult to be passed over, nor will it be hard to find out the court of paradise, nor will there be any arid and thirsty land, nor will the sun be so fearfully roaring as the sea, forbidding the passers to walk on it, even that it will be made easily passable to the just, though it will not be void of moisture. Heaven will not then be uninhabitable by men, and it will not be impossible to discover the way of ascending thither. The earth will not then be uncultivated, nor require too much labour of men, but will bring forth its fruits of its own accord, and will be well adorned with them. There will be no more generations of wild beasts, nor will the substance of the rest of the animals shoot out any more: for it will not produce men, but the number of the righteous will continue, and never fail, together with righteous angels, and spirits [of God], and with his word, as a choir of righteous men and women and spirits, in a happy and incorruptible state, singing hymns to God, who hath advanced them to that happiness, by the means of a regular institution of life; with whom the spirit shall be united, and shall infuse incorruption, as glorified by a splendid and pure spirit. It will not then be restrained by a bond of necessity, but with a lively freedom shall offer up a voluntary hymn, and shall praise him that made them, together with the angels, and spirits, and men, now freed from all bondage.

7. And now, if you Gentiles will be persuaded by these motives, and leave your vain imaginations about your pedigrees, and gaining of riches, and philosophy, and will not spend your time about subtleties of words, and thereby lead your minds into error, and if you will apply your ears to the hearing of the inspired prophets, the interpreters both of God and of his word, and believe in God, you shall both be partakers of these things, and obtain the good things that are to come: you shall see the ascent into the immense heaven plainly, and that kingdom which is there. For what God hath now concealed in silence [will be then made manifest.], "what neither eye hath seen, nor ear hath heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man, the things that God hath prepared for them that love him."
APPENDIX.

DISSERTATION I.

The Testimonies of Josephus concerning Jesus Christ, John the Baptist, and James the Just, vindicated.

Since we meet with certain important testimonies in Josephus the Jewish historian, concerning John the Baptist, the forerunner of Jesus of Nazareth, concerning Jesus of Nazareth himself, and concerning James the Just, the brother of Jesus; and since Josephus was the author of a free and impartial testimony, which is that concerning Jesus of Nazareth himself, hath of late been greatly questioned by many, and rejected by some of the learned as spurious, it will be fit for me, who have ever declared my firm belief that these testimonies were genuine, to set down fairly some of the original evidence and citations I have met with in those people who were conversant concerning them, and then to make proper observations upon that evidence, for the reader’s more complete satisfaction.

But before I produce the citations themselves concerning these three persons, I have thought proper to prepare the reader’s attention, by setting down the sentiments of perhaps the most learned person, and the most competent judge that ever was, as to the authenticity of Josephus, I mean of Joseph Scaliger. In the Prolegomena to his book De Emendationes Temporum, p. 17. “Josephus is the most diligent and the greatest lover of truth of all writers; nor can any be more safe to him, that it is more safe to believe him, not only as to the affairs of the Jews, but also as to those that are foreign to them, than all the Greek and Latin writers, and this, because his ideas and his compass of learning are everywhere conspicuous.”

The ancient Citations of the Testimonies of Josephus, from his own Time till the End of the Fifteenth Century.

About A. D. 110. Tacit. Annal. lib. xx. cap. 44.—Nero, in order to stifle the rumour, [as if he himself had set Rome on fire,] ascribed it to those people who were hated for their wicked practices, and called by the vulgar "Christians;” these he punished exquisitely. The author of this name was Christ, who, in the reign of Tiberius, was brought to punishment by Pontius Pilate the procurator.

About A. D. 147. Just. Marc. Dialog. cum Trypho, p. 230.—Trypho [Jew] knew that Jesus was slain from the dead, and ascended into heaven, as the prophecies did foretell it was to happen.

About A. D. 230. Orig. Comment. in Matth. p. 294.—This James was of so shining a character among the people, on account of his righteousness, that Flavius Josephus, when, in his twentieth book of the Jewish Antiquities, he had a mind to set down what was the cause why the people suffered such miseries, till the very holy house was demolished, he said, that these things befell them by the anger of God, on account of what they had dared to do to James, the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ: and wonderful it is that while he did not receive Jesus for Christ, he did nevertheless bear witness that James was so righteous a man. He says further, that the people thought that they suffered these things for the sake of James.

About A. D. 250. Contra Cels. lib. i. p. 35, 36. I would say to Celsus, who personates a Jew, that the celebrated Josephus, who baptized Jesus, that one that lived but a little while after John and Jesus, wrote, how that John was a baptizer unto the remission of sins. For Josephus, says he, in his eighteenth book of Jewish Antiquities, that John was the Baptist, and that he promised purification to those that were baptized. The same Josephus also, although he did not believe in Jesus as Christ, when he was inquiring after the cause of the destruction of Jerusalem and of the demolition of the temple, and ought to have said, that their machinations against Jesus were the cause of those miseries coming on the people, because they had slain Christ, who was foretold by the prophets, he, though as it were unwillingly, and yet as one not remote from the truth, says, “These miseries befell the Jews by way of revenge for James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus, that was called Christ, because they had slain him who was a most righteous person.” Now this James was he whom that genuine disciple of Jesus, Paul, said he had seen as the Lord’s brother; [Gal. i. 19.] which relation implies not so much nearness of blood, or the sameness of education, as it does the agreement of manners and precepts: In other words he says the denunciation of Jerusalem befell the Jews for the sake of James, with how much greater reason might he have said, that it happened for the sake of Jesus also.

About A. D. 350. Hist. Eclec. lib. i. cap. 11. Certainly the attestation of those I have already produced concerning our Saviour may be sufficient. However, it may not be amiss, if, over and above the use of Josephus, we seek a further witness; who, in the eighteenth book of his Antiquities, when he was writing the history of what happened under Pilate, makes mention of the things concerning him; and there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as had a peculiar love of truth; he drew over to him many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles: He was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at first did not forsake him; for he appeared unto them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had spoken of these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him; whence the tribe of Christians, famed from that time, is not extinct at this day.” If, therefore, we have this historian’s testimony, that he not only brought over to himself the twelve apostles, with the seventy disciples but many of the Jews and of the Gentiles also, he must manifestly have had somewhat in him extraordinary above the rest of mankind, for how otherwise could he have drawn over so many of the Jews and of the Gentiles, unless he performed admirable and amazing works, and used a method of teaching that was not common? Moreover, the scripture of the Acts of the Apostles bears witness, that there were about ten thousands of Jews, who were persuaded that he was the Christ of God, who was foretold by the prophets. [Acts xii. 22.]

About A. D. 350. Hist. Eclec. lib. i. cap. 11. Now the divine scripture of the Gospels make mention of John the Baptist as having his head cut off by the younger Herod. Josephus also concurs in this history, and makes use of Horodias by name, as the wife of his brother, whom Herod had married, upon divorcing his former lawful wife. She was the daughter of Aretas, king of the Arabians; and when Herodias he had parted from her husband while he was alive: on which account also, when he had slain John, he made war with Aretas, [Aretas made it both by sea and land, and pretended that he had been used dishonestly.] In which war, when it came to a battle, he says, that all Herod’s army was destroyed, and that he suffered the because of his wicked contrivance against John.
Moreover, the same Josephus, by acknowledging John to have been a most righteous man, and the Herodians, when they took him to be the Son of God, what is written in the Gospels. He also relates, that Herod lost his kingdom for the sake of the same Herodians, together with whom he was himself accused to Caesar by the council of the Jews, when he was at the city of Gaul. And this is his account in the eighteenth book of the Antiquities, where he writes this of John: some of the Jews thought that the Son of God [i.e. Jesus] was a prophet. Herod's army came from Greece, and that very justly, as a punishment for what he did against John, that was called the Baptist; for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and one who recommended the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness toward one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism, for that by this means the washing [with water] would appear acceptable to him, when they made use of it, not in order to the putting away [or the remission] of some sins [only], but for the purification of the body; supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness. Now when [many] of the people came in crowds about him, for they were greatly delighted in hearing his words, Herod was afraid that this so great power of persuading men might turn against him, and was therefore disposed to be disposed to do every thing he should advise them to, so he supposed it better to prevent any attempt of a mutation from him, by cutting off his head. This he did on the third day from the Passover; he then brought about, and the public should suffer, to repent [of such negligence]. Accordingly, he was sent a prisoner out of Herod's suspicious temper, to take vengeance on the son of him that had been mentioned, and was there put to death. When Josephus had said this of John, he makes mention also of our Saviour in the same history, after the following manner: so he, the Christ, Jesus, the wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure; he drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles also: he was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsook him, for he appeared to them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold these, and ten thousand other wonderful things, so that the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day. And since this writer, sprung from the Hebrews themselves, hath delivered these things to us in the eighteenth book of the Antiquities, most expressly acknowledges that Christ was slain by the Pharisees on account of the greatness of his miracles, and that John the Baptist was truly a prophet; and that Jerusalem was demolished on account of the slaughter of James the Apostle. Now, he wrote concerning our Lord after this manner: "At the same time there was Jesus, a wise man, if yet it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of those who willingly receive the truth. He had many followers both of the Jews and of the Gentiles. He was believed to be Christ. And when, by the envy of our principal men, Pilate had condemned him to the cross, yet notwithstanding, those who had loved him at first persevered, for he appeared to them alive on the third day, as the oracles of the prophets had foretold many of these and other wonderful things concerning him; and the sect of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day."
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showed that their settlement was nobler than can be described by words. Now, since he made their interest give place to truth, for he would not support the opinion of impious Jews. I think it hard to set down his words. What then does he say? "Now there was about that time one Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, who, in a certain sense, received the name of Jesus; he taught men, as each man received the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles: He was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the chief priests and elders, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them the third day alive again, as the divine prophets had said these and a vast number of other wonderful things concerning him: and the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day. Now I cannot but wonder greatly at this man's love of truth in many respects, but chiefly where he says, "Jesus was a teacher of men who received the truth with pleasure."

About A. D. 440. Sozomen. Hist. Ecles. Bk. i. ch. 1. —Cosimius, the son of Mathathias, a priest, a man of very great note both among the Jews and Romans, may well be a witness of credit, as to the truth of Christ's history; for he saw him a man, and being a doer of wonderful works, and a teacher of the word of truth. He names him Christ openly, and is not ignorant that he was condemned to the cross, and appeared on the third day alive; and that ten thousand other wonderful things were foretold of him by the divine prophets. He testifies also, that those whom he drew over to him, being many of them of the Gentiles as well as of the Jews, continued to love him; and that the tribe named from him was not then extinct. Now he seems to me by this his relation, almost to proclaim that Christ is true, for he appears to have been so affected with the strangeness of the thing, as to run as it were in a sort of middle way, so as not to put any indignity upon beholders in him, but rather to afford his suffrage to them.

About A. D. 510. Cosimius, Hist. Tripener. ii. sozomeno.—Now Josephus, the son of Mathathias, and a priest, a man of great nobility among the Romans, bears witness to the truth of Christ's history; for he dares not call him a man, as a doer of famous works, and a teacher of true doctrine, who appeared in Christ only; and is not ignorant that he was condemned to the cross, and appeared on the third day alive, and that an infinite number of other wonderful things were foretold of him by the holy prophets. Herod, as he testifies also, that there were then alive many whom he had chosen, both Greeks and Jews, and that they continued to love him; and that the sect which was named from him was by so means extinct at that time.

A. D. 640. Chron. Alex. p. 514.—Now Josephus also relates in the eighteenth book of Antiquities, how John the Baptist, that holy man, was beheaded on account of Herodias, the wife of Philip, the brother of Herod himself; for Herod had divorced his former wife, who was still alive, and had been his lawful wife; she was the daughter of Aratos, king of the Petreans. Therefore Herod had taken Herodias away from her husband, while he was yet alive, (on whose account he slew John also,) Aratos, king of the Petreans. In which war, he says, that all Herod's army was destroyed, and that he suffered a great calamity. It was on account of the wrath the name had been guilty of against John. The same Josephus relates, that Herod lost his kingdom on account of Herodias, and that with her he was banished. (P. 526, 572.) Now that our Saviour taught his preaching three years, is demonstrated both by other necessary reasons, as also out of the holy gospels, and out of Josephus's writings, who was a wise man among the Hebrews, &c.

[FOOTNOTE. P. 569. This is the event of the (Jewish) war, that Jerusalem was taken in the third (second) year of Vespasian, as after forty years since they dared to put Jesus to death: in which war, which worfully works the breach between the Christian Lord, and bishop of Jerusalem, was thrown down [from the temple,] and stain of them by stoning.

About A.D. 730. Georgius Syncellus Chron. p. 332.—These miseries befell the Jews by way of revenge for James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus that was called Christ, on the account that they had slain him, who was a just and good man, showed and declared so to be by divine grace, who gave aid to many by signs and miracles.

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The time uncertain. Maccabius in Acta Sanc-
Josephus, a priest of Jerusalem, and one that
wrote with truth the history of the Jewish af-
airs, bears witness that Christ, the true God,
was crucified on the third day, and rose again;
whose writings are deposited in the public library.
Thus he says: "Now there was about this time
Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a
man, for he was a doer of wonderful works,
a teacher of such men as receive the truth with
pleasure: he drew over to him both many of
the Jews, and many of the Gentiles also:
that is, of the chief men of the nation, and of
the principal men among us, had condemned
him to death, those that loved him at the first,
did not forsake him, for he appeared to them
alive again the third day, as the divine prophets
had foretold these, and ten thou-
sand other wonderful things concerning him.
And still the tribe of Christians, so named from
him, are not extinct at this day." Since there-
fore the writer of the Hebrews has engraved
this testimony concerning our Lord and Saviour
in his own books, what defence can there remain
for the unbeliever?

About A. D. 980. Rodens in vico Jesus.—We
have found Josephus, who hath written about the
taking of Jerusalem, (of whom Eusebius Fam-
iliar. p. 455, but by the Greek Historians, but by
the Latin Historians, speaking openly in his memoirs of
the captivity, that Jesus officiated in the temple with
the priests. Thus we have found Josephus saying:
"a man of ancient times, and not very long
after the apostles." &c.

p. 196.—Josephus does indeed write concerning
John the Baptist, and our Lord, as if he had slain John:
"and when Herod thought that the destruction of
Herod's army came from God, and that he was punished
justly for what punishment he inflicted on John,
that he made a marriage with the wife of his
brother, who was a good man, and commanded the Jews
to exercise virtue, both by righteousness towards
one another and piety towards God, and so to
come to baptism." But as concerning Christ,
xiii.—The city of the Jews was taken, and
the wrath of God was kindled against them; as also
Josephus witnesses, that this came upon them
on account of the death of Jesus."

287.—Josephus, in the eighteenth book of Anti-
quities, writes thus concerning our Lord and God
Jesus Christ, that there was about this time:
Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a
man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a
teacher of such men as receive the truth with
pleasure, who drew over to him many of
the Jews and many of the Gentiles: He was the
Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of
the principal men among us, had condemned
him to death, those that had loved him at first did
not forsake him, for he appeared to them the
third day alive again, as the divine prophets had
said these and ten thousand other wonderful
things concerning him, so named from him, are
not extinct at this day." &c.

About A. D. 1220. Glycas Annal. p. 294.—
Then did Philo, that wise man, and Josephus
flourish. This last was styled, "The Gospel of youth,
because he commended John who baptized our
Lord: and because he bore witness that Christ,
in like manner, was a wise man, and the doer of
great miracles; and that when he was crucified
he appeared the third day.

About A. D. 1140. Geopfius Vier-baccus Christ.
p. 368. &c. Eusebius, in the third book which relates,
that a very great war arose between Aratas, king of
the Arabians, and Herod, on account of the sin which
Herod had committed against John. Moreover
in the same Josephus writes thus concerning Christ:
"There was at this time Jesus, a wise man, if at
least he be lawful to call him a man, for he was
a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men
as receive the truth with pleasure, who drew
over to him many of the Jews, and many of the
Gentiles: He was Christ. And when Pilate, on
the accusation of the principal men of our nation,
deferred that he should be crucified, those that
had loved him from the beginning did not forsake
him, for he appeared to them the third day alive
again, according to what the divinely inspired
prophets had foretold, that these and immemora-
table other miracles should come to pass about
him. Moreover, both the name and sect of
Christians, who were named from him, continue in
being unto this day."
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told that these and innumerable other miracles should come to pass about him. And the famous name of Christians, taken from him, as well as their sect, do still continue in being.

"The same Josephus also affirms, that John the Baptist, a true prophet, and the Messiah of the Jews, that account one that was had in esteem by all men, was slain by Herod, the son of Herod the Great, a little before the death of Christ, in the castle of Machærus; not because he was afraid for himself and his kingdom, as the same author says, but because he had incestuously married Herodias the sister of Agrippa, and the wife of that excellent prince, his brother Philip."—About A. D. 1490. Trithumius Abbas de Script. Eccles. Josephus the Jew, although he continued to be a Jew, did frequently commend the Christians; and in the eighteenth book of Antiquities, wrote down an eminent testimony concerning our Lord Jesus Christ.

Observations from the foregoing Evidence and Citations.

I. The style of all these original testimonies belonging to Josephus is exactly the style of the authors he quotes, and especially the style about those parts of his Antiquities wherein we find these testimonies. This is denied by nobody as to the other, concerning John the Baptist and James the Just, the sect, which is now becoming universally undeniable as to that concerning Christ.

II. These testimonies therefore being confessedly and undeniable written by Josephus himself, and not by any passage while he should wholly omit some testimony concerning Jesus Christ; nay, while his testimonies of John the Baptist, and James the Just, are so honorable, and give them the highest character, it is also impossible, that this testimony concerning Christ should be other than highly honourable, or such as afforded him a still greater character also. Could the same author, who gave such a full and advantageous character of John the Baptist, the forerunner of Jesus of Nazareth, all whose disciples were by him directed to Jesus of Nazareth, as to the true Messiah, and all whose disciples became afterwards the disciples of Jesus of Nazareth, say nothing honourable of that Jesus of Nazareth himself? And this in a history of those very people by which he was born, and lived, and died, and that while the writer lived, but a little after him, in the same country in which he was born, and lived, and died. This is almost incredible. And further, could the very same author, who has given such a character to James the Just, and this under the very appellation of James the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, which James was one of the principal disciples or apostles of Jesus Christ, and had been many years the only Christian bishop of the believing Jews of Judea and Jerusalem, in the very days, and in the very country of this writer; could he, I say, wholly omit any, nay, a very honourable account of Jesus Christ himself, whose disciple and bishop this James must certainly was? This is also almost incredible. Hear what Josephus himself must have learned most from all of those who have lately inclined to give up the testimony concerning Christ, as it stands in our copies, for spurious, says upon this occasion: "If any one asks me, whether Josephus, and not omitted John the Baptist, the forerunner of Christ, nor James the disciple of Christ, and that therefore he could not have done the part of a good historian, if he had not given any account of these, I shall freely grant that Josephus was not entirely silent concerning Christ; nay, I shall further grant, that even Josephus was speaking of Christ, he did not abstain from the mention of his name, and for we are not to determine from that invidious hatred which the modern Jews bear to Christ what was the behaviour of those Jews, upon whom the miracles that were daily wrought by the apostles in the name of Christ impressed such horror."—

III. The famous clause in this testimony of Josephus concerning Christ, This was Christ, or the Christ, did not mean that this Jesus was the Messiah of the Jews, but that this Jesus was distinguished from all others of that name, of which there were not a few, as mentioned by Josephus himself, by the addition of the other name of Christ; or that the person was no other than he whom all the world knew by the name of Jesus Christ, and his followers by the name of Christians. This I esteem to be a better case, and that from the arguments following:

(1.) The Greeks and Romans, for whose use Josephus wrote his Antiquities, could not otherwise understand these words. The Jews indeed, and afterward the Christians, who knew that a great Messiah, a person that was to be Christ, the Anointed of God, and that was to perform the office of a King, a Priest, and a Prophet to God's people, might readily so understand this expression; but Josephus, as I have already noted, wrote here, not to Jews or Christians, but to the Greeks and Romans, whose Achaius, who knew of Jesus Christ, or Jesus, Christ, had founded a new and numerous sect, which was distinguished in the latter part of his own life, and were everywhere from whom he called Christians or Christians; in which sense alone could they understand these words of Josephus, and in which sense alone could Achaius, who was the first to call him Messiah, or Christ of God. He further seems to me to explain this his meaning in that other place, where alone he elsewhere mentions this name of Christ, that is, when upon occasion of the mention of James, when he was commissioned by Achaius, he calls him the Brother of Jesus, not that he was the true Messiah, or the true Christ, but only the Messiah called Christ.

(3.) It was quite beside the purpose of Josephus to declare himself here to be a Christian, or a believer in Jesus as the true Messiah. Had he intended so to do, he would surely have explained a name which he had given to the character word Christ, or on the Greek and Roman renders; he would surely have been a great deal fuller and larger in his accounts of Christ, and of the Christian religion; nor would such a declaration, at that time have benefited him, nor his nation, or his writings, to either the Greeks or the Romans; of his reputation with both which people, he is known to have been, in the writing of these Antiquities, very greatly solicitous.

(4.) Josephus' usual way of writing is historical and declarative of facts, and of the opinions of others, and of his own opinion, not so directly as is the case of his own opinion, unless we prudently gather it from what he says historically, or as the opinions of others. This is very observable in the writing of Josephus, and in particular so as to what he says of John the Baptist, and of James the Just; so that this interpretation is most probable, as most agreeable to Josephus' way of writing, in parallel cases.

(5.) This seems to be the universal sense of all the ancients without exception, who cite this testimony from him; and though they almost every where read it, they nowhere suppose Josephus to be still an unbelieving Jew, and not a believing Christian; nay, Jerome appears so well assured of this interpretation, and that Josephus did not
means to declare any more by these words a common opinion, that, according to his usual way of interpreting authors, not to the words, Jesus has not taken care particularly and clearly to preserve those histories to us. Thus, when we find that Josephus calls James the brother of Jesus, he perhaps confused them, because he has often, in his works, two more instances in his accounts of Josephus, now before u., he renders this clause cedebatur esse Christus, i.e. He was believed to be Christ. Now, however, it would seem to be otherwise understood when he made that inscription on the cross, This is Jesus, the King of the Jews. (a) which is well explained by himself elsewhere. He says, the words were put by the Jews on the cross, the scene of Christ. What shall I say of Josephus, who is called Christ? (b) And we may well as well prove from Pilate's inscription upon the cross that he hereby declared himself a believer in Christ, for the Roman King of the Jews, as we can from these words of Josephus, that he thereby declared himself to be a real believer in him, as the true Messiah.

IV. Though Josephus did not design here to declare himself openly to be a Christian, yet could he not possibly believe all that he here asserts concerning Jesus Christ, unless he were so convinced by the testimonies of the Ebionites then were, who believed Jesus of Nazareth to be the true Messiah, without believing he was more than a man; who also believed the necessity of the sacrifice of Christ, and other essential parts of the law of Moses in order to salvation for all mankind, which were the two main articles of those Jewish Christians' faith, though in opposition to all the other sects of Judaism in the first century, and in opposition to the whole Catholic Church of Christ in the following centuries also. Accordingly, I have elsewhere proved, that Josephus was no other in his own mind and consciousness than a Nazarene or Ebionite Jewish Christian; and have observed that this entire testimony, and all that Josephus says of John the Baptist, the Nazarene, and the Ebionites, as the sect of those Jewish Christians, is in opposition to all the rest of the apostles and their companions, exactly agrees to him under that character, and no other. And indeed to me it is most astonishing, that all our learned men, who have of late considered these testimonies of Josephus, except the converted Jew Galatinus, should miss such an obvious and natural observation. We all ill argue that Josephus was not a Christian, and yet suppose we have his own words, (c) that so many ten thousands of the Jews as believed in Christ, in the first century, were all scelerae of the ceremonial law, or were not other than the Nazarenes and Ebionites. By Josephus' consequence, if there were any reason to think Josephus to be in any sense a believer, or a Christian, as from all these testimonies there was not the least probability that it was so; and other reasons, could not but conspire to assure us he was no other than a Nazarene or Ebionite Christian: and this I take to be the plain and evident key of this whole matter.

V. Since therefore Josephus appears to have been, in his own heart and conscience, no other than a Nazarene or Ebionite Christian, and, by consequence, with them rejected all our Greek gospels and Greek books of the New Testament, and received only the Hebrew gospel of the Nazarenes or Ebionites, styled them, The Gospels according to the Hebrews: or according to the two opposites, or even according to Matthew, we ought always to have that Nazarene or Ebionite gospel, with the other Nazarenes or Ebionite fragments in view, when we consider any passages of Josephus relating to Christ or to Christianity. Thus, since that gospel omitted all that is in the beginning of our St. Matthew and St. Luke's gospels, except the baptism: and Josephus, in the history of the Temple: in which first parts of the gospel history are the accounts of the slaughter of the infants, and of the enrolment or taxation under Augustus Cæsar and Herod, it is no great wonder that Josephus has not taken care particularly and clearly to preserve these histories to us. Thus, when we find that Josephus calls James the brother of Jesus, he perhaps confused them, because he has often, in his works, two more instances in his accounts of Josephus, now before u., he renders this clause cedebatur esse Christus, i.e. He was believed to be Christ. Now, however, it would seem to be otherwise understood when he made that inscription on the cross, This is Jesus, the King of the Jews. (a) which is well explained by himself elsewhere. He says, the words were put by the Jews on the cross, the scene of Christ. What shall I say of Josephus, who is called Christ? (b) And we may well as well prove from Pilate's inscription upon the cross that he thereby declared himself a believer in Christ, for the Roman King of the Jews, as we can from these words of Josephus, that he thereby declared himself to be a real believer in him, as the true Messiah.

VI. In the first citation of the famous testimony concerning our Saviour, from Tacitus, almost universally the Jews did not treat it as true of the Jewish Jesus; by him out of Josephus, as will be demonstrated under the third Dissertation hereafter.

VII. The second author I have alleged for it is Justin Martyr, one so nearly coneval with Josephus, that he might be born about the time that he wrote his Antiquities, appears to the same Antiquities by that very name; and though he does not here directly quote them, yet does he seem to me to allude to this very testimony in them concerning our Saviour, when he affirms in this place to Trypho the Jew, that his nation originally knew that Jesus was risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven, as the prophets did foretell was to happen. Since there neither now is, nor probably in the days of Justin was, any other Jewish testimony extant, which is so agreeable to what Justin here affirms of those Jews, as is this of Josephus the Jew before us; nor indeed does he seem to me to have had any thing else particularly in his view here: this, but this testimony that Justin reports from Josephus says, "That Jesus appeared to his followers alive the third day after his crucifixion, as the divine prophets had foretold these, and these things and other wonderful things concerning him."
VIII. The third author I have quoted for Josephus's testimonies of John the Baptist, of Jesus the Nazarene, of James the Just, is Origen, who is indeed allowed on all hands to have quoted him for the excellent characters of John the Baptist, and of James the Just, but whose subsequent discourse about the testimony of him concerning Christ is usually alleged as the principal argument against its being genuine, and particularly as to the clause, this was the Christ; and that, as we have seen, because he twice asserts, in his opinion, Josephus did not himself acknowledge Jesus for the Christ. Now as to this latter clause, I have already shown, that Josephus did not use these words in his copies, nor do they differ from the other copies in this clause, or indeed omitted it entirely, though not in his copies, but it must be supposed not to have had the rest of this testimony therein, though indeed I see no necessity of making any such supposal at all. However, it seems to me that Origen affords us four several indications that the main parts at least of this testimony itself were in his copy.

(1). When Origen introduces Josephus's testimony concerning James the Just, that he thought the miracles of the Jews were an instance of the divine vengeance on that nation for putting James to death instead of Jesus, he uses an expression no way necessary to his purpose, nor occasioned by any words of Josephus therein, that they had slain that Christ which is foretold in the Prophecies. Whence could this expression come here into Origen's mind, when he was quoting a testimony in Josephus concerning the brother of Christ, but from his remembrance of a clause in the testimony of the same Josephus concerning Christ himself, that the prophecies had foretold his destruction and the thousand other wonderful things concerning him?

(2). How came Origen to be so surprised at Josephus's ascribing the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, and of the murder of James the Just by the Jews, to their not to murder their Jesus, as we have seen he was, if he had not known that Josephus had spoken of Jesus and his death before, and that he had a very good opinion of Jesus, which yet he could learn no way so authoritatively as from this testimony? Nor do the words he here uses, that Josephus was not remote from the truth, perhaps able to say anything else but to this very testimony before us.

(3). How came the same Origen, upon another slight occasion, when he had just set down that testimony of Josephus concerning James the Just, the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, to any, that "it may be questioned whether the Jews thought Jesus to be a man, or whether they did not suppose him to be a being of a diviner kind?" This looks so very like the fifth and sixth clauses of this testimony in Josephus, that Jesus was a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a wise man, though it is highly probable he was living therein, alluded to them: and this is the more to be depended on because all the unbelieving Jews, and all the rest of the Nazarene Jews, esteemed Jesus of Nazareth as a wise man, as a measure of the wisdom of God, as Joseph and Mary, and it is not, I think, possible to produce any one Jew but Josephus, who, in a sort of compliance with the Romans and the catholic Christians, who thought him a god, would say any thing like his being a god. (4). Upon this, Josephus did not himself even, in the Jewish and Christian sense, that Jesus was Christ, notwithstanding his quotation of such eminences of Jesus as the Baptist, his forerunner, and for James the Just his brother, and one of his principal disciples! There is no passage in all Josephus so likely to persuade the Christian that he has in the testimony before us, wherein, as he and all the ancients understood it, he was generally called Christ indeed, but not any otherwise than as the name was common in the language of the Hebrews and Romans, mean any such thing by those words as Jews and Christians naturally understood by them: I have also observed, that all the ancients aside, and in the Jewish and Christian sense, acknowledge Jesus for the true Messiah, or the true Christ of God; notwithstanding their express quotation of those testimonies in Josephus as genuine, so that unless we suppose Origen to have had a different notion of these words from all the other ancients, we cannot conclude from this assertion of Origen, that he had not these words in his copy, not to say that it is, after all, much more likely that his copy a little differed from the other copies in this clause, or indeed omitted it entirely, though not in his copies, on his account, must be supposed not to have had the rest of this testimony therein, though indeed I see no necessity of making any such supposal at all. However, it seems to me that Origen affords us four several indications that the main parts at least of this testimony itself were in his copy.

IX. There are two remarkable passages in Suidas and Theophrastus, already set down, as citing Josephus; the former, that he was with the Jews at the time of the temple; and the latter, that the destruction of Jerusalem and miscarries of the Jews, were owing to their putting Jesus to death, which are in none of our present copies, nor cited thence by any ancient authors, nor indeed do they seem altogether consistent with the other more authentic testimonies. However, since Suidas cites his passage from a treatise of Josephus's called Memoirs of the Jews' captivity, a book never heard of elsewhere, and since both citations are not at all disagreeable to Josephus's character as a Nazarene or Essene, I dare not positively conclude that they are spurious, but must leave them in suspense, for the further consideration of the learned.

X. As to that great critic Photius, in the ninth century, who is supposed not to have had the testimony in his copy of Josephus, or else to have esteemed it spurious, because, in his extracts, out of Josephus's Antiquities, it is not expressed, that Josephus, in the last days of Jesus, and not to their murdering Jesus, as we have seen he was, if he had not known that Josephus had spoken of Jesus and his death before, and that he had a very good opinion of Jesus, which yet he could learn no way so authoritatively as from this testimony? Nor do the words he here uses, that Josephus was not remote from the truth, perhaps able to say anything else but to this very testimony before us.
of the advent, of those acts, and of the miracles of Jesus Christ, while yet never speaks of Josephus, for if he had done so, that there was not the like occasion here as there, but that Josephus had not wholly omitted that advent, those acts, or miracles, which yet he has done to Philius, and that for a purpose of science, as well as Justin of Tiberias, but in this famous testimony before us; so that it is probable Philius not only had this testimony in his copy, but that he himself is to be guarnisons the name of Clemens of Alexandria, who cites the Antiquities of Josephus, but never cites any of the testimonies now before us, it is strange thing at all, since he never cites Josephus but once, and that for a purpose of science only, to determine how many years had passed from the days of Moses to the days of Josephus; so that his silence may as well be alleged against a hundred other remarkable passages in Josephus's works as against those before us.

XI. As to the letter of Clement of Alexandria, who cites the Antiquities of Josephus, but never cites any of the testimonies now before us, it is strange thing at all, since he never cites Josephus but once, and that for a purpose of science only, to determine how many years had passed from the days of Moses to the days of Josephus; so that his silence may as well be alleged against a hundred other remarkable passages in Josephus's works as against those before us.

XII. Nor does the like silence of Tertullian imply that those testimonies, or any of them, were not in the copies of his age. Tertullian never once hints at any of Josephus's testimonies, for if he had done so, that there was the like occasion here as there, but that Josephus had not wholly omitted that advent, those acts, or miracles, which yet he has done to Philius, and that for a purpose of science, as well as Justin of Tiberias, but in this famous testimony before us; so that it is probable Philius not only had this testimony in his copy, but that he himself is to be guarnisons the name of Clemens of Alexandria, who cites the Antiquities of Josephus, but never cites any of the testimonies now before us, it is strange thing at all, since he never cites Josephus but once, and that for a purpose of science only, to determine how many years had passed from the days of Moses to the days of Josephus; so that his silence may as well be alleged against a hundred other remarkable passages in Josephus's works as against those before us.

Dissertation II.

Concerning God's Command to Abraham to offer up Isaac his Son for a Sacrifice.

Since this command to Abraham (f) has oft been greatly mistaken by some, who venture to reason about very ancient facts, from very modern notions, and this without a due regard to either the customs, or opinions, or circumstances of the times in which they lived; and this is, no less, to the true reasons of the facts themselves; since the mistakes about those customs, opinions, circumstances, and reasons, have of late so far prevailed, that the very same action of Abraham's, which was so celebrated by St. Paul, (g) St. James, (h) the author to the Hebrews, (i) Philo, (d) and Josephus, (j) in the first century, and by innumerable others since, as an uncommon instance of signal virtue, of heroic faith in God, and piety towards him; nay, is in the sacred (m) history highly commended by the divine Angel of the Covenant, in the name of God himself, and promised to be plentifully rewarded; since this command, I say, is now at last in the eighteenth century, become a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence among us, and that sometimes to persons of otherwise good sense, and of a religious disposition of mind also, I shall endeavour to set this matter in its true, i. e. in its ancient and genuine light, to sweep the reason away by a flood, the young innocent infants as well as the guilty old sinners; when he was pleased to destroy Sodom and Gomorrah by fire and brimstone from heaven, and to extirpate the main body of the Amorites out of the land of Canaan, as soon as their incivilities were full, (p) and in these instances included the young innocent infants, together with the old hardened sinners; when God was pleased to send an angel, and by his means to destroy 185,000 Ammonites, (n) the children, as we are told by Berosus the Chaldee, as well as by our own Gospels, (a) in the days of Hezekiah, most of whom seem to have had no other peculiarity guilt upon them than that common to soldiers in war, of obeying, without reserve, their king Sennacherib, his generals and captains; and when, at the plague of Athens, London, Naples, &c. so many thousands righteous men and women, with innocent babes, were swept away on a sudden by a fatal contagion; I do not remember that sober men have complained that God dealt unjustly with such as his creatures, in

(f) Gen. xiiil.
(g) Rom. iv. 16.—25.
(h) Heb. xi. 31, 32.
(i) Philo de Grec. p. 904.
(j) Jos. Antiq. B. i. c. xiii.
(k) Gen. xxil.
(l) Gen. xiii. 15—18.
(m) 1 Sam. xiv. 34.
(n) Rom. xi. 34.
(p) Gen. xiv. 16.
Dissertation 11.

dothing to seem so severely disapprobations: nor
are we certain when any such seemingly severe
discriminations are made or why such, nor do we know but what
shortening of the lives of men may sometimes be
the greatest blessing to them, and prevent or
put a stop to those courses of gross wickedness
which may be the ruin of a whole nation: nor do we
wonder at God's choosing and calling them to
the world to come; nor is it fit for such poor,
weak, and ignorant creatures as we are, in the present
state, to call our almighty, all-wise, and
good Creator and Benefactor to an account, or to
inquire about any such occasions; since we cannot but
acknowledge that it is He that hath made us, and
not we ourselves; (q) that we are nothing, and
have nothing, and are dependent on him; but that all we are, all we have, and all we hope for,
is derived from him, from his free and unmerited
bounty, which therefore he may justly take from us in what way soever, and whenever hepleases; all wise and good men still saying in
such cases, with the pious Psalmist, xxxix. 9, "I
was dumb, I opened not my mouth, because thou didst it," and with patient Job, i. 21, ii. 10, "Shall
we receive good at the hand of God, and shall
we not receive evil? The Lord gave, and the
Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the
Lord." For if otherwise, this shortening or taking
away the lives of men be an objection against
any divine command for that purpose, it is full as
strong against the present system of the world,
against the justice and providence of God in general, and against natural religion, which is
founded on the justice of that providence, and is
so peculiarly revealed to religion, or to the fact of
revelation, as far as we can now perceive it, is
much different from what was soon after the
days of Abraham thoroughly settled, after Job
and his friends' debates, by the inspiration of
Elihu, the son of Barac, of the family of Zophonai,
where the divine providence was at length ther-
oughly cleared and justified before all the world,
as it will be, no question, more generally cleared
and justified at the final judgment.

3. That till this profane age, it has also, I think,
been universally allowed by all sober men, that
a command of God, when sufficiently made known
to be so, is abundant authority for the taking
away the life of any person whomsoever. I doubt
both ancient and modern princes, generals of
armies, and judges, even those of the most reputa-
ted justice have not commands to take many men's
lives upon much less authority; nor indeed do the most sceptical of the moderns care
to deny this authority directly: they rather take
up the profession of arrogating somewhat more plausible; though it amount to much the same:
they say that the apparent disagreement of any command
to the moral attributes of God, such as this of the
slaughter of an only child seems plainly to be,
will be a greater evidence that such command
does not come from God, than any pretended
revelation can be that it does. But as to this mat-
ter, although divine revelations have now so long
ceased, that we are not well acquainted with the
manner of conveying such revelations with cer-
tainty to men, and by consequence the apparent
disregard of a command with the moral at-
tributes of God, ought at present generally, if
not constantly, to deter men from acting upon
such a pretended revelation, yet there was no
such uncertainty in the days of the old prophets
of God, or of Abraham, the friend of God, (r) who
are ever found to have had an entire cer-
tainty of those their revelations: and what evi-
dence of their circumstance is this, that the events and consequences of things after-
ward s.ways corresponded, and secured them of
the truth of such divine revelations. Thus the
king of Egypt was smitten, (s) calling to
Abraham not to execute this command, and the
performance of those eminent promises made by
the second voice. (t) On account of his clemency
to that command, are demonstrations that Ab-
raham互联网 of the divine and of his own
virtue, and are an entire justification of his con-
duct in this matter. The words of the first voice
from heaven will come hereafter to be set down
in a more clear and full manner. Here it is that
Abraham's obedience by the second voice
must here be produced from verse 15—18. And
the angel of the Lord called unto Abraham set
of heaven the second time, and said, By oath
have I sworn, saith the Lord; for because
he hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy
son, thine only son, from me, that in blessing
I will bless thee, and in making thy seed to
bear many nations; therefore shalt thou bless
thy seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand
which is upon the sea-shore; and thy seed shall
possess the gate of his enemies: and is thy seed
shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, be
cause thou hast obeyed my voice." Every one of
which promises have been eminently fulfilled; and,
and is chiefly remarkable, the last and
principal of them, that he hath promised that all the nations of the earth shall be blessed, was never
promised till this time. It had been twice pre-
sumed him, chap. xii. ver. 3, and xvii. 15, that
is, Abraham shall be a father of nations and
king of nations; but that this blessing was to belong to future
times, and to be bestowed by the means of one of his late posterity, the Mesians, that great Seed
of Abraham; not to himself and all his posterity, but
before; but on, such an amazing instance of his
faith and obedience, as this was his readiness to
offer up his only begotten son Isaac, was not the
first promise, but the second. 
And in the birth of Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of
David, the Son of Abraham, (u) which highly de-
serves our observation in this place; nor can we
possibly dispute, that this command came from God, could index
so good a man, and so tender a father as Abraham
was, to sacrifice his own beloved son, and to have
thereby the comfort he received from his present,
and all the expectation he had of a nume-
rous and happy posterity from him hereafter.

4. That long before the days of Abraham, he
demons or heathen gods had required and re-
cieved human sacrifices, and particularly that of
the offerer's own children, and this both before
and after the deluge. This practice had been
indeed observed in the sacrifice of animals there was confusion to
few kinds in the days of Herodotus, that they 
would not believe they had ever offered human
sacrifices. (v) and as the Jews, as if it were so, as if Hercules was sacrificed to Jupiter in Egypt
was feigned by the Greeks, who were entirely
unacquainted with the nature of the Egyptians,
and their laws; for how should they be so
men, with whom it is unlawful to sacrifice my
brute beast? (doves, and mules, and pure and
gander, only excepted.) However, it is
evident from Sanchoniatho, Manetho, Pausanius,
Diodorus Siculus, Philo, Plutarch, and Pausanias
that such sacrifices were frequent both in Phe-
nicia and Egypt, and that long before the days
of Abraham, as John Marrow and the Bishop
Cumberland have fully proved; nor, say, there
is any other places, (though not in Egypt,) this cruel
practice continued long after Abraham, and the
Israel so long; for in the Chronicles, p. 76—76,
"(w) Christian offered up his only begotten
son as a burnt-offering, to his father Omma-

in launch, whom the Phoenicians used
Israelite. (It could be II), and who was put into the
death consecrated unto the star Saturn, when he

(b) Philo. Bib. ad Xen. ad Xen. 76.
(c) Philo. Bib. ad Xen. 76.
was king of the country, and had by a nymph of that country, named Anobres, an only begotten son by that name; he, in his dread of very great dangers that lay upon the country from the heathen and idolatrous nations, and built an altar, and offered him in sacrifice.

"(g) The Phcenicians, when they were in great dangers by war, by famine, or by pestilence, sacrificed to Saturn one of the dearest of their people, whom they chose by public suffrage for that purpose. And Sanchoniathe's Phcenician history is full of such sacrifices. These hitherto I take to have been one before the other.

"(z) In Arabia the Dumaitii sacrificed a child every year.

"(a) They relate, that of old the [Egyptian] kings sacrificed such men as were called Jews, in the same colour with Typho in the sepulchre of Osiris.

"(b) Manetho relates, that they burnt Typho- nian men alive in the city Idithya, [or Idhiba] and scattered their ashes like chaff that is wind- nowed; and this was done publicly, and at a set season in the dog-days.

"(c) The barbarous nations did a long time after sacrifice to Saturn of children by a holy practice, and acceptable to the gods. And this thing both private persons, and kings, and entire nations, practise at proper seasons. Then it is that a sacrifice was enjoined by the Dodonaeon oracle, mentioned in Pausanias's Achæis, in the tragic story of Coresus and Callirrhoe, sufficiently intimate that the Phcenian nation had set up the Dodonaeon oracle before the time of Amonasius, who destroyed that barbarous practice in Egypt."


---Inqua adexit hac trivium dicta repetens:
Saugnina placenta, exoto, et virgines caras,
Cen primas Flaccas, Donat, vertit eis.
Saugnina quercundi redditas, animaque liemum
Arincet. (f)

He from the gods this dreadful answer brought,
O Gumus, when the Trojans above you sought.
Your passage with a virgin's blood was bought;
So must your safe return be bought again.
And Grecian blood once more assune the main.---Dryden.

These bloody sacrifices were, for certain, instances of the greatest degree of impiety, tyranny, and cruelty, in the world, that either wicked demons, or wicked men, who neither made nor performed sacrifices, had no right over them, nor were they able to make them amends in the next world for what they thus lost or suffered in this, should, after the inhuman murder of their parents and their children, go away, by their treachery, and particularly of the offerer's own children, without the commission of any crime. This was, I think, an atonement derived from him who was a murderer from the beginning; (f) a crime truly and properly diabolical.

5. That, accordingly, Almighty God himself, under the Jewish dispensation, vehemently condemned the Pagans, and sometimes the Jews themselves, for this crime: and for this, and other heinous sins, cast the idolatrous nations (nay, sometimes the Jews too) out of Palestine.

"They have shed blood, and evinced no pity to the least child among them: they live in misery, and are under the dominion of their enemies in all the nations are defiled which I cast out before you."

"(g) Thou shalt not let any of thy seed pass through the fire to Molech. Deceive not yourselves in the principal texts hereof relating, as they lie in order in the Old Testament.

"(h) Whosoever he be the children of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn in Israel, that offereth any of his seed to Molech, shall surely be put to death; the people of the land shall stone him with stones.

"Take heed to thyself, that thou be not seduced by following the nations, after that they be de- stroyed before thee, and that thou not follow after their gods, saying, How did these nations serve their gods? I even so will I do likewise. Thou shalt not so do unto the Lord thy God; for every man that doeth after the image of his god, the same god will he holocaust, and he will not favour them, but will destroy them."

See Deut. xxi. 10, 11; chap. xviii. 18; 2 Kings xvii. 17.

"(d) And Ahaz made his son to pass through the fire, according to the abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord cast out before the children of Israel.

"(d) Moreover, Ahaz burnt incense in the valley of the son of Hinnom, and burnt his children [his son in Josephus] in the fire, after the abomina- tions of the heathen, whom the Lord had cast out before the children of Israel.

"(d) And the Sepharvites burnt their children in the fire to Adramelech and Anamelech, the gods of Sepharvaim, &c.

"(d) And Josiah defiled Tophet, which is in the valley of the children of Hinnom, that no man might make his son or daughter to pass through the fire to Molech, &c.

"(y) Yes, they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto demons, and shed innocent blood, the blood of their sons and of their daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the heathen, and the land was polluted with blood.

See Isai. lvii. 5.

"(d) The children of Judah hath done evil in my sight, seeing they have set up the heathen abominations in the house which is called by my name to pollute it: and they have built the high places of Tophet, which is in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire, which I commanded them not, neither came it into my heart.

"(y) Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Behold I will bring evil upon this place, the which whomsoever heareth, his ears shall tingle, because they have forsaken me, and have estranged this place, and have burned incense unto other gods, whom neither they nor their fathers have known, nor the kings of Judah, and have filled this place with the blood of innocents. They have built also the high places of Baal, to burn their sons with fire for burnt-offerings unto Baal, which I commanded not, neither made it in my mind, &c.

"(y) They built the high places of Baal, which are in the vale of the son of Hinnom, to cause their sons and their daughters to pass through the fire unto Molech, which I commanded them not, neither came it into my mind that they should do this abomination to cause Judah to sin.

"(y) Moreover, thou hast taken thy sons and thy daughters, whom thou hast born unto me and these thou hast sacrificed unto them to be devoured. Is this of thy wondrous a small matter, that thou hast slain my children, and delivered them to cause them to pass through the fire for them?

See chap. xx. 25; 1 Cor. x. 20.

"(y) Thou hast debauched the old inhabitants of thy holy land for burnt offerings and sacrifices of incense and wicked sacrifices; and also these merciless murderers of children, and devourers of man's flesh, and the beasts of their blood, with their abominations and the abominations of all the land, and the parents that killed with their own hands souls destitute of help.

6. That Almighty God never permitted any one instance of any nation that sacrifice unto the Mo- sean sacrifice unto the Mo- sean sacrifice unto the Mo- sean sacrifice unto the Mo- sean sacrifice unto the Mo- sean sacrifice unto the Mo- sean sacrifice unto the Mo- sean sacrifice unto the Mo- sean sacrifice unto the Mo-
that Abraham could bind Isaac, in order to offer him in sacrifice, but by his own free consent, which has been a pother to many. The offering seems absolutely necessary in all such cases: and which free consent St. Clement, as well as Josephus, distinctly takes notice of. Abraham acted only under the divine command, and exhorting him patiently and joyfully to submit to it, he tells us, that "Isaac very cheerfully consented," and then introduces Abraham as saying before Isaac the divine command, and acquiescing in the proposal; and adds, that "he then immediately and readily went to the altar to be sacrificed." Nor did Jephthah (d) perform his rash vow, whatever it were, till his daughter had given her consent to it.

3. It appears to me that Abraham never despised entirely of the interposition of Providence for the preservation of Isaac, although in obedience to the command he prepared to sacrifice him to God. This seems to me intimated in Abraham's words to his servants on the third day (Gen. xiv. 16) which he was to offer his son Isaac; (e) "We will go and worship, and we will come again to you." As also in his answer to his son, when he inquired of him justly, and they to be me any, and to humble thyself to walk with thy God!"

It is true, God did here try the faith and obedience of Abraham to himself, whether they were as strong as the Pagan gods exhibited to their demons or idols, yet did he withal effectual care, and that by a miraculous intercession also, to prevent the execution, and provided himself a substitute as a saviour, to supply the place of Isaac immediately: (c) "And the angel of the Lord called unto Abraham, and said, Abraham, Abraham; and he said, Here am I. And he said, Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou any thing unto him; for now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me. And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and looked, and beheld, a ram caught in a thicket by his horns; and Abraham went and took the ram, and offered him up for a burnt-offering in the stead of his son."

Thus through his love, he had been taught to have vowed to offer up his only daughter and child for a sacrifice, and that as bound on him, upon supposition of his vow, by a divine law, he should not be a father of many nations, and that his name should be no longer Abram, but Abraham, because a father of many nations God had made him, &c. that Sarai his wife should bear a son named Sarah; that he would bless her, and give Abraham a son also of her; and that he would bless him, and she should become nations, and kings of people should be of her, &c. and that (g) in Isaac should his seed be called. And since withal it is here supposed, that Isaac was to be slain as a sacrifice, before he was married, or had any seed, God was, for certain, obliged by his promises, in these circumstances, to raise Isaac again from the dead; and this was an eminent instance of that faith whereby (b) Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness, viz. that if God should permit Isaac to be sacrificed, he would certainly and quickly raise him up again from the dead. (f) "from henceforth also he received him as the author to the Hebrews here justly observes.

10. That the firm and just foundation of Abraham's faith and assurance in God for such a re-establishment, was, besides the general considera-
Dissertation II.

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reason of the divine veracity, that during the whole time of his sojourning in strange coun-
yeas, and while the law had been called out of Chaldea or Mesopotamia at seventy-five years of age, he had (4) had constant experience of a special, of an overruling, of a presiding providence over him, till this his 125th year, which against all human views had continually blessed him, and enriched him, and, in his elder age, had given him first Isaias, and then Hagar, and lastly he had delivered him to the care of Ishmael, as his (5) son from his own body now dead, (6) and from the deadness of Sarah's womb, when she was past age, and when it ceased to be with Sarah, he, in a manner of speaking, had actually performed that and every other promise, how improbable soever that performance had appeared, he had ever made to him, and this during (7) his youth; and although (8) his first exit out of Chaldea, or of Mesopotamia, he might have been tempted to stagger at such a promise of God through unbelief, (9) yet might he have, in fifty years' stead of experience, become strong of faith, giving glory to God; as being fully persuaded, that (10) what God had promised, "the resurrection of Isaac," (11) he was both able and willing to perform.

11. That this is very clear, therefore, that God, if he permitted Isaac to be slain, would infa
tibly raise him again from the dead, entirely alters the result of the sacrifice, and gives the sacrifice (12) to the true God, from that of all other human sacrifices whatsoever offered to false ones, all those others being done without the least promise of product of such a resurrection; and this indeed takes away all pretence of injustice in the divine command, as well as of all inhumanity or cruelty in Abraham's obedience to it.

12. That, upon the whole, this command to Abraham, and this sacrifice, is such an example so very like an intention of God to typify or repre
tent beforehand in Isaac, "a beloved," or "only begotten son," what was to happen long afterward to the great "Son and Seed of Abraham," (13) the Messiah, the beloved and "the only begotten of the Father," whose day Abraham saw by faith beforehand, and rejoiced to see it: (p) etc. that he by the determinate counsel and foreknowl
dge of God should be crucified and slain, (q) as a sacrifice, and should "be raised again the third day," and this at Jerusalem also; and, that, in the first book of the Psalter, (r) (Psalm 118), (s) of sacrifices of rams, and the like animals, at the same city Jerusalem, that one cannot easily avoid the application. This seems the reason why Abra
ham wasX6 led to Isaac to sacrifice, not to Jerusalem, and why it is noted, that it was "the third day." (r) that he came to the place, which implies that the return back, after the slaying of the sacrifice, would naturally be "the third day" also: and why this sacrifice was not Ishmael "the son of the flesh" only, but Isaac the son by promise, (e) the beloved son of Abraham, and why Isaac was styled the only son, or only begotten son of Abraham, though he bad Ishmael besides; and why Isaac himself was to bear the wood on which he was to be sacrificed; and why the place was not other than the land of Moriah, (s) or vision, i.e. most probably a place where the Shechinah or Messiah had been seen, and God by him worshipped, even before the days of Abra
ham, and where lately lived, nay perhaps now lived, Melchisedek, the grand type of the Mes
ciah; (t) who might then possibly be present at the sacrifice,) and why this sacrifice was to be offered either in the name of Moriah, in the name of Moriah, where the temple stood, and where all the Mosaic sacrifices were afterward to be offered, as Josephus (v) and the generality suppose, or perhaps, as others suppose, that where the Messiah himself was to be offered, its neighbour Mount Calvary, (w) seems also the reason why the rams was substituted as a vicarious sacrifice instead of Isaac. These circumstances seem to me very peculiar and extraordinary, and to ren
der the present passage extremely probable. Nor perhaps did St. Cresent mean any thing else, when in his foretold passage, he says, that "Isaac was fully persuaded of what he knew was to come," and therefore "cheerfully yield
ed himself up for a sacrifice." Nor understand those that name of this place, Jehovah-Jirch, which continued till the days of Moses, and signified, God will see, or rather God will provide, seem to be given it by Abraham, on any other account, than that God would there, in the fulness of time, "provide himself a Lamb (that Lamb of God (w) which was to take away the sins of the world) for a burnt-offering."

But now, if, after all, it be objected, that how peculiar, and how typical soever the circum
cstances of Abraham and Isaac might be in them
delves, of which the heathens about them could have little notion, yet such a divine command to Abraham for slaying his beloved son Isaac, must however be of very ill example to the Gentile world, and that it press'd so far as to do injustice to God's public and miraculous prohibition of the execution of this command to Abraham, (which command itself the Gentiles would not then or ever be surprised at, because it was so like to their own usual practices,) as well as God's substitution of a vicarious oblation, seem to have been the very occasion of the immediate abolition, of the sacrifice of a child, and all sacrifices, among the neighbouring Egyptians, and of the substitution of more insuffusive ones there instead of them. Take the account of this abo
lition, which we shall presently prove was about the time of Abraham's offering up his son Isaac as it is preserved by Porphyry, from Manetho, the famous Egyptian historian and chronologer, which is also cited from Porphyry, by Euse
bius and Theodoret: "Amosis, (x) says Porphy
ry, abolished the law for slaying of men in He
liopolis of Egypt, as Manetho bears witness in his history. The Book of Antiquities, Amosis sacrificed to Jmno, and were examined, as were the pure calves, that were also sealed with them; they were sacrificed three in a day. In whose stead instead Amosis offered to Jmno at Luxor, of the same number, should be substituted."

Now I have lately shown, that these Egyptians had Abraham in great veneration, and that all the wisdom of these Egyptians, in which Moses was afterward taught, was derived from no other than from Abraham. Now it appears evidently by the foretold passage, that the first abolition of these human sacrifices, and the substitution of waxen images in their stead, and particularly at Hehiopolis, in the northeast part of Egypt, in the neighbourhood of Hieraebea, in the land of Palestine, where Abraham now lived, at the dis
tance of about a hundred and twenty miles only, was, in the days, and by the order of Temothos or Amosis, who was the first of the Egyptian kings, after the expulsion of the Phoenician she
phers. Now therefore we are to inquire, when this Temothos or Amosis lived, and compare his time with the time of the sacrifice. Now, if we look into our chronological table, published A. D. 1721, we shall find that the hundred and twenty-fifth year of Abraham, or which is all one, the twenty-fifth year of Isaac, falls into

(4) Gen. xli. 4.
(6) Rom. iv. 19.
(7) Rom. iv. 30, 31.
(8) John viii. 56.
(9) Gen. xli. 2, 4.
(10) Heb. xi. 17.
(11) Gen. xxii. 6.
(12) John xix. 17.
(13) Acts iii. 33.
(14) John i. 29.
(15) Mark, p. 301.
Dissertation II.

A. D. 2673, or into the thirteenth year of Tertullian's reign, which is beyond the period of his twenty-five years' reign; so that this abolition of human sacrifices in Egypt, and substitution of others in their room, seems to have been occasioned by the same prohibitions of such a sacrifice in the case of Abraham, and by the following substitution of a ram in its stead: which account of this matter not only takes away the ground of the gross assertion of his name as of the great reasonableness of the divine prohibition of the execution of this command to Abraham, as probably the direct occasion of putting a stop to the barbarity of the Egyptians in offering human sacrifices, and that for many if not for all generations afterward.

Dissertation III.

Tacitus's Accounts of the Origin of the Jewish Nation, and of the Particulars of the Last Jewish War; that the former was probably written in opposition to Josephus's Antiquities, and that the latter for certain almost all directly taken from Josephus's History of the Jewish War.

Since Tacitus, the famous Roman historian, who has written more largely and professedly about the origin of the Jewish nation, about the choreography of Judea, and about the wars under Cestus, Vespasian, and Titus, than any other old Roman historian; and since both Josephus and Tacitus were in favour with the same Roman emperors, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian; and since Tacitus was himself a plenish and writer of history at Rome, during the time, or not long after our Josephus had been there studying the Greek language, and reading the Greek books, and understanding it in his own manner in the same Greek language, which language was almost universally known at Rome in that age; and since therefore it is next to impossible to suppose that Tacitus could be unacquainted with the writings of Josephus, it cannot but be highly proper to compare their accounts of Judea, of the Jews, and of Jewish affairs, together. Nor is it other than very proper to compare these authors to us, as to moderns to me, how it has been possible for learned men, particularly for the several learned editors of Josephus and Tacitus, to be so very silent about this matter as they have hitherto been, especially when not only the correspondence of the authors as to time and place, but the likeness of the subject matter, and circumstances, is so very remarkable: nay, indeed, since many of the particular facts belonged peculiarly to the region of Judea, and to the Jewish nation, and are such as could hardly be taken by a foreigner from any other authors under the name of Josephus, this strange silence is almost unaccountable, if not inexcusable. The two only other writers whom we know of, whose such Jewish affairs might be supposed to be written by them, who never appear to have been in Judea himself, are Justus of Tiberias, a Jewish historian, contemporany with Josephus, and one Antonius Julianus, once mentioned by Manilius in his Octavius, sect. 33, as having written upon the same subject with Josephus, and both already mentioned by me on another occasion, Dissert. I. As to Justus of Tiberias, he could not be the historian whose Tacitus took his Jewish affairs, because, as we have seen in the place just cited, the principal passage in Tacitus of that nature, concerning Christ, and his sufferings under the emperor Tiberius, and by his procurator Pontius Pilate, was not there, as we know from the testimony of Photius, Cod. XXX. And as to Antonius Julianus, his very name shows him to have been not a Jew, but a Roman. He is never mentioned by Josephus, and so probably knew no more of the country or affairs of Judea than Tacitus himself. He was, I suppose, an epitomizer of Josephus, and so early as Tacitus, than an original historian himself before him. Nor could so exact a writer as Tacitus ever take up with such poor and almost unknown historians as these were, which he only sometimes mentions, and Josephus's seven books of the Jewish War were then so common; were in such great reputation at Rome; were attested to, and recommended

(by Vespasian and Titus, the emperors, tyrants of Syria, and Archelaus, and excepting the reign of Isai, and that for many if not for all generations afterward.)

Most of these stories are not merely groundless, and contradictory to one another, that they do not deserve

A serious contention. It is strange Tacitus could produce himself thus rudely to set down

History of the Jews.—Book V. Chap. II.

Since we are now going to relate the final period of this famous city [Jerusalem,] it seems proper to give an account in its original.

The tradition is, that the Jews ran away from the island of Crete, and settled themselves on the coast of Libya, and this at the time when Saturn was driven out of his kingdom by the prince Jupiter: an argument for it is fetched from the name. The mountain Ida is famous in Crete, and the neighbouring inhabitants are named Idae (τοῖς Ἰδαίοις), which, as they were, was the name of Judei Jews. Some say they were people that were very numerous in Egypt, and the reign of Isai, and that the Egyptians got in serious contention. It is strange Tacitus could produce himself thus rudely to set down
from that burden, by sending them into the adjacent countries, under their captains Hiero-

clymus and Pharnaces. Here they were those Ethiopians whom fear and hatred obli-
ged to change their habitations, in the reign of King Cephas. They were those who re-
presented the lot of their countrymen, their lands got together, and obtained part of Egypt,

and soon afterward settled themselves in cities of their own, in the land of the Hebrews, and the

nations of the other that lay nearest to them. Others pretend their origin to be more eminent, and that

the Solymi, a people celebrated in Homer's poems, were the founders of this nation, and gave

them the same name, Hieroelymus, to the city which they built there. (d)

Chap. III.] Many authors agree, that when a

once an infectious distemper was arisen in Egypt, and made men's bodies impure, Bœchoris their

king went to the oracle of Jupiter Hammon, and

begged he would grant him some relief against this evil; and that he was enjoined to

build a temple, and to maintain this kind of men into other countries as hateful to the gods. (e)

That when he had sought for, and gotten them all together, they were left in a vast desert: that

there was no place where they could worship God without sinning, and being in inac-

cessibility: but one of those exiles, Moses by name, advised them to look for no assistance from

any of the gods, or from any of mankind; since even the gods had become so wicked, and so

mischievous that he believed in him as in a celestial leader, (d) by whose help they had already gotten clear of

their present miseries. They agreed to it; and

then they began their journey. But do not,

nothing tire them so much as the want of water; and now they laid themselves down on the ground

exhausted: when as herd of wild asses came from feeding, and went to a rock overshadowed by a grove of trees.

Moses followed them, as conjecturing that there was [thereabouts] some grassy soil, and so he

opened large springs of water for them. (d) That

was an ease to them; and when they had jour-
neyed continually six entire days, (f) on the se-

venth day they drove out the inhabitants, and

obtained their lands, wherein their city and temple

were dedicated.

Chap. IV.] As for Moses, in order to secure the

nation firmly to himself, he ordained new rites,

and made proper separations to the men. All

things are with them profane which with us


are sacred; and again, those practices are allow-

ed among them which are by us esteemed most abominable. (g)

They place the image of that animal in their

most holy places, by whose indication it was that they had escaped their wandering condition and

were saved to their third. (h)

They sacrifice the rams by way of reproof to

Jupiter Hammon. An ox is also sacrificed, which the Egyptians worship under the name of

Apis. (i)

They abstain from swine's flesh, as a memori-

al of that miserable destruction which the mangle

of that which creature is liable, brought on them,

and with which they had been defiled. (j)

That they had endured a long famine they at

test still by their frequent fastings. (k) And that

they stole the fruits of the earth, we have an

argument from the name of the bread of the Jews, which is unleavened. (m)

It is generally supposed that they rest on the

seventh day, (n) because that day gave them

the rest of their institutions as the (first) rest of

their labours. Besides which, and they are idle on every seventh year, (o) as being

pleased with a lazy life. Others say, that they do not rest. (p) or perhaps the

day they为一体的, as we've been expellec,

together with Saturn, and who, as we have been informed, were the founders of this nation; or else it was

because the star Saturn moves in the opposite orbit, and of the seven planets exerts the principal part of that energy whereby mankind are
governed; and indeed most of the heavenly bodies exert their power, and perform their courses according to the number of seven. (q)

Chap. V.] These rites, by what manner soever they were first begun, are supported by their an-

cient antiquity. (r) The rest of their institutions are

awkward, (s) impure, and got ground by their pru-

vity; for every vile fellow, desiring the rights of his forefathers, brought thither their tribute and contributions, by which means the Jewish

commonwealth was augmented. And because

among themselves there is an unalterable fidelity and kindness, always ready at hand, but bit-

ter enmity towards all others; (t) they are a people separated from others in their food, and in

their beds; though they be the lowest nation upon earth, yet will they not corrupt foreign women. (u) and though nothing be esteemed un-

lawful among themselves.

They have ordained circumcision of the part

(1) The Jews had but one solemn fast of old in the

whole year, the great day of expiation.

(2) Unleavened bread was only used at the passover.

(3) It is very strange that Tactius should not know or

confess that the Jews' seventh day, and seventh year of rest, were in memory of the seventh, or Sabbath-year's rest, after the six days of creation. Every Jew, as well as every Christian, could have informed him of those matters.

(4) A strange hypothesis of the origin of the sabbatic year, and without all good foundation. Tactius probably had never heard of the Jews' year of Jubilees, so he says nothing of it.

(5) As if the Jews, in the days of Moses, or long before,

knew that the Greeks and Romans would long afterward

all the seventh day of the week Saturday's day; which Dio observes was not so called of old time: and it is a question whether before the Jews fell into idolatry, they ever heard of such a star or god as Ammon. Amos v. 15, Acts iv. 13.

(6) That the sun, moon, and stars, rule over the affairs of mankind, was a heathen and not a Jewish notion; nei-

ther Jews nor Christians were permitted to deal in astro-

logy, though Tactius seems to have been deep in it.

(7) This acknowledgment of the antiquity of Moses, and of his Jewish settlement, was what the heathen cared not always to own.

(8) What those pretended awkward and impure institu-

tions were, Tactius is very absurd. But, as he went away the body of histories he found no image there.

(9) These are only guesses of Tactius or of his heathen

interpreters. Butthey went into the midst of histories he found no image there.

(10) These are only guesses of Tactius or of his heathen

interpreters. But they went into the midst of histories he found no image there.

(d) These are only guesses of Tactius or of his heathen

interpreters. But they went into the midst of histories he found no image there.

(e) These are only guesses of Tactius or of his heathen

interpreters. But they went into the midst of histories he found no image there.

(f) These are only guesses of Tactius or of his heathen

interpreters. But they went into the midst of histories he found no image there.

(g) These are only guesses of Tactius or of his heathen

interpreters. But they went into the midst of histories he found no image there.

(h) These are only guesses of Tactius or of his heathen

interpreters. But they went into the midst of histories he found no image there.
used in generation, that they may thereby be dis-
tinguished from other people: the proselytes (w)
to their religion is always surrounded with trees, of various
kinds. They are taught nothing sooner than to despise
the gods, to renounce their country, and to have
their parents, children, and brethren, in the ut-
muber/mount; but still they take care to in-
crease and multiply, for it is esteemed utterly unlawfu1
for any of their children.

They also look on the souls of those that die
in battle, or are put to death for their crimes, as
eternal. Hence comes their love of posterity and
contempt of death.

They derive their custom of burying (g) in
subterranean tombs, from the Egyptians, to whom
they have also the same care of the dead with
them, and the same persuasion about the invis-
ible world below; but of the gods above, their
opinion is contrary to theirs. The Egyptians
worship abundance of animals, and images of
various sorts.

The Jews have no notion of any more than
the Divine Being, (c) and that known only by
the mind. They esteem such to be profane who
frame images of gods out of perishable matter,
and in the shape of men. That this Being is su-
persensible, and immortal, and unper-
rishable, is their doctrine. Accordingly, they
have no images in their cities, much less in their
temples: they never grant this piece of flattery
to a religion of false emperors. (a)

But because their priests, when they play on the
pipe and timbrels, wear ivy round their head;
and a golden vine has been found in their tem-
ple, and the Hebrew word for that word, thought that they worship.

And our father Bacchus, the conqueror of the East;
whereas the ceremonies of the Jews do not at all
agree with those of Bacchus, for he appointed rites
that were in the nature and spirit of the cele-
festivals, while the practices of the Jews are ab-
surd and sordid.

CHAP. VI.] The limits of Judea casterly are
bounded by Arabia: Egypt lies on the south; on
the west are Phoenicia and the [great] sea. They
have a prospect of Syria on their north quarter,
as at some distance from them. (c)

The bodies of the men are healthy, and such as
will bear the going about.

They have not many showers of rain: their
soil is very fruitful: the produce of their land is
like ours, in great plenty. (d)

The women besides ours, two trees pecu-
lar to themselves, the balsam tree and the palm
tree. Their groves of palms are tall and beau-
tiful. The balsam tree is not very large. As soon
as the fruit is made ripe, the vines and palm tree
fear, if you bring an iron knife to cut them.
They are to be opened with the broken piece of
a stone, or with the shell of a fish. The juice is
useful in physic.

(e) The proselytes of justice only, not the proselytes
of the gods.

(f) How does this agree with that unalterable fidelity
and kindness which Tuscumus has shewn towards the Jews.

(g) This is no other than the word of the Hebrews as the
days of Abraham, and the care of Machpulah, long
before the Jews went into Egypt. Gen. xxiii. 1—20.

...XV. 8.—10.

...These are very valuable consociations, which Tuscumus
here makes, so as to the natural society of the Jewish nation
in the midst of them. A man is an infinite, invisible God, and absolute
rejection of all idolatry, and of all worship of images,
any of these is found neither in Islamism, nor of all
sizes, and either from or above it is the temple.

All these consociations were to be learned from Joso-
ephus, and some of them on the day of his death by the
Tuscumus. Tuscumus took the form part of his character of
the Jews.

(f) This particular fact, that there was a golden vine in
the house of the Jewish temple, was in all probability in
linen by Tuscumus out of Josephus: but as the Jewish priests
were never adorned with ivy, the sign of Bacchus, how
then Tuscumus came to imagine this, I cannot tell.

Libanus is their principal mountain, and in very
high, and yet, what is very strange to be related,
and is permicious to the adjoining inhabitants by
from snow. The same mountain supplies the
river Jordan with water, and affords it its foun-
dtain also. Nor is this Jordan carried into the
river, but it is a formidable stream, but not
undiminished, but it is stopped by the third.

This third lake is vastly great in circumfe-
rence, as if it were a sea. (f) It is of an ill taste,
and is pernicious to the adjoining inhabitants by
its strong smell. 'The wind raises no waves
there, nor will it maintain either fishes or such
birds as use the water. The reason is uncertain,
that this lake is born up as by somewhat solid. Those who can,
and those who cannot swim, are equally borne
up by it. (g) At a certain time of the year it casts
out bitumen; (h) the manner of gathering it, like
other arts, has been taught by experience. The
liquor is of its own nature a black colour; and,
if you pour vinegar upon it, it clings together,
and swells with the same nature, and is called biter.
It is, take it into their hands, and pull it into the
upper parts of the ship, after which it follows,
without further attraction, and fills the ship full,
will you can cast it out with a brass or an iron instrument; but it can-
not bear the touch of blood, or of a cloth wet with
the menstrual purgations of women, as the su-
perior of the chief nubbin do. This liquor
travels with the place assumed that those waves of bit-
men are driven along, and by the hand drawn to
the shore, and when they are dried by the
sun, they are hardened and firm, and to have had many cities full of peo-
ple, (i) but to have been burnt up by a stroke of
lightning; it is also said, that the footsteps of
that destruction still remain, and that the earth
itself appears as burnt earth, and has lost its natu-
ral fertility; and that, as an argument thereof,
all the plants that grow of their own accord, or
are planted by the hand, whether they arrive at
the degree of an herb, or of a flower, or are
complete maturity, become black and empty, and as
it was vanished into ashes. As for myself, as I am
willing to allow that these once bitumen were
brings them from Josephus, Of the War, B. ii. ch. ii. sect. 2, 3, 4. The other
of Josephus. Of the War, B. ii. sect. 5, 6. The other
of Josephus. Of the War, B. iv. ch. ii. sect. 6.

These four branches of Josephus, of its furnaces derived
from Mount Lebanon, and of the two lakes it runs through,
and its stopping by the third, are more agreeable to
Josephus. Of the War, B. iii. ch. ii. sect. 7.

No less than 500 farings long and 120 broad, in Josephus,
Of the War, B. iv. ch. ii. sect. 6.

Josephus never says that the body of this bitumen was cast out
by the rivers of Lebanon, but Strabo says the di-
rect contrary, but Flavus agrees with Josephus.

This is evidently according to Josephus, but he has been
here makes it to the place of Judaea, and that
particularly because it is possible to him, so far as I know in all similitude. The rest thought the country in the
very mountain, and that there was a lake, but Mr. Ronan's opinions also.

...
Dissertation III

Annal.—Book XII.

But he that was the brother of Pallas, whose surname was Felix, did not act with the same moderation [as did Pallas himself.] He had been good while he was yet a Jew, and could not be guilty of all sorts of wickedness with impunity, while he relied on sure an authority. The Jews had almost given a specimen of sedition: and even after the death of that prince, who was now so known, and they had not obeyed his command, there remained a degree of fear, lest some future prince should renew that command, [for the setting up the proll in their temple, and in the mean time Felix, by the use of unseasonable remedies, blew up the coals of sedition into a flame, and was imitated by his partner in the government, Vespasianus Cumanus, thenceforth thus divided between them, that the nation of the Galileans were under Cumanus, and the Samaritans under Felix: which two nations were of old at variance, but now, out of contempt of their governors, did less restrain their hatred: they then began to plunder one another, to send in parties of robbers, to lie in wait, and sometimes to fight battalia, and to bring spoils and prey to the procurators, [Cumanus and Felix.]

Whereupon these procurators began to rejoice: yet when the mischief grew considerable, soldiers were sent to quell them, but the soldiers were killed; and the province had the fame of war, had not Quadratus, the president of Syria, afforded his assistance. Nor was it long before he disputed whether the Jews, who had killed the soldiers in the mutiny should be put to death; it was agreed they should die; only Cumanus and Felix occasioned a delay, for Claudius, upon hearing the causes as to this rebellion, had given [Quadratus] authority to determine the case, except to the procurators themselves: but Quadratus showed Felix among the judges, and took him into his seat of judgment, on purpose that he might discourse more easily as accusers. So Cumanus was condemned for those finishtig actions, of which both he and Felix had been guilty, and peace was restored to the province.

History.—Book V. Chap. X.

How vexed, the Jews had patience till Cevenus and Vespasianus was more secure himself. Utens was the time of war that the war began. Then Cestius Gallus, the president of Syria, attempted to appease it, and tried several battles, but generally with ill success.

Upon his death, whether it came by fate, or that he was weary of his life, is uncertain, Ves- pasian had the fortune, by his reputation and excellent officers, and the assistance of the Roman legions, to make himself master of all the Roman empire.

The next year, which was employed in a civil war [at home], so far as the Jews were concerned, passed over in peace. When Italy was peace, the care of foreign parts was revived. The Jews were the only people that stood out, which increased the rage of the Romans. It was also thought most proper that Titus should stay with the army, to prevent any accident or misfortune which the new government might be liable to.

Vespasian had put end to the Jewish nation: the siege of Jerusalem was the only enterprise remaining, which was a work hard and difficult, but rather from the nature of the mountain, set this matter almost right, according to Josephus, and several writers besides him by way of narrative, for the Account is in his name, which were written after this, which is in his history.

Here seems to be a great mistake about the Jewish affairs in Titus' Book, of the War, in part 3, where it is not true:

Josephus says nothing of the death of Cestius; so Titus seems to have known nothing in particular about it.

79
and the obstinacy of the Jewish superstition, than because the besieged had strength enough to un- dermine (for a siege). We have already in- formed the reader that Vespasian had with him three legions, well exercised in war. Histor. book ii. chap. 5.

Vespasian, it is said, was a very young man, it was promised him that he should arrive at the highest pitch of fame: but what did first of all seem to confirm the omen, was his triumphs, and con- stantly recurring stories of his victories over the Jews. When he had once obtained these, he believed it was portended that he should come to the empire. (p)

The empire is between Judea and Syria a mountain and a god, both called by the name of Carmel, though our predecessors have informed us that this god had no image, and no temple, and indeed no true worship. Hence, Vespasian was once offering a sacrifice there, at a time when he had some secret thought in his mind: the priest, whose name was Basaides, when he saw Vespasian, and set upon the altar, said, Vespasian, whatever thou art about, whether the building of thy house, or enlargement of thy lands, or augmentation of thy slaves, thou mayest seek a more mighty seat; very large bounds, and a huge number of men. The words were full of meaning, and were spread abroad about by fame, and at this time were explained: nor was any thing so much in public vogue, and very many discourses of that nature were made before him, and the more because they foretold what he expected. (q)

Mucianus and Vespasianus went away, having fully agreed on their designs: the former to An- tioch, the latter to Cesarea. Antioch is the capi- tal of Syria, and Cesarea the capital of Judea. The commencement of Vespasian's advancement to the empire was at Alexandria, where Tiberti- us Alexander made such haste, that he obliged the legions to take the oath of fidelity to him on the calends of July, which was ever after celebrated as the day of his inauguration, although (p) he was not at Alexandria, but at the mouth of the Nile, on the fifth of the nones of July, with that eagerness that they would not stay for his son Titus, who was then on the road, returning out of Syria, when B. Vespasian declared, to be the strongest part of his forces to Titus, to enable him to finish what remained of the Jewish war. Hist. book iv. chap. 51.

During these months in which Vespasian continued at Alexandria, waiting for the usual set time of the summer gales of wind, and stayed for settled fair weather at sea, many miraculous events occurred, by which the whole year, and a kind of inclination of the Deity in his favour, was declared.

A certain man of the vulgar sort at Alexan- dria, well known for his soothsaying, was told down by him and groaned, and begged of him the cure of his blindness, as by the admonition of Serapis, that god which this superstition nation had reverenced; and he also declared that the emperor would be pleased to put some of his spindle upon the balls of his eyes. Another in- firm man there, who was lame of his hand, pray-
He entered into the borders of the enemies’ country with these forces in exact order of war; and looking carefully about him, and being ready for battle, he pitched his camp not far from Jerusalem.

CHAP. X.] When, therefore, he had pitched his camp, as we said just now, before the walls of Jerusalem, he pompously showed his legions, citizens, and allies, a sight of the buildings of the city that he had purchased for money (6) leave to fortify Jerusalem; so they built walls in time of peace, as if they were going to war, they being augmented in number by the rude multitude that retired thither on the ruin of the other cities, for every obstinate fellow ran away thither, and there became more seditions than before.

There were three prodigies (c) at Jerusalem. Simon had the remotest and largest parts of the walls under him. John, who was also called Bar-Giorias, (the son of Giorias,) had the middle parts of the city under him; and Eleazar had fortified the temple itself. John and Simon were superi- or in multitude and strength of arms, Eleazar was superior by his situation, but battles, factions, and burnings, were common to them all and a great quantity of corn was consumed by fire. After a while John sent some who, under the pretence of offering sacrifices, might slay Eleazar and his body of troops, which they did, and got the temple under their power, and the city was now parted into two factions, until, upon the coming of the Romans, this war abroad produced peace between those that were at home.

CHAP. XI.] Such prodigies (c) occurred, as this nation, which is superstitious enough in its own way, would not agree to expiate by the ceremonies of the Roman religion, nor would they alone the gods by sacrifice, but as these were used to do on the like occasions. Armies were seen to fight in the sky, and their armour looked of a bright light colour, and the temple shone with such a flash of light as the closers. The doors of the temple were opened on a sudden, and a voice greater than human was heard, that the gods were retiring, and that the same time there was a great earthquake, as if they were going out of it, which some esteemed to be causes of terror. The greater part had a firm belief that it was contained in the old sacred temple books, that at this time the East would prevail, and that some that came out of Judea should obtain the empire of the world, which obscure oracle foretold Vespasian and Titus, but the germiny of the company was as usual, indulged their own inclinations, and when they had once interpreted all to forbode grandeur to themselves, adversity itself could not persuade them to change their observations.

They had a fountain of water that ran perpetually, and the mountains were hollowed under ground; there had moreover poops (c) and cisterns for the preservation of the rain water. They that built this city foresaw, that from the difference of their conduct of life from their neighbours they should have frequent wars; these it came to pass, that they had provision for a long siege. After Pompey’s conquest they feared their experience had taught them generally what they should want. (a)

Moreover, the covenanted temple of Jerusalem, undamaged, was as if it was received by that people that purchased for money (6) leave to fortify Jerusalem; so they built walls in time of peace, as if they were going to war, they being augmented in number by the rude multitude that retired thither on the ruin of the other cities, for every obstinate fellow ran away thither, and there became more seditions than before.

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they supposed they were to be carried away captive, they were more afraid of life than of death.

Against this city and nation Titus Cæsar resolved to make a breach, to lay waste the ramparts and ditches, and if the situation of the place did not admit of taking it by storm or surprise. He parted the duty among the legions; and there were no further anxieties expected until whatever had been invented for the taking of cities by the ancients, or by the ingenuity of the moderns, was got ready.

**ANNALE.—Book XV.**

Nero, in order to stifle the rumour, (as if himself had set Rome on fire,) accused it to the people who were hated for their wicked practices, and called by the vulgar, Christians: these he punished exquisitely. The author of this name was Christ, who, in the reign of Tiberius, was brought to punishment by Pontius Pilate, the procurator. (J) For the present this pernicious superstition was in part suppressed, but it brake out again, not only over Judea, whence this mischievous first spring, but in the city of Rome also, whither do run every quarter, and name what a torment and what a shame! (K) exulted the multitudes. At first, therefore, those were seized who confessed, after a vast multitude were detected by them, and were convicted, not so much as for setting the city on fire, but as for hating all mankind; say, they made a mock of them as they perished, and destroyed them by putting them into the skins of wild beasts, and setting dogs upon them to tear them to pieces; some were nailed to crosses, and others flamed to death: they were also used in the night-time instead of torches for illumination. Nero had offered Pliny's own garden for this spectacle. (L) He also gave them Circensian games, and dressed himself like the driver of a chariot, sometimes appearing among the common people, and sometimes himself, when a commissioation arose, though the punishments were levelling at guilty persons, and such as deserved to be made the most flagrant examples, as if these people were destroyed, not for the public advantage, but to satisfy the barbarous humour of one man.

N. B. Since I have set down all the vile calumnies of Tacitus upon the Christians as well as the Jews, it will be proper, before I come to my observations, to set down two heathen records in their favour, and those hardly inferior in antiquity, and of much greater authority than Tacitus; I mean Pliny's Epistle to Trajan when he was proconsul of Bithynia, with Trajan's answer or rescript to Pliny, cited by Tertullian, Eusebius, and Jerome. These are records of so great excellence that the last editor of Josephus, that he thinks they not only deserve to be read, but almost to be learned by heart also.

**PLINY'S EPISTLE TO TRAJAN,**

_Aboué_ 'A. D. 112.

Sir,—It is my constant method to apply myself to you for the resolution of all my doubts; for who can better govern my dilatory way of proceeding, if my ignorance has never been present at the examination of the Christians (by others,) on which account I am uneasiness with what uses to be inspired, and what, and how far, they use to be punished; nor are my doubts small, whether there be not a destruction of the things of the world, and of the things of the human body, to them, as the ancient Christians, but those they reckoned, and returned to idolatry, yet were they commonly put to death. This was persecution in perfection: (L) This was the just and heavy complaint of the ancient Christians, that they commonly suffered for that bare name, without the presence of any crimes they could prove against them. This was such gross and total injustice! (M) This was such oppression in its practice: (N) A most clear and evident doctrine: that a firm and fixed resolution of becoming a good conscience should be thought without dispute to deserve death, and this by such comparatively excellent heathens as Pliny and Trajan.

(2) This was the case of St. Paul, who being a citizen of Rome was allowed to appeal unto Cæsar, and was sent to Rome accordingly, Acts xxvii. 26—30; xxviii. 25; xxix. 24.

(3) Amazing stupidity! that the emperor's image was set up in the synagogues of the Jews, and that it was worship, even by such comparatively excellent heathens as Pliny and Trajan.
on account of the number (a) of those that are in danger; for there are many of every age, of every rank, and of both sexes, who are now and have been mistaken by the Jews, and to be in danger, for this superstition is spread like a contagion, not only in cities and towns, but into country villages also, which yet there is reason to hope may be repaired and corrected. To be sure, the temples, which were almost forsaken, begin already to be frequented; and the holy solemnities, which were long intermitted, begin to be revived. The sacrifices bids to sell well every where, of which very few purchasers had of late appeared; whereby it is easy to suppose how great a multitude of men might be amendment, if place for repentance be admitted.

TRAJAN'S EPISTLE TO PLINIUS.

My friend, you have taken the method which you thought best to call to account those Christians, who had been accused as Christians, for indeed no certain and general form of judging can be ordained in this case. These people are not to be sought for; accounts in these Antiquities, they are to be punished; but with this caution, that he who denies himself to be a Christian, and makes it plain that he is not so, by suppressing the name which he gave himself in former days, may be allowed pardon upon his representation. As for libels sent without an author, they ought to have no place in any accusation whatsoever, for that would be a thing of very ill example, and not agreeable to my reign.

OBSERVATIONS UPON THE PASSAGES TAKEN OUT OF TACITUS.

I. We see here what a great regard the best of the Roman historians of that age, Tacitus, had to the history of Josephus, while though he never names him, as he very rarely names any of those Roman authors whence he derives other parts of his history, yet does it appear that he refers to his seven books of the Jewish Wars several times in a very few pages, and almost always depends on his account of the Romans and Parthians, as well as of the Jews, during no fewer than two hundred and forty years, to which the books extend.

II. It cannot appear, that when he now and then followed other historians or reports concerning the Romans, the Parthians, or the Jews, during that long interval, he was commonly mistaken; for he is still utterly subservient to Josephus than hearken to any of his other authors or informers.

III. It also appears highly probable that Tacitus, the Antiquities of Josephus, and knew that the most part of the accounts he produced of the origin of the Jewish nation entirely contradicted those Antiquities. He also could hardly avoid seeing that the copies contradicted one another also, and were childish, absurd, and supported by no good evidence whatsoever; as also he could hardly avoid seeing that Josephus and Roman historians were authentic, substantial, and thoroughly attested to by the ancient records of that nation, and of the neighbouring nations also, which indeed, no one can avoid seeing that carefully peruses and considers them.

IV. Tacitus, therefore, in concealing the greatest part of the true ancient history of the Jews, as which lay before him in Josephus, and producing such fabulous, ill-grounded, and partial histories, which he had from the Heathens, acted a most unfair part; and this procedure of his is not, he knows, the reason; and he professed such great impartiality, [Hist. B. i. chap. 1.] and is allowed to have observed that impartiality in the Roman affairs also.

V. Tacitus's hatred and contempt of God's peculiar people, the Jews, and his charge that the greatest idolatry, superstition, and antural fallacy of the Romans, were therefore so strong in him, as to overbear all restraints of sober reason and equity in the case, is so true; though he allowed so exactly to have followed them on other occasions relating to the Romans.

VI. Since therefore Tacitus was so bitter against the Jews, and since he thought himself was a Jew, and that his apostles and first followers were Jews, and also knew that the Christian religion was derived into the Roman provinces from Judea; it is no wonder that his hatred and contempt of the Jews extended itself to the Christians also, whom the Romans usually confounded with the Jews; as therefore his hard words of the Jews impose him generally groundless, and hurt his own reputation instead of theirs, so ought we to esteem his unlike hard words of the Christians to be blots upon his own character, and not agreeable to my reign.

VII. Since therefore Tacitus, soon after the publication of Josephus's Antiquities, and in contradiction to them, was determined to produce much more idle stories, although the Jews, and since one of those idle stories is much the same that was published in Josephus, against Apion, from Marentho and Lysimachus, and no where else met with so fully in all antiquity, it is most probable that those Antiquities of Josephus were the very occasion of Tacitus giving us these stories, as we know from Josephus himself conf. Apion, B. i. sect. 1, that the same Antiquities were the very occasion of Apion's publication of such generally scandalous stories about them, and which Josephus so thoroughly confuted in these two books written against him. And if Tacitus, as I suppose the case was, had already from two or three years ago, dared in publishing such stories, after he had seen so thorough a confutation of them, was still more highly criminal. Nor will Tacitus's fruit be much less, though he was so gross, and he neither saw the Antiquities nor the books against Apion, because it was very easy for him, then at Rome, to have had more authentic accounts of the origin of the Jewish nation and the nature of the Jewish, and Christian religions, from the Jews and Christians themselves, which he owns were very numerous there in his days; so that his publication of such idle stories is still as much more than his own.

VIII. It is therefore very plain, after all, that notwithstanding the encomiums of several of our learned critics upon Tacitus, and hard suspicions upon Josephus, that upon Josephus and the inventory of the Antiquities and takes of Josephus, in all his large works put together, their quality as well as quantity considered, do not amount to near so great a sum, as do these gross errors and misrepresentations of Tacitus about the Jews amount to in a very few pages; so little reason have some of our later and lesser critics to prefer the Greek and Roman histories and writings to the Jewish, and particularly to Josephus. Such later and lesser critics should have learned more judgment and modesty from their great father Joseph Scaliger when, as we have seen, after all his deeper investigations, he solemnly pronounces, De Excens. Temp. Pristegum. p. 17, that Josephus was the most diligent and the greatest lover of truth of all writers; and is not afraid to affirm, that, "it is more safe to believe him, not only as to the affairs of the Jews, but also to those that are foreign to them, than all the Greek and Latin writers, and this in every instance of learning are every where conspicuous."

Thus in Bavaria, even in the beginning of that century, as is wholly undesirable.
TABLE OF THE JEWISH WEIGHTS, MEASURES, &c. AND PARTICULARLY THOSE MENTIONED IN JOSEPHUS'S WORKS.

### Of Jewish Measures of Length.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inches</th>
<th>Feet</th>
<th>Inches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cubit, the standard</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zerebeth or large span</td>
<td>10 1/2</td>
<td>0 10 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small span</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palm or hand's breadth</td>
<td>3 1/2</td>
<td>0 3 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inch or thumb's breadth</td>
<td>1 1/4</td>
<td>0 1 1/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digit or finger's breadth</td>
<td>0 3/5</td>
<td>0 3/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orygia or fathom</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>7 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezekiel's Canneh or reed</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>10 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabian Canneh or pole</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>14 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schoenus's line, or chain</td>
<td>1680</td>
<td>140 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sebah or Assar</td>
<td>12500</td>
<td>2500 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish mile</td>
<td>84000</td>
<td>7000 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stadium or furlong</td>
<td>8400</td>
<td>700 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fansang</td>
<td>253000</td>
<td>21000 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Of the Jewish Measures of Capacity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cub. Inches</th>
<th>Pints or Pecks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bath or Epha</td>
<td>207,324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corus or Chomer</td>
<td>6672 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sebah or Baton</td>
<td>269,911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto according to Josephus</td>
<td>226,228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hin</td>
<td>134,54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto according to Josephus</td>
<td>414,12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuber or Assar</td>
<td>91,728</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cah</td>
<td>44,859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Log</td>
<td>11 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nettres or Syrian arsin</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Of the Jewish Weights and Coins.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stater, Siclus, or shekel of the sanctuary, the standard</td>
<td>0 2 6</td>
<td>0 2 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bekah, half of the shekel</td>
<td>0 1 3</td>
<td>0 2 7 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drachma Attica, one fourth</td>
<td>0 0 7 1/2</td>
<td>0 1 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drachma Alexandrina, or Darchmon, or Adarchmon, one half</td>
<td>0 1 3</td>
<td>0 2 7 1/2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerah, or Obolus, one twentieth</td>
<td>0 0 1 1/2</td>
<td>0 2 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maneh, Mna—100 shekels in weight—21900 grains Troy</td>
<td>7 10 0</td>
<td>39 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talent of silver,—300 shekels</td>
<td>37 5 0</td>
<td>1655 66 3/4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drachma of gold, not more than</td>
<td>0 1 1</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shekel of gold, not more than</td>
<td>0 4 4</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daric of gold</td>
<td>1 0 4</td>
<td>4 51 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talent of gold, not more than</td>
<td>648 0 0</td>
<td>2689 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table of the Jewish Months in Josephus and others,

With the Syro-Macedonian Names Josephus gives them, and the Names of the Julian or Roman Months corresponding to them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hebrew Names</th>
<th>Syro-Macedonian Names</th>
<th>Roman Names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Nisan</td>
<td>Xanthicus</td>
<td>March and April</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Iyar</td>
<td>Artemesianus</td>
<td>April and May</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sivan</td>
<td>Desius</td>
<td>May and June</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Tamuz</td>
<td>Panemus</td>
<td>June and July</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Ab</td>
<td>Laos</td>
<td>July and August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Elul</td>
<td>Gorpiaus</td>
<td>August and September</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Tishri</td>
<td>Hyperberetseus</td>
<td>September and October</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Marhesevan</td>
<td>Din</td>
<td>October and November</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Chislev</td>
<td>Appellius</td>
<td>November and December</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Tebeth</td>
<td>Audimneus</td>
<td>December and January</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Shebat</td>
<td>Portius</td>
<td>January and February</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Adar</td>
<td>Dyscurus</td>
<td>February and March</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ve Adar, or the second Adar intercalated.
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A.M.
1 1404 ADAM created in the first year of the World; died A.M. 920.
120 3847 1326. Sixt born A.M. 1326; died in 1424.
2125 3725 1276. Sixt born A.M. 1276; died in 1325.
325 3679 325. 195 90. CALMAN born A.M. 325; died in 1235.
395 3609 352. 265 70. MAHALALEL born A.M. 360; died in 1296.
499 3544 430. 330 225. JARED born A.M. 460; died in 1422.
627 3351 627. 452 292. 227 56. METHUSALEM born 627; died 1654.
797 3110 774. 619 479. 414 223. LAMECH born A.M. 674.
930 3074 930. 803 647. 585 320. JACOB born A.M. 864; died in 1651.
997 3017 997. 792 645. 568 320. JACOB born A.M. 864; died in 1651.
1049 2962 1049. 817 654. 585 320. JACOB born A.M. 864; died in 1651.
1056 2948 1056. 821 734. 596 320. NOAH born A.M. 1258; died 1654.
1149 2864 1149. 996 745. 690 320. JACOB born A.M. 864; died in 1651.
1199 2819 1199. 910 773. 700 320. JACOB born A.M. 864; died in 1651.
1290 2714 1290. 895 830. 720 320. JACOB born A.M. 864; died in 1651.
1422 2528 1422. 962 912. 690 320. JACOB born A.M. 864; died in 1651.
1535 2446 1535. 871 947. 566 320. JACOB born A.M. 864; died in 1651.
1651 2323 1651. 996 930. 720 320. JACOB born A.M. 864; died in 1651.
1656 2248 1656. 962 912. 690 320. JACOB born A.M. 864; died in 1651.

THE DELUGE.

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<th>PEZRON, (following the Septuagint.)</th>
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<td>1556</td>
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<td>2003</td>
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<td>1921</td>
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<td>4. The Exodus of Israel.</td>
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<td>893</td>
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<td>780</td>
<td>667</td>
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<td>4004</td>
<td>2349</td>
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<td>Total number of Years.</td>
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