THE WORKS OF

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

CONTAINING,

I. The Life of Josephus, as written by himself.
II. The Antiquities of the Jewish People; with a Defence of those Antiquities, in Answer to Apion.
III. The History of the Martyrdom of the Maccabees; and the Wars of the Jews, with the neighbouring Nations, till the final Destruction of Jerusalem by the Roman Power.
IV. Account of Philo's Embassy from the Jews of Alexandria to the Emperor Caius Caligula.

The Whole newly Translated from the Original Greek,

By Ebenezer Thompson, D.D. and William Charles Price, LL.D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME THE FIRST.
PREFACE.

The sacred Scriptures excepted, there are no writings extant of equal authority with those of FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS; nor any which exhibit such incontestible evidence in favour of the Truths of Christianity. An instance, perhaps, cannot be produced, wherein the most obstinate Disbelievers have not been struck with, at least, a temporary conviction, on perusal of our ancient and learned historian; and when people begin to doubt on the important article of religion, they will deliberately examine into the foundation of their principles, and carefully separate truth from falsehood: whence it may be inferred, that the work in question has caused more converts to the doctrines of the OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT than the united labours of every other profane writer.

Finding the works of JOSEPHUS to be out of print, and lamenting that a production so extensively useful, and at the same time, so agreeably instructive, should, in a great measure, be lost to the public, it became a point of duty as well as of inclination with us, to restore to them so invaluable a treasure: and rejecting every lucrative motive, we determined to execute our purpose on a plan by which those whose circumstances might be contracted, but whose minds might be enlarged, would be enabled to avail themselves of a singular advantage without a consequent inconvenience.

The
The Public are indebted to Sir Roger L'Estrange for an excellent translation of Josephus. In the prosecution of the work that Gentleman was occasionally assisted by his reverend friend, Doctor Hudson, chief keeper of the Bodleian Library; and the two Discourses prefixed to the Antiquities were written by the learned Doctor Willis: to each of these Gentlemen Sir Roger has done justice by very polite acknowledgments in his preface.

We have followed the example of Sir Roger, in consulting the first literary characters of the age; who, we are happy to assure our Readers, have enriched the publication with such improvements as were suggested by frequent and critical perusals of our Manuscript-copy, and attentive comparisons with the original text. Books of antiquity and of modern date, in the various languages, have been referred to, but having fortunately acquired considerable information, tending to elucidate several intricate passages of ancient history, we regret not the laborious research, but congratulate ourselves on the possession of materials which have given our work so great a superiority to every former Edition.

It now remains for the Editors to acknowledge a high sense of gratitude towards their learned correspondents in general, and to intimate that, in an address, to be prefixed to the last Number, the material additions and improvements will be particularized, with the names of the several Gentlemen by whom they were communicated; and to say, that no longer than they deserve, do they either hope for, or expect patronage or encouragement from the public.
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THE

LIFE

OF

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

To have been honourably descended is the pride and boast of the people of various nations:—with us a lineal descent in the line of the Priesthood is held to be supremely illustrious: on which account I may assume the credit of an extraction superior to the generality of my brethren; since, for a succession of ages, my paternal ancestors have been priests of the highest of the twenty-four ranks. On the mother's side I am descended of the regal race; as she was of the Asmonean line, in which, for a considerable time, the royal government was united with the priest-hood.

My great grandfather was named Simon, otherwise Pellus, who flourished during the pontificate of Hyrcanus, the son of the high-priest, called Simon. Pellus was father of nine sons, of whom Matthias, who took the surname of Aphiias, espoused a daughter of Jonathan the high-priest, who bore him a son, called Matthias, whose surname was Curtus. This Curtus was father of a son, who was born in the ninth year of the reign of Alexander, and called Joseph, who was the father of Matthias, born in the tenth year of Archilaus; and this Matthias was my father; my birth taking place in the first year of the reign of Caius Cæsar. My sons are three: Hyrcanus, Justus and Agrippa, respectively born in the fourth, seventh, and ninth years of the emperor Vespasian. This is a genuine and concise account of my family, as it stands upon indubitable and incontrovertible record.

All ranks of people in Jerusalem, held my father Matthias in the highest veneration, and that far more on account of his virtues than of his honourable descent.

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defect. I had a brother, also named Matthias, with whom I was educated from my intancy. With a tolerable judgement, and a most retentive memory, I made such a rapid progress in my studies, that when I had attained my fourteenth year, I sometimes received the distinguished honour of being consulted, even on difficult points of law, by the high-priest and elders. Being desirous of acquainting myself with the fundamental principles of the Pharisees, the Sadducees and the Essenes, in my sixteenth year I entered upon this task, with an intent to unite myself with that society whose doctrines I should most approve upon examination.

With great assiduity thou' not without frequent disguists, I passed through a kind of noviciate in each of these sects successively : not did I stop here; but, having learnt that a certain person, named Banus, had withdrawn himself from all commerce with the world, to reside in deserts and solitude; I determined to become his pupil also. This man wore no other clothing than the barks of trees; he lived solely on the spontaneous productions of the fields and woods, and, in order to abate the violence of his inordinate appetites, constantly bathed himself in cold water. Having subjected myself to these and such-like austeritys for nearly three years, and my curiosity being satisfied, I quitted our hermit and returned to the city, and, being now in my nineteenth year, began to apply myself to the study of the civil law; for which purpose I entered into the society of the Pharisees, whose doctrines bear some resemblance to those of the ancient Stoics.

In my six-and-twentieth year, I made a journey to Rome, on the following interesting occasion. Several priests, many of them men of exemplary characters, and my intimate friends, had been sent by Felix, who was at that time governor of Judæa, upon a very frivolous pretext, to justify themselves before Caesar. Such was the noble conduct of these men upon this occasion, that I resolved to afford them every assistance in my power. Accordingly I embarked for Rome, and our vessel, in which were nearly six hundred persons, was lost in a violent storm in the Adriatic Gulph. Out of the whole ship's company, eighty persons only were saved, who, after swimming the whole night, were taken up early the next morning by a vessel from Cyrene. I now contracted an intimacy at Dicæarchia (the Puteoli of the Italians) with one Alityrus, a comedian, and a Jew by birth: this man stood high in the favour of Nero. The empress Poppæa, to whom I was introduced by Alityrus, instantly, at my request, obtained the releasement of the priests; after which I departed for my own country, loaded with presents.

Finding the populace upon my return, in a violent ferment, and much inclined to revolt, I used every endeavour to bring them to a due sense of their folly. I represented to them the great superiority of their opponents, both in respect to their military and every other qualification, and strongly urged to them the phrenzy of risking the fate of all they held dear on such unequal terms. In this manner, I endeavoured to divert them from an enterprise, which appeared to me to be big with the most fatal consequences. My arguments, however, instead of producing the desired effect, served only to render
der me suspected by them of secretly favouring the views of the enemy, and thereby my safety became very precarious.

As the insurgents had already possessed themselves of Fort Antonia, I was necessitated to fly for refuge to the inner-temple. Manahem, and some other of the chiefs of the party being now taken off, I united myself with the High-priest, and the leading men among the Pharisees, all of whom were totally undetermined what measures to pursue in the present distracted state of affairs, the whole city being in arms. Perceiving that all opposition would be vain, we pretended partly to adopt the sentiments of the faction, and contented ourselves with recommending it to them to act with caution, and to delay the execution of their designs till the enemy should have drawn off a little; urging that Gesius, whose force was considerable, would certainly arrive in time to quell the insurrection. He returned, at length, but with a remnant only of his army; having been defeated in an engagement, in which the major part of his troops were cut to pieces; and this incident, in fact, laid the foundation of the ruin of our nation: the revolters being so much elated with this success, they conceived the ridiculous notion, that they should, with equal ease, be able to repel the whole force of the Romans. Jull at this juncture, numbers of the Jews were massacred in the most horrible manner: the particulars of which transaction are as follow:

In many of the great towns on the confines of Judæa, the Syrians and the Jews had for some time past resided together, in the most friendly manner: but, at this time, the former, watching their opportunity, rose upon the latter, and put them all to death, without distinction either of sex or age; and this without the shadow of a pretence; as neither an intention to revolt, nor so much as any disaffection to the Roman government had been imputed to the unhappy victims. Amongst all the actors in this bloody scene, the Scythopolitans distinguished themselves the most, by their contempt of every ordinance both human and divine.

These people were not satisfied with compelling the Jews, resident among them, to take up arms against those of their own tribe, who had lain siege to the city (a thing expressly prohibited by our law) but, having by their assistance repulsed the assailants, in direct violation of every tie of gratitude, justice, and common faith, they indiscriminately put them to the sword, to the number of several thousands.

The leading men among the Jews finding themselves, after the defeat of Gesius, in a very feeble and insecure state, and exposed to the attacks of a powerful and resolute faction, now judged it highly requisite to adopt some plan for their preservation from the dangers which surrounded them. With this view, they thought proper to depute me, together with two other priests, Joazar and Judas, (both men of respectable character) to Galilee; the inhabitants of which place were, at that juncture, divided in their sentiments, part of them siding with the Romans, and the rest opposing them. The object of our commission was to prevail, on the malecontents to lay down their arms, at least for the present, and to deposit them in the hands of their governors; abstaining from all acts of violence till they should have acquired further intelligence of the real designs of the Romans.
Upon my arrival in Galilee, I found the Galileans and the Sepphorites engaged in a strong contest, and at the eve of an open rupture. The Galileans were about to invade the country of the Sepphorites, on account of the attachment of the latter to the Romans, and of their adherence to Senius Gallus, the Roman governor of Syria. Both parties, however, were at length appeased, by the permission which I obtained for them, to visit, as often as they pleased, the hostages which they had put into the hands of Gallus, and which were detained at Dora, a city of Phoenicia.

An insurrection had taken place in Tiberias also, on the following occasion. The citizens were divided into three parties; the first of which, headed by Julius Capella, in conjunction with Herod, the son of Miarus, Herod, the son of Gamalus, and Complus, the son of Complus, was composed of men of acknowledged worth and distinction: Cripus, the brother of Complus, who had several years before been appointed governor of the town by Agrippa the Great, did not, however, enter into the party, residing at that time upon his own estate, on the other side of Jordan: this party was to a man, closely attached to the interests of the emperor and the Roman people; and the only person of rank who sided with the opposite faction was Pilus, who was thereto induced by a paternal attachment to his son Julus. The very dregs of the people formed the second faction; and the third was headed by Julus, the son of Pilus, aforementioned.

This man, though he did not openly declare for a war, yet certainly favoured that measure in his heart, in the design of advancing his own fortune, by the troubles which he expected it would give birth to. With this view, he endeavoured to found the inclinations of the people, by an oration, in which he obliquely hinted, only, at the matter in question; representing to them that, "Their city, in the time of Herod the Tetrarch, the founder of it, had always been considered as belonging to Galilee, and as being the capital of the province. From the time of Agrippa the father, to that of Felix, when Nero conferred the government of the city on the younger Agrippa, this claim of precedence was never once disputed. In short, the Sepphorites never arrogated to themselves any superiority over the people of the neighbouring cities, till subsequently, to the period in which they readily yielded up their necks to the Roman yoke, and in which, in consequence of the above revolution, the records and treasury were removed."

In this manner did Julus tamper with and incense the minds of the people against the emperor, till finding them at length disposed to coincide in his views, he boldly told them that, as the Sepphorites appeared to be so indifferently connected with the Romans that their union seemed indisputable, it was absolutely necessary, for the preservation of their privileges, they should immediately take up arms against the Sepphorites, who had rendered themselves so obnoxious to the rest of their neighbours, that they need not doubt of being powerfully supported in their attack upon them.

In this insinuating manner did he confound the judgement of men of sense far superior to his own, and thereby effect the design he had in view. He was, also, so well versed in the Greek language, as, by palliating some matters, and misrepresenting others, to give such a picture of the state of affairs at
at that period, as was best calculated to promote his purposes. Of the wicked arts and malice of this man and his brother, by which they reduced their country to the very brink of ruin, I shall here give a more particular detail. Some of the citizens having been won by persuasion, and others compelled by Justus to take arms, he put himself at their head, and marched against the Hippenians and Gadaranes, dwelling about Tiberias and Scythopolis, whose habitations he utterly destroyed.

Having said thus much of the state of affairs at Tiberias, I shall now recount what passed during the same period at Gischala. The prosperity which many of the citizens manifested to throw off the Roman yoke, was strongly combated by John, the son of Levi, who exerted himself to the utmost to restrain them within the bounds of allegiance and duty: but all his endeavours proved ineffectual; as the people of the country round, the Gadaranes, the Gabaraganaeans, and the Tyrians, having united their forces, made themselves masters of the place, and, after burning and utterly destroying it, again retreated towards their respective cities. But John, who was highly incensed at this outrage, collecting his troops together, pursued and overtook them, and, in a pitched battle, totally defeated them; after which he rebuilt Gischala, encompassing it, for the greater security, with a wall of considerable strength.

During this whole period, the inhabitants of Gamala continued firm in their attachment to the Romans, of which they gave a striking proof, on the following occasion. King Agrippa’s lieutenant, named Philip, the son of Jacimus, having miraculously effected his escape from Jerusalem, at the very time that the royal palace was closely invested by the enemy, was a second time in imminent peril of his life, from Manahem and the assassins his companions, but was again providentially preserved by some of his Babylonian relations, who chanced to be then at Jerusalem.

On the fifth day after his second escape, he disguised himself in a cap composed of hair, and in a short time arrived at one of the villages, in the neighbourhood of the castle of Gamala, to which place many of his subjects instantly repaired to him. He was here seized with a sudden fever; which incident, by a wonderful interpolation of providence, proved the means of preserving his life. When he was first attacked by this disorder, he dispatched a person, in whom he could confide, with letters to Agrippa and Berenice, who were then on a journey, to meet Gessius at Berytus. These letters the messenger was ordered to deliver into the hands of Varus, to whom the king and the queen had committed the care of the palace, during their absence. The news of Philip’s escape from Jerusalem, gave Varus great uneasiness, lest the incident should be productive of his dismission from the service of the king and queen. Varus, therefore, represented the messenger to the people as an impostor, and put him to death on that pretext, ascertaining with the utmost efferidency, that, to his certain knowledge, Philip was still at Jerusalem, and engaged in the defence of that city against the Romans. A considerable time being elapsed from the period of the messenger’s departure, and no kind of intelligence having arrived from him, Philip deputed another person, with fresh letters; and this man too Varus put to death, on the same pretext as he had before
before used. This conduct of Varus was occasioned by an idle notion, which had been suggested to him by the Syrians of Cæfarœa, that the Romans would, doubtless, sacrifice Agrippa to their resentment of the Jewish revolt, and that, in such case, himself, being of the race of Sohemus, the Terrarch of Libanus, must inevitably succeed to the regal dignity. Thus prepossessed, Varus put in practice every artifice, to conceal from the king the knowledge of what passed; for which purpose he intercepted all letters addressed to his majesty, and shut up every pax, by which any intelligence could possibly have been communicated to him. With the view of ingratiating himself with the Syrians of Cæfarœa, he put to death great numbers of the Jews, and also offered to engage with the Trachonites of Batanea, in a war against the Jewish inhabitants of Ecbatane, who are styled Babylonians. He accordingly dispatched twelve of the principal Jews in Cæfarœa to Ecbatane, to acquaint the inhabitants, in his name, that he had heard, they meditated a revolt; that he was much disinclined to credit the report, but that he required them, as a testimony of their innocence, immediately to lay down their arms, and also to depute to him seventy of the chiefs of their party, to justify the conduct of the rest. Upon the receipt of this message, the inhabitants of Ecbatane made the strictest scrutiny into the cause of this rumour, which they found to be utterly delusive of foundation: in obedience, however, to the requisition of Varus, they sent to him seventy of the principal men of the place, who were all massacred by him, save one single person, on the road to Cæfarœa; after which he marched his troops against Ecbatane. But, by a second wonderful interposition of providence, the person who had been thus miraculously preserved from destruction, reached the city before him, and made the inhabitants acquainted with the horrible treachery which had been perpetrated upon their associates. The people instantly ran to arms, and, quitting the city, retired, with their wives and children, into the castle of Gamala, leaving behind them their effects and cattle, to a very considerable value. No sooner was this event communicated to Philip, than he instantly repaired to the castle of Gamala, where he was received with open arms by the insurgents, who unanimously made him a tender of their lives and fortunes, urgently soliciting him to put himself at their head, and to lead them against Varus and his Cæfarœan advocates; for a report was now spread, that the king had been assassinated. Philip, however, endeavoured to allay the ferment of their minds, by urging to them the favours they had received from the king, the formidable power of the Romans, and the imminent dangers they would expose themselves to by a revolt; and his endeavours at length proved successful. The king, being, at length, made acquainted with the misconduct of Varus, and with a design which he had formed, to put to death all the Jews in Cæfarœa, together with their wives and children, to the number of several thousands, removed him from his government, which he conferred on Augustus Modius; as I have before mentioned: Gamala and the neighbouring country being retained in their allegiance to the Romans, by the prudent measures taken by Philip.

Having acquired the most authentic intelligence of all the above transactions, upon my arrival in Galilee, I dispatched a letter to the council at Jerusalem,
A large sum of money having been collected on account of tithes, my associates had taken the resolution of returning home, but, at my request, readily consented to continue with me a short time longer, till I could arrange matters more happily. We, accordingly, went together from Sephoris to Bethmaus, a place about four furlongs distant from Tiberias, from whence I sent a message to the senate and some of the principal persons of that city, requiring their attendance. They came in obedience to my summons, accompanied by Julius; and I acquainted them, that the council at Jerusalem had commissioned myself and my associates to confer with them on the subject of demolishing the palace which Herod the Tetrarch had erected in their city, and had ornamented with many curious images and figures of animals, which was expressly prohibited by our laws; and I earnestly desired that the business might be carried into execution without delay. In this request I was strongly opposed by Capella and his party; but I, with much difficulty, at length, carried my point. While this contest was depending, Jesus, the son of Saphia, putting himself at the head of a body of men, composed of the very dregs of the people, and being joined by a party of the seditious Galileans, set the royal palace on fire, in hopes, from the rich and brilliant appearance of every thing they saw, that they should obtain a princely booty by the plunder of it: and, in fact, they carried off many valuable effects, notwithstanding all that could be done to prevent them. Having settled all matters with Capella and the Tiberians, we departed from Bethmaus for the Upper-Galilee, just at the time that the faction of Jesus had put all the Greeks, residing in Tiberias, to the sword, and all those, indiscriminately, who had taken part against them previous to the war. When I received intelligence of this outrage, I was highly incensed, and repaired immediately to Tiberias, at which place were many valuable effects belonging to the king, (amongst others, several rich candlesticks of Corinthian workmanship, costly tables, and a large quantity of silver in the mass) some of which I hoped to be able to preserve from pillage. I had determined to deposit whatever goods I might be able to secure, in the hands of proper persons, for the king's use. Sending, therefore, for ten of the principal senators, and Capella, the son of Antyllus, I delivered all the rich vessels, and other valuables which I had saved, into their care, with a strict injunction to give them up to no one but myself. From Tiberias I went, with my colleagues, to Gischala, for the purpose of informing myself of the proceedings of John, whom I found evidently endeavouring to establish himself at the head of a party. In different parts of the Upper-Galilee were divers magazines of corn, belonging to the emperor, and John was mightily desirous of obtaining the sale of them, pretending that he meant to expend the profits which might accrue in erecting fortifications. I easily penetrated into his design, and therefore told him, that I would never yield my consent; as I was obligated, by my commission from the council at Jerusalem, to see that those stores should be applied, either to the emperor's use, or to the benefit of the province. He then,
then applied himself to my colleagues, perceiving that there was no probability of his succeeding with me; and they, partly through inadvertency, and partly through avarice, suffered themselves to be won over to a compliance with his solicitations; and thus, they being two to one, my opposition was rendered fruitless. The success which John met with on this occasion, emboldened him to set another scheme on foot, for the promotion of his interest. Pure virgin oil was, at that time, particularly scarce at Caesarea Philippi; the inhabitants of which place, being restricted from the use of the Greek oil, and from purchasing the other out of their own city, had, he said, made great complaints to him on the subject, praying relief. His interference in this business did not proceed so much from religious, as from interested motives; being sensible that this oil was forty times dearer at Gischala than it was at Caesarea: accordingly, under the pretence of a permission from me, he transported all the oil from one of those places to the other.

I did, indeed, from an apprehension that the people would otherwise flone me, tacitly acquiesce in the above measure, but I no otherwise consented to it. The profit that John derived from this device was very considerable.

From Gischala I sent my colleagues back to Jerufalem, and now employed my whole time in providing for the defence of the province. Perceiving that every attempt to reduce the free-booters by force must prove vain, I advised the people to try the effect of negotiating with them; and we, thereupon, entered into a treaty with some of their chiefs, offering to take the whole body into our service; as we were well convinced, that the expense attending this measure would be far inferior to the loss we should be liable to sustain from their continual depredations. Articles being, at length, agreed upon between us, after receiving their oaths for the due observance of the engagement, I dismissed them. The conditions to which they bound themselves, were, that they would abstain from all outrages, against either Romans or natives; and that they would never enter our territories, but upon a requisition from us, or in the case that we should at any time be in arrears to them. My chief object, however, was to retain the Galileans in due subjection, and, with this view, I selected seventy of the principal persons of the province, to accompany me. Of these I formed a kind of council, and, in most cases, regulated my conduct by their advice, still retaining a supreme deference for the dictates of honour and justice: thus, under the guise of friends, these men were, in reality, my hostages.

I had now attained my thirtieth year; a period of life in which a man in a public station cannot, even with the utmost precaution possible, shelter himself from the attacks of envy and detraction. Thus much, however, I must be permitted to say for myself, that I had never been charged with any breach of duty, or corrupt practices, towards either of the several parties. So far was I from willing to acquire wealth, that I even declined my proffered tithes, to which, from my function of a priest, I was indubitably entitled. I acknowledge that, after defeating the Syrians, I sent part of the booty obtained on that occasion, to my relations at Jerufalem; and, having twice vanquished the Sephorrizes, the Tiberians four times, and reduced the Gadarenes to throw themselves on my mercy; having, moreover, seized the person of John, who
who had been guilty of many treacherous practices against my safety; I never entertained a thought of resenting the injuries I had suffered from any of the above parties, but readily configned the remembrance of them to utter oblivion: and the Almighty, who perceived the restitutio of my heart, was pleased, as will be seen in its proper place, graciously to deliver me from the machinations of my pernicious foes, not only upon the occasion in question, but also at various subsequent times.

Although the Galileans were daily suffering all the miseries of war, yet, such was the affection they bore to me, they appeared to be much more moved with the dangers and hardships that I underwent, than with their own. The popularity that I had thus acquired, excited the rankest envy in the breast of John, who, under the pretext of a sudden indisposition, wrote to me for permission to go to the hot baths of Tiberias, which I granted him with the utmost readiness, not suspecting his motives in making the request, and even furnished him with letters of recommendation to some of my friends there, to accommodate him and his train with whatever they might stand in need of. I had at this time taken up my residence in a village of Galilee, called Jana. Upon John's arrival at Tiberias, he immediately sat about inveigling the inhabitants into a revolt. Many of them were well disposed to enter into his views, being heartily desirous of a change in the government; and among these, Justus and his father, Pitus, eagerly united themselves with John against me. But, providentially, Silas, whom I had appointed my deputy in the government of Tiberias, having discovered the designs of the conspirators, sent me a minute account thereof; urging me to repair thither with all speed, as the least delay might occasion the loss of the place.

Instantly upon the receipt of this intelligence, I assembled a body of two hundred men, and thus attended, posted away to Tiberias, travelling, for the greater expedition, the whole night, and dispatched a messenger to acquaint my friends with my being upon the road. At an early hour in the morning, I was met by the inhabitants in a body, who conducted me into the city. John, also, came with the rest, when the great confusion visible in his face, plainly manifested a confciounfs of his guilt: but after a flight and hasty reverence to me, he suddenly withdrew. Upon my entrance into the city, I directly repaired to the public place of exercises, where I dismissed all my attendants, save one servant and ten soldiers. Having chosen a spot fit for my purpose, I began to harangue the people, on the subject of the duties of good faith and allegiance; the reputation which must accrue to them from a generous perseverance in their fidelity, and the dangerous consequences, as well as the abolute baseness of perfidy; urging to them, that those who were guilty of treachery must always expect a retaliation upon themselves; and that one such act would eternally ruin their credit with the world. I had scarcely got thus far in my oration, when I heard a voice in the crowd, loudly, and with great earnestness, advising me to desist, and to provide for my safety by a speedy retreat. The fate was, that John, perceiving me to be thus almost without attendants, had selected a certain number of soldiers out of the thousand of which he had the command, and had given them orders to attack me by surprize. They had approached...
within a very small distance of the place where I stood, when I instantly
leaped down, and, with the assistance of one of my guards, named Jacob,
and one Herod, a Tiberian, made good my retreat to the lake, and embark-
ed on board a vessel which, providentially, chanced to be there, and which
landed me at Taricheæ; and thus I escaped the villainous designs of my foes.

This perjury of the Tiberians incensed the people of Taricheæ to that degree,
that they assembled in a body, and earnestly pressed me to lead them against
the perpetrators of so horrid a villainy. They also invited the Galileans to
join them in their intended attack upon Tiberias, and to submit themselves
implicitly to my conduct and direction. This invitation was readily accepted
by the Galileans, who recommended it to me, to march immediately against
Tiberias, and, having made myself master of it, utterly to destroy the city,
and to sell the inhabitants, of whatever sex or age, publicly for slaves: nor
was it the opinion of the Galileans alone, but even of such of the Tiberians,
also, as had quitted the city to join me. But I positively refused to comply
with their solicitations, dreading to be the author of a civil war, and being
desirous of settling all differences in an amicable manner. I, therefore, re-
prentented to the people, the imprudence of cutting each other's throats, for the
entertainment of the Romans, who would be pleased spectators of such a
tscene. By the arguments I urged on this occasion, at length, though not
without much difficulty, induced the Galileans to adopt more moderate senti-
ments.

John, now, finding all his evil designs against me defeated, thought
it high time to alter his conduct, lest his safety should be otherwise endanger-
ed. He, accordingly, retired from Tiberias to Gischala, accompanied by
such of his men as remained with him; from whence he wrote me a letter of
excuse, calling God to witness, with many oaths and protestations, that the
late vile attempt to destroy me, had been entirely concerted, without his
knowledge. But the perjury of this wretch was so notorious, that the Gali-
leans could not be prevailed on to give the least credit to his declaration; but,
having assembled a considerable force, pressed me to lead them against Gis-
chala, the place of John's birth, and to sacrifice him and utterly to destroy the
city. I made them my acknowledgments for their good-will, and ten-
dered them my best services in return; but begged of them to suffer me
to try whether I could not terminate the quarrel, to their satisfaction
without bloodshed. The Galileans acquiesced in the justice of my argu-
ments, and permitted me, soon afterwards, to lead them to Sepphoris. Upon
my approach, the Sepphorites, who still persisted in their allegiance to the
Romans, began to entertain some fears that my intentions were hostile; and
they contrived how they might, for their own security, draw off my attention
from them to some other object. With this view, they engaged Jesus, who
commanded the out-laws, by the promise of a large sum of money, to attack
us with a body of eight hundred men: Jesus and his troops were at that time
stationed on the borders of Ptolemais. The method by which he proposed to
effect his purpose, was, to come upon us unexpectedly, and thus bring mat-
ters to an issue at once. He, accordingly, sent a message to me, requesting
my permission to wait on me. This request I readily granted, not,
futileting his motives; and he began his journey, accompanied by a
select band of his associates. He had arrived within a very short distance of the town, when one of his followers left him, and communicated to me every particular of the plot formed against me. Dissimbling all knowledge of the matter, I repaired to the market-place, attended by a strong guard of Galileans, with some few of the Tiberians. My next care was to secure the passies, and to give orders to the porters at the gates, to admit none but Jesus and a few of his followers, keeping the rest out; and, in case they should attempt to obtain an entrance by violence, to repel force with force. All my orders were punctually obeyed, and Jesus and a small number of his associates only were permitted to enter the city, the gates being shut upon the rest. The instant he came into my presence, I commanded him to throw down his arms; and, perceiving himself surrounded by soldiers, he readily yielded obedience. Those of his followers who had remained without the gates, having learnt what had betfallen their leader, fled in all haste. Taking Jesus aside, I told him that, notwithstanding I now had him in my power, and was well informed of all his mal-practices and connections, I was still inclined to pardon him for what had passed, on condition that he should engage to abstain from all such-like conduct in future. This he faithfully promised, and was, in consequence, dismissed, together with his attendants. With respect to the Sepphorites, I contented myself with enjoining them to a more peaceable demeanour, at the hazard of my severest displeasure.

Just at this period, Æquus Modius, had been dispatched by king Agrippa, with a large body of troops, to invest the castle of Magdala. Finding himself in no condition to lay siege to it, he judged it sufficient to secure the passies, and thus to form the blockade of Gamala. Intelligence having been communicated to Æbutius, the Decadarch, of my arrival at Simonias, a village situated on the borders of Galilee, and at the distance of about sixty furlongs from the place where he then was, he assembled a body of an hundred horse, about two hundred foot, and some auxiliary troops from Gaba, with which, making a forced march during the night, he reached the village early in the morning; whereupon, I gathered together some of the best troops I had with me, and prepared for my defence. Æbutius, depending on his superior force in horse, would fain have induced me to have engaged him in the open field; but, as my strength lay chiefly in infantry, I dared not quit my station; and my antagonist, after many fruitless efforts to drive me from it, retired towards Gaba, with the loss of three men only in the skirmish. I closely pursued him, with a body of two thousand-men; and having reached Befara, on the frontiers of Ptolemais, and about twenty furlongs distant from Gaba, where Æbutius then was, I first secured all the neighbouring passies, and
and then I carried off prodigious quantities of wheat and other grain, which
had belonged to queen Berenice, and had been plundered by the enemy from
the adjacent villages. The grain I sent to Galilee, on a number of camels
and ales, which I had brought with me for that intent. When I had finished
this business, I offered battle to Æbutius; but, he declining it, I directed my
march against Scythopolis, which was then garrisoned by a body of horse, un-
der the command of Neapolitanus, who had committed great depredations in
the neighbourhood of Tiberias. Having delivered the Tiberians from this
troublesome foe, I now confined all my views to the re-establishment of peace
and good order in Galilee.

John, the son of Levi, was, as I have before observed, still at Gischala,
where, jealous of my successes against my enemies, and of the affection
which the people under my government manifested for me; he endeavoured
to seduce the Tiberians and the Sepphorites from my interests; flattering him-
self, also, that he might be able to prevail on the Gabarenes to quit my party,
they being the most considerable people in Galilee. For this purpose, he
took every opportunity to decry my administration, and to extol the ad-
advantages which they would enjoy under his government, imagining
that, in proportion as he blemished my reputation, he should brighten his
own. The Sepphorites, in fact, favoured neither him nor me, being closely
attached to the Romans. He could not prevail on the Tiberians to take
arms, but they, nevertheless, engaged to maintain a correspondence with
him. The Gabarenes were the only people who consented to join him; and
this union was effected, by the intervention of one of their leading men, named
Simon, who was a particular friend, and associate of John’s; and even these
people made a secret of their connection with him, through an apprehen-
sion of the resentment of the Galileans, of whose affection for me they were well
convinced; but they readily engaged in every perfidious attempt against my
person; and, in the following instance, I narrowly escaped falling a victim
to their evil designs.

The wife of Ptolemy, the king’s intendant, travelling with a numer-
ous body of attendants over the great plain, from a place under his
sovereign’s jurisdiction, into one of the Roman provinces, her train was attack-
ed by a party of desperate young Dabaritenians, who defeated the escort which
attended her, and made prize of all the valuable effects she had taken with
her. The plunder taken on this occasion was brought to Tarichea, whilst
I continued there, and consisted of a large quantity of rich cloaths and costly
furniture, a great number of silver vessels, and five hundred pieces of gold.
As these articles were the property of Ptolemy, who was of my own tribe (and
it being prohibited by our law to rob even an enemy) I told the parties, that it
was absolutely requisite they should be laid by, till an opportunity might
offer for depopling them, and that the produce should be applied to the re-
paration of the walls of Jerusalem. The robbers were so much incensed to
be thus disappointed of their booty, that they, in revenge, circulated a report
throughout Tiberias, that it was my intention to betray the province into the
hands of the Romans. My promise, they said, of applying the profits of
the sale to the reparation of the walls of Jerusalem, was a mere pretext, and
that
that I meant to restore the above effects to their former master; nor, indeed, were they wrong in their conjecture; for, immediately after the departure of the robbers, I gave secret orders to two of the principal citizens, Dafion, and Jannaeus, the son of Levi, both highly favoured by the king, to make restitution of the prize, and, at the peril of their lives, to mention the matter to any man living. The charge against me, of having conspired to deliver up the province to the Romans, was now spread throughout Galilee, and the people were strongly incited to revenge. The Tariheans, amongst others, gave such credit to the slander, that they seduced several of my guards, and other soldiers, to quit me while I was asleep, and to repair with them to the Circus, to confer with the citizens on the intended change to be made in the government. A large concourse of people had assembled in this place, unanimously calling for justice on the traitor: but the chief souterner of the sedition was Jesus, the son of Sapphia, one of the most turbulent and unprincipled wretches breathing, who chanced, at that time, to be the chief magistrate of Tiberias. He presented himself before the people, with the two Tables of Moses in his hand, and addressed them in these words: "If," he says, "you have no consideration for your own welfare and safety, at least shew a proper reverence for these sacred laws, which your governor, Joseph, has not scrupled to violate, and has, thereby, rendered himself deferving of the severest and most exemplary punishment." This speech was received by the people with repeated shouts of applause; and, taking with them a number of soldiers, they hastened towards the house in which I resided, with a fixed resolution to put me to instant death. Un Conscious of all that was passing, I lay on my bed, wearied out with fatigue, and in a sound sleep. Simon, however, one of my guards, and the only person who had not deserted me, seeing the people rushing into the house, suddenly awaked me, and representing, in a few words, the imminent danger to which I was exposed, advised me, rather to perish by my own hand, than to submit to the insults and cruelties of an enraged and insolent enemy. Upon receiving this intelligence, I disguised myself in a suit of black clothes, and, armed with my sword, commending myself to the protection of Providence, I paused undiscovered, through the midst of the throng, and repaired, by a private way, to the Circus, where I threw myself prostrate on the ground, and, by my tears and lamentations, excited the pity of the majority even of the insurgents themselves. Perceiving that I had, in some measure, wrought upon the temper of the people, I exerted all my endeavours to divide them in their sentiments respecting me and my conduct, before the return of the soldiers, who had been dispatched to destroy me. I begged their permission to lay before them the true state of the case, admitting, at the same time, that there was, indeed, some slight foundation for the charge brought against me. I requested, that they would, however, give me a patient hearing, after which, I should readily submit to their decision, whatever it might chance to be. The people were well inclined to listen to me, and ordered me to proceed; but the soldiers, who had just now returned to the Circus, were for putting me to immediate death: but, on more mature deliberation, they suffered themselves...
to be prevailed on to suspend the execution of their design; and to this they were induced partly by the clamours of the common people, and partly by the hope, that, by a confession of my treachery, and that I had actually resolved to refer that money for the king's use, I should afford them a better pretext for accomplishing their faguary purpose. Silence being, therefore, proclaimed, I addressed them in a short speech, to the following purport:

That, provided I might be permitted to give them a true detail of my conduct in the matter objected against me, I should acquiesce in whatever sentence they might think proper to pronounce; that I had ever considered their city as an asylum for strangers; that, induced by the conveniences of the place, and the amiable manners of the inhabitants, numbers of foreigners had quitted their own country, and repaired thither, with the view of continuing there to the end of their lives; that the crime now alleged, was, an intention, through zeal for the public benefit, to apply a considerable sum of money towards the repair of the city-walls; and that this was the sole foundation of the inveterate persecution which had been railed against me. The Taricheans, and the foreign inhabitants of the city, highly applauded my speech, and bad me proceed without fear; but the Galileans and Tiberians, on the other hand, manifested much turbulence of disposition; in-so-much that the dissension between the two parties arose, at length, to a very great height; the one side continually menacing me, and the other giving me the strongest assurances of their favour and protection. But the contest was finally dropt, upon my promising the Tiberians to repair the walls of their city, and to do the like for all the other towns of the province, whose situation would admit of it; and every one, trufling to my word for the performance of this covenant, retired peaceably to his own home.

After this providential and unexpected deliverance, I returned to my lodgings, attended by a party of my friends, and about twenty soldiers. Soon after I had retired, the robbers and other ringleaders of the late sedition, fearful lest they should be called to account, for their conduct on the occasion, assembled in a body, to the number of about six hundred, and beset the house in which I resided, with an intention of setting fire to it. When the news of their approach, and of their design, was communicated to me, deeming flight disgraceful, I determined to barricade the doors of my residence, and to abide the event. Upon their arrival, I acquainted them, from a window, that, if money was their object, they had only to depute a small number of their companions to me, and their demands should be instantly complied with. A party was, accordingly sent, and, when they entered the house, observing that one of them distinguished himself from the rest by his insolence and audacity, I ordered him to be seized, whipped, and to have one of his hands struck off; after which, when the hand hanging round his neck, to be turned into the street, that his associates might be informed of what had happened to him. All this was, accordingly executed, and the insurgents, imagining, from the boldness of my conduct in this instance, that I had a strong guard in the house, fled with the utmost precipitation, throt' fear of exposing themselves to a similar punishment; and by this stratagem I escaped an imminent danger. Being thus defeated in one scheme, they quick-
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Ly put another in agitation; eagerly seeking all opportunities of exciting a spirit of dissatisfaction amongst the people. They now pretended to disapprove of the protection which I had afforded to the two foreign noblemen, aforementioned, whom they affected to consider as spies and poisoners, and as being unworthy of an asylum in a country, to the customs of which they had pertinaciously refused to conform. By these insinuations, they had in part revived that seditious spirit in the multitude, which I had so lately appeased: but I observed to the people, that it would be both ungenerous and imprudent to tyrannize over persons who had put themselves under our protection, as we knew not how soon we might be reduced to a like situation ourselves; and that, with respect to the idea of their being poisoners, nothing could be more absurd, as the Romans would certainly never be at the expense of keeping such numbers of troops in pay, when their purpose might be equally answered by a spell, or a bolus. By this mode of reasoning, I partly pacified them for a time; but their resentment quickly broke out afresh, and to that height did it arrive that, accompanied by a band of desperate riffians, they directed their course to Taricha, with the full intent of putting these unfortunate strangers to death.

The instant I became acquainted with the step they had taken, I hastily assembled as many troops as the shortness of the time would permit, and took the same rout, with the view of preventing the execution of their design, being sensible, that a connivance at an action of such savage barbarity would render me universally odious. In short, I reached the residence of the strangers just in time to barricade the doors, and to take necessary steps for the security of the house, before the arrival of the assailants; and, conveying my two noble guests, through a back-door, to the lake which was behind the house, I crossed over with them to the frontiers of the Hippenians, where I left them; having first paid them the value of their horses; which their hate would not permit them to carry off; and, at parting, I recommended to them to submit to their hard fate with becoming fortitude. It was with the utmost regret that I saw myself thus compelled to abandon these men, who had thrown themselves upon my protection, to the mercy of their enemies; yet I judged it preferable thus to commit them to the care of providence, than to suffer them to remain exposed to a certain destruction, from the perfidy of my own people. They at length, however, surmounted all their difficulties, and were again received into favour by King Agrippa.

Intelligence having been communicated to me that the people of Tiberias had secretly dispatched a letter to King Agrippa, with a tender of their services, provided he would engage to furnish them with a sufficient number of troops to protect them, I instantly repaired to that city. The inhabitants, upon my arrival, reminded me of my promise to rebuild their walls, having learnt, as it afterwards appeared, that I had already fulfilled my engagement in that point with the Taricheans. To satisfy them, I gave orders for materials and workmen to be provided, and that the business should be entered upon immediately. Having continued there three days, I departed for Taricha, which is distant about thirty furlongs. Immediately after my departure, a body of Roman troops, being on their march, passed within sight of
of Tiberias; and the inhabitants, mistaking them for the forces of King Agrippa, gave a sudden loose to the most extravagant encomiums on the king, and to the severest censures on me. A messenger was soon afterwards dispatched to me, in great haste, with information that the people were ripe for a revolt. This intelligence threw me into the utmost consternation; for, the sabbath now approaching, I had sent away the soldiers from Tarchæa, in order to the more quiet celebration of that festival. Moreover, such was my confidence in the zeal and affection of the inhabitants, that I seldom retained any guard about me during my residence in that place, and had only seven soldiers, and a small number of my friends with me at the time in question.

Thus circumstanced, I was perplexed in the highest degree what course to take. It being now evening, to have re-assembled my troops would have answered no purpose, as they could not have acted on the next day, and, with respect to the inhabitants of Tarchæa, their number, including foreigners and natives, could I have purchased their assistance, which I probably might have done by the promise of granting them leave to pillage the city, would have been too inconsiderable to have answered my purpose. However, it was necessary that I should be speedy in my determination, left the malcontents should confine themselves of the city, and shut me out; I therefore adopted the following stratagem: I committed the care of the gates to some of my most intimate and trusty friends, with a strict injunction to suffer no person whatever to pass through. They had it, further, in charge from me, to cause each of the principal citizens to go on board his respective boat, taking with him only one person to row it, and to follow me, while I, in another boat, attended by a small party of my friends, and seven soldiers, steered my course towards Tiberias; the inhabitants of which city had, in the interim, discovered their mistake relative to the troops they had seen. The Tiberians, however, perceiving the lake thus covered with so numerous a fleet of boats, which, they concluded, were filled with an army destined to the attack of their city, actuated by their apprehensions, instantly laid down their arms, and, accompanied by their wives and children, in the most submissive manner welcomed me on my arrival, wished me success in my undertaking, never suspecting that their designs were discovered, and invited me into the city.

Previous to my landing, I had given orders that all the boats should be anchored at such a distance from the shore, as to prevent the Tiberians from discovering the weaknesses of my apparently formidable fleet. I had now reached the quay, and, after severely reproaching them with their late treacherous conduct, I declared myself willing to pardon what had passed, on condition, that they should send on board of my boat ten of their chief citizens, as hostages; with which demand they instantly complied, and, by this stratagem, I, by degrees, got the whole senate and most of the principal inhabitants into my hands. The rest, now taking into consideration the critical state of their affairs, with one voice imputed the whole blame of the late disturbances to a bold and turbulent fellow, named Citius, and requested that I would order him to be punished according to his deserts. This fellow bei-
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ing of my own tribe, I could not conscientiously put him to death; yet, as I perceived the necessity of inflicting on him some exemplary punishment; I commanded one of my guards, named Levi, to cut off one of his hands. This man, dreading the resentment of the people, dared not execute my orders; and I, on the other side, was equally apprehensive lest they should notice his hesitation. Without further deliberation, therefore, I addressed myself to Clitus, and, severely reproaching him with his ingratitude and treachery, condemned him to the loss of both his hands, and, as far as in him lay, to be his own executioner; further enjoining him to make all dispatch, lest I should change his sentence to one still more severe. The fellow was very urgent with me to remit him one half of the punishment; to which request, with much seeming difficulty, I, at length, yielded; and he instantly struck off his left hand with his right, and thus the tumult was at once appeased.

I now returned to Taricheæ, leaving the Tiberians impressed with the highest opinion of my wisdom, in thus subduing, without bloodshed, so formidable an insurrection. At an entertainment, which I gave to my Tiberian hostages, among whom were Juftus and his father Pitus, I chanced to observe, in the freedom of table discourse, that I considered the Romans as the greatest people on the face of the earth; nevertheless, that, circumstanced as I was, with respect to the present faction, I thought it most prudent to conceal my sentiments; recommending it to them to follow the example, till affairs should take a turn for the better; and, in the interim, to demean themselves peaceably under my government, which I promised should be as mild as they could desire. I also reminded Juftus of the conduct of the Galileans towards his brother, whose hands they cut off, on a false accusation of forgery, previous to the time of my entrance upon the government; and also that the people of Gamala, in consequence of a dispute which had arisen between them and the Babylonians, after the departure of Philip, had put Chares, his kinsman, to death: contrasting these barbarities with my behaviour to his brother-in-law, Jesus. These are the chief particulars of our conversation at supper; and early the next morning, I gave Juftus and his companions permission to depart.

A short time previous to this period, Philip, the son of Jacimus, quitted Gamala, upon the following occasion. Having received intelligence of the revolt of Varus, and of the appointment of Equus Modius to his vacant government, he wrote letters to Modius, who was his intimate friend, acquainting him with the state of his affairs, accompanying them with a packet for the king and queen, who were at that time at Berytus, which Modius instantly dispatched, according to the instructions sent him. No sooner did the king perceive, by the contents of this packet, that the report of Philip's defection to the Romans was groundless, than his majesty immediately dispatched a party of horse to conduct him to court; and he received him upon his arrival with the most honourable testimonies of affection and approbation. He was soon afterwards sent, at the head of several troops of horse, to the fort of Gamala, with orders to bring away his family; to re-establish the Babyloni-
nians in Batanea, and to use his utmost efforts to restrain the people within due subjection.

Nearly at this period, a mountebank, named Joseph, put himself at the head of a party of turbulent young people, who were countenanced in their turbulent conduct by some few of the most considerable inhabitants of the place. This man endeavoured to seduce the people from their allegiance, and to prevail on them to take arms, in defence, as he pretended, of their violated rights and privileges. This party soon became so powerful, that no one dared to oppose them; they having already, in a sudden tumult, put to death Chares and his kinsman Jesus, together with the sister of Justus of Tiberias, of whom mention has been made before. They next applied to me for troops to garrison the town, and workmen to surround it with walls, to which request I immediately acceded.

At this juncture, also, the Gaulanrites inhabiting the whole extent of country as far as the village Solyma, deserted the party of king Agrippa, and united themselves with the Romans. I inclosed with walls Sogannes and Seleucia, two places of great natural strength, and fortified several towns in the Upper Galilee, as Jannia, Amerytha, and Charabe, situated in the mountainous part of the country. I likewise fortified the towns of Tarichæa, Tiberias, and Sepphoris, and the villages of the Cave of Arbela, Bersobæ, Selane, Joppata, Capharath, Comologana, Naæpapha, and the Mount Ithaïr; all situated in Galilee. It was in these places that I formed my magazines of arms and corn.

The success with which all my undertakings were attended, created so much envy in the breast of John, the son of Levi, that he determined, at all events, to effect my ruin; and, accordingly, after the walling in of Gifschala, he dispatched his brother Simon, with an escort of an hundred men, to Jerusalem, with a letter to Simon, the son of Gamaliel, requesting him to use his influence with the council, to procure my dismission from the post I held, and the appointment of John as my successor. This Simon was one of the principal men of the city, a Pharisee, and, consequently a rigid observer of the Mosaic law; a person of exemplary prudence, and particularly qualified to execute a difficult negociation: he, moreover, had long been the intimate friend of John, and my avowed enemy. Yielding to the importunities of John, he tampered with the high-priest Ananus, Jesus, the son of Gamala, and others of the party; representing to them, that their interest was concerned to reduce my power, and, without delay, to deprive me of the government of Galilee, left, upon discovery of their designs, I should fall suddenly upon them with a numerous army, and thereby render all their schemes abortive. Ananus objected, on the other hand, that the number of the high-priests and heads of the people, who were possessed in favour of my administration, was such, that it would be difficult to procure a majority against me; besides, that it would be considered as an act of injustice to condemn a man unheard.

Simon, therefore, defiled from all further solicitation, and gave them to understand, that he would adopt some other methods for removing me from the government. He accordingly proposed to the brother of John, to distribute
distribute money and presents among the friends of Ananus, as the most likely method of effecting the design they had in view. This scheme succeeded, and Ananus and his party, without further hesitation, entered upon the execution of the plan for depriving me of my post. For this purpose, they, in the most secret manner, commissioned four persons, two of them of noble descent, and the others of private rank, but all equally eminent for their abilities, to repair to Galilee on this business. The persons thus deputed, were Joazar and Simon, both of facerdotal families, and the former a Pharisee; and Jonathan and Ananias, both of the Pharisaical sect: of these, Simon was the youngest. These men were instructed to attend at the next assembly of the Galileans, and to expostulate with the members on the preposition they manifested in my favour; and to urge, if they should attempt to vindicate such predilection, on the plea, either of my knowledge of the law, of my being a native of Jerusalem, or of their respect for the priesthood, of which I was a member; that each of them had equal pretentions to the government of the province. Thus tutored, and furnished moreover, with forty thousand pieces of silver from the public treasury, the deputies began their journey.

Just at this period, a person named Jesus, a Galilean, arrived at Jerusalem, at the head of a band of six hundred soldiers. This man entered into an engagement with the deputies, on the promise of three months pay, in advance, to accompany them with his troops, and to submit to all their orders. They also retained in their service three hundred mercenaries, whom they had collected in the city, and a party of an hundred men, commanded by the brother of John. They were enjoined, in case I should voluntarily surrender myself, to send me in chains to Jerusalem; but to give me no quarter if I should make the least resistance; and were fully indemnified from all consequences, by the powers granted to them, in their commission. Letters were dispatched to John, also, requiring his assistance in the designs carrying on against me; and the Sepphorites, the Gabarenes, and the Tiberians, were likewise engaged to lend their aid on the occasion.

Jesus, the son of Gamala, however, who wished me well, and was privy to all the aforementioned transactions, sent intelligence, it seems, from time to time, of what passed, to my father, who constantly communicated the same to me. I was greatly affected by the ingratitude, treachery, and malice of the faction at Jerusalem; nor was I undisturbed at the uneasiness expressed by my father, who eagerly pressed me to repair to him, expressing an earnest desire to see me once again, before his death. I assembled my friends, and acquainted them with my determination to resign my command and return home, in the course of three days. They all expressed great sorrow on the occasion, and earnestly solicited me to drop my design, urging, that my departure would be attended with certain destruction to them: but, as my life was now at stake, I still persevered in the resolution I had formed. The news of my intention was quickly spread throughout the whole province, by the diligence of the Galileans, who entertained the strongest apprehensions, that they must be inevitably over-run by the out-laws, and other banditti, as soon as I should have abandoned them. A large number of people, accompa-
panied by their wives and children, assembled, in consequence, in the great plain of Aroch, in which city, I at that time, resided, with the view of prevailing upon me to continue with them; for, perhaps, from any motives of affection for me, than from a dread of the danger which threatened themselves; for they imagined that they had nothing to fear, while I remained amongst them.

That night, I had a very remarkable dream. Being in great perturbation of mind, arising from the intelligence I had received from my father, I fancied that I saw the figure of a man approach my bedside, and address me in these words: Take courage, thou worthy man; for all these troubles will quickly have an end, and will, moreover, be productive not only of your present, but future advantage and satisfaction. Be resolute, therefore, and remember that I forewarned you, that you would be engaged in a war against the Romans. Awaking from this dream, I rose, with an intention of walking for the benefit of the air; and I no sooner appeared at the door, which leads towards the plain, than a multitude of the Galileans, of all ages, and either sex, prostrated themselves before me, and, with tears besought me not to abandon them, in this extremity, to the mercy of their enemies. Perceiving that, notwithstanding their importunities, I continued inflexible, they, in the most solemn manner, adjured me to yield to their request, venting, at the same time, the bitterest execrations on the turbulent temper of the people of Jerusalem.

This scene affected me to a very high degree; and, reflecting upon the wretched and forlorn situation of these inoffensive people, I determined to expose myself to every danger, for their service; and, therefore, consented to retain the command of the province. I, accordingly, desired that they would select five thousand men, furnishing them with arms and ammunition for a march, and that the rest would return, without delay, to their own habitations. To these five thousand I joined a body of my own troops, consisting of three thousand infantry and eighty horse, and marched at their head to Chabolo, a village on the borders of Ptolemais, with the apparent view of attacking Placidus, who had been sent into those parts by Cælius Gallus, with a troop of horse and two companies of foot, to destroy all the neighbouring villages belonging to the Galileans. Placidus lay intrenched at a small distance from the walls of Ptolemais; and about sixty furlongs from that place, nearer to Chabolo, I drew up my forces. Both armies ranged in order of battle, and several times took the field; but, notwithstanding my utmost efforts, I could not induce my antagonist to rest the issue of our cause on a general engagement.

Such was the state of affairs, when John and his associates, the deputies from Jerusalem, who, as I have before observed, had been sent by Simon, Ananus, the high-priest, and their party, arrived in those parts; and, as they found it would be impossible to effect their designs against me by open force, they had recourse to treachery, and, accordingly, after due deliberation, sent me the following letter.

Jonathan
Jonathan and his Deputy-Colleagues from the Council at Jerusalem, to Joseph, Greeting.

"It having been represented to our principals, that John of Gischala has, at sundry times, been guilty of certain evil practices against the safety of your person, they have commissioned us, in their names, to censure him in the most severe manner, for his conduct on the occasion, and to enjoin him to a due deference to your commands in future. And, in order that matters may be better regulated for the time to come, we request that you will repair hither with all convenient speed. As the village is but small, we desire that you will bring but few persons in your train, lest there should not be sufficient room to accommodate them."

By this requisition I was involved in great perplexity: as, if, on the one hand, I should go thither but lightly attended, my personal safety would be much endangered; and, on the other, I considered that, by marching at the head of my troops, I might subject myself to a charge of treason and rebellion. The messenger who brought the above letter, was a trooper, a bold young fellow, who had formerly been employed in the service of the king. I chanced to be at supper, with some friends, and several Galileans of quality, when the messenger arrived. I ordered him to be introduced; and, upon his entrance, without the least show of respect to the company, he put the packet into my hand, telling me, with an air of insolence, that it came from the deputies from Jerusalem, and required an immediate answer, as his orders were to return without delay. All present expressed, by their looks, great surprize at the abrupt behaviour of the man. I invited him, however, to partake of our collation, but he declined the offer. During this whole time I kept the letter in my hand unopened, pretending to be engaged in private conversation with some of the company, or in attending others, who were retiring. It was in one of these intervals that I took the opportunity of breaking open the letter, and, having just glanced my eye upon the contents, folded it up again, and returned to my companions, without mentioning the circumstance. There now remained with me only four of my particular friends, and a boy to serve us with wine. I presented the messenger with twenty drachmas, for which he was so profuse in his acknowledgements, that I plainly perceived avarice to be a predominant foible in him, and determined to convert the discovery to my advantage. I, therefore, again pressed him to sit down to table with us, promising to give him a drachma for every cup of wine he should drink. With this proposal he readily complied, and became, in a short time, so violently intoxicated, that, without even the trouble of founding him on the subject, I obtained all the particulars of the design in agitation against me; whereby I found that the deputies intended to put me to death, in case they should succeed in their scheme of getting me into their hands. Having made this important discovery, I returned the following answer to the letter I had received.

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Joseph
...it gives me great pleasure to hear of your health, and that you are arrived in Galilee, the more particularly, as I am preparing to return to Jerusalem; a design which I have long meditated; and I shall now have a fitting opportunity to resign into your hands the government of the province. I should be happy to wait on you at Xallo, or at any more distant place, were it only for the satisfaction which the interview would afford me. But, unfortunately, the exigency of public affairs requires me to continue in the post which I have for some time past occupied in the neighbourhood of Chabolo, in order to watch the motions of Placidus, who menaces the province of Galilee with an attack; and, for these reasons, I think it more advisable that you should, instantly upon the receipt of this letter, repair to me hither: and so I bid you farewell."

I remitted by this messenger with this answer, and ordered thirty Galileans of the first rank to accompany him, strictly enjoining them to make their compliments only to the deputies, without entering into any further intercourse with them; and I sent likewise one of my own guards, in whom I repose great confidence, to watch narrowly that they strictly complied with the injunction. The deputies, perceiving, on the arrival of the above persons, that their plot had failed, addressed a second letter to me, conceived in the following terms.

Jonathan and his Colleagues to Joseph, Greeting.

"You are hereby required to appear before us, at Gabara, within three days from the date hereof, to justify the accusation which you have exhibited against John of Gischala; and you are further enjoined to repair to the place above specified, without any military attendance."

Having sent away this letter, they directly repaired to Japha, one of the most considerable villages, in point of magnitude, population, and strength, in Galilee. Immediately upon their arrival, the inhabitants rose in the most tumultuous manner, and, with one voice, told the deputies to be gone; declaring that they were perfectly satisfied with my administration, and would yield obedience to no other governor. This behaviour of the inhabitants induced the deputies to retire in haste to Sepphoris; the best built city in the whole province, and strongly attached to the interest of the Romans. They were received here, 'tis true, with rather more respect than at the latter place, being conducted into the city by a party of the inhabitants; but not a word passed, on either side, relative to me. From thence they went to Asoch, where they experienced a similar treatment to what they had met with at Japha. This contemptuous conduct of the people enraged them so much, that they commanded the soldiers to repel their insolence with blows. Continuing their journey to Gabara, they were there joined by John, at the head of
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

of a corps of three thousand men. As I had now received full information of the designs of my enemies, I selected a party of three thousand men from the army under my command, and marched with them to Jotapata, distant about forty fathoms, from our camp; in order to preferve a communication with the main body, which I left under the care of a friend in whom I could confide. From this place I once more addresed the deputies in the following letter.

Joseph to Jonathan and his Fellow-Deputies, Greeting.

"If it appears to you to be so absolutely requisite that I should attend you, "I am ready to give you a meeting at any one you shall name of the four hun- "dred cities and villages of Galilee, excepting only Gabara and Gischala; "the first being the birth-place of John, and the latter, the residence of his "family and friends."

Upon the receipt of this letter, they desisted from all further importanties, and, calling a council of their friends, at which John himself was pre- sent, entered into debate what other measures should be adopted for the accom- plishment of their purpose. John recommended the sending circular let- ters throughout the whole disrtict of Galilee, not doubting but that, in each city and village of the province, one or more persons might be found suffi- ciently inclined to do me any ill office, and who might, without much difficul- ty, be prevailed on to join in an accusation against me of having betrayed the interests of the public. Could this design have been effected, the people of Jerusalem would, doubtless, have considered me as an enemy to the Gal- leans, and I should, in consequence, have been utterly deprived of their fu- ture confidence. This proposition being adopted, intelligence thereof was communicated to me, late the same night, by a deferter named Saccheus.

Being now well aware of the imminent danger which threatened me, I, without further delay, dispatched Jacob and Jeremy, both men of approved courage, and my particular friends, the first with two, and the other with six hundred men, to secure the passes, and to way-lay all the roads between Ga- lilee and Gabara, and Jerusalem and Galilee; ordering them to seize all suspected persons, particularly all couriers, and to send to me whatever letters might be found upon them. I likewise sent summonses throughout the whole province of Galilee, enjoining all persons to repair to me the next morning at Gabara, properly armed, and bringing with them provisions for three days. I divided the troops I had with me into four separate bodies, giving the command of them to my most experienced officers, with orders not to admit a single stranger into their respective corps.

Upon my arrival at Gabara, in the forenoon of the next day, I found the whole plain covered with the Galilean troops, together with a numerous body of peasants. I had scarcely began to address myself to them, when they in- terrupted me with the loudest shouts and acclamations, unanimously flyling me their benefactor and deliverer. I made my most grateful acknowl- edgements for this flattering testimony of their favour, but conjured them to act with moderation, and to do no man the least injury whatever, either in his person
person, or property; urging that, as they had a sufficiency of provision, they could have no inducement to oppose my earnest desire of effecting a reconciliation without bloodshed.

It fortunately happened that the persons to whom I had committed the care of securing the paffures, intercepted, on the very first day, some dispatches from Jonathan, to the faction at Jerusalem. They detained the messengers, as I had ordered them, and sent their packets to me; which, on perusal, I found replete with the grossest calumnies and scurrilities against myself. This incident I kept profoundly secret, and continued my journey, as if nothing had happened of any consequence. The infant that the deputies heard of my being on my march towards them, they took shelter, together with John, in the house of Jesus; a spacious and strong building, constructed much upon the plan of a citadel. A band of soldiers were concealed in the house; one of the gates only was suffered to be kept open, and orders were given that, upon my arrival, (for they supposed I meant to pay them a visit,) I should be admitted alone, and thus they imagined, that by excluding my attendants, they should inevitably make themselves masters of my person. Providentially, however, I escaped their machinations; for, having received a slight intimation of the design, and entertaining, moreover, some suspicion of the matter myself; on my arrival, I repaired, immediately, under pretence of fatigue, to the apartment provided for me, at a house in the city, directly opposite to that of Jesus.

The deputies not doubting that I had laid myself down to rest, embraced the opportunity, and went to the plain, for the purpose of prejudicing the people against me and my administration. But the reception they met with was totally different from what they expected; for the Galileans, instantly upon their approach, began to upbraid them in the most bitter terms. They made great complaint of the conduct of the council at Jerusalem towards them, and peremptorily refused to receive any governor but myself. Finding the people thus disposed, I went to the spot where Jonathan and his colleagues had stationed themselves, with the view of compelling them to produce their proofs of my misconduct before the public assembly. Immediately upon my appearance, the people surrounded me with looks strongly expressive of joy, which so closely corresponded with their words and actions, that the deputies became violently apprehensive for their safety, and would fain have withdrawn. At my request, however, they stayed; nor, indeed, were they allowed the liberty of choice, but remained, like so many statues, riveted in amazement to the spot on which they stood. Having obtained silence, and posted some of my best troops at the avenues, to prevent a surprize, and being surrounded by the rest of my guards, I addressed myself to the deputies in a speech to the following purport.

I began with reminding them of the letter they had sent me, producing it at the same time, in which they pretended to be empowered by the council at Jerusalem to hear and determine upon certain matters in dispute between John and myself. I then proposed it to themselves, whether, admitting that they were duly authorized to enquire into my conduct, they would not acquit me upon the testimony of two or three persons of established reputations.

"But,
"But," said I, confining my address to Jonathan, "what if I should refer myself to the evidence of every person here assembled, for the justification of both of my private and public conduct?" Then, turning to the people, I conjured them, to deliver their sentiments of my administration, without the least reserve. They instantly, with one voice, made an open declaration of the blessings which they had enjoyed under my government; affuring, with repeated affirmations, that I had been as cautious to prevent any injury or insult being offered to their wives and daughters, as to preserve them in the undisturbed possession of their rights and property; concluding, that they had no other wish, than that those blessings might be confirmed to them by my continuance in the command of the province. I next read, in the hearing of numbers of the Galileans, the two intercepted letters of Jonathan, mentioned above. They were replete with falsehoods and fury, and represented me in the light rather of a tyrant, than of a governor.

Being desirous of concealing from my foes the manner in which those letters came into my hands, left they should send their future dispatches by some other route, I signified that they had been voluntarily brought to me by their own couriers. The multitude were so highly incensed against Jonathan and his associates, on account of these letters, that they would, doubtless, have sacrificed them, but for my interference. After enjoining the deputies to repentance and amendment, I gave them their liberty; and, at parting, desired them, upon their arrival at Jerusalem, to make the people acquainted with the exact state of all that had passed; with which request, however, I was fully persuaded, beforehand, they would not comply, notwithstanding their promises, of which they were very liberal. In spite of the great influence which I had obtained over the people, their resentment against Jonathan and his colleagues had risen to so high a pitch, that they formed the resolution of sacrificing them in their quarters. They were very urgent with me to grant my function to this design; but, reflecting on the dangerous consequences of an insurrection, I exerted myself to the utmost, to divert them from their intention.

Perceiving, at length, that all my efforts to restrain them would be vain, I put myself at their head, and ordered them to follow me to Sogane, a village of Arabia, which is about forty stadia distant from Gabara; and thus I avoided the imputation of being the author of a civil war. At a small distance from the place, I commanded my troops to halt, and, after a short speech, in which I recommended it to them to act with moderation, I selected one hundred persons, the most eminent in point of rank and abilities, for the purpose of sending them to Jerusalem, to prefer a complaint to the council, against the ring-leaders in the late tumults. They were further instructed, in case they should find the inhabitants of Jerusalem well disposed towards me, to endeavour to procure a renewal of my commission, together with the recall of John. Thus instructed, they began their journey on the third day, attended by an escort of five hundred soldiers. At the same time, I dispatched letters to my friends at Samaria, requesting a free passage through that district for my deputies, the city being, at that period, under the Roman government, and as, by this rout, they might arrive at Jerusalem in three days.
I accompanied them as far as the frontiers of Galilee, and took such precautions to conceal their departure, that it remained a secret for a considerable time: after this I continued a few days at Japha.

When Jonathan and his colleagues found all their schemes thus disappointed, they sent John back to Gischala, and repaired to Tiberias, of which city they hoped to possess themselves, through the influence of Jesus, who was the chief magistrate there, and who had pledged himself to engage the citizens in their interest. But Silas, who commanded there, in my absence, sent me intelligence, from time to time, of all that passed, and pressed me to return thither with all possible dispatch. In consequence of my adopting this advice, I fell into a snare, which had nearly proved my destruction.

The deputies from Jerusalem, who had raised a powerful party against me in Tiberias, were greatly confounded upon my arrival at that city. They however, paid me the compliment of a visit; repeatedly felicitating me on the high reputation I had acquired in the execution of my office, and claiming to themselves some small share therein, both as I was their fellow-citizen, and had been, in a manner, their pupil. They professed much friendship for me, and engaged, if I would return, and leave the management of the business to them, to deliver John into my hands in the course of a very short time, confirming their promises with such solemn oaths and imprecations, as induced my fullest confidence. This being the eve of the sabbath, they from thence took occasion to recommend me to retire with my troops to some neighbouring place, lest any tumult should arise among the people on that day. In order to quiet their feigned apprehensions, I, suspecting nothing of their designs, repaired to Tarichea; taking the precaution, however, to place my spies about the city and upon the road, to give me the earliest notice of any material incident that might happen during my absence. The people assembled on the next day in the Oratory, the chief place of worship in that city, and which was capable of containing a vast number of persons: with the rest came Jonathan, accompanied by his colleagues. In a short time after his entrance, he spoke, and, addressing himself to the people, expressed his concern, that the city was not provided with better governors; and there he flopped; being, at first, cautious of shewing too plainly that he meant to incite the citizens to a sedition. But Jesus, the chief magistrate, spoke with less reserve, and told the assembly, in plain terms, that it would be far more to their advantage to be governed by four persons, than by one: especially if such governors were of noble birth, and approved abilities as those men were, pointing to Jonathan and his associates, who stood close by him. Justus, likewise, declared himself of the same opinion, and he induced many others to adopt the like sentiments. But the populace were so strongly possessed with the contrary persuasion, that a dangerous tumult must inevitably have ensued, had not the deputies, it being now the hour of twelve, which is the dinner-hour among the Jews on the sabbath-day, adjourned the meeting to the next morning.

The most early intelligence of these proceedings having been conveyed to me, I departed at sun-rise, the next day, for Tiberias, where I found the people assembled in the Oratory, though they were totally ignorant of the cause of
their meeting. My unexpected appearance so greatly confounded the deputies, that they were utterly at a loss, for some time, how to proceed; at length, however, they determined to raise a report, that a body of Roman cavalry had been seen at the distance of about thirty stadia from the city, near Homonousa. This rumour was spread with such industry and confidence, even by the authors of it themselves, that it quickly caused a ferment among the people, who loudly exclaimed against the scandal of permitting their country to be thus ravaged and destroyed, while they remained inactive spectators of the devastation. I plainly perceived that the deputies intended, by this stratagem, to compel me to quit the city, and to go in pursuit of this ideal enemy, that they might secure the possession of it to themselves, by alienating the affections of the citizens from me. Nevertheless, that I might not appear deficient in my attention to the welfare of the Tiberians, I determined immediately to begin my march in search of those troops, though convinced that I should thereby further the designs which my foes were concerting against me. But finding, upon my arrival at the place where this body of cavalry was supposed to have been seen, that none such had appeared, or been heard of, I posted back, in all haste, to Tiberias, where the senate and people were engaged in secret council, and the deputies, in the midst of a tedious harangue, filled with the most bitter invectives against me, whom they represented as a man totally addicted to his pleasures, and utterly regardless of the public welfare.

At the same time they produced four letters, which they feigned to have received from four of the most distant parts of Galilee, containing a representation of the imminent danger to which they were exposed, and requesting immediate assistance. This story was readily believed by the credulous Tiberians, and they unanimously insisted that succour should be sent to their allies with the utmost expedition. I, therefore, having by this time penetrated into the design, expressed my willingness to bear an adequate part in the execution of whatever measures might be deemed requisite for the public service; observing that, as the advice which had been received, mentioned four several incursions, the army ought to be divided into as many different bodies, in order to repel them; and that, it being the duty of every good citizen to serve his country in person as well as with his advice, the deputies were under an obligation each to take upon himself the command of one of the divisions. This proposition was universally approved, and the deputies, highly enraged to find all their treachery thus countermined and defeated, were compelled to take their respective parts in this adventure. Ananias, one of the four pretended deputies, and a man of a malignant disposition, advised the appointment of a solemn fast, to be observed on the next day, with an injunction to the people to meet at a particular hour, and without arms; proclaiming his confidence in the assistance of the Almighty, independent of human aid. His intention in this proposal was, evidently, to disarm me and my troops; yet was I necessitated to concur therein, that I might not be suspected of a contempt of the religious motives by which he appeared to be actuated.

Jonathan and his colleagues, upon the rising of the assembly, dispatched a messenger to John, desiring him to come to them without fail at an early hour the
the next morning, with whatever force he might be able to raise; being convinced that, if they could secure my person, they might afterwards act as they pleased. On the next day, I privately armed myself with a corset and sword, concealed under my clothes, and chusing two of the bravest and most truly of my guards, I ordered them to take a short sword each, and to follow me to the Oratory. This precaution I took, that I might be enabled to repel any insult which might be offered me. When we came to the Oratory, I was directly admitted, with my friends; but Jesus, who kept the door, would not permit any of my attendants to follow. Just at the instant that the assembly were about to proceed to their devotions, Jesus started up, and questioned me. Where, and in whose hands, the valuable furniture, and the silver in the mafs, which were saved from the flames when the royal palace was consumed, had been deposited? This he did merely with the view of delaying the time, till the arrival of John with his troops. I answered him, however, that all those articles had been committed to the care of Capella, and ten of the chief citizens of Tiberias; to whom I referred him for a confirmation of the truth of what I advanced. Capella and the rest, thereupon, acknowledged the receipt of the effects in question. I was then required to give an account in what manner I had disposed of the twenty pieces of gold, which I received for a like value in silver? I replied, that I had distributed that money to defray the expenses of the envoys whom I had sent to Jerusalem. Jonathan and his associates observed, that I had acted very wrong, in paying my own agents from the public treasury. This evident capitolline's of my foes enraged the populace to that degree, that all things seemed to tend towards an insurrection: perceiving which, I judged it would be for my advantage to foment the disturbance. I, therefore, told Jonathan, that he need give himself no further concern about the money in question, as I would take due care that it should be refunded.

In proportion as my conduct appeared clear from imputation, the resentment of the multitude grew more violent. This happened so contrary to the expectation of the faction, that Jesus ordered the place to be cleared of all those who were not senators, under the pretext that the business on which they had met, could not be transacted in the midst of such clamour and confusion; the people, on the other hand, loudly declaring their resolution not to leave me alone with them. In the midst of the contest, a messenger entered, and whispered Jonathan, that John was close at hand with his troops. This intelligence so far emboldened Jonathan, that, giving a loofe to his violenee against me, he addressed himself to the people assembled, in these words: Do not imagine, ye men of Tiberias, that I wish to have Joseph punished for his misconduct in the affair of the money, but for his impostures on the ignorant multitude, and an undue exertion of arbitrary power. He had no sooner finished his speech, than several ruffians, who had been hired for the purpose, attacked me, and would certainly have put me to death, had not my friends drawn their swords and interposed in my defence; the populace, threatening to flone Jonathan, whom they considered as the projector of the design against me; and thus, by the efforts of both parties, I was preserved from the attempts of my foes. I had scarcely quitted the assembly, when I
met John at the head of his troops. This unexpected rencontre confounded
me greatly, but, with some difficulty, I avoided them, and, taking a by-
road, reached the lake, where I took boat, and arrived safely at Taricheae.

Upon my arrival, I summoned a meeting of the principal men of the pro-
vince, and particularized to them the palpable breaches of humanity and faith
of Jonathan, recapitulating the circumstances of his treachery and inhumanity
towards the Tiberians. The Galileans were so highly exasperated by my
harangue, that it became necessary to take some measures for appeasing their
fury, and preventing an immediate declaration of war against Jonathan,
John, and their adherents, whom they declared themselves resolutely de-
determined to pursue with unremitting fury, on condition only of my giving a
vote of content. I represented to them the probable ill consequences of an im-
petuousity of conduct on the present occasion, and declared myself of opinion,
that it would be most eligible to wait for intelligence of what had been
transacted by the deputies at Jerusalem, as their concurrence was necessary
previous to our adopting any measures of consequence. These, with some
other arguments I made use of, happily occasioned the rage of the Galileans
to subside: and John, being once more disconcerted in his treachery, returned
to Gischala.

Some days subsequent to the above events, dispatches were received from
Jerusalem, intimating that Ananus and Simon, the son of Gamaliel, had
fallen under the displeasure of the government there, in consequence of having
made attempts, by means of their agents, to deprive me of the government
of Galilee, and for presuming to act, without the function of public au-
thority, in a business of so much importance; and that their conduct had
proved so highly disgusting to the people, that it was with the utmost difficulty
they could be prevented from destroying their habitations. Other letters
were also brought, from which it appeared, that the chief inhabitants of Je-
rusalem, acting with the consent and authority of the public, had command-
ed the immediate departure of John and his associates, and, by unanimous
content, confirming me in the honourable station I possessed.

I now hastened to Arbela, where I had summoned an assembly of the Gali-
leans: and when they had convened, my deputies represented what had
passed at Jerusalem, setting forth the resentment which prevailed among the
people against Jonathan; that a commission had been transmitted to me,
whereby a formal ratification was given for the continuance of my govern-
ment of the province; and that an order had been issued, enjoining Jonathan
and his followers to decline all further pretences. This order to John and his
associates was dispatched to them by a messenger, who was directed to make
the most particular observation of their features when they received it. They
were thrown into the greatest consternation, on the perusal of the order, and
immediately summoned a council, John himself, and the chief men of Tibe-
rias and Gabara being nominated to compose the same, in order to determine
upon measures.

The Tiberians were unwilling to trust the power out of their own hands,
and to abandon a people who had claimed their protection, at a time, when
Vol. I. I they
they wickedly asserted, I had threatened them with an invasion. John co-
incided in the opinion of the Tiberians, and proposed that two deputies should
be sent to Jerusalem, to exhibit an accusation of mal-practices in the execu-
tion of my office, pretending that the reputation of my accusers, and the
unsteady disposition of the people they had to negotiate with, would inevitably
operate to my disadvantage in the minds of the populace. This matter was
asserted to, and a guard of an hundred soldiers was appointed to conduct
Jonathan and Ananus to Jerusalem, the rest of the troops remaining at Ti-
berias. A considerable body of John’s troops being at Gischala, they were
ordered to repair to Tiberias, where the people made preparation for taking,
up arms, and began a general repair of their walls.

Jonathan and his followers having proceeded as far as Dabaritta, (an ex-
tensive plain on the borders of Galilee) about mid-night were met by a de-
tachment of my out-guards, who, in compliance with my command, at-
tacked, and made prisoners of them. Levi, who commanded the party,
gave me information of this circumstance, which for some days I omitted to
notice. I sent messengers, however, to persuade the people of Tibe-
rias to lay down their arms; but from an idea that Jonathan had by this
time arrived at Jerusalem, instead of proper and manly answers, they sent me
messages in the most contemptible terms. But this indecent treatment did
not, in the least, abate my desire of prevailing with the Tiberians; for I
would, on no consideration, have been the promoter of civil discord. It
occurred, that some advantage might arise, if I could entice them out of
the town; and, in consequence of this suggestion, I drew off ten thousand
choice men, dividing them into three corps, and stationing one thousand of
them about four fadia from Tiberias in a village upon the mountains, and
ordering the rest to Dora.

I now came out of the village, and being within sight of the Tiberians,
they approached me, expressing the utmost contempt, and casting reflections
on me, equally undeserved and severe. Their vanity and insolence was so
extreme, that, in order to expose me as an object of derision, they even rep-
resented my funeral; in which ridiculous and fantastical parade, the effigy
of my body was exposed in the open field amidst a group of people meant to
perfunate my mourners. But it was not my business to attend to this trifling.

I judged it expedient to get Simon and Joazar into my power, and to effect
this, I pretended a desire of compromising the prevailing differences, by di-
viding the administration among us. I imagined that this stratagem would
have brought them out of the town, with some friends, and such a number
of guards as they might judge necessary for the safety of their persons. Joa-
zar being the more crafty man, suspected my design, and rejected the pro-
posal: but Simon having meaner abilities, and being avaricious withal, came
over to me without hesitation, attended by his friends and guards. I treated
him with proper respect and acknowledgements, and after some time spent in
conversation, under pretence of a desire to be more private, I led him to
some distance from the persons by whom he was attended, then seized him round
the waist, and ordered him to be conducted to an adjacent village. At this
instant
instant I gave a signal for my people to join me, and that being duly complied with, proceeded towards Tiberias.

On our way, we had an encounter with the enemy, who behaved with so much bravery, that it was with great difficulty I kept my men to their ground; but after an obstinate contest, it was my fortune to prove victorious, and the Tiberians retreated into the town. I had dispatched a party, by the way of the lake, to set fire to the first house they should meet with; and this being done at a lucky moment, the enemy imagining that the city was taken by force, laid down their arms, and, as a vanquished people, came, with their women and children, and sued for clemency. Satisfied with this submission, I founded a retreat, and the evening drawing on, retired for refreshment, and invited Simon to sup with me, accompanying my message with the encouraging assurance, that he should be safely conducted to Jerusalem, and provided with every convenience on his journey.

I marched into Tiberias on the following day, with ten thousand men; and having assembled the most considerable people of the town, made all necessary enquiries concerning the faction, the most active promoters of which I sent under a proper guard to Jotapata; excepting Jonathan and his particular followers, whom I dismissed, and moreover appointed a guard of five hundred men to convoy them safe to Jerusalem, giving them a sum sufficient to defray all the expences of their journey.

I had now a second visit from the people of Tiberias, who supplicated my forgiveness, and made the most solemn protestations that an unremitting fidelity should make ample recompence for former errors, finally petitioning that the plunder might be restored to the proper owners. Upon the intercession of these people, I commanded every article which had been pillaged to be brought into my presence; but I observed, that the soldiers obeyed with reluctance, and that one of them had on a more costly habit than I thought it became a man in his station to wear; I therefore questioned him, as to the manner of obtaining it, and his answers proving it to be a part of the plunder, I ordered a severe discipline to be inflicted upon him, and gave notice, that if any other should be found guilty of a similar offence, he should be doomed to a still more exemplary punishment; and I afterwards, as far as circumstances would admit, caused the articles which had been seized, to be returned to their respective proprietors.

I cannot dismiss this subject without endeavouring to controvert the assertions of Julius, who, in treating upon the matter at present in question, has transmitted to posterity the most profligate falsehoods, under the respectable name of history; and the same charge may, with equal justice, be adduced against other writers: but I shall confine myself to Julius, who, in giving an account of the war, has advanced a number of palpable fictions, which are calculated to reflect on his own country, and to brand me with dishonor. It is therefore necessary, that I should now divulge certain matters, which I have hitherto concealed from the world.

An historian is peculiarly bound to keep within the limits of truth; but a modest author is embarrassed when an abandoned character comes in his way, and he will sometimes hesitate to record disgraceful facts; but he will not suppress...
suppressed his sentiments from a motive of delicacy towards the infamous subject, but from a regard to the dignity of his own profession. “Thou, Justus, who hast put in a claim to the character of an impartial writer, say, Did not you, and your Tiberians make war against the Decapolitans in Syria, and burn their villages, previous to the revolt of the Galileans from their prince and the Roman empire, and the honour that was conferred on me by the commission conferring me governor of Galilee: and was not one of your attendants slain in the action? How, then, canst thou attribute to me the cause of that revolt? The records of the emperor Vespasian will confirm my assertions on this head: from which it will appear, that, during the residence of that prince at Ptolemais, the Decapolitans were continually importuning him for justice on you, as the chief author of all their troubles; with which request he would, undoubtedly, have complied, had not king Agrippa, who was charged with the execution of the sentence, granted you your life, at the intercession of his sister, Berenice: but notwithstanding this remission, you did not obtain your liberty for a considerable time afterwards. Moreover, your conduct has been perfectly conscientious throughout life, as will hereafter be seen; for I shall demonstrate, beyond a doubt, that you were the chief instigator of the Tiberian rebellion. I shall now prove, that both yourself and the Tiberians equally betrayed the interests of your sovereign, and of the emperor.

Sepphoris and Tiberias, the latter your native place, are the two principal cities of Galilee. The former of these is situated in the center of the province, and has several villages under its jurisdiction; and such was the fidelity of the inhabitants to the superiors of the town, that they, not satisfied with shutting their gates against me, strictly prohibited, by a public edict, all persons whatever from bearing arms in the service of our nation.

With the view of making all possible provision for their defence, they artfully obtained from me a promise to enclose their city with walls; which I had no sooner performed, than they ejected me in the most contemptuous manner; and, without the least hesitation, admitted a Roman garrison under the command of Cælius Gallus, who was at that time governor of Syria; and these transactions happened at the very time that I held all the neighbouring country in absolute subjection. Nay, so cautious were they of giving the least umbrage to the Romans, that, when the temple was besieged, and the very existence of our nation, consequently depended upon the event, they declined contributing, in the smallest degree, to our relief.

With respect to the situation of the district in which you commanded; it lies on the banks of the lake Gennefareth, at the distance of about thirty stadia from Hippos, sixty from Gabara, and an hundred and twenty from Scythopolis; all which places were in the possession of the king’s troops, and, moreover, strongly garrisoned. What, let me ask you, with all these advantages on your side, could have prevented you from discharging your duty to the Romans, had you in your heart been inclined thereto? But, admitting that I was, as you contend, at that time, in some measure,
the cause of the war: to whom, I wish to know, is the blame of the sub-
sequent transactions to be imputed? For you cannot be ignorant, that
I had been taken prisoner by the Romans some time before the siege of Je-
rusalem; that the Castle of Jotapata, with many others, had been carried
by storm, and that multitudes of the Galileans had fallen in the various en-
counters. If it be true, therefore, as you would insinuate, that you dif-
approved of the war, and was forced into it against your will, why did you
not, when that pretended necessity no longer subsisted, lay down your arms,
and throw yourself on the mercy of your sovereign, and of the Romans,
as I was then no longer in a condition to hurt you.

But you perversely persisted in your rebellion, till Vespasian had advan-
ced with his troops to the very walls of your city; when you found it ab-
solutely requisite to submit, in order to avoid that ruin which must, other-
wise, have been inevitable. Nor would this submission have availed you
any thing, but for the intercession of the king in your behalf; for your
madness and folly would certainly have been punished with the total destruc-
tion of the city, had he not obtained your pardon from the emperor: your
enmity, therefore, to the Romans proceeded, not from any fault of mine,
but merely from the impulse of your own rancorous disposition. Did I
not repeatedly grant you both life and liberty, when the chance of war had
put you in my power? Yet, it is notorious that, in the rage of your inter-
tine broils, aedutated neither by a zeal for the king’s service, nor for that of
the Romans, but solely by a spirit of animosity and vengeance against each
other, you, on one occasion only, put to death no less than one hundred
and eighty five of the citizens; which incident happened during the time I
was blocked up in Jotapata. Moreover, were not two thousand of the
Tiberians killed and taken prisoners during the siege of Jerusalem? Do you
imagine that, because you appeared, at this time, in the court of your so-
vereign, not from any motives of duty or affection for his person, but from
an apprehension of falling into my hands, you were not, therefore, to be
considered as an enemy?

If, then, as you pretend, my conduct has been reprehensible, what opi-
nion must the world entertain of your actions? Notwithstanding you had
been twice banished, as often imprisioned, and once even rescued from an
ignominious death, through the intercession of the emperor’s sister, Bere-
nice; yet, when your royal master had received you again into favour, and in-
vested you with the honourable office of secretary, you acted so inconstantly
with your duty, that he was compelled to forbid you his court and presence
for ever.

Without searching further into your mal-practices, I cannot sufficiently
applaud your modesty, in ascribing to yourself the merit of having given a
more faithful and exact account of this war, than any other writer on the
subject; when, in fact, you are totally unacquainted with the particulars of
those transactions which you pretend to relate, and even of what passed in
Galilee; for, during that period, you were engaged in attending the king,
at Berytus. In like manner, how could you be enabled to give an authen-
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tic relation of my conduct during the siege of Jotapata, when myself was
the only person who survived the capture of that city? You will, perhaps,
afford, however incorrect you may have been in other parts of your his-
tory, you have made amends by your accuracy in your recital of what hap-
pened at Jerusalem. But it will appear scarcely probable, however, that
you should be sufficiently informed of the transactions of that siege, if we
consider that you were neither upon the spot at the time, nor have even
perused the commentaries written by Vespasian on that part of the war. It
is apparent to me that you never have read those commentaries, because se-
veral passages therein are positively contradicted in your history.
I wish to know, why, if you really consider yourself as the first historian
of the present age, you did not favour the world with your admirable work
during the lifetime of Vespasian and Titus, the two generals who com-
manded in that expedition, or in the time of Agrippa and his family, all of
whom were deeply versed in the language of the Greeks? Why was this
history detained so long, nearly twenty years, from the public eye, when
you might have produced so many living evidences of the authenticity of
your relation? Why, finally, having suppressed it thus long, did you fix
upon this particular era for its publication? The reason is obvious: you
dared not submit it to the inspection and censure of the world, while there
were yet so many persons living who could have detected the fallacy of your al-
legations. My conduct, in this respect, was widely different:
Previous to the publication of my history, I put it into the hands of the
two emperors who had directed the war; each particular therein contained,
being yet fresh in every one's memory. To this I was induced by a con-
sciouness, that I had been guided solely by a regard to truth in what I had
written; and the work has, accordingly, met with as favourable a re-
ception from the world, as I could possibly desire. I communicated these
materials to many other persons, who had taken an active part in the war,
particularly to king Agrippa and several of his relations. As an indis-
table proof of the esteem in which this work was held even by Titus, he,
under his own hand, strongly recommended it to the world, as a most au-
thentic record of the transactions of the times, and likewise honoured it
with a place in his library. The fidelity and candour, which is visible
throughout the work, gave such satisfaction to king Agrippa, that he ho-
oured me with no less than sixty two letters, in testimony of his conviction
of its authenticity; two of which I have here thought proper to subjoin.

King Agrippa, to his dearest Friend Joseph, Greeting.

"The perusal of your book has afforded me great satisfaction, and I consider it as
the most faithful and exact production of the kind. Pray let me have the remain-
ing part: and so I bid farewell to my dear friend."

King Agrippa, to Joseph, his dearest Friend, Health.

"I perceive by your writings, that you have but little occasion for further inform-
ation from me; but at our next meeting I may communicate certain matters for your
consideration, which have escaped your observation."
From
From a desire to recommend my works to posterity, king Agrippa, gave the above testimonies of their authority and candour. The authenticity of the above certificates are not to be doubted: the author of them was superior to flattery; and being a man of strict integrity, his conduct towards me could not arise from the levity of making me the subject of meritment. Thus much I conceived it a justice due to my own character, to say in answer to Juflus; and I shall now proceed with my history.

Having restored good order and discipline in Tiberias, I called a council of my friends to determine on the most proper manner of proceeding against John. They advised, that as he was the cause of the general irruption, to assemble the whole strength of Galilee, and by a sudden attack, to strike a decisive blow. I objected to this, as being too barbarous a revenge; and declared myself inclined to terminate the quarrel by some means whereby the lives of the adherents of both parties might be preserved; and I afterwards had recourse to the following stratagem in favour of my design. I procured a correct list of the persons composing the faction, and published an act of amnesty, purporting that all such as should lay down their arms and return to their duty within the space of twenty days, might claim a general pardon; but towards those who should favour the measures of the enemy after that period, prohibiting the like indulgence, and denouncing slaughter, pillage, and other extremities of war against them. As this amnesty included a menace as well as conciliatory terms, it operated the more extensively upon the followers of John, four thousand of whom immediately surrendered, the citizens of Gischala, and fifteen hundred mercenaries from Tyre, only continuing in his service; and he was so depressed by this circumstance, that he presumed not afterwards to leave his own country.

The town of Sepphoris being encompassed by a strong wall, and the inhabitants being a robust, sturdy people, it was determined to put the place in a state of defence, and to apply to Cestius Gallus, governor of Syria, either to come in person and take possession of the city, or to detach a sufficient force to protect it, in case of assault. Gallus replied that they might expect him, but mentioned not at what time.

It was supposed that the concerns in which I was engaged, would delay the execution of any attempt I had meditated against Sepphoris: but gaining intelligence of the negociation which had been let on foot, I marched immediately to the place, which I attacked, and conquered. The Galileans judging this a favourable opportunity to wreak ample vengeance on the Sepphories, against whom they entertained an implacable detestation, formed the barbarous determination of involving the men and city in one common ruin. The inhabitants quitted their houses, and took refuge in the castle, leaving their effects to be plundered by the soldiery, who set fire to the town, and, without distinction of persons, made prize of all the property they could discover.

These violences gave me extreme concern; and I endeavoured by persuasions, and by exerting my authority to restrain their barbarity towards men professing to be of their own religion, and moreover belonging to the very tribe of which they were themselves also members: but finding their fury,
fury to be ungovernable, I adopted the following stratagem. I caused a report to be propagated that a numerous army of the Romans had entered the town; and, as I expected, the rumour of this pretended assault caused the Galileans to fop their outrage, and employ their whole thoughts upon means for their own preservation; and the apprehension which prevailed among them, was greatly encreased when they perceived me to join in the flight from the ideall foe.

Thus Sepphoris was preserved, in a manner surpassing expectation; and Tiberias escaped no less miraculously, some time afterwards.

A letter had been sent to the king, signed by several of the senators and principal citizens, requesting that he would honour them with his presence, and that he would take their city under his protection. The king immediately dispatched one of his chief attendants, named Crispus, a Jew by extraction, with a written answer to the above letter, importing that he would be at Tiberias in the shortest time possible. It chanced that Crispus was met upon the road by some Galileans, who knew him personally, and brought him, in custody, to me. Having learnt the object of his commission, the populace instantly took up their arms. A prodigious concourse of people assembled, the next morning, at Aoph, where I then resided, loudly accusing the Tiberians of treachery, and of a design to revolt to the king. Their fury rose, at length, to such a pitch, that they positively inflicted on my permission to destroy the city, declaring that the Tiberians were more deserving of punishment, than even the Sepphorites themselves.

I perceived that every attempt to bring the people to reason, by argument, would be vain, and their numbers precluded all hopes of reducing them by force. The contents of the king’s answer set the whole matter in so clear a light, that no vindication or palliative could be offer'd in defence of the Tiberians. After revolving in my mind various projects to restore the people to their senses, and preserve the city, I determined, at length, to observe a medium in my conduct towards them, neither absolutely opposing, nor implicitly complying with their will; and, accordingly addressed them in these terms: “The Tiberians,” said I, “have, undoubtedly, acted very wrong; and I shall readily yield to your desire of punishing them, on condition that you do nothing rashly; for, trust me, you will find, on examination, a number of persons of the first quality among yourselves, who are equally concerned with the Tiberians in this plot against your liberties. I, therefore, strongly recommend it to you, to delay the execution of your vengeance for a time, till you can discover those concealed foes to their country, and then you may punish them altogether, in a manner suitable to their demerits.” This proposal was so well approved by the multitude, that they immediately desisted, and every man retired quietly to his own home.

As Crispus was still under confinement, I made a pretext of some trifling business to get out of the town, and sending for him privately, advised him to attempt an escape, by intoxicating the keeper of the prison. This was the second time that the Tiberians were indebted to me for the preservation of their city.
Just at this juncture, Julius, the son of Pius, secretly withdrew to the court of king Agrippa. I was quite ignorant of his retreat, which arose from the following cause. At the commencement of the war between the Jews and the Romans, the Tiberians determined to adhere to the interests of the latter. But Julius, flattering himself that, in the confusion of a popular tumult, he might find means to advance himself to the government, seduced them into a revolt. But he did not succeed in his views; for so inveterate was the hatred of the Galileans to the people of Tiberias, on occasion of the repeated insults which they had experienced from them, previous to the war, that they constantly opposed and defeated all his attempts; and, during the course of my administration, myself was often so incensed by the perfidious practices of this wicked man, that it was with great difficulty I restrained from proceeding to extremities against him. From a consciousness of his danger, and not knowing, moreover, how far passion, and a series of injuries and affronts might provoke a man in my station, Julius thought it most prudent to withdraw himself out of my reach.

Although the Sepphorites had so lately experienced a deliverance little less than miraculous, yet, no sooner had they recovered from their apprehensions, than they sent a second missive to Cestius Gallus, requesting him either to come and take immediate possession of their city, or to send such a force, as, might enable them to repel an attack. Gallus, accordingly, detached a numerous body of horse and foot to their assistance, which were admitted into the city, under favour of the night. The devastation which these troops spread throughout the country, obliged me to encamp at the distance of about twenty furlongs from Sepphoris, near the town of Garizim. In the dead of the night, I possessed myself of the walls by storm; but, for want of a due knowledge of the situation of the streets, I was compelled, after remaining master of a considerable part of the city for some time, to relinquish the advantage I had obtained, and to retire. Twelve of the Roman foot, two of their horse, a few of the Sepphorites, and on our side, only one man comprised the number slain in this action.

In a short time after this event, a sharp encounter happened between us and the Roman horse, in which my men, being surrounded, overpowered by numbers, after defending themselves for some time with great bravery, were compelled to retire. On this occasion I lost one of my guards, named Julius, who had formerly been in the service of the king.

Much about this time, Silas, the captain of the king's guards, at the head of a numerous party of horse and foot, took post at the distance of about five furlongs from Julias, having previously secured all the passages leading to Cana, and the cistern of Gamala. I, therefore, dispatched Jeremiah, with two thousand men, to the banks of the river Jordan, about a furlong from Julias, where I joined him with a body of three thousand troops; some few flight skirmishes only having taken place previous to my arrival. Having placed a strong ambush in a valley, at a convenient distance from the camp, on the next day, I offered battle to the king's forces, and, ordered my men to turn their backs at the first onset, and to fly before the enemy till they had drawn
drawn them into the ambuscade. My orders were punctually obeyed; and Silas, imitating this feigned flight for an actual rout, pursued us so far, that the ambuscade fell upon his rear, and threw his troops into such disorder, that, on my facing about and attacking them in front, they were so entirely broken, that a decisive victory must inevitably have ensued, had not my horse, in that critical moment, unfortunately thrown me, and my writ being dislocated, I was carried off the field to an adjacent village, named Cepharome.

My people, fearing that the hurt I had received might be of a worse kind than it was in reality, immediately gave over the pursuit, and directed their whole attention towards providing me with proper assistance. From Cepharome, where I was seized with a fever, I went after one day’s stay, to Taricheæ. When the news of this accident came to the knowledge of Silas, he took fresh courage; and, having learnt that our out-posts were very deficient in the necessary vigilance, secretly dispatched a troop of horse to the other side of Jordan, with orders to conceal themselves, for the purpose of surprising us early in the morning, when he intended offering us battle. An engagement, accordingly, ensued; and my troops, falling into the snare, were defeated, with the loss of six men only; the enemy not daring to pursue their advantage in consequence of a report that a body of our troops were on their march, by the way of the lake, from Taricheæ to Julias.

Soon after these transactions, Vespasian came to Tyre, accompanied by king Agrippa. The people were very clamorous in their complaints against that monarch, who, they alleged, was equally the foe of the Tyrians and the Romans; accusing him, moreover, of having treacherously sent secret orders to his general, Philip, to surrender both the temple of Jerusalem, and the Roman garrison, into the hands of the Jews. This conduct of the Tyrians highly incensed Vespasian, and he gave them a severe check for their audacity, in thus calumnitating a sovereign prince, and a friend to the Roman state, recommending it, however, to Agrippa, for the purpose of restoring the peace of the city, to send Philip to Rome, to justify his conduct, on the above occasion, before the emperor. Philip, accordingly, went thither, but found Nero so much embarrassed with the civil wars then prevailing, that he was obliged to return, without obtaining an audience.

Upon the arrival of Vespasian at Ptolemais, the magistrates of Decapolis, urgently preferred their complaints to him against Juftus, who had burnt their habitations, and laid waste their country; and Vespasian, in consequence, delivered him into the hands of Agrippa, to be punished in the most exemplary manner, for the depredations committed on his subjects. Upon this occasion, the king condemned him, as I have already observed, to imprisonment, without communicating the matter to the emperor.

When Vespasian had approached near to Sepphoris, he was met by the inhabitants in a body, who conducted him into the city. They, also, readily admitted a Roman garrison, and received Placidus as their governor; and with him I had frequent contests, before the emperor came in person, to Galilee. With respect to such particulars as relate to the cause of his coming thither, my retreat to Jotapata, after being worsted at Taricheæ; my conduct, during the long siege which that place sustained, and subsequent impriso-
prisonment; the manner in which I was afterwards released; and, in short, the whole of my behaviour throughout the Jewish war; with respect, I say, to these matters, having spoken to fully in that part of my work which relates to the said war, there remains little more to add; and I shall, therefore, content myself with subjoining some few anecdotes only of my private life.

After the capture of Jotapata, on which occasion I was taken prisoner, though strictly guarded, I received every mark of respect and esteem from Vespasian, at whole infliction I took to wife a virgin of Caesarea, who was, at that time, in the same predicament with myself, respecting the loss of her liberty. We abode together but a short time; for I had no sooner obtained my release, and entered into the service of Vespasian, who was about to depart from Alexandria, than she quitted me. At Alexandria, I, a second time, entered into the marriage state. I was sent from thence, in company with Titus, to Jerusalem, where my life was repeatedly in danger, from the secret practices both of the Jews and the Romans: for, the blame of every mishap was constantly imputed to me, nor could the emperor rest for the importunities of the people to put the traitor, as they styled me, to death. But this virulence of the populace against me weighed nothing with Titus, who was then advanced to the imperial dignity, and whose extensive knowledge of mankind, taught him to disregard the ill-founded clamours of an impetuous multitude: and, such was the esteem in which he held me that, even after the destruction of the city, he generously pressed me to make choice of whatever part I pleased of the general wreck. But I availed myself no further of this permission, than to request the release of my countrymen and friends, and the privilege of retaining in my possession the Holy Bible, which I had fortunately been enabled to preserve; and my desire was instantly gratified; my brother, and near fifty other persons of my acquaintance, being, in consequence, set at liberty. I obtained the same favour for about one hundred and ninety others of my acquaintance, and friends, whom I found, together with a large number of women and children, shut up in the temple, and these were all discharged without any condition or ransom.

Titus, having determined to form a camp near a village called Thecoa, dispatched me thither, with Cerealis and one hundred horse, to take a view of the ground. At my return, I saw a number of prisoners crucified by the road side, and discovered, amongst the rest, three persons with whom I had been intimate some years. This sight affected me to a high degree; and I instantly, with tears in my eyes, communicated the matter to Titus. He directly gave orders that the bodies should be taken down, and that every possible method should be used to recover them. One of the three survived, but the others died under the hands of the operator.

As soon as Titus had re-established order and tranquillity in Judaea, he assigned me certain lands lying at a distance from Jerusalem, in lieu of others which I had formerly possessed in the neighbourhood of that city. To this he was influenced by the consideration that it would be neither convenient nor agreeable to me to be situated in the midst of the Roman troops, which must necessarily be stationed about Jerusalem, for the purpose of securing the safety of the province. I also received the distinguished honour from the emperor...
peror Vespasian, of being admitted into his own vessel, when he was on his return to Rome; and, upon our arrival there, he was pleased to treat me in the most gracious manner. He not only conferred upon me the privileges of a denizen, and gave me for my residence the palace which he had himself inhabited, previous to his exaltation to the imperial dignity; but he also settled upon me a yearly pension, and continued his favours to me during his life; which exposed me to the most virulent hatred and envy of my own countrymen.

A tumult happened at Cyrene, in which two thousand of the rabble were destroyed, and their leader, a Jew, named Jonathan, was sent in chains to the emperor, by the governor of the province. This man charged me with abetting the said tumult, by furnishing him privately with money and arms; but Vespasian, detesting the calumny, ordered him to be put to death. Several other attempts, of a similar nature, were made to ruin me in the emperor's esteem; but, by the interposition of providence, they were all defeated; and that prince conferred upon me a considerable grant of lands in Judaea.

Nearly about this time, a disagreement, which had long subsisted between my wife and me, rose to such a height, as to occasion our separating. This woman had borne me three children, of whom Hyrcanus was the only one then alive. Some time after this divorce, I married a third wife, a Cadiam by birth, of the Jewish religion, honourably descended, and famed for her excellent qualities. By her I had two sons: Juftus, the elder, and Simonides, surnamed Agrippa. Such was the state and situation of myself and family; moreover, I still preferred the favour of the Caesars: after the death of Vespasian, I experienced the same kindness from Titus, which had been shewn me by his father; and the honours conferred upon me by Domitian, were of a still more distinguished nature. A number of Jews, who had alleged false accusations against me, were put to death by him, at different times; and he inflicted a very severe punishment, for a similar offence, on an eunuch slave, whom I had employed as a tutor to my son. But the most honourable testimony of his singular kindness to me is the total exemption, which I now enjoy, from all taxes and duties upon my estate in Judaea; and my obligations to Domitia, the wife of Caesar, have not been less, in proportion, than those which I owe to the emperor himself. Thus have I particularized the principal incidents of my life, and I submit the abstrac with confidence to the cenure of the world.

I need, at present, add nothing further, for your satisfaction, to what I have here said, most learned and worthy Epaphroditus; having presumed to dedicate to you an entire new work relating to the Jewish Antiquities.
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK I.

Containing the transactions of 2230 years, commencing with the creation of the world.

CHAP. I:

INTRODUCTION.

The motives by which historians are induced to communicate to us the transactions of former times are various. Some, for example, write with the view of displaying their abilities, and of acquiring fame; while others become the panegyrists of those particular actors in the scenes they relate, of whose merit they are desirous to transmit to posterity the most indubitable proofs. Some, again, having borne a part in the actions which they record, consider themselves as being obligated, from that very circumstance, to bear evidence to all such matters as fell within their cognizance: and, finally, others are influenced to take up the pen solely from a generous indignation of the idea that such actions as, for the general good of mankind, ought to be universally published, should be buried in a degrading obscurity or oblivion.

It is under the influence of the two last of the above considerations that I have undertaken my present task; for, as I was privy to every transaction in the war between our people and the Romans, I deem it my duty to publish...
to the world a true state of all that passed during the above period, and to expose the falsehoods and misrepresentations which have been introduced into the relations of other writers on the subject. Besides, I was fully confident that I should render an acceptable service to the Greeks, by presenting them with an account of our antiquities and form of government, composed in their own language.

It was my design, when I first entered upon the execution of the History of the War, to have traced the origin of the Jews, and to have spoken of their various fortunes, and of their excellent legislator, by whom they were trained up in the practice of such exemplary virtue and piety; and I proposed, also, to relate the incidents of the various wars, in which they were engaged for so many ages, particularly of the last, which they were compelled, however averse to it they were, to maintain against the Romans: but, upon recollection, perceiving the subject to be too extensive for my present plan, I determined to dispoze the matter under different heads.

When I had proceeded a little way in the work, I found myself in the situation of most of those persons, who conceive vast designs. The execution of so voluminous a history, in a different language from my own, appeared to be replete with difficulties, that I began to repent of my undertaking. But the pressing solicitations of those who were desirous of learning the particulars of that memorable revolution, and the encouragement I met with from Epaphroditus especially, a warm admirer of all kinds of polite literature, and chiefly of history, and who had been entrusted with various commissions of importance, and experienced many reverses of fortune with unshaken resolution, and an unimpeached character; —these considerations, I say, together with a sense of shame for the preferring a life of inactivity and idleness to the perfecting of so glorious a work, incited me to persist in my first determination: and to this resolution I was super-induced, by the reflection that our ancestors had always manifested the greatest readiness to communicate such matters to the natives of the neighbouring countries, and that the Greeks themselves had repeatedly expressed an affectionate inquisitiveness, relative to the history of our nation.

It is recorded of Ptolemy the Second, a munificent patron of every species of literature, that he was remarkably solicitous to procure a history of our laws, customs, and private life, rendered into the Greek language; and that the high-priest, Eleazar, whose prudence was not inferior to that of any of his successors, readily complied with his desire in that respect; a condescension in which he, doubtless, thought himself warranted by the example of our ancestors, who never referred to themselves the knowledge of any circumstance by which mankind in general might be benefited.

I considered the conduct of the high-priest, in this instance, as a very proper precedent for myself; not doubting, moreover, that the same zeal for learning which had actuated Ptolemy, might still predominate in the breasts of many of the present race of mankind. It must be observed, however, that the copies delivered to this monarch, were such only as related to our laws, and were sent to Alexandria by the hands of certain interpreters, who were deputed for that purpose. For it is evident that those sacred writings must
THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS. 47

must necessarily contain an infinite variety of articles, being, in effect, a narrative of the transactions of five thousand years, full of remarkable incidents, various chances of war, notable actions of renowned commanders, and popular revolutions without number.

But in the perusal of this history, there is one circumstance more particularly deserving the reader’s attention; which is, that those who resign themselves to the will, and obey the ordinances of the Almighty, prosper, even beyond belief, in all their undertakings; and enjoy, moreover, the promise of ecstatic and eternal bliss in a life to come: whereas the ungodly, on the other hand, are defeated in all their designs, how feasible soever they may appear, and are plunged in endless misery and woe. Let the reader, therefore, conform himself, in all things, to the Divine will, and maturely reflect on what Mofes, our legislator, has said, respecting the nature of the Deity, and the correspondence which subsists among all the works of his hands; observing, at the same time, how free the narrative of our great law-giver is from those fictions, which abound in the relations of other writers. Yet, when the distance of time in which he wrote is considered, it will appear plain that he might have imposed upon us whatever fallacies he had pleased, without any danger of detection; as our history commences above two thousand years prior to the fabulous narrations of the poets; neither have the heathens themselves the audacity to trace so far back the origin of their gods, the boasted actions of their heroes, or the codes of their legislators. But on this subject I shall speak more amply in its proper place.

As the authenticity of the narrative depends, however, in a great degree; on the authority of what Mofes in his wisdom thought fit to deliver, it will be necessary to premise something concerning Mofes himself, in order to prevent all cavils; as my readers will naturally be surprized to find so many philosophical digressions in a work which, in the title, promises nothing more than a plain narration of historical facts. It must be observed, therefore, that this excellent person contends, that every man who would live virtuously himself, or promulge laws for the regulation of the lives of others, must, in the first place, sedulously apply himself, to obtain all possible intelligence as to the nature of the Divine Being; and, as far as the weakness of his condition will permit, to form himself on that perfect model. Without this application, no legislator can support the character he assumes; neither can he profit others by his writings, unless he convinces them, in the first place, that God is the Father and Lord of every thing that has existence; that nothing is concealed from his knowledge; and that he rewardeth the godly man, and severely punisheth those who wander from the right path. These were the doctrines which Mofes taught the people committed to his care. He did not, in the manner of other legislators, begin with enacting laws for the preservation of their rights and properties, nor with regulating the forms of stipulations, contracts, and the like; but his first care was to give them a just idea of the power of God in the creation of the world, and of the superior excellence of man over all other earthly beings: and, having possessed their minds with a due reverence of the Deity, he found them likewise susceptible of every other laudable impression. But the lawgivers of the heathens, who were
were guided solely by the fabulous traditions of the times, have, with the utmost freedom, imputed to their gods such lewdness, as would disgrace the most lascivious of men, and thus, by these examples, have they authorized and incited mankind to the commission of every species of wickedness imaginable. Our legislator, on the contrary, having, in the first place, represented to us that God is the very essence of virtue and purity, proceeds to demonstrate that every man is bound to exert his utmost endeavours to render himself a partaker, in some degree at least, of the sanctity of that divine original; denouncing, finally, a rigid sentence against the unbelievers, and such as will not admit these truths.

I hope, and trust, that every reader, who examines this work by the foregoing standard, will find each part thereof perfectly consonant with reason, and with the goodness and majesty of the Divine Being. It will be seen that I have varied my mode of treating on the different matters mentioned by our great legislator; slightly touching only upon some; illustrating others by apt allusions; and, with respect to such passages as were most worthy of a thorough investigation, I have rendered the sense of them as perspicuous as language will admit. It would engage too large a portion of my present time, to particularize the reasons which have induced me to adopt these different modes of writing; but I propose to make that my next business, if it shall please the Almighty to grant me life and health to compleat the undertaking in which I am now engaged. I shall now proceed to my history, beginning with the account given by Moses, as it is transmitted to us in the Holy Scriptures, of the creation of the world.

**CHAP. II.**

The world created in six days. The seventh day, a sabbath, or day of rest. The formation of Adam and Eve, and the etymology of their names. The garden of Eden planted, and inhabited by Adam and Eve. Particulars relating to the forbidden fruit. The Serpent tempts Eve. The fall of Adam and Eve, and the curse pronounced in consequence of that event.

"In the beginning, God created the heaven and the earth;" but the earth was, as yet, overspread with an impenetrable darkness. The Spirit of God, afterwards, passing over it, God commanded that there should be light, and, upon its appearance, having viewed the mass, he divided the light from the darkness; filling the darkness, night, and the light, day. The earlier hours of the day he called morning, and the conclusion of it, or the time of retiring to rest, evening: and this was the division of the first day. Moses terms it one, or a day, and not the first day; for which distinction I could assign a reason, but shall reserve it for the tract in which I have engaged to explain all those passages which have the least appearance of obscurity, in the works of our excellent law-giver.

The second day was employed in the construction of the firmament, or heaven, which was placed high above the rest of the works of creation, and surrounded with a chrysaline atmosphere; and the air was impregnated with that
that due proportion of humidity, which produces those refreshing showers, by which the earth is enabled to "bring forth her fruits in due season."

On the third day, God fixed the earth, which had, hitherto, floated, and encompassed it with the sea; and on the same day the various species of plants, with their seeds, were produced.

The sun, the moon, and the other planets were formed on the fourth day; being intended, by their Creator, both to embellish the firmament, in which they were placed, and, also, by the regularity of their motions and courses, to mark out to the inhabitants of this nether world, the progression of time.

On the fifth day God created the fifth, and feathered fowl; and sent them forth in couples, that every creature, according to its species, might increase and multiply upon the face of the earth.

The work of the sixth day was the formation of the various species of quadrupeds, male and female; and on this day, God also created man. Thus, in the words of Moses, "In six days God made the world, and all that is therein."

The Almighty, having thus accomplished the grand undertaking, ceased from his labours, and rested on the seventh day. Hence it is that we distinguish this day by the title of Sabbath, which, in the Hebrew language, signifies Rest, and a prohibition of every kind of worldly occupation.

After recounting these particulars, Moses expatiates upon the works and offices of nature, beginning with the creation of man. "God," says he, "formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into him the breath of life; so that he became a living soul." He adds, that this man was named Adam, which, in the Hebrew language, signifies Red; the earth, from which he was formed, being of that colour, in its original state.

By the command of God, all living creatures, male and female, passed in review before Adam, who gave to each a name, by which they have ever since been distinguished.

The solitude in which Adam had hitherto lived, rendering his situation very uneasy to him, God was pleased to provide a suitable companion for him in the person of Eve, who was formed from one of the ribs of Adam, taken from his side during a deep sleep; and he no sooner saw her, than he acknowledged the confanguinity, styling her "bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh." The common Hebrew term for a woman is לָזָה; but this woman was styled Eve, signifying the Mother of all living.

It is further related by Moses, that God planted a garden, in the eastern part of the earth, filled with every species of fruit-trees; the tree of life, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil among the rest.

The care of cultivating this garden was entrusted to Adam and Eve. A large river, which divided itself into four branches, ran through, and surrounded it. The first of these branches, styled, in the Hebrew tongue, Pison, signifying fulness or inundation, and by the Greeks, Ganges, directs its course through India, and lores itself, finally, in the sea: The second, called, in our tongue, Phora, meaning dispersion, or a flower; and the third, which we call Diglath, or narrow and rapid, are both called Euphrates by the Greeks.
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS UPON

Greeks, and they empty themselves into the Red-Sea: the fourth branch shapes its course through Egypt, and is called by us Gihon, which means, to come from the east; but the Greeks term it the Nile.

It was permitted to Adam and Eve to eat of every fruit in the garden, except of the tree of knowledge; which they were prohibited from tasting, upon pain of death. Hitherto, a perfect harmony had subsisted among all the creatures; and the serpent appeared to be particularly familiar with Adam and Eve; but, being envious of the happiness they enjoyed, while they continued in their obedience to the commands of God; and knowing, on the other hand, the misery they would bring upon themselves by a disregard of the divine injunction, tempted the woman to taste of the fruit; by representing to her that, upon eating of it, she would be endued with a miraculous power of distinguishing between good and evil, and would attain to an equal portion of happiness with the Deity. Thus was the woman prevailed upon to violate the command of God; and the flavour of the fruit proved so grateful to her, that she solicited her husband, also, to eat of it, and he yielded to her persuasion. The virtue of the fruit beginning now to operate upon them, they perceived that they were naked, and made themselves coverings of fig-leaves, woven together, to conceal their shame; considering this discovery of their wants as an increas of happiness.

Some time afterwards, Adam perceiving the Almighty walking in the garden, was struck with a consciousness of his guilt, and endeavoured, for the first time, to conceal himself. But God, ordering him to draw near, demanded, why he, who had hitherto so eagerly sought all opportunities of presenting himself before his Creator, should now avoid him? Adam was incapable of replying; and the Almighty thus proceeded: "I had made every "necessary provision for the ease and happiness of your life; nor had I left "you even a single wish to be gratified; neither could your enjoyment "have been interrupted by the infirmities of old age: but, as you have "dared to break through the restrictions I had laid on you, and are unable, "through guilt, to offer any plea in defence of your conduct, I will shorten "the number of your days." Adam extenuated his offence in the best manner he could; supplicated pardon for his transgression, and cast the whole blame upon his wife.

The woman, on her part, alleged that it was the serpent who had seduced her from the obedience which she owed to the divine command. God, therefore, to punish Adam for listening to the insinuations of his wife, pronounced a curse on the ground; declaring that, in future, it should produce nothing but what should be extorted from it by labour, and the sweat of man's brow; neither should its produce be always answerable to his expectation and affluence. The sentence denounced against Eve, in consequence of her complying with the suggestions of the serpent, and afterwards luring Adam into the same snare, was, "in sorrow to bring forth children:" and, as the just punishment of the malice and wiles of the serpent, God deprived him of the gift of speech, put poison under his tongue, condemned him to the loss of his feet, and to crawl upon his belly in future; and branded him as the avowed enemy of mankind; further commanding Eve to tread upon his head, as being
being the source of all our miseries, and that part in which he is most susceptible of a mortal wound. Immediately after the denunciation of these penalties, the Almighty dismissed our first parents from the Garden of Eden.

**CHAP III.**

The history of Cain and Abel. Cain murders his brother. God calls him to an account for the deed; distinguishes him by a mark, and denounces a curse against him. The invention of weights and measures discovered by Cain. Cain builds the first city. Tubal the inventor of Music. Tubalcain, the first artificer in brass and iron-work. Adam lived 930 years. Seth and his sons apply themselves to the study of Astronomy. The Pillars of Seth.

E V E bore two sons: the eldest was named Cain, which means, Possession, or Acquisition; and the second was called Abel, signifying Affliction, or Mourning. The tempers of these brothers were totally different from each other. Abel, whose profession was that of a shepherd, led a virtuous and godly life; whereas Cain, who was a husbandman, and the first inventor of tillage, abandoned himself to all kinds of wickedness. He was influenced by interested motives alone, and proceeded so far in his wickedness as, on the following account, to put his own brother to death. They had mutually agreed to offer a sacrifice to God. Cain's oblation consisted of the fruits of the earth; but Abel offered up the milk and firstlings of his flock. The latter, being solely the production of nature, gave the most satisfaction to the Almighty; whereas the other appeared to be rather an offering extorted by avarice, industry, and force, than a testimony of the good-will of the sacrificer *. The preference thus manifested for Abel, gave such high offence to his brother, that he privately slew him and concealed his body. When God, who knew what had passed, enquired of Cain, where his brother was, he betrayed great confusion, and replied, with much hesitation, that he had not seen him for some time past, and was much surprized at the circumstance. Being questioned more closely, he answered, with great insolence, that he was "not his brother's keeper, nor was he of his council." God now charged him home with the murder of his brother, and he was compelled to acknowledge the fact. Upon his submission, however, God was pleased to remit the punishment of "blood for blood," but pronounced a curse on him and his descendants, to the seventh generation, and banished him, together with his wife, to a distant part of the earth. This sentence filled him with terror, left, in wandering through the world, in search of a settlement, any accident should befall him; but, to preserve him from every danger to which he might chance to be exposed, either from man or beast, God let a distinguishing mark on him, and dismissed him from his presence.

Cain

* It is observed by Leo Alatius, in his notes upon Eustatius's Hexaém, p. 270, and by Conzeus, l. 3. de Rep. Hebr. c. 1, that Joseph has committed an error in speaking of these sacrifices. See Dr. Patrick on Genesis.
Cain accordingly departed, with his wife; and, after travelling through various countries, they fixed their residence at Nais, and here they had many children; but, instead of benefiting by his afflictions, he rather became more dissolute than before, abandoning himself, without reserve, to every species of lust and violence. He enriched himself by continual depredations on the property of others, and, selecting for his associates, the most profligate of the human species, showed himself capable of giving instructions even to those adepts in villainy.

By the introduction of weights and measures, he destroyed the honest simplicity, and plain dealing of former times, and substituted policy and craft in the place of the ancient candour and generosity. It was he, who first violated the general rights of mankind, by dividing and enclosing the land in separate portions. And he also founded the first city, which he called Enos, after the name of his eldest son.

These were the descendants of Cain: Enos begot Jared; Jared begot Mahalaleel; Mahalaleel begot Methuselah; and Methuselah begot Lamech, whose two wives, Zillah and Adah, bore him seventy seven children. By the latter of these he had a son, who was the first man that dwelt in tents, and employed himself in the occupations of a pastoral life. Another of his sons, by the same wife was named Japheth; a great proficient in the science of music, and to whom we are indebted for the invention of the Psaltery and the Harp.

His wife Zillah bore him Tubal-cain, a renowned warrior, and who first discovered the art of working in brass and iron: he had a daughter, whose name was Naamah. Lamech, who had always strictly observed the progress of divine justice, conscious that his own family was involved in that dreadful judgment, which had been denounced against the whole race of Cain, on account of the murder of Abel, made his wives acquainted with the particulars of that event.

The accursed race of Cain increased daily in wickedness; not only imitating, but even surpassing the most atrocious examples of former times. War and rapine were their chief delight; and, if any of them chanced to be free from the guilt of homicide, they were equally addicted to avarice, pride, and other vices of a like bad tendency.

But to return to my subject: Adam, who had now attained his two hundred and thirtieth year, applied himself very assiduously to people the earth. He survived this period seven hundred years, and left several children, one of whom was named Seth. It would take up too much time, and would answer no purpose, to particularize the offspring of Adam; and I shall, therefore, confine myself to the mention of Seth alone. He was educated by his father with great care, and no sooner became capable of distinguishing between good and evil, than he applied himself wholly to the study of virtue. He became eminent for his qualifications; and his children closely copied the example of their excellent father. They lived in the utmost harmony and happiness, both amongst themselves, and with the rest of mankind. They were the first persons who studied the motions and influences of the heavenly bodies; and, having been forewarned by Adam of an universal deluge and conflagration,
CHAPTER IV.


MANKIND lived according to the strict principles of virtue, and in the love and fear of the Almighty, the acknowledged Lord of the Creation, for seven generations; but they afterwards disregarded the duties of religion and moral rectitude, and so far degenerated from the manners of their predecessors as to study to excel in vice with double the avidity that they had before shewn to emulate each other in the practice of virtue. The abominable impiety which now prevailed, called down the wrath of heaven upon the human race, and the angels of the Lord, mixing with the women, a perverse, and disobedient generation was produced, which with some propriety may be compared to the giants in the Greek fables, who are represented to have confounded and destroyed right and justice by an undue exertion of superior strength and power.

Noah laboured to effect a reformation by persuasion, argument, and by exerting his authority, but finding, at length, that his endeavours to reclaim this incorrigibly obstinate race would not prevail, and apprehending violence and barbarity in return for his good-will, he removed, with his family and all his people from the land of wickedness.

The virtue and integrity of Noah gained him the favour of God; but the general depravity of the age had encreased to such a shocking pitch of extravagance, that the Lord determined to extirpate the present race of mankind, and in their stead to supply a more virtuous generation, limiting the term of their lives to one hundred and twenty years.

God signified to Noah his intention to destroy the world by a flood, and commanded him to form an ark of three hundred cubits in length, fifty in breadth, and thirty in height, and that this ark should contain four stories or stages, and be constructed sufficiently firm and compact to resist the wind and water. In obedience to the command of the Almighty, Noah went into the ark with his wife and sons and their wives, taking with him male and female, in pairs, of every creature living, and seven couples of some kinds,
for the preservation of the several species, having previously supplied the ark with the proper food, and every other necessary. Noah having duly complied with the injunctions laid upon him, the Almighty caused an universal deluge, which swallowed up and destroyed all living creatures except those appointed to be preserved in the ark. Noah was descended in a right line from Adam, and was the tenth in succession, being the son of Lamech, Lamech of Methuselah, Methuselah of Enoch, Enoch of Jared, Jared of Mahalel, (who had several brothers) Mahalel of Cain, Cain of Enos, Enos of Seth, Seth being the son of Adam.

It was in the second month when the deluge happened, which month the Macedonians called Dius, and the Hebrews Marluane, according to the Egyptian manner of dividing the year. Nifan, which signifies Xanthicus, is called the first month by Moses, on account of its being the month in which he brought the Israelites out of Egypt; and this computation he invariably observes in matters which relate to the divine worship: but in regard to fairs, trade, and other civil matters, he admits the calculation of time as it was delivered to him by tradition. At the time of the general inundation, Noah was aged six hundred years: according to Moses, the first rain towards drowning the world, fell on the twenty-seventh day of the before-mentioned month, in the year of the world 2256; and this corresponds with the holy scriptures, wherein the most particular accounts are given of the births and decease of the most remarkable men of early times.

Adam was two hundred and thirty years old when he begot Seth, and at the age of nine hundred and thirty, he died. Seth begot Enoch at one hundred and five, and he died at nine hundred and five, leaving all his concerns to the management of his son Cainan, whom he begot in his ninetieth year; and Cainan lived to the age of nine hundred and ten years. Cainan was succeeded by a son, whom he begot at one hundred and seventy years old, named Mahalalel, who died at eight hundred and ninety-five, leaving his son Jared, to succeed him, whom he begot at one hundred and sixty-two, and who died at nine hundred and sixty-nine. When he was one hundred and sixty-two, his son Enoch was born, and having attained his three hundred and sixty-fifth year, "he went to God, and was no more seen". In the hundred and sixty-fifth year of Enoch's age, he had a son born, called Methuselah, and at one hundred and eighty-seven, he had another son, named Lamech, in whose favour he resigned the government which he had possessed for the space of nine hundred and sixty-nine years. When Lamech had held his commission seven hundred and seven years, he transferred it to his son Noah, who was born when his father was one hundred and eighty-two years old, and Noah continued in the administration nine hundred and fifty years. Admitting Noah's age to have been six hundred years at the time of the flood, and adding the ages of the several persons above-mentioned, the amount will appear to correspond exactly with the number of years above specified, as the period when the deluge took place. But it is our business more particularly to consider the birth, than the death of these men, who lived till they had propagated many generations:
The appointed time being arrived, God commanded the waters to pour from the clouds, and for the space of forty days, a violent and incessant rain fell upon the earth, the most elevated parts of which were covered to the depth of fifteen cubits. At the end of the forty days the waters began to decrease, and in about one hundred and fifty days more, on the twenty-seventh of the seventh month, the ark ceased to float, being left aground upon a mountain in Armenia. When Noah discovered this circumstance he looked from a window, and perceiving that the water had sunk beneath him: parts of the earth, he congratulated himself in the pleasing reflection, that the most melancholy part of the dreadful scene was past.

The water continuing gradually to decrease, Noah, in a few days, turned out a raven, which returned to the ark; whence he concluded that he could not safely venture abroad, and therefore deferred taking any measures towards a discovery for seven days longer, when he sent out a dove, which soon afterwards came back, her feathers being discoloured with slime and dirt, bringing an olive branch in her mouth; and this he considered as a certain token that the flood had nearly subsided, and that no further danger was to be apprehended. In seven days after this, Noah turned all the creatures abroad, and then going forth himself, with his family, his first business was to offer sacrifice to his Creator, after which he joined in rejoicing and meriment with his several relations. The spot on which the ark was left was called by the Armenians, Apobaterion, or the place of a deficient.

The authors of the Barbarian history have severally spoken of the deluge and the ark, and Barofus, the Chaldaean, writes to the following purpose: "They say that there are some remains of this vessel still to be seen upon the mountains of the Cordyæanes in Armenia, and that the inhabitants of the adjacent country scrape the pitch from the planks, prizing it as a rarity, and carrying it about them as an amulet, or charm against the accidents of life." Hieronymus, the Egyptian speaks of this matter in his Phenician Antiquities, and it is also taken notice of by many other writers. Nicholas of Damascus, writes to the following effect in his history (vide v. 96): "In the province of Minyas in Armenia, there is an high mountain, called Baris, whither, as tradition relates, great numbers of people fled for refuge at the time of the general deluge. There is also a tradition that a vessel, with a man in it, struck upon the above mountain, and that part of the timber remained there a long time. Probably this is the man whom Moses has mentioned."

Under the persuasion that God had pronounced a sentence of destruction against the human race, Noah was dreadfully apprehensive that the judgment would be repeated, and even that an inundation of the universe would take place annually: he therefore offered sacrifices, and humbled himself in prayer, before the Lord, beseeching the Almighty, "to continue the world in its original order; to chastise the wicked, and shew favour to the unoffending; and not to act in wrath against the whole race for the vices of some individuals, whereby those who had survived the devastation would be involved in greater misery than those who had met their fate in the waters, which had overwhelmed the world, and would besides labour under the dis-"
tressing idea of having been preserved from one calamity to become sharer
in another dismal event, similar to that of which they had already been
melancholy witnesses." He fervently supplicated the Creator "to hear his
prayers, receive his sacrifice, and, removing his indignation from man-
kind, permit them again to cultivate and enjoy the fruits of the earth, and
to restore to them those blessings and comforts of life, which they had ex-
perienced before the flood." He moreover prayed for long life to himself
and his descendants, and that such children as should be born to him in fu-
ture, might not perish till they had numbered the days of their forefathers.

The righteousness and piety of Noah were so acceptable to God, that his
petition was not wholly rejected: the Almighty said to him that, "he was not
himself the author of the judgment, but that atrocious and complicated
vices of mankind had called down the vengeance of heaven; that he gave
not life with an intention of taking it away again, for that it would have been
better not to have created man than to have given him existence under that
condition: but (said the Deity) though my wrath has been provoked by a
violation of the reverence due to me, I will prove to you that I am neither
inexorable or too severe:—your mediation has, in some degree, prevailed up-
on me against inflicting so heavy a punishment upon future sinners; therefore
be not alarmed at the contention of the elements, for however storms and
tempests may prevail, be assured that the world is in no danger of a second
inundation. I strictly enjoin you, however, not to stain your hands with
human blood, and to inflict the severest punishment upon the perpetrators of
murder. Saving the human species, every creature, whether living upon the
ever, swimming in the waters, or flying in the air, they are left to your dis-
posal, and under your command, excepting only the blood, wherein the life
of the animal is placed: and as a token of my covenant, that the arrows of
my wrath shall not strike mankind again in the same terrible manner, I will
fix my bow in the skies." The rainbow was considered as the emblem and
token of the bow of the Creator. The Lord now ascended into the heavens.

For three hundred and fifty years after the flood, Noah lived in the full
enjoyment of safety and security, so that the whole of his life was comprised
in the space of nine hundred and fifty years. To compare the time allotted
to the existence of the antediluvians, with the contracted limits to which the
days of the present generation are confined, will afford no reasonable argu-
ment against the authenticity of the traditions before us; for it does not fol-
low, because the lives of the present inhabitants of the earth are confined to
a short period, that our forefathers must have been under the same predic-
ament. In the early ages, man lived in the observance of duty and reverence
to Almighty God, who was pleased to allow him a great length of days, to
which the simplicity in the manner of living may be supposed to have con-
duced in a great measure. Providence also found it needful, for the pro-
motion of virtue, and for cultivating the study and improvement of astronomy and geometry, to give a long date to the life of man; for (agreeable to
the computation of the great year) no less a space of time than six hundred
years was required for making accurate experiments in those sciences. In sup-
port of what I have asserted on this head, I am justified in the authority of

nuine-
THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

numerous Greek and Barbarian antiquaries who have treated on historical matters. Manetho, in his Ægyptian Chronicle; Berosus, in the History of Chaldea; Mochus; Heslæus; Hieronymus; the Ægyptian, who have severally written the History of Phænicia; besides Heiod, Hecataeus, Hellenicus, Acusilas, Ephorus and Nicolaus, agree that the age of man was even extended to a thousand years. But whatever may be my opinion, I leave every man to make his own comment on what I have related according to the best of my judgement.

CHAP. V.

Shem, Japheth and Ham, the three sons of Noah, settle in Semar: described to be an obstinate and ignorant generation. Nimrod, a grandson to Noah, the principal and abettor of them. The design of the tower of Babel frustrated by the confusion of tongues.

S H E M, Japheth and Ham, the three sons of Noah were born about an hundred years previous to the general deluge; and they were the first who ventured to reside in the plains; the dread of a second flood having induced men, hitherto, to confine their abode to the mountains. They called the place, in which they first established themselves, Shinar. But, the more effectually to people the earth, and to maintain peace and harmony among mankind; and, moreover, that each man might have a more free and undisturbed possession of his property, and enjoy the fruits of the earth in greater plenty, God was pleased to command them to separate themselves, and to settle in different parts. But such was the ignorance and obstinacy of these people, that they totally disregarded the Divine injunction, and remained in the same place where they at first planted themselves, till God made them sensible of their fault in the punishment which he inflicted on them. In a course of time they became numerous and powerful, and the Almighty once more admonished and directed them to divide; but they, nevertheless, persisted in their contumacy, not only forgetting from whom they derived all the blessings they enjoyed, but arrogating to themselves the credit of their success; and, what was still worse, impiously contriving the advice which had been given them, to separate themselves, into a latent design, first to divide and weaken their force, and then to reduce them to a state of ignominious subjection.

The person who chiefly infligted the people to this audacious contempt of the command of God, was Nimrod, the nephew of Ham, one of the sons of Noah; a very brave man, but so extravagantly vain, that he would frequently boast, that he owed his present dignity to his own courage and conduct alone, independent of any interference of the Almighty. Thus he endeavoured to obtain an unlimited power over the people; being fully persuaded that they might easily be induced to apostatize from their duty to God, if they should previously confer on him the chief command. And, left their dread of a second deluge should deter them from entering into his
views, he informed them that, he had discovered an expedient to prevent any
danger of a similar accident in future. This expedient was, to erect a tower
of such a height, that the waters might not be able to reach the top of it:
and this project he was further induced to try, from motives of revenge for
the loss of those who perished in the general inundation.

This haughty boast of Nimrod flattered the vanity of the multitude to
that degree, that they began to consider a continuance in their duty to God
as derogatory to their newly-assumed confluence. They, therefore, applied
themselves to the work with the utmost alacrity. Immense as the undertaking
was, yet, from the prodigious number of hands employed therein, the work
was carried on with an expedition scarcely to be conceived. The circumfer-
ence of the edifice, from the vast thickness of the walls, appeared, to a per-
son near at hand, to take off considerably from the height of it. It was
constructed with burnt brick, and cemented with a substance resembling pitch,
that it might resist the waters. The extreme folly of these people was highly
deferving of punishment; particularly when we consider the example they had
before their eyes of the late destruction of their ancestors, in one universal
deluge. But God chose rather to confound the language of mankind, as a
punishment for their transgressions, than to extinguish the whole race a second
time. The spot on which this tower was erected, is, to this day, called Ba-
bylon; the word Babel, in the Hebrew language, signifying confusion.

The Sybil mentions the erection of this tower, and the consequent confu-
sion of tongues, in the following terms: "At that period when all mankind
spake the same language, the people assembled, and raised a tower of such
an amazing height, that they seemed to have formed the design of scaling
heaven from the top thereof. But the Gods, letting loose the winds there-
on, threw it to the ground; and, as a further mark of their displeasure,
inflicted on the builders an utter oblivion of their native tongue; substitu-
ting in the stead thereof a new, and unknown language, wherein no one
of them could understand another." With respect to Sennaar, Hefticus
makes this observation: "The priests of Jupiter the conqueror, who sur-
vived the general destruction, having preserved the holy vessels and orna-
ments, repaired with them to Babylon."

C H A P. VI.

The dispersion of the sons of Noab.

In consequence of this confusion of languages, mankind were obliged to
disperse themselves throughout the earth, some fixing their residence on the
sea-coasts, others in parts more inland: all according to the lot which God,
in his wisdom and goodness, had been pleased to assign them: but the whole
earth was to be peopled in a certain degree. Men acquired, in process of
time, some knowledge of the science of navigation, so much, at least, as
enabled them to construct boats, and to transport themselves to places sepa-
rated from the continent. They gave titles to the places in which they set-
tled, many of which still retain the names of their founders. Some, it is
true, have lost their original appellations, while those of others are disguised, only, under Greek derivations, to render them more familiar and intelligible to the neighbouring people. In succeeding ages, when the Greeks became possessors of those countries, they claimed to themselves the credit of being the first founders and possessors thereof; imposing upon them, at their pleasure, not only names, but new laws, customs, and manners also.

C H A P. VII.

The names of nations derived from their respective founders. List of the descendants of Noah, ending with Jacob; and of the places inhabited by them.

The children of the sons of Noah, in order to perpetuate their memory, gave their own names to whatever places they either founded, or acquired the possession of. Thus Japheth, the son of Noah, had seven sons, who settled in that part of Asia which extends from the mountains Taurus and Amanus to the river Tanais in Europe, to Gades. Gomer was the founder of the Gomarites, styled at this time, by the Greeks, Galatians, or Gauls. The Magogians, called, by the Greeks, Scythians, derive their origin from Magog. From Madæus came the Madæans, or Medes; and from Javan, the Ionians, and the whole race of the Greeks. Thobel founded the nation of the Thobelians, now termed Iberians, or Spaniards. The Meschinians, or Cappadocians, as they were afterwards styled, were founded by Mesches; yet there is some reason to think that they originally inhabited the town of Mazaca, from the resemblance of the ancient name, by which they were distinguished, to that of the town in question. Thires was the founder of the Thiræans, styled afterwards, by the Greeks, Thracians. These are the nations of which the seven sons of Japheth were the founders.

Gomer had three sons: Afchanaxes, Riphates, and Thygrammes. From the first came the Afchanaxians, or Rheginians of the Greeks; the second was the founder of the Riphaæans, now styled Paphlagonians; and the Thygrammæans, whom the Greeks have named Phrygians, derive their origin from the last.

Javan, also, had three sons: Alîfas, the founder of the Alîeans, now called Æolians; Tharthus, from whom came the Tharthians, since named Cilicians, as appears by the preference given to the city of Tarthus beyond all others, changing, only, the first letter Θ into a T. The third son of Javan was Cethimos, from whom the island, which we now call Cyprus, was originally named Cethyma. For this reason the Jews give the title of Cethim, not to islands alone, but to all places on the sea-coast; and in the island of Cyprus there is a town, which those whom a fondness for sound has blindly attached to the Greek tongue, style Cithium; between which and Cethim there is some degree of resemblance. All these nations derived their origin from the descendants of Japheth. But, before I proceed any further, I must remark one circumstance, which may, perhaps, have escaped the attention of the Greeks. What I mean to refer to is a custom, which they have adopted, of altering the names of places, with a view to please the ear, and to give a
softness to the pronunciation; a custom which our people neither practise nor permit. The Greeks have changed Noe to Noah; but we never alter even the terminations themselves.

The posterity of Ham fixed their residence in Syria, near the mountains of Armenia and Libanus, extending their possessions as far as the sea-coast; and they gave whatever names they thought proper to the various places under their government; but most of those names are lost to us at this day, through the corruptions and alterations which they have undergone. The Ethiopians, however, still retain the name which they derive from Chus, one of the sons of Ham, and are to this present time styled Chusians, throughout Asia. The same has happened with respect to the Meffreans, also; the whole kingdom of Egypt still preserving the name of Meffim, and the natives that of Meffreans. The Libyans were originally denominated Phutians, from Phutes, who governed in that country; and several Greek historians make mention of a river in Mauritania of this name, and of a country, which is situated on its banks, named Phute; but the name of Lybia is derived from Libys, one of the sons of Meffim. We shall shew in another place from whence this country derived the title of Africa. The kingdom of the Canaanites was founded by Canaan, the fourth son of Ham: the land which they inhabited now bears the name of Judæa.

All the sons of Ham had children; and Chus, the eldest, had six sons: Sabas, who founded the Saphæans; Evilus, the founder of the Evilæans, or Getulians, as they are at this day termed; Sabathes, from whom came the Sabathanians, or Aflabanians of the Greeks; Ramus who founded the Ramæans; and Nimrod, who, as we have already observed, remained with the Babylonians, usurped the government, and rendered his authority absolute.

The whole tract of land between Gaza and Egypt, was peopled by the eight sons of Meffirum. Philistim, one of the eight, gave his name to the country which he peopled, or to that division of it, at least, which is called Palaæline, by the Greeks. Labim, also, founded a colony, which he named Libya. Of the six remaining sons of Meffim, viz. Ludim, Ananim, Nédem, Phætrosim, Caphlim, and Chephtorim, scarce any particulars have been transmitted to us, save their names; the cities and colonies founded by them, having been destroyed in the Æthiopic war. But of those events I shall speak more at large in their proper place.

Canaan was the father of eleven sons. Of these, Sidon built a city in Phænicia, to which the Greeks have given his name; Amath founded Amathia, a place still existing, and called Amathine by the inhabitants; but the Macedonians, in compliment to one of their kings, changed the name of it to Epifhania; Aradeus possessed the island of Aradus; and Aruceus built the town of Areé, on mount Libanus. The scripture mentions nothing relative to the other seven, Euaeus, Chetasus, Jebuæus, Eudæus, Sinæus, Samaraeus, and Gergaæus, except their names; the Hebrews having utterly destroyed all their possessions on the following account.

When the earth had, in part, recovered itself from the effects of the flood, Noah re-applied himself to the cultivation of the ground, the planting of vines, and gathering and pressing the grapes when ripe; and thus he revived
the use of wine. On a certain day, after having offered a sacrifice to God of the first fruits of his vineyard, he drank to that excess of the liquor, that he became totally insensible, and lay upon the ground fast asleep; exposing his nakedness, in the most shameless manner, to the view of every one passing by. His youngest son, having discovered him in this situation, brought his brothers to the spot, to deride their father; but they, being impressed with a due sense of filial duty, concealed his shame, by throwing a covering over him. When Noah became sensible of what had passed, he blessed Shem and Japheth, for their pious conduct, but vented a bitter imprecation on the posterity of Ham; nor did the malediction fail of its effect; but it is to be observed, that Noah exempted Ham, in his own person, from his curse, in consideration of his near relationship.

Shem, the eldest of Noah's children, had five sons, who inhabited the whole tract of Asia, extending from the Euphrates to the Indian sea. From Elam were derived the Elamites, from whom came the Persians. Assur was the founder of Nineveh, where the Assyrians, as a rich and powerful people, first settled. From Arphaxad the Arphaxadæans, or modern Chaldeans, derive their origin. Aram was the founder of the Aramaeans, or Syrians of the Greeks; and from Lud came the Luddians, or Lydians of the present time.

Aram had four sons, of whom Uz founded Trachonitis and Damascus, situated between Palæstine and Cælo-Syria; Hul peopled Armenia; Melch the leader of the Bactrians; and Mefas of the Melanæans, whose country is styled at this time after the name of the camp of Spasinus.

The Jews derive the title of Hebrews from Heber, the son of Salas, who was the son of Arphaxad. Heber had two sons, Jucta and Phalec. The latter was born at that period when the division of the land took place; Phalec signifying, in the Hebrew tongue, Partition. Jucta, the eldest son of Heber, had thirteen children, whose names were Elmodad, Saleph, Asaph, Eber, Eisa, Edoram, Uzal, Declas, Ebal, Abimael, Sabeus, Ophir, Euilath, and Jobab. These inhabited all the extent of land lying between the river Cophene, in India, and the neighbouring part of Syria.

Having already mentioned the sons of Shem, I shall now treat on the subject of the Hebrews. Phalec was the son of Heber, and Ragaus the son of Phalec. Ragaus begat Serug; Serug begat Nahor; and Nahor begat Thares, the father of Abraham, the tenth generation from Noah. Abraham was born two hundred and ninety-two years after the flood. Thares was seventy years old when he begat Abraham; Nahor one hundred and twenty when he had Thares; Serug was about one hundred and thirty-two at the birth of Nahor; Ragaus had attained his one hundred and thirty-fourth year when Serug was born, and Phalec was much about the same age when he had Ragaus; Heber had reached his one hundred and thirty-fourth year when he begat Phalec; Salas was one hundred and thirty at the birth of Heber; and Arphaxad was one hundred and thirty-five years old when he had Salas; and Arphaxad, who was the son of Shem, and the grandchild of Noah, was born in the second year after the deluge.

Vol. I.

Nachor

* We rectify an error in the original work, which mentions the birth of Arphaxad to have happened in the twelfth year.
Nachor and Haran were the two brothers of Abraham; of whom the latter died at Ur, in Chaldaea; at which place a sepulchral monument erected to his memory is to be seen to this day. He left a son, named Lot, and two daughters, Sarah and Melcha: Nachor espoused the latter, and Abraham took Sarah.

Thares, the father of Abraham, was so much affected by the loss of his son Haran, that he quitted his residence in Chaldaea, and repaired, with his whole family, to Charran in Mesopotamia, where he died, and was interred in the one hundred and fifth year of his age. The term of man's life was now abbreviated, and God was pleased, soon afterwards, to reduce it to the narrow compass of one hundred and twenty years, which was the exact age of Moses.

Melcha, the wife of Nachor, bore him eight sons, whose names were Uz, Baux, Camuel, Chazad, Azaus, Pheldas, Jachelas, and Bathuele. These were the only legitimate sons of Nachor; but, by his concubine, Rumia, he had four others, named Tubæus, Gabam, Tavaus, and Machas. Bathuele had a son and a daughter, whose names were Laban and Rebecca.

CHAP. VIII.
Abraham, having no legitimate issue, adopts Lot, his brother's son; departs from Chaldaea, and settles in Canaan.

As Abraham had no legitimate offspring, he adopted Lot, his brother Aram's son, and the brother of his wife, Sarah. He departed from Chaldaea, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and, taking with him his family, and the whole of his effects, journeyed into the land of Canaan, according to the divine command, where he fixed his residence, and there died. He was equally famed for wisdom and eloquence; and, as he possessed, in an eminent degree, the abilities to neither did he want the resolution, to attack the unbridled licentiousness of the times; and, by the dint of authority, as well as of argument, he was enabled to eradicat the false notions which men had fallen into respecting religion, and to reduce unbelievers to a proper sense of their duty to God. Abraham was the first person who ventured to enforce the doctrine, that all things in heaven and earth had been formed by one Almighty Creator, to whom alone we are indebted for all the enjoyments of this life. He maintained that these truths were apparent, from the marvellous regularity which is observable throughout all the works of creation; insomuch that, did not an over-ruling providence interpose, to keep the wheel constantly in motion, the whole frame of the universe would inevitably fall into irreparable disorder; and, consequently, that our sole dependence, in all matters either of profit, or pleasure, must rest on the benevolence of the first mover, to whom alone, without arrogating any merit to ourselves, we are bound to render all honour and praise.

His endeavours to establish this doctrine in Chaldaea and Mesopotamia, incensed the people so highly against him, that he retired, by the command of God, from Chaldaea, and settled in Canaan, where he erected an altar, and
sacrificed thereon. There is a passage in Berosus, in which the Patriarch Abraham is mentioned, though not by name. "In the tenth generation," says he, "subsequent to the deluge, there dwelt in Chaldaæa, a man re-nowned for his wisdom and justice, and for his observations on the motions of the heavenly bodies." Hecataeus has been still more explicit, in a historical treatise written expressly on the subject of his transactions. Mention is also made of him by Nicolaus of Damascus, in the fourth book of his history. "Abraham," says he, "held the supreme command in Damascus, though he was not a native of the place; and he came thither, with a numerous train, from a country named Chaldaæa, which lies beyond Babylon. In a short time, the people rising in rebellion against him, he retired, with his family, to Canaanæa, now called Judæa, where he fixed his residence, and had many children, of whom I shall have occasion to speak further in a subsequent part of the work." But his very name is still held in great reverence at Damascus; and there is a village, in the neighbourhood of that city, which, to this day, is called the dwelling place of Abraham.

C H A P IX.

On occasion of a famine, which arises in Canaan. Abraham accompanied by Sarah, departs into Egypt, where he remains for a time; and then returns to Canaan.

During this period, a dreadful famine arose in Canaan; and Abraham, having learnt that Egypt enjoyed a great plenty at the time, determined to go thither; being partly induced thereto by this report, of the fruitful state of the country, and partly by a desire of converting with the Egyptian priests, on the subject of their religious tenets; ardently desirous to discover the truth; and well disposed to coincide in whatever arguments might appear to be founded in reason and justice.

As Abraham had been previously acquainted with the unbounded lasciviousness of the Egyptians, he was apprehensive of the consequences of taking Sarah with him, who was very beautiful; and, therefore, proposed to her that she should pass for his sister, with which, perceiving the necessity of the case, she complied. Upon his arrival in Egypt, matters fell out just in the manner he had foreseen; for, the fame of Sarah's beauty being spread abroad, Pharaoh was inflamed with a violent desire of seeing and possesing this miracle of a woman. But God was pleased to punish his lewd designs, by a plague and a revolt of his subjects, which broke out both at the same time. In this emergency, Pharaoh applied to the priests, to know what sin had involved him in the present calamity, and in what manner he might expiate his offence. When the priests had sacrificed, they returned him an answer, that his present misfortunes arose from the bafeness of his intentions against the wife of a stranger.

The king, being greatly alarmed at this reply, immediately requested Sarah to inform him of the circumstances of the history of herself and Abraham, without disguise; and she, accordingly, acknowledged the deception. Pharaoh,
Pharaoh, therefore, apologised to Abraham for his conduct; declaring, that he had considered the woman as his sister, and not as his wife, and had fought an alliance with her, without the least intention of offering her any personal injury or affront. He, afterwards, presented Abraham with a considerable sum of money, and granted him a permission to associate himself with the most learned men residing in the land of Ægypt; by which indulgence, his abilities and virtues became daily more conspicuous, and, consequently more esteemed. From this freedom of intercourse, Abraham was enabled to discover the senseless differences which subsisted among them, respecting rites, ceremonies, and tenets; their factions, and animosities; and their mutual contempt and hatred of one another. From this view of their conduct, he hesitated not to characterize them as a people acting in contradiction to themselves, as well as to each other; and whole notions and opinions were defective of every kind of foundation. During his residence in this country, he became famed for the solidity of his judgement, and for the powers of his eloquence. He also initiated them in the study of astronomy and arithmetic, with which sciences the people of Ægypt were totally unacquainted, till Abraham transplanted them thither from Chaldaæ, and from Ægypt they passed into Greece.

When Abraham returned to Canaan, having learnt that his shepherds and those of Lot had disagreed, relative to the boundaries of the lands of their respective masters, he proposed a division of them. Abraham permitted Lot to make choice of whatever part of them he best approved, contenting himself with the remainder, and fixed his abode in the city of Hebron; which had been founded seven years before that of Tanis, in Ægypt. The spot which Lot chose for his residence, was situated on the banks of the river Jordan, a small distance only from Sodom, which was at that period a flourishing city, but was afterwards so utterly destroyed, in consequence of the wickedness of the inhabitants, that there is not, at the present time, the least trace of it to be perceived. The particulars of this extraordinary event shall be related in their proper place,

CHAP. X.

The Assyrians obtain a signal victory over the people of Sodom, and Lot is taken prisoner.

During that period in which the Assyrians held the whole empire of Asia in subjection, Sodom and its dependencies were governed by five kings, viz. Ballas, Barfas, Senabar, Symbar, and the king of the Balinians; and each of these was invested with absolute power in his own district. In those days the Assyrians marched a numerous and well disciplined army, divided into four bodies, against the people of Sodom, whom, after a severe and bloody contest, they utterly defeated; and from this time, the kings of Sodom became tributaries to the Assyrians; and so continued for the space of twelve years. In the thirteenth year, they refused to pay the tribute imposed upon them; in consequence of which, the Assyrians, under the command
mand of Amraphel, Arioch, Chedolomor and Thabal, advanced against them a second time; ravaged Syria, subdued the race of the giants, and, entering the land of Sodom, pitched their camp in the valley among the brimstone-pits, many of which were then to be seen in that neighbourhood; but the valley since the destruction of the city of Sodom, has been converted into a lake, called Asphaltitis: of this I shall speak more at large hereafter. A great slaughter of the Sodomites ensued, and numbers were taken prisoners; among the latter was Lot, who had come to the assiduance of the city.

CHAP. XI.

Abraham pursues and routs the Assyrians, and rescues Lot and the other prisoners out of their bands. Melchisedech entertains Abraham, who presents him with a tenth part of the spoil taken from the Assyrians. God promises a son to Abraham, who, in consequence, offers up a sacrifice. Sarah brings Hagar to Abraham's bed, which gives rise to a dissention between the two women. Hagar withdraws herself from Abraham's dwelling, and is comforted by an angel. The birth of Ishmael. Isaac is promised to Abraham. Institution of the ceremony of circumcision.

IMMEDIATELY upon the intelligence being communicated to Abraham that the Sodomites had been defeated, and great numbers of his friends and neighbours killed and made prisoners; and that his nephew Lot was among the latter; he hastened in pursuit of the Assyrians, and on the fifth night of his journey, he surprized them near Dan, which is one of the heads of the river Jordan, and finding them in a state of the utmost confusion, some being intoxicated, others asleep, or unprovided with arms, and the whole incapable of making either a timely retreat or successful resistance, he availed himself of the general consternation, and falling upon them in their quarters, put a great number to death by the sword, and the next day, pursuing the rest as far as Choba of Damascus. Abraham had barely three hundred and eighteen of his own domestics, besides three auxiliary friends, when he so effectually routed this numerous army: and this may serve to prove, that victory does not so much depend on the number, as on the resolution and valour, of the combatants. The few who escaped, retreated from the observation of the public, from a sense of shame at their own daftardly behaviour. Thus was liberty restored to Lot and the other prisoners, while Abraham returned to his people with the tidings of victory and peace.

In his way home, Abraham was met, at a place called the Valley Royal, by the king of Sodom, who congratulated him on his victory: and he was there received by Melchisedech, king of Solyma, which is now called Jerusalem. Melchisedech signifies a righteous king, which appellation was worthily applied to this prince, who by the voice of the public had been elected to serve at the altar, in the character of a priest to the Most High and Almighty God. Melchisedech accommodated Abraham and his followers with various refreshments, and otherwise behaved towards them with singular friendlessness.
Flavius Josephus Upon

Iam benevolence: while they sat at table, he greatly extolled Abraham, for his noble achievements, and, with thanksgivings worthy his sacred character, glorified the Almighty for the blessing of the victory. On the other hand, Abraham presented Melechisedech with one tenth part of the spoils he had obtained, which the king graciously accepted.

Abraham also offered a portion of the booty to the king of Sodom, but he excused himself from complying with the generous proposal, saying, a return of his subjects, who had been made prisoners by the Assyrians, and afterwards rescued by Abraham, was all he could reasonably expect, defering him to dispose of every thing else, as his judgement might direct. Abraham, however, declared, that he would make no private advantage of the spoil, such a portion of which he only required, as would be sufficient to supply his soldiers and followers with provisions, and afford a proper recompence to Enner, Mambres and Eschol, the three friends who had supported him in, and shared the hazard of the battle.

The sincerity and disinterested conduct of Abraham, were so much approved by the Lord, that he informed him they should be properly rewarded. "Almighty God," said the righteous Abraham, "how will thy rewards avail me, since I have no heir to inherit the bounties you may bestow?" Now the Lord assured him, that he should have a son, and be blessed like wife with a posterity as numerous as the stars of the heavens. Upon these words a sacrifice was offered by Abraham, agreeable to the direction of the Creator. This sacrifice consisted of an heifer, a goat and a ram, being each three years old, besides a turtle-dove and a pigeon: the birds remained entire, but the other animals were divided in halves, according to the command of God. While preparations were making at the altar, for the performance of the sacrifice, and the birds of prey were hovering about, in expectation of the blood of the creatures, a voice from Heaven foretold, that the posterity of Abraham should fall into bondage in Egypt, and remain in subjection to their oppressive enemies for the space of four hundred years; at the expiration of which period, they should spread themselves over the whole country of the Canaanites, extending from Egypt to Sodom, and subject the cities and whole extent of territory to their dominion.

At this time, Abraham dwelt not far from Hebron, at a place called the Oak of Ogye, where he lamented the circumstance of his wife's barrenness, and the consequent failure of issue, but still offering up daily supplications that a male child might be born to him. These entreaties induced the Lord to repeat his promise, respecting a son, and the other blessings decreed to him on removing from Mesopotamia.

By the immediate direction of Heaven, Sarah caused an Egyptian servant in the family, named Hagar, to go to bed to her husband, hoping that her pregnancy might be the consequence; and this circumstance occurred; whereupon Hagar, under the supposition that the child within her would surely succeed to the government, became extremely presuming and arrogant to her mistress. This ingratitude determined Abraham to resign her up to the management of his wife Sarah, whom he authorized to chastise her at discretion, which mortified Hagar to that degree, that she quitted Abraham's
ham's house, and set out in search of some other settlement, earnestly supplicating the protection of heaven in her miserable condition. As she puffed through a desert, she was accosted in her flight by an angel, who ordered her to return from whence she came; telling her, that this affliction had befallen her in consequence of her pride and ingratitude, and that, upon a reformation of conduct, she would experience kinder usage for the future; enjoining her, moreover, in the strictest manner, not to neglect this admonition, but to return instantly; and assuring her, in case she obeyed, that she should live to be the mother of a child, who, in process of time, should obtain the dominion of that country. She, accordingly, returned to her mistress, and, having humbled herself, obtained her pardon: soon after which she was delivered of a son, who was named Ishmael, signifying, in Hebrew, prevailed upon; God having attended to, and granted the prayers of the mother.

Abraham had attained his eighty-sixth year when Ishmael was born; and, at the age of ninety-nine, God appeared to him, and acquainted him that his wife Sarah should be delivered of a son, whom he should name Isaac; foretelling, also, that many powerful monarchs and nations should derive their origin from him, and should conquer the whole land of Canaan, extending from Sidon to Egypt; God commanded, in order to make a distinction between the race of Abraham, and the people of other nations, with whom all commixture was strictly prohibited, that all his posterity should be circumcized on the eighth day after their birth; and this not only for the reason above assigned, but for some others also, which shall be more particularly mentioned hereafter. Abraham having enquired of God the fortune of Ishmael, received for answer, that he should live to a great age, and should be the founder of many mighty nations; whereupon Abraham returned thanks to the Almighty, and was immediately circumcized, together with Ishmael, who was then in his thirteenth year, and the rest of his family.

CHAP. XII.

The execrable crimes of the people punished by the judgment of God in the destruction of Sodom.

At this time the people of Sodom became so extravagantly vain in the great wealth and plenty which they enjoyed, as totally to fail in reverence to God, and respect to their fellow-creatures. Inhospitality to strangers, ingratitude towards those who had bestowed benefits upon them, and unnatural lufls towards each other, incensed the Almighty against them to so high a degree, that he determined to punish their abominable crimes by laying waste their whole country, and pronouncing that the parts inhabited by them, should no longer produce fruit or plants for the use and benefit of mankind.
The sentence against the Sodomites being past, while Abraham was sitting under an oak of Mambræs near the entrance of his tent, he perceived three angels coming towards him, and from their appearance, he judged them to be travellers. He rose to meet them, and, after the customary salutes, invited them to partake of the best refreshment and entertainment his habitation would afford. His professed civility was accepted, and directions were given for dressing a calf and baking a cake, which being made ready, were placed before the strangers under the oak, and they gave thanks to their host, and appeared to feed upon what had been provided for them. While the men remained before them, they inquired of Abraham respecting Sarah his wife, and were answered, that she was in the tent. They now arose as preparing to depart, observing, that they should in a short time see Abraham again, and that in the interim his wife would become a mother. Sarah was now called in, and she smiled at hearing it said, that she should have a child, she being ninety, and her husband an hundred years of age. The angels now threw off their disguise, confessed whom they were, and mentioned the commissions with which they were charged; saying, two of them were employed to execute the destruction of Sodom, and that the third was intrusted with the tidings that a son would be born to Abraham. The judgment pronounced against the people, occasioned Abraham to offer up earnest prayers to God, that he would be pleased to spare the innocent from becoming partakers of the punishment denounced against the guilty: and the Almighty said, in reply, that if ten righteous men could be found amongst the citizens, for the sake of those ten he would spare all the others. Upon this declaration, Abraham declined offering any thing farther in behalf of the people.

The two angels went to Sodom, and being observed by Lot, he invited them to take up their residence in his house. Lot was naturally benevolent towards strangers, and equal to Abraham for piety and good-nature. Some abandoned ruffians observed the angels to go into Lot's house, and as they were of graceful appearance, they conceived a design of attempting some violence upon their persons, and endeavoured to force into the house in order to gratify their brutal appetites. Every argument that could be suggested in recommendation of continence and hospitality was enforced by Lot, who even offered to give up his two daughters instead of the strangers; but this proposal they would not listen to. Highly incensed at their outrageous conduct, and the horrid complexion of their guilt, the Lord struck them with infant and total blindness on the spot, so that they could not discover the way to enter Lot's house, and the sentence of exemplary perdition was, at the same time, pronounced against the whole people.

Lot being forewarned, escaped the calamity by a timely retreat from the town, taking with him his wife and two maiden daughters. The two persons with whom these maidens were contracted to be joined in marriage, were intreated to accompany the family of Lot, but they ridiculed the threatened vengeance of heaven, and remained in the city. The wrath of God was now discharged against this impious race in a general conflagration, which consumed the city and the whole number of its inhabitants, as well as those of
surrounding country, laying the whole in a state of irreparable devastation. The wife of Lot went out of the town with her husband, but either from a motive of tenderness or curiosity, she violated the strict command of God in looking behind her, and she was in consequence turned into a pillar of salt. I have seen the pillar, and can safely assert that it still remains.

After this judgment, Lot and his daughters sought refuge in the country called Zoar, (which in the Hebrew language signifies small) this being the only place which escaped the fury of the devouring flames; but while they remained here, their life was rendered uneasy and irksome from a deficiency of provisions, and the want of social intercourse. In their solitude the daughters considered their small family as the only surviving part of the human species, and, therefore, imagined themselves, in so pressing an exigency, to be justifiable in any means they should adopt for the conservation of the human race. On this consideration they went privately to bed to their father, when he was insensible of their being his children, and the consequence was that they both proved pregnant; and each bringing forth a son, that of the eldest was called Moab (in Hebrew, meaning, of my father) and that of the younger, Ammon (or, of my race). One of these was the father of the Moabites, a powerful people yet existing, as the other was of the Ammonites, both which people were inhabitants of Cælo-Syria. In the above manner it was that Lot escaped the conflagration of Sodom.

C H A P. XIII.

Particulars concerning Abimelech, and Ishmael, the son of Abraham, and his posterity, the Arabian.

A B R A H A M withdrew to Gerar, in Palæstine, accompanied by Sarah, who still palled for his sister, from an apprehension of danger from Abimelech, who reigned over the country. It happened afterwards, that Abimelech conceived a passion for her, and endeavoured to seduce her, but was prevented from pursuing his design, by a violent fit of sickness, with which God was pleased to afflict him, as a punishment for his lasciviousness. The disorder rose to that height, that his life was despaired of, and God warned him, in a dream, to offer no violence to Sarah, she being the wife, and not the sister, of the stranger. In a short time afterwards, Abimelech, perceiving that his disorder was abated, communicated to his friends all the circumstances of his passion for Sarah, his dream, and of every thing that had passed; declaring that he considered his present sickness as a just mark of God’s displeasure.

He then sent for Abraham, by advice of his friends, and gave him the most positive assurances that the honour of his wife was still unviolated; appealing to God and her own conscience for the truth of his declaration; protesting that, had he imagined Sarah to have been his wife, he would not have offered her the least insult; and conjuring him to overlook what had passed, and to intercede with the Almighty in his behalf. He further acquainted
quainted him that should he be inclined to continue in Palæstine, he should be amply provided for: or, if he rather chose to depart, that he should be furnished with guides, carriages, and every other convenience for his journey.

Abraham, in reply, did, in some measure, justify his conduct in styling Sarah his father, she being the daughter of his brother, and, therefore, of the same blood with himself; alleging, moreover, that he looked upon this deception as necessary to his safety in his travels. He also, observing that he could not consider himself as the cause of Abimelech's sickness; and, finally, expressing a sincere regard and affection for him, declared his willingness to continue in his dominions. The king, thereupon, generously presented Abraham with a large tract of land, and a considerable sum of money; and concluded a solemn league and covenant with him, which was ratified at the well of Beer-sheba, or the Well of the Oath, which name it bears to the present time.

Sarah, soon afterwards, bore to Abraham a son, as the angel had foretold, and they named him Isaac, which, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies daughter; alluding to the circumstances of Sarah's smiling, when the angel announced to her the purpose of God to grant her a son; she judging it an improbability to bear a child at so advanced an age of life, being herself ninety, and Abraham one hundred years old, at the time of the birth of Isaac. The child was circumcised on the eighth day, which is the time still observed by the Jews for the celebration of that ceremony. But, as Ishmael, the son of Abraham by Hagar, was not circumcised till the thirteenth year, the Arabians, who are descended from him, still retain the same custom.

During the infancy of Ishmael, Sarah manifested as much tenderness for him, as if he had been her own child; and he was brought up and educated with all possible care, as the presumptive heir of the family: but, after the birth of Isaac, Sarah became apprehensive of the consequences of bringing up the two children together; as Ishmael, who was so much older than his brother, might be tempted to deprive him of the inheritance, in case of the death of Abraham. She, therefore, used all her influence with Abraham, to prevail on him to send away both the mother and the child to some distant country. Abraham, at first, rejected the proposal with horror; but, at length, being warned of God to comply with what his wife required of him, he dismissed Hagar and her son, who was still of too tender an age to provide for himself, to seek a settlement elsewhere; giving them, at their departure, a portion of bread and water for their subsistence.

Their small flock of provisions was soon consumed, and the child's strength was so much exhausted, that Hagar laid him down at the foot of a fir-tree, and retired to a distance, in order to avoid the sight of his last agonies. In this emergency, she was accosted by an angel, who directed her to a neighbouring fountain, and strictly enjoined her to pay the utmost attention to her charge, with whole safety and happiness her own was connected in the highest degree. This consolation reviving her courage, she pursued her jour-
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Wey, and, at length, fortunately met with a company of shepherds, from whom she experienced great kindness in her necessity.

When Ishmael had attained to man's estate, he married a woman of Egypt, of which country his mother also was a native. This woman bore him twelve sons, whose names were Nabaloth, Cedar, Abdeel, Mabsamas, Idumas, Mafmaus, Mallaus, Chodad, Themau, Jetur, Naphais, and Cadmas; who inhabited the whole extent of country lying between the Euphrates and the Red-Sea; and which is called Nabantua. From these persons the different tribes of the Arabians derive their origin.

CHAP XIV.

God commands Abraham to offer up his beloved son, Isaac. The exemplary faith and obedience of Isaac, and the blessing consequent thereon.

ISAAC was the only legitimate son of Abraham, born to him in an advanced period of his life, and, on both these accounts, particularly dear to him. But the tenderness of the parent was amply repaid and justified by the excellent qualities of the child. Abraham was now, therefore, no longer solicitous for life, or the enjoyments of this world, but was cheerfully disposed to resign his possessions to his heir, and his very being into the hands of God, from whom he derived it. The Almighty, however, was pleased to make a further trial of his faith and obedience; and therefore, after recapitulating the various blessings which he had conferred upon him, commanded him, as a proof of his gratitude, to offer up his beloved and only son Isaac, upon a mountain of Moriah. Abraham, who had ever paid the most implicit obedience to the will of God, did not hesitate one moment to promise an exact conformity to the present injunction.

Without communicating a syllable of his design, or of the command, either to his wife, or to any of his family, left they should oppose him therein, he departed from his own dwelling, with his son Isaac and two servants, taking with him an as laden with articles for the sacrifice. On the third day they arrived within sight of the destined place; and Abraham, leaving his servants below in the valley, ascended, the mountain, accompanied only by Isaac, who was now in the twenty-fifth year of his age. It was on this mountain that David afterwards erected a temple. Isaac, observing that his father had made all the necessary preparations for a sacrifice, yet perceiving no victim near at hand, questioned him on the subject. Abraham answered, "God that in whose power it was to relieve the wants of the ne\ncessitous, and to deprive the opulent of their store, as he found it most con\nvincing to the happiness of those who put their trust in him, would, doubt\nless provide a victim, in case he should vouchsafe to accept of an oblation."

The wood being laid, and all things in readiness, Abraham addressed Isaac in these terms: "My beloved son, thou art the child of my prayers, and, from the time of thy birth, I have spared neither cost nor pains in thy nurture and education. My utmost wish has been, that you might attain a maturity of manhood and reason, and that, whenever it should please God
God to take me to himself, I might leave thee in possession of my authority and dominions; but, since the Almighty, who first bestowed thee on me, has thought proper to recall the gift, submit thyself, I pray thee, my dear son, with a pious firmness, to the fate which awaits thee. It is to God that thou art to be offered up; to that God who now commands me to relinquish thee to him, in proof of my gratitude for the numerous blessings he hath showered upon us, throughout the course of our lives. Death is the common portion of all mankind; and, certainly, thou canst not fall more gloriously, than by the hand of thine own father, an oblation to the God and father of the universe, who prefers rather to receive thy soul into endless bliss, on the wing of prayer and ejaculation, than to suffer thee to become the victim of diseases, war, passion, or any other of the various calamities, to which mankind are hourly exposed. Reflect maturely on what I have said, and thou wilt perceive that, in the heavenly station to which thou art now summoned, thou mayst afford thy aged father unfailling support, and that, in the room of thee, my son, I shall have God himself for my protector.

Isaac manifested a firmness and resignation, on the occasion, worthy of his birth; declaring that, if he should hesitate to surrender up his life, at the requisition of God and his father, from whom he derived it, he should be undeferving of that existence which he had hitherto enjoyed; nay, that he would readily have yielded it up, at the command even of his father alone.

He then advanced to the altar, and, baring his throat, waited in patient expectation of the event; but, at the very instant that Abraham raised his arm to strike the blow, the Almighty called aloud to him from heaven, and prevented his design. God commanded him to stay his hand, and to spare the life of his son; declaring, that it was not from any pleasure that he took in human sacrifices, nor from an intention of constituting a father the murderer of that very child which he had himself bestowed on him, that he had enjoined him to this action; but solely to try how far a sense of his duty to the Almighty might operate upon him, in opposition to the dictates of affection and nature; that, finding his piety superior to all temptations, he, confirmed to him his several former promises; accepted of his intended sacrifice, and engaged that his providence should never forsake either him or his posterity; that he would bless his son, Isaac, with length of days, and a numerous and illustrious offspring, who should establish their authority over many nations, and should subdue the land of Canaan by the sword; rendering themselves the envy of the rest of mankind, by the abundance of their wealth, and the fame of their glorious deeds.

When God had finished speaking, a ram most unexpectedly appeared, at a small distance from the spot. The father and son, in a transport of surprise and rapture, now exchanged their mutual endearments; fervently praising God for his gracious promises and unbounded goodness: and thereupon, offered up a sacrifice on the spot. When they had performed this duty, they returned home, where they passed a life of ease and happiness; God prospering them in all their undertakings.
Soon after this event Sarah died, in the hundred and twenty-seventh year of her age, and was buried in Hebron. The Canaanites pressed Abraham to accept of a sepulchre for her interment; but he per¬fused in declining the offer, choosing rather to purchase a field, belonging to an inhabitant of Hebron, named Ephraim, for which he paid four hundred shekels of silver, and applied it to the above-mentioned purpose; and several monuments, erected in honour of himself and his posterity, may be seen there to this day.

CHAP. XVI.

Particulars concerning Abraham, his wife Chetura, and their progeny. The marriage of Isaac and Rebecca.

Some time after the death of Sarah, Abraham married a second wife, named Chetura, by whom he had six sons, viz. Zembran, Jazar, Madan, Madian, Jozubac, and Suus.

Sabaathan and Dadan were the two sons of Suus, of whom the latter had Latufim, Assur, and Luom. To Madian were born five sons: Epha, Opher, Enoch, Ebidas, and Eldas.

At the instigation of Abraham, these persons settled in different parts, and posses¬sed themselves of the country of the Troglodytes, and that part of Arabia Felix bordering upon the Red-Sea. A tradition has been handed down to us, that Opher, having entered Libya with a powerful army, made an entire conquest of the country: the descendants of this man, who succeeded him in the government, named it Africa. There is a passage in Alexander Polyhistor, relating to this subject, which mentions that the prophet Cleodemus (furnamed Malchus) in a history of the Jews, written by him, in the manner of Moses, their law-giver, observes that Abraham had several children by Chetura, three of whom he specifies by name; viz. Apheran, Suriim, and Japhran. The Syrians derive their name from Suriim; and the city of Apher and Aphrica take theirs from Japhran and Apheran. These are the people who are supposed to have fought under the command of Hercules, in his expedition against Antæus and Libya: and this Hercules is reported to have espoused the daughter of Apher, by whom he had Dedor, the father of Sophon, from whom the cruel race of the Sophaces derive their origin.

Isaac being now about forty years of age, his father conceived the design of marrying him to Rebecca, the daughter of Bathuuel, who was the son of his brother Nachor. On this business he dispatched one of his most trusty servants; first binding him, by an oath, to a faithful discharge of his commission; which ceremony he performed, by
putting his hand under his master's thigh, according to the form used in
that country on all similar occasions. The messenger then departed, being
invented with full powers to negotiate and conclude the business in question,
and furnished with rare and costly presents, and all necessaries for his journey.
Mesopotamia, through which his route lay, is, on account of the badness of
the roads in winter, and the great scarcity of water in summer, a most incon-
venient country for travellers. Having surmounted these difficulties, he
arrived, at length, at Charran; upon entering the suburbs of which city,
he met a number of virgins, who were going to the well for water.

He, thereupon, offered up a prayer, requesting that, if God approved of
the proposed alliance, he might meet with Rebecca in that company; and
that he might be enabled to discover her, by the circumstance of her giving
him water to drink, when all the others should deny his request. On his ar-
ival at the well, he addressed himself to each of the virgins, separately, beg-
ging them to oblige him with a draught of water. One replied, that she
had taken too much trouble to get it, to part with it so easily; another, that
she did not draw water for every one who might apply to her for it; some
making one excuse, and some another, but all refusing to comply with his
request, save one single virgin, who sharply reproved her companions for
their incivility to a stranger, and courteously offered him her pitcher to allay
his thirst. This was so auspicious a commencement, that the messenger,
after some general compliments on her person and benevolence of temper,
did, as desired to be informed to what family she belonged; wishing that her parents
might live to see her settled in the marriage state, with an affectionate and
virtuous husband, and a numerous and obedient progeny.

To this, without the least hesitation, Rebecca replied: "The name of
my father, was Bethuel; but he died long ago, and left my mother
and me, together with all his substance, to the care of my brother,
whose name is Laban; and I am called Rebecca." The messenger was
delighted with what he had heard and seen; being fully convinced that God
favoured the design on which he was come thither. He, therefore, presen-
ted Rebecca with a small chain, and some other ornaments for her person,
such as commonly attract, in a considerable degree, the attention of women
of her age; requesting her acceptance of them as a mark of his esteem for
her singular excellencies, and of his gratitude for the particular obliga-
tion she had conferred on him. He then requested that, as it grew late, and
would be unsafe travelling further, he might be permitted, for that night,
to reside at the house of her relations; adding, that he had a valuable charge
of jewels with him, which he judged he could not deposit more safely, than
in the hands of persons of such integrity, as he was authorized to suppose,
from the rare qualities he had experienced in herself, the rest of her family to
be; hoping that they would make no scruple to receive a guest, who would
not put them to any manner of charge for his entertainment. The virgin re-
plied, "that he appeared to have conceived a proper idea of the humanity of
her relations, but that she wished him to have a better opinion of their ge-
nerosity; as he should be lodged at their dwelling without any expense, but
that she would first ask her brother's permission to introduce him." This was
immediately
immediately granted, and the servants of Laban were ordered to take care of the stranger's camels, while he sat down to table with the master of the house. When supper was ended, the guest addressed himself to the mother and son, in these terms: "I am sent to you," said he, "by Abraham, the son of Thares, and your kinsman; for Nachor, directing his discourse to the woman, "the father of your late husband, was the brother of Abraham, by the same father and mother. I am a domestic servant of Abraham, who has commissioned me to propose a marriage between this virgin, and his only legitimate son and heir. From a predilection for those of his own blood, he has rejected offers of alliance with many of the most powerful families in the country where he resides. Do not, I conjure you, withhold your consent to my proposal, since God himself evidently interposes in behalf of it, and has directed me, in a miraculous manner, both to this virgin and to your dwelling. When I entered the town, I saw a number of maidens, who were going to the well for water, and I offered up a secret prayer to heaven, that I might find the virgin whom I sought among them, which happened according to my prayer: thus, you may perceive that the proposed match has already obtained the approbation of heaven, and wants but the sanction of your authority to confirm it." This marriage was so eligible in itself, and so plainly conformable to the will of God, that Rebecca was delivered into the care of the messenger, who conducted her to the house of Isaac, to whom the whole possessions of Abraham had now devolved; the children that Chetura bore to Abraham having taken up their residence in other countries.

CHAP. XVII.  

The death of Abraham.  

In a short time after the marriage of Isaac, Abraham departed this life, in the hundred and seventy-fifth year of his age. This man was equally renowned for his piety and virtue, and had rendered himself highly acceptable both to God and man. He was interred at Hebron, in the same sepulchre with his wife, Sarah; Isaac and Ishmael taking upon themselves the care of his funeral.

CHAP. XVIII.  

The birth of Esau and Jacob. Particulars relating to Esau's wives. Isaac sends Esau into the fields, to procure him some venison; but, being in years, and dim-witted, is deceived by Jacob, who personates Esau, and thus surreptitiously obtains from his father the blessing intended for his brother.

In a short time after the death of Abraham, the wife of Isaac became preg-
cause thereof. The purport of the answer he received was, that the should be delivered of twins, from whom two mighty nations, bearing their names, should proceed; and that the younger of the two should, in process of time, eclipse the glory of the elder. This prediction was in due time verified; for Rebecca brought forth twins; the elder of whom was covered with hair from head to foot, and as they came into the world, the younger was observed to be holding the other by the heel. The first-born was the favourite of his father, and was named Esau, or Seir, which signifies in the Hebrew language Hair; but Jacob, the younger, became the darling of his mother.

At this period, the land of Canaan was afflicted with a terrible famine, and Egypt enjoying the greatest abundance at the same time; Isaac was inclined to go thither; but God diverted him from his design, and, therefore, repaired to Gerar. Upon his first arrival at that place, he was received by king Abimelech with every appearance of respect and friendship, in remembrance of the ancient alliance which had subsisted between him and Abraham. But this kindness could not be expected to be of long continuance with a man who sacrificed every consideration to his envy. He perceived that Isaac enjoyed a larger portion of God’s favour than himself, and therefore dismissed him from his court. Isaac penetrating into the cause of this change of disposition in Abimelech, withdrew to a place called the Valley, at a small distance from Gerar. As his men were employed in digging for water in this place, the king’s shepherds came to the spot, and prevented them from proceeding. They then repaired to another part, where they once more began to dig, but were interrupted as before. At length, he obtained the king’s permission to dig, and the place where he first found water he named Rooboth, which signifies large or spacious. Of the other two places, where he had been disappointed, he called one Escon, signifying contention; and the other Sitenna, which, being interpreted, means enmity.

Abimelech, conscious of his own insincerity, observed, with a jealous eye, the increasing power and reputation of Isaac, who, he was apprehensive, might, on a comparison of his late unkind conduct with the favourable reception he had at first given him, be induced to revenge the insult; he was, moreover, unwilling to provoke the enmity of a man of Isaac’s temper and character. He, accordingly, taking with him one of the chief officers of his court, repaired to the spot where Isaac resided, and proposed to him a renewal of the former league which had subsisted between them; with which Isaac, recollecting the ancient friendship which his father and the king had mutually entertained, readily complied; and thus all disagreement between them ceased.

At the age of forty, Esau, the favourite of his father, married two wives; Ada, the daughter of Elon, and Alibama, the daughter of Eshbon; both persons of distinguished rank and high reputation in the land of Canaan. He contracted these marriages without consulting his father, Isaac, on the subject; nor would he have been able to have procured his consent thereto; Isaac being fully determined not to form any alliance, whatever, with the Canaanites. As the matter, however, was irremediable, Isaac judged it better
better to pass the whole over in silence, than to proceed to the extremity of compelling his son to dismiss the women.

Isaac, being now arrived at a very advanced age, and having, in part, at least, if not totally, lost his sight, called to him his son Esau; and, after premising what he was about to say, with some reflections on his age and infirmities; grievously lamenting his incapacity to serve God, as he had formerly been accustomed to do; and ordering Esau to go into the fields, and endeavour to procure him some savoury food for his supper; he promised, at his return, to bestow his blessing on him, and to recommend him to the protection of Almighty God. "The period of my own existence," says he, "draws near; and, as the hour is uncertain, I cannot employ the short time "I have to live, in a more proper manner, than in offering up prayers to "God for thy welfare and happiness."

Esau having retired, to execute his father's commands, Rebecca, who had overheard the conversation between them, contrived to transfer to Jacob, for whom she had more affection than for his brother, the blessing which was intended for Esau. She, therefore, ordered Jacob to kill a kid, and have it prepared for supper. Jacob obeyed, being constantly observant of the orders of his mother; and, when supper was ready, he set it before his father, having taken the precaution to spread the skin of the kid over his hands and arms, that he might appear to be hairy to his father, the brothers resembling each other, in other respects, so strongly, that it was impossible to distinguish one from the other: he was, however, in great agitation, lest he should be detected in the imposture, and thereby, draw upon himself a curse, in the room of a blessing.

Isaac, noting some particularity in his son's voice, bad him draw near, and finding his hands to be covered with hair, he observed, that "the voice "was Jacob's voice, but the hands were the hands of Esau;" and without further hesitation, began to eat of the victuals set before him. The repast being finished, he offered up a prayer to heaven in these words. "Eternal "God, from whom all created beings derive their origin! Thou hast showered down on my father, myself, and our offspring, a profusion of the "comforts of this life, and hast promised us the enjoyment of still greater "blessings to come: make good, O Lord, thy gracious promises, and dif-"dain not the application of thy servant on account of his infirmities, which "render him still more sensible of his dependance on thee for his support: "Preserve, I pray thee, this child from all evil; grant him length of days "and all happiness; bless him with the possession of every worldly enjoyment "which thou, in thy wisdom, shalt deem conducive to his welfare; and render "him the dread of his enemies, and an honour and comfort to his fa-"mily and friends."

No sooner had Isaac concluded his prayer, than Esau entered the room, being just returned from the chase; which circumstance discovered to Isaac the deception; but he thought proper to be silent on the matter. When the particulars of what had passed came to the knowledge of Esau, he requested of his father to bestow the same blessing on him, as he had already conferred

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on his brother. But Isaac excused himself; declaring, that he was restricted both from withdrawing, and from making a second grant of the benediction he had conferred on Jacob. Esau was so much affected with the disappointment, that he could not refrain from tears, and his father, to comfort him as far as lay in his power, assured him, that he and his posterity should excel in hunting, and in the profession of arms; concluding, nevertheless, that he must be subject to his younger brother.

Jacob, conscious of the injury his brother had sustained from him, was violently apprehensive of his resentment; and Rebecca, who was actuated by the same fears, in order to divert the danger, prevailed on Isaac to send Jacob into Mesopotamia, to take a wife from among her kindred, residing in that country.

Esau, perceiving that he had highly disoblige'd his father by forming an alliance with a Canaanitish family, which people were his professed enemies, now took to wife Batlemath, the daughter of Ishmael, for whom he entertained a stronger affection, than for any of his other wives.

CHAP XIX.

Jacob is sent into Mesopotamia, to contract a marriage with Rachel, the daughter of Laban. His vision. He engages to serve Laban, on certain conditions, and is deceived by him.

At the instigation of Rebecca, Isaac sent Jacob into Mesopotamia, to treat of a match with the daughter of Laban, Rebecca’s brother. It happened that a mortal enmity subsisted, at this time, between that family and the Canaanites; and, as the rout which Jacob was to pursue lay thro’ the land of Canaan, he durst not trust himself in any of their houses, but repos’d, during the night, in the open air; a stone, or a hillock serving him for a pillow. On a certain night, as he lay thus at rest, he had the following vision.

He imagined that he saw a ladder placed on the earth, the top of which reached to the skies; and that a number of figures, resembling, in form, the human race, but far exceeding them in size, and in the lustre of their appearance, were continually passing and repassing up and down the rounds thereof; the Almighty appearing, in person, at the top, and speaking to him in these words: “You, Jacob, who are descended from Isaac and Abraham, men beloved famous for their faith and virtue, instead of desponding of my care and protection, under any degree of affliction whatsoever, ought rather to submit cheerfully to your present troubles, with a firm reliance on me to extricate you from your difficulties. Place your trust in me, and be assured that you shall experience happier days. It was I who brought Abraham out of Mesopotamia hither, when he was driven from his possessions by those of his own family; it was I who showered down blessings on your father, through the whole course of his life; and I am determined, if you will render yourself deserving of my favour, to transfer to you those blessings which I formerly conferred on your
"your ancestors. The business which is the object of your present journey
shall succeed to your wish; you shall become the father of dutiful chil-
dren, and your progeny shall be without number. To them, and their
posterity will I give this land, as an inheritance; and they shall plant co-
lonies throughout the whole earth, and the islands, as far as the sun ex-
tends its influence. Let nothing, therefore, discourage you; but place
an implicit confidence in my protection, not only on the present oc-
casion, but in all cafes in future."

This vision filled Jacob with rapture; and he anointed the stone on which
he had repose; vowing, at the same time, if God should ever permit him
to return home again, to erect an altar on the spot, and to offer sacrifice
thereon. This vow he afterwards performed; dedicating to God the tenth
of all his substance, for an oblation. And as a further memorial of what
had befallen him there, he named the place Bethel, or the House of God.

He then continued his journey, and, after a tedious passage, arrived at
Charran, where he found several shepherds, and other young persons, of both
sexes, assembled about a well, and drawing water. He accosted them, and
begged a draught of water, to quench his thirst; and thus, by degrees, en-
tered into discourse with them; enquiring whether they knew Laban, and
whether he lived in the neighbourhood? They all answered in the affirmative,
adding, that his daughter and they were accustomed to feed their sheep to-
gether, and that they were surprized she had not joined them yet. The vir-
gin herself came to the spot, in the midst of this conversation, and was ac-
quainted by her companions with the enquiries which Jacob had made, con-
cerning her father. She immediately with an eager simplicity, began to
question him relative to the place from whence he came, and the business
which had brought him thither; making him an offer, at the same time, of
her services.

Jacob, charmed with her courteous behaviour, but much more so with
the beauties of her person, instantly conceived a violent passion for her, and
addressed himself to her in these terms: "A firm friendship," said he, "has
fulfilled between our families, if you, fair virgin, are actually the daugh-
ter of Laban, a long time previous to the birth of either of us; Abraham,
Haran, and Nachor, being the sons of Thares, and Bathuel, your grand-
father, the son of Nachor. Isaac, my father, was born to Abraham by
Sarah, the daughter of Haran. Moreover, my mother, Rebecca, is the
sister of your father, Laban, by the same parents: thus, you see that we
stand related to each other in the degree of cousin-germans; and the ob-
ject of my present journey is, to renew the ancient family league and
compact."

The virgin now recollected with how much affection she had often heard
her father speak of Rebecca, and she was so overjoyed with the idea of the
pleasure which he would derive from the circumstance of Jacob's arrival
with tidings of that excellent woman, that she burst into tears, threw her
arms round Jacob's neck, and kissed him, and, with her arms still about him,
spoke thus: "Thou bringest," said she, "the most welcome news imagi-
able, both to my father and to the whole family. He, good man, was
"never
"never so happy as when expatiating on the virtues of thy mother; and I "am positive, he would not exchange the felicity which thy tidings will "give him, for any other blessing under the sun. Therefore, let us hasten "to him, without any further delay." She then introduced him to Laban, who, as well as the rest of the family, expressed the utmost joy on his unexpected arrival.

He had been with the family but a few days, when Laban thought proper to compliment him upon the pleasure he professed that he enjoyed in his conversation; at the same time expressing some surprise, that he should have quitted his father and mother at a period, when, from their extreme age, his presence must have been most necessary to them; concluding with an assurance, that he would render him every service in his power. Jacob, to satisfy his curiosity, gave him the following short abstract of the history of his family. "My mother, Rebecca," said he, "bore twin sons, Esau and "myself. My father, being blind, was led, by the contrivance of my "mother, to confer on me the blessing he had meant for my brother. "Esau, therefore, considers me as a person who has supplanted him in his "just claim, both to his father's blessing, and the inheritance which God had "assigned him, and he determined, in consequence, to take away my life. "To avoid the danger which threatened me, and in compliance with the in-"junction of my mother, I have fled to thee for protection, as to the near-"est relation she has living; and it is on thee, next under God, that I de-"pend for my safety." Laban gave him the strongest assurances of his favour, not only in consideration of his own good qualities, but also, as being the son of his sister; saying he should ever entertain the sincerest affection for her, whatever the distance might be that should separate them; adding that, for the present, he would give him the superintendency of his flocks and shepherds; and that, whenever he should think proper to return home, he might depend on a gratification suitable to his merit.

Jacob, who was desirous of continuing in the family on any terms, con-"ented to Laban's proposal, on condition that he might have Rachel in mar-"riage, as the reward of his services; declaring that he loved her to excess, not only on account of her own rare merit, but also, as having been the pro-
"vidential instrument of his introduction to the family. Laban instantly rati-"fied the condition, with earnest expressions of joy; protesting that he should prefer him before all men living for a son-in-law; but gave him to un-
understand, at the same time, that he must wait awhile for the execution of the agreement, as it would not be without great unwillingness that he should suffer his daughter to go so far from him as to the land of Canaan; having, to say the truth, almost repented, at times, the sending his sister thither. To prove the disinterestedness of his views, Jacob engaged to wait, and contrac-
ted to serve his intended father-in-law for the term of seven years.

Precisely on the concluding day of the above term, Laban prepared the nuptial feast, and, having previously intoxicated Jacob, late at night, and in the dark, secretly conducted to his bed the beardless elder sister, instead of the younger. Jacob having discovered the imposition, expostulated with him on this breach of faith: but Laban attempted to vindicate his conduct, on
the plea of necessity; alluding that the custom of the country would not permit the younger sister to be married before the elder, and solemnly protesting that he was totally uninfluenced by any malicious motive on this occasion; "But, the disappointment you have now experienced," said he, "need not be any obstacle to your marrying Rachel at a future time; for, if you will engage yourself to me for another term of seven years, at the expiration thereof, she shall be delivered to you, unveiled, and in the face of day; and thus you will be guarded against every danger of a second deception." Jacob, who was guided solely by the dictates of his passion, yielded to this proposition also; and, having compleated the term of his contract, received Rachel for his wife.

Laban had given to his daughters two maidens, who were to attend them, not altogether in the capacity of menial servants, though they were, nevertheless, to be subservient to their commands: Zilpah attended on Leah, and Bilhah on Rachel. As Rachel evidently possessed a greater share of Jacob's affection than her sister Leah, the latter was greatly afflicted thereat; yet she still entertained hopes that, by bringing him children, she might, at length, win him to herself. This, accordingly, happened; for, having born to him a son, whom she named Reuben, or divine mercy, this circumstance influenced him in her favour, and she had afterwards three other sons, who were called Simeon, signifying God is favourable; Levi, or the support of society; and Judah, or thanksgiving.

Rachel was very apprehensive, lest the fruitfulness of her sister should, in part, abate Jacob's attachment to herself, and, therefore, contrived to deceive him, by substituting her woman, Bilhah, in her place; and by her Jacob had a son, named Dan, or the judgment of God; and she was some time afterwards, delivered of Nepthhalim, signifying artificial; alluding to the circumstance of Rachel's craft, in her contention with her sister for children. Leah afterwards adopted her sister's arts, and introduced Zilpah to Jacob, who bore him two sons, one of which was named Gad, signifying by chance; and the other Asher, or beautifying, because they obtained honor by the transaction.

On a certain day, as the two sisters were sitting together, Reuben, Leah's eldest son, brought some mandrake-apples to his mother. Rachel was eagerly desirous to partake of them, but was refused by the other, who precipitously told her, that it was unreasonable to think of depriving her of her husband and her apples also; but Rachel, to soothe her, offered to relinquish Jacob to her for that night. The proposal was accepted; and Leah, afterwards, bore other children; as Issachar, which signified born for hire; Zabulon, or a pledge of love; and a daughter, named Dinah. A considerable time elapsed before Rachel became pregnant, but, at length, she was delivered of a son, who was named Joseph, signifying an addition.

Jacob had now served his father-in-law, in the station of a superintendent over his shepherds and herdsmen, full twenty years; he, therefore, began to entertain thoughts of returning home, and of conducting his wives thither with him. But, it was necessary to act with caution; as he was conscious...
that Laban would throw every obstacle in the way of his design. He determined, however, to adopt no resolution, till he should first have consulted his wives on the subject, and have learnt how they were disposed to the measure. Finding them, however, well inclined to accompany him, he departed immediately, with his two wives, their attendants, and children; and taking with him one half of the flocks. Rachel secreted the idols which her father had been accustomed to worship; not from any respect the bore them, for her husband had convinced her of the folly of such adoration; but she imagined that, in case her father should overtake them in their flight, these images might prove the means of effecting a reconciliation between Laban and her husband.

No sooner did Laban become acquainted, on the following day, with Jacob’s secret departure, and all the attendant circumstances, than he assembled a strong party of his followers, and went in pursuit of him. In the evening of the seventh day, he overtook Jacob and his company, as they were sitting on a hillock, to rest themselves after the fatigue of the day’s journey: but, it being late, Laban and his party laid themselves down to repose. During the night, God appeared to Laban in a dream, and strictly enjoined him rather to accommodate matters than offer the least violence to his fugitive children; cautioning him, moreover, not to despise them on the inferiority of their numbers, as, in that case, he would, himself, fight on their side.

Early the next morning, Laban sent for Jacob, who came to him with the confidence of a man who is sensible of no crime. Having first related to him his dream, Laban began to reproach him: “You must be conscious,” said he, “that I received you into my house at a time when you were reduced to the most abject state of indigence; that I gener-ously relieved and entertained you, and gave you my daughters in marriage, as the most effectual means to bind you to my interests. Yet, setting at naught all regard for your mother, or for the close alliance which subsists between us, you have treated me more like an avowed enemy, than as a near relation; fusing my effects, compelling my daughters, against their wills, to abandon their parents, and even secretly conveying away the very gods of my country, for which my ancestors entertained so high a veneration. This was an injury which a generous enemy would have abased from. And from whom do I experience this undeserved ill-usage, but from my kinsman, my nephew, my son-in-law, and the man, whom I so long harboured under my roof!”

Jacob replied, in vindication of himself, “That it was natural for a man, who had been so long absent from his native country, to wish to return thither; that, with respect to the charge of robbery and injustice, he was disposed to appeal to the decision of any other person rather than Laban himself; that he thought himself entitled rather to his acknowledgements, for the care he had taken to improve his estate, than to his reproaches for having referred to himself so small a pittance out of it; and that, in the case of his taking his wives with him at his departure, both he and they had acted solely in conformity to their conjugal duty.” Thus much he said.
said in vindication of himself; and then adverted to the conduct of Laban, on whom he retorted his own reproaches; complaining, and expressing great surprise that, having served his father-in-law, with unimpeached fidelity, for the long term of twenty years, he should now be treated as the worst of foes.

It must, doubtless, be admitted, that Jacob had sufficient cause to complain of the usage he had experienced from Laban, who, observing that God manifested a strong predilection for Jacob, repeatedly imposed upon his credulity by fair speeches and promises; engaging, at one time, to bestow on him all the white cattle which should be produced in the course of the year, and at another, all the black; and when, at the expiration of the twelve-month, he found that the share promised to Jacob, amounted to the greater part of the cattle produced in the time, he refused to fulfil his engagement till the following year; being pre-determined to pay no more regard to his stipulation, at the end of that period, than he had done on former occasions, if his interest should require it.

Rachel had secreted the idols in her saddle, and pretended to have a disorder incidental to her sex upon her. Laban, therefore, to whom Jacob had given free permission to make a thorough search for the images, passed her by, not imagining that, in her condition, she would suffer any thing sacred to be so near her person. Laban, thereupon, entered into a covenant with Jacob; forgave his daughters all that had passed, and promised that, for the future they should hold the same place in his affection they had ever possessed; all which he confirmed with the solemnity of an oath. This ceremony was performed on a mountain, on which they erected a pillar, resembling an altar, and they styled it, and all the adjacent country, Galaud, or the Hill of Witnesses. After the ratification of the league between them, they feasted together, and then separated; Laban returning to his own home, and Jacob continuing his way to the land of Canaan.

CHAP. XX.

The interview between Jacob and Esau.

As Jacob pursued his journey to the land of Canaan, he had several visions, all tending to give him hopes of future success; and the place where the Almighty was pleased to grant him these revelations he named the Field of God. But he still bore in mind the ancient resentment of Esau; and therefore, privately exerted all his endeavours to discover how his brother stood disposed to him; sending, moreover, several messengers to find out his residence, and to address him, in his name, to the following effect: "That perceiving he had drawn upon himself the resentment of his brother, he retired from his own country; but, confident that his long absence must have obliterated all remembrance of past disagreements, he was now on his return home, with his wives, children, and treasures; proposing to himself, as the first with of his heart, to share the wealth. God had so profusely bestowed on him, in common with his brother."

This
This measure afforded Esau such heart-felt satisfaction, that he instantly began his journey, at the head of four hundred men, to meet him on the road. When Jacob learnt that Esau was approaching at the head of so numerous a party, he was somewhat confounded; but, quickly recovering himself, determined, with the divine assistance, to repel any attack that might be made on him. He formed his men into two bodies; ordering the first to advance, and the other to keep at such a distance, as to be able to second the first, in any advantage which they might obtain, or to support them, in case they should be repulsed. Having made these preparations, he sent some of his people before, with presents to his brother, of different species of animals, some for use, others for curiosity. These he ordered to march at a distance from each other, that they might appear more numerous than they in reality were; and he particularly enjoined the persons who conducted them, to shew the utmost deference and respect to Esau; trusting, by these means, to dispel any rancour which might yet remain in his brother’s mind. The whole day was spent in adjusting the dispositions of the troops, and at night they marched.

After they had crossed the torrent of Jabac, Jacob being at a small distance behind, an angel laid his hands on him; and Jacob wrestling with the angel, overcame him; whereupon he heard a voice, speaking to him in these words: “Thou hast fought with the best of the men of thy father’s house.” “I have overcome,” said Jacob, “thou hast foiled me.” This shall serve thee for a token, that “thou posterity shall never become extinct, and that, in all thy contests, thou shalt prove victorious.” The angel, thereupon, gave him the title of Israel, which, in the Hebrew, signifies, struggling. Jacob had prayed for a revelation of his future fortune, and, when he perceived that it was an angel who spake to him, he urged him to be explicit, and this being complied with, the angel disappeared. The joy which Jacob felt on this occasion was so great, that he named the spot, whereon the incident happened, Phanuel, signifying, the face of God. In this contest, one of the sinews of his thigh was strained, upon which account, he would never afterwards eat of that part of any animal; in which we follow his example to this day.

Jacob being informed that Esau was approaching, ordered his wives, and their attendants to walk at a distance from his troops, that, in case his brother should think proper to attack him, they might see the engagement without sharing the danger. But when Jacob perceived that Esau drew near with looks of complacency and peace, he ran towards him, and threw himself at his feet. Esau raised him up, embraced him, and, with many questions respecting the women and children, earnestly pressed him to accompany him to his father’s house. Jacob, however, declined the invitation; alleging that his horses and cattle were too much tired to continue the journey; and Esau thereupon departed to his habitation at Seir; which was so named on account of the kinsmen of his person.

C H A P.
JACOB, after his brother's departure, repaired to the place called the Tabernacles, which is the name it bears to the present time, and from thence to Sichem, in the land of Canaan. It chanced that the inhabitants were engaged in the celebration of a festival; and Dinah, the only daughter of Jacob, went thither, to be present at the spectacles exhibited on the occasion. Sichem, the son of king Emmor, conceived a passion for her, carried her off, and forced her. He afterwards asked the consent of his father to marry her, and he, not only readily yielded thereto, but went in person to Jacob, to obtain his compliance also. Jacob was greatly perplexed what answer to give the king; seeing that his conscience forbade him to marry his daughter to a person of a different religion from himself; yet neither could he, with propriety, reject the application of a person of the petitioner's distinguished rank. After some deliberation, however, he determined to request a short time to consider of the matter; and the king quitted him, in full confidence of succeeding in his views.

When the sons of Jacob became acquainted with the indignity that had been offered to their sister, and the proposal made by Emmor, they were so much confounded, that they could not determine what measures to adopt; but Simeon and Levi, the brothers of Dinah by the same mother, concerted a design, which, without the participation or privy of their father, they executed in the following manner.

Embracing the opportunity of the next festival at Sichem, they, at a late hour of the night, entered the city, overpowered the guards, whom drunkennes and inebriety had rendered an easy conquest, and killed all the males they could find, among whom were the king and his son; sparing the women alone: after the completion of this enterprize, they conducted Dinah back to their father's house. The barbarity of this action struck Jacob with the utmost horror, and highly incensed him against his sons; but God comforted him, in a dream, bidding him take courage, and cleanse his tents, and to perform the sacrifice which he vowed, in consequence of the vision while on his journey into Mesopotamia.

While Jacob was employed in the execution of this command, he accidentally discovered the gods of Laban, which Rachel, unknown to him, had buried under an oak. He then went to Bethel, where he had the vision, and there performed sacrifice. From thence he repaired to Ephrata, at which place Rachel died in child-birth, and was buried; being the only person of the family who was not interred at Hebron. He was greatly affected by this incident;
incident; but, the child surviving, he named him Benjamin, from the
great grief he gave his mother*.

Jacob had twelve sons, and one daughter. Of these, eight were legiti-
mate; six being by Leah, and two by Rachel; of the four illegitimate chil-
dren, two were born to him by Zilpah, and the same number by Bilhah.
Their names have been already given, in a preceding chapter.

C H A P. XXII.

Isaac dies, at the age of an hundred and eighty-five years, and is buried in Hebron.

From Ephrata Jacob went to Hebron, in the land of Canaan, at which
place Isaac then dwelt; but they resided together for a short time
only. Rebecca died some time previous to Jacob’s arrival, and Isaac did
not long survive her. He was interred, by Esau and Jacob, in the family
sepulchre, in Hebron, where his wife, also, had been laid. Isaac, by his vir-
tuous conduct, rendered himself acceptable in the sight of God, and, next to
Abraham, appeared to be the peculiar favourite of heaven. He passed
through life in the uniform and exemplary practice of piety and virtue, and
died in the hundred and eighty-fifth year of his age.

* This is an error. See Gen. xxxv. 18. in the LXX, and Cotelerius’s notes to the second
vol. of his Eccles. Græc. Monumenta, p. 548. See, also, Vossius Confugationum Austu-
rum, p. 563.

End of the First Book.
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTiquITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK II.

Including the transactions from the year of the world 2230, to 2454.

CHAP. I.

Esau and Jacob divide their possessions; Idumæa falls to the lot of the former, and the latter acquires Canaan for his share.

AFTER the death of Isaac, the two brothers, Esau and Jacob, shared their possessions between them; and Esau, having yielded to his brother the city of Hebron, withdrew himself to Seir, where he fixed his residence. The whole country of Idumæa belonged to him, and he named it after himself, Edom: this was a kind of nick-name, which had been given him in his youth, in consequence of the following incident. Returning one day from hunting, greatly fatigued and hungry, he found his brother employed in preparing a soup of lentils for his dinner. The very colour of them, being a fine red, proved highly attractive, and he earnestly besought his brother to let him have a part of this pottage with him. But Jacob positively refused to comply with this request, unless Esau would relinquish to him his birth-right, which, through mere hunger, he consented to, and confirmed the resignation with the solemnity of an oath. When this incident came to the knowledge of his youthful companions, they constantly
constantly ridiculed him on the subject; giving him, in derision, the title of Edom, which, in the Hebrew, signifies red. The country also which he inhabited obtained the same title, though the Greeks have somewhat disguised and softened it, by converting it into Idumæa.

He had five children, viz. Jaus, Jolom, and Core, by his wife Alibana; Eliphaz, by Adah; and Raguel, by Batlemath.

Eliphaz had five legitimate sons, whose names were Theman, Omar, Saphas, Gotham, and Canaz; and one natural son, named Amalek, by his concubine, Thamma. These persons settled in that district of Idumæa, which is named Gobolitis, and in the country of the Amalekites, so termed from Amalek, the son of Eliphaz. The whole was formerly styled Idumæa; but, at this day, the several districts retain the names of their respective planters.

C H A P. II.

Joseph's dreams. He becomes the envy of his brethren, who conspire against his life.

Jacob was one of the happiest of mankind: he not only surpassed all his neighbours in wealth and power; but was also blessed with a progeny, who were equally renowned for their industry, valour and prudence; and whose very sufferings and afflictions it pleased God to render advantageous to them, by making them the happy instruments of extricating our ancestors from the bondage of the Egyptians. The particulars are as follow.

Joseph, whom Rachel bore to Jacob, was the favourite of his father, both on account of his personal and mental qualifications. This predilection, which his father constantly manifested for him, excited the jealousy and ill-will of the rest of his brethren; and these disgusts received additional force, from the circumstance of certain dreams, which Joseph communicated to his brethren, at different times, all appearing to prognosticate his future felicity and power. The visions were these.

Having been sent, by his father, to assist his brethren in reaping, he had a dream, which differed widely from those fantastic creations of the brain, to which the above title is usually given. He made his brothers acquainted with the particulars of this vision, and desired them to solve it. "I dreamt," said he, "that I saw my own sheaf of wheat standing erect, and those of all my brethren hastening, and prostrating themselves before it." This dream might have been expounded without much difficulty, as it plainly portended the great power which Joseph was to acquire over the rest of his brethren. But they pretended an incapacity to explain the meaning of it; praying earnestly, however, for heaven to avert the omen, and conceiving a still greater hatred against Joseph than before.

A second vision, which he had, was of a still more extraordinary kind than the former. He imagined that he saw the sun, the moon, and eleven stars, descending from the skies, and doing him reverence. Still unconscious of the evil designs of his brethren, Joseph also communicated this vision
THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS. 89

to his father, in their hearing, and expressed an earnest desire to be acquainted with the tendency of it. Jacob was greatly pleased with this dream; considering it as a preface of the future happiness and glory of his son Joseph, and of the honor which, in process of time, he should receive both from his father and brothers. The sun and moon he expounded to mean the father and mother; it being the office of the one to increase and nourish, and of the other to give form and strength; and he supposed the eleven stars to signify the eleven brethren, who also derived their knowledge and virtue from above.

This was, doubtless, a rational interpretation of the dream in question; but it gave great offence to the brethren of Joseph, who, on the contrary, ought to have rejoiced in the prospect of their brother’s promised happiness, instead of envying to so near a relation those advantages and benefits, which they would not have regretted the possession of to a stranger. But, to that height had their inveteracy against him now arisen, that nothing lefts than his life would satisfy them; and this was the method they took to effect their purpose. No sooner was the harvest over, than they removed, with their flocks, to Shechem, which place is remarkable for the excellency of its pasture; but without giving their father the least intimation of their departure. When they had been gone some time, and no intelligence being received by Jacob of the place to which they had retired, he dispatched Joseph to acquire all possible information concerning them.

CHAP. III.

The conspiracy of Joseph’s brethren: his life is preserved through the intercession of Reuben, and he is sold to Arabian merchants.

In obedience to the command of his father, Joseph went in search of his brothers, and upon his arrival among them, they rejoiced exceedingly; and, considering him as an enemy whom God had delivered into their power, were desirous of putting their sanguinary purpose into immediate execution. But Reuben exerted his utmost powers of persuasion, and endeavoured to prevail upon them in favour of Joseph, by representing to them how hateful they would render themselves both in the fight of God and man, by sacrificing their brother to their desperate and unnatural conspiracy. Reuben, who was the elder of the brethren, addressed them in the following words: “To deprive a perfect stranger of life would be an abominable crime, but “the life of a kinsman and a brother, should be doubly sacred, since a father and a mother would be funk to the grave by the insupportable affiction consequent on the loss of so virtuous and hopeful a son. Remember, there is an all-discerning God, who will pour down his mighty wrath on the perpetrators of the horrid act you have meditated. Relinquish your bloody design, and be no longer callous to the feelings of humanity. You must not hope to effect this enormous crime, and escape “the just vengeance of heaven; for the Divine Providence is not confined to Vol. I. Z

“cities;
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS UPON

cities; it pervades the whole creation; so that, till the end of your
days, you will labour under the most excruciating, and unremitting tor-
tures of an upbraiding conscience, if you proceed in your cruel deter-
mination. Supposing even that your brother had committed a fault,
would you, therefore, be justifiable in depriving him of existence?
Should you not rather execute him, in consideration of his early years,
and the simplicity of his manners? But wherein hath Joseph offended
you? Being his brothers, you, in particular, should exert yourselves in
offices of friendship towards him, and become the guardians of his safety:
but you now stand forth with the declared intention of taking away his life.
The very foundation of your barbarous purpose will greatly add to the
heinousness of the crime you are about to commit. You have determined
to destroy Joseph from an apprehension that he will enjoy an extraordinary
portion of grandeur and happiness, knowing, at the same time, that your-
selves would partake of his good fortune. Be assured, if you proceed in
this horrid, inhuman conspiracy, that the Almighty will call you to a fee-
vre account, and denounce an exemplary judgment against you, for hav-
ing spilt the blood of your innocent brother, in insolent defiance of his
power, and open violation of his sacred commands. Your enmity is raised
against Joseph, only because he observes a due reverence towards his
Creator, and is favoured by him in return.” He used other arguments to
discourage the assassination, but finding that neither religion, reason, or hu-
manity would prevail with his brethren, and that they were inflexibly de-
termined against Joseph, he suggested a way to mitigate the rigour of the sen-
tence they had pronounced. Addressing himself to them a second time, he
said, “Since you are inexorably determined upon the destruction of the
youth, do not aggravate your crime by spilling his blood: cast him into
some adjacent pit, and leave him there to perish; by which means the
crime itself will be lessened in some degree, and you will evade the severity
of reproach.” This qualifying proposal being assented to, Reuben tied a
cord round the body of Joseph, and having carefully lowered him into a
dry well, departed in search of his sheep.

Soon after this, a company of Arabian merchants appeared, who were
 Ishmaelites, and were on their way from Galaad, conveying spices and other
articles, the produce of Syria, into Egypt. In order to dispose of Joseph
so that they might never see him again, and yet not stain their hands with
his blood, Judas proposed selling him to these merchants; which being
agreed to, he was taken from the well, and the merchants paid twenty pieces
of silver for him, and took him away. He was at this time seventeen years
old.

Reuben endeavoured to suggest some means for preserving his brother,
but concealed his intention from the others; and, at a late hour of the night,
he went to the well and called to Joseph, but no answer being returned, he
imagined him to have been murdered, and was exceedingly distressed at
the supposed cruelty. But when he learnt in what manner they had disposed
of him, he became reconciled to the proceeding: and his care now was to
form such excuses to his father, as might prevent the suspicion of unfair
practices.
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practices in his brothers. Some time was employed in debates upon this matter; and it was, at length, resolved, to take the travelling coat which had been stripped from Joseph, and, after tearing it and staining it with goat's blood, to produce it to Jacob, as an evidence that his child had been destroyed by some voracious animal. With this pretence, they went to their father, and shewing him the coat, in a torn and bloody condition, said they had not seen him, and were apprehensive he had fallen a prey to some wild beast. Jacob, who had before received some flight intimation of his son's misfortune, entertained a hope that he might have been taken prisoner, or, that he was detained by a still more favourable accident: but upon seeing the bloody coat, he instantly knew it to be Joseph's, and concluding him to have been devoured, cloathed himself in sack-cloth, and gave way to the most passionate lamentations and inconsolable sorrow.

CHAP. IV.

The exemplary continence of Joseph, who is tempted to lewdness by the wife of Potiphar.

The merchants who had purchased Joseph, proceeded into Ægypt, and there sold him to Potiphar, an officer of distinguished rank in the service of king Pharaoh, by whom he was not treated as a menial servant, but, on the contrary, with every instance of liberality and kindness: he was allowed opportunities for cultivating the study of literature, and, in a short time, was advanced to be superintendant of Potiphar's house. This change of fortune had no effect upon the steady integrity of Joseph, the propriety and prudence of whose conduct, afforded an instance that true virtue will not yield to the temptations and accidents of life.

He was remarkable for personal attractions, and the wife of his master soon distinguished his superior qualifications, and became violently enamoured of him. Presuming on the inferiority of Joseph's situation, she imagined that a motive of ambition would incite him to a ready acceptance of her offer, and entertained no the least idea of the inflexible dignity of his mind. She signified her intention to prostitute herself by intimations too palpable to be misconceived: but upon the first hint, he rejected her invitation, and advised her utterly to suppress her unruly desires of what she could not possibly obtain; urging that he could not return affront and treachery for the kindness and generosity he had experienced from his master. He said, he would cheerfully obey her lawful commands, and should think himself highly honoured by them; but that he could not condescend to perform a guilty action. She was greatly disappointed by this refusal, which, however, served but more to enflame the passion she had conceived, and was determined to gratify; and for effecting this, she suggested the following stratagem. A festival being held, whereon it was usual for the women of rank to assemble, the counterfeited indisposition, and remained in her chamber, where she procured Joseph to be introduced to her, and behaved to him with singular complacency and tenderness, addressing herself to him in words to the following purpose.
purpose: Had it been only from a motive of respect to the superior rank of your suppliant, and a proper regard to the fervency of her love, you ought, surely, to have acquiesced in my former solicitation; so would you have spared me the pain arising from some expressions, which even now I blush to recollect: but your late error shall be excused, if you have sense enough to make atonement for it by taking advantage of the opportunity which is now offered. Perhaps you expected me to repeat my request; and on this occasion you will perceive that I act with more precaution than was observed in our former interview; for, under pretence of illness, I have avoided joining in the merriments of the day, that I might prove the warmth of my affection for you, by shewing how greatly I prefer your company and conversation to that of my friends and equals who are now assembled. If you have entertained a doubt on the subject of my application, be now assured, that I seriously meant what I proposed, and that the passion still reigns within my breast with unabated ardour; therefore, now determine, either to enjoy the embraces of the woman who adores you, or, by rejecting the proffered favour, from a ridiculous parade of your own continency, render yourself the object of my keenest resentment; for, if you insult my passion by a second refusal, I will vehemently accuse you of having attempted the violation of my virtue; and the charge being made, will receive immediate and full confidence from my husband, in spite of every argument you will be able to offer in support of your innocence.

She accompanied this speech with tears, prayers and menaces; but all were ineffectual to seduce him from his duty, and, conscious that no punishment could be adequate to his demerits, should he yield to the solicitations of this base woman, he resolved to brave every danger, rather than to comply therewith. Neither did he omit to represent to her the duties she owed to herself, her husband, and the world. "What satisfaction," said he, "can a momentary pleasure afford, which, we are certain, must be followed by an infant repentance? Can that be called an enjoyment, which must be attended with continual regret, unceasing fears of detection, and inevitable ignominy? In a conjugal state, on the other hand, the same pleasures are innocent, and allowable by the ordinances both of God and man. Reflect, moreover, how much you will degrade yourself by participating with your servant in the commission of this crime. How far preferable is it to trust to a good conscience, which never shuns the light, than secretly to commit an infamous action, and embitter the rest of your days with the continual dread of discovery!" He enforced many other arguments, to bring her back to decency and reason: but this was only adding fuel to flame; for, perceiving, that she could effect nothing by entreaty, she had recourse to violence, and, seizing hold of his garment, endeavoured to force him to a compliance with her libidinous desires. But his indignation against this shameless woman rose to such a height, that, breaking from her, he hastily quitted the chamber, and left his garment in her hand. For a short interval, her mind was violently agitated, between the indignity of the repulse, and the apprehension of a discovery; but she quickly determined to shelter herself from every dangerous consequence, by accusing Josephus: thus,
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thus, at once, providing for her own security, and gratifying her malice. She, accordingly, confined herself closely to her chamber, affecting to be in great trouble and affliction. Just at this juncture, her husband came into the chamber, and, observing the disorder and confusion which was visible in her face, earnestly requested her to acquaint him with the cause thereof. She replied in these terms. "You are called upon, my dear husband, by every consideration of justice and affection, to inflict an exemplary punishment on that perfidious wretch, your servant Joseph. Forgetful of the abject state from which you raised him, and of the unlimited power and authority which he possesses in your family; regardless of all your past bounty and kindness to him, he has basely attempted the violation of your bed; fixing on this day of festivity, when you were absent, to solicit me to a compliance with his lewd desires. Invested, as he is, with an unbounded power over all things else in your house, will nothing content this ungrateful villain; and shall he with impunity endeavour to possess himself of the affections of your wife? What an exterior of modesty did this wretch assume, without one single grain of it in his composition! To give you the most convincing proof of the truth of what I alleged, here is his garment, which he left behind in the struggle, when he attempted to force me."

This plausible speech, together with the tears and passionate gestures with which it was accompanied, so effectually imposed on the credulity of Potiphar, that, without making any manner of inquiry into the foundation of the charge against Joseph, he ordered him to be confined in the common prison, which was appropriated to the reception of the most notorious criminals.

CHAP. V.

In consequence of a groundless accusation Joseph is lodged in prison. Circumstances attending him during his confinement. His interpretation of several dreams.

Joseph patiently submitted to his fate, appearing neither solicitous to vindicate his own conduct, or to destroy the credibility of the charge alleged against him; but, satisfied in his innocence, cherish'd the comfortable hope that the power of the supreme Being would rise superior to that of his malicious enemies; and the providence of God was shewn towards him in the following instance: the gaoler became so prejudiced in his favour, by the gracefulness of his person, his pleasing address, candour, diligence and integrity, that he freed him of his irons, and shewed him other marks of favour and respect, which his fellow prisoners were not so happy as to experience.

Times were allowed for the prisoners to converse together; and Pharaoh's butler, who had held a high place in the estimation of the king, being under confinement, on account of some displeasure his master had conceived against him, an intimacy was contracted between him and Joseph. This man distingui...
tistinguishing Joseph for the superiority of his understanding, communicated
to him a dream, and requested him to give an interpretation of it; saying,
that his unhappiness consequent on the king's displeasure, was aggravat
by the perplexity occasioned by many extraordinary dreams and visions. "I ima
" gined," said he, "that I beheld three bunches of ripe grapes, depend-
" ing on three several branches of a vine; and that the king held a vessl,
" into which I precipitated the fruit, and then presenting the liquor to his ma-
" jetty, he pronounced it to be wine of delicious flavour." Upon this rela-
tion, Joseph informed him, that the king having occasion for his services,
would restore him to liberty, and re-establish him in his office within the
space of three days. "The Almighty," said Joseph, "has beffowed on
mankind the fruit of the vine, both for their use and comfort. He has
ordained it to be offered to him in sacrifices: it gives birth to friendships,
adjuts differences, dispels care and melancholy, and converts sorrow into
joy. Pharaoh, you tell me, received the cup from your hand: this cir-
cumstance denotes that, within the same number of days as you saw
branches, you shall, assuredly, obtain your release. Let me request
of you that, when you find this prediction verified, you will remember
me, and use your interest to procure me my liberty. I am not detained
here for any criminal action which I have been guilty of, but merely for
having preferred the honor of my matter to the gratification of a libidinous
appetite." The butler was, as it may naturally be supposed, highly de-
lighted with this interpretation, and waited with confidence for the event.

It happened that the chief baker of Pharaoh was confined in the
same prison. He communicated a dream to Joseph; hoping that it
would bear an interpretation equally favourable with that of the chief
baker. "I dreamt, last night," said he, "that I had upon my head three
baskets, one containing meats of sundry sorts, and the other two containing
bread for supplying the king's table. As I passed along, the birds, in spite of
all my endeavours to drive them away, fell upon the provisions with great
eagerness, and entirely devoured them." Joseph told him that his dream
would not bear so favourable an explanation as he could wish. "The
baskets," said he, "denote, that at the expiration of two days, you will
infallibly be hanged on a tree, and that your body will be exposed, to be
devoured by the fowls of the air."

This explanation was verified in every particular; for, precisely on the
third day, as Joseph had predicted, which was the anniversary of Pharaoh's
birth, the king commanded the chief baker to be hanged, and re-inflated
the chief butcher in his post. Two years had now elapsed, and Joseph still
remained in prison, utterly forfained by the ungrateful butcher: but he sudd
ly obtained his liberty, by the following extraordinary means.

The king had two dreams, in the same night, and the exposition of them
was revealed to him, during his sleep. The vision he recollected, but
had totally forgotten every particular of the explanation, save that in gene-
ral, it betokened him no good. Pharaoh, early the next morning, con
vened an assembly of the most learned men of the realm, and desired them to
expound the visions. They consulted together on the subject, but were un-

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able to solve the difficulty; and the king's chagrin was greatly increased by this disappointment. The chief butler now recollected the proof which Joseph had formerly given him of his skill in the art of interpretation. He, therefore, waited on the king, and acquainted him with the circumstances of the visions which he himself, and the chief baker, formerly had in the prison, and of Joseph's explanation thereof; which was, in every respect, confirmed by the events; adding, that Joseph passed for an Hebrew, and was supposed to be of no obscure extraction. Pharaoh, being strongly infliguated thereto by the chief butler, sent for Joseph in all haste. The king received him with great courtesy, and, familiarly taking hold on his right-hand, addressed him in these words. "One of my domestics has represented you to me as a person of great learning and wisdom; of which, "he says, he has himself had frequent proofs, and that you particularly "excel in a certain faculty, in which I chance, at this time, to have ur-"gent occasion to employ you. He informs me that you are well versed in "the expostion of dreams, and that you formerly explained a vision which "he had. I shall esteem it as a favour, if you will do the like for me: but "I must caution you, not to disguise the truth, in the smallest degree, but "to acquaint me minutely with the circumstances, whether they should be "propitious, or otherwise. I imagined that, walking by the river's side, I "saw seven large, and well-fed oxen rise from the water, and direct their "course towards an adjacent pasture: after which, I saw seven lean oxen, "and they passing from the pasture towards the river, encountered the first "mentioned seven, and devoured them; yet without appearing to have en-"creased in bulk. Waking, I began to make some reflections on the na-"ture of dreams, and, insensibly falling asleep again, I had a second vision, "of a still more extraordinary and fearful kind than the former. I dreamt "that I saw seven cars of corn growing upon one stem. They appeared to "be ready to cut, and the stalks to bend under the weight of their burden. "At a small distance from these, I remarked seven other ears, which were "very bare of grain; and, to my great amazement, these thin ears totally. "swallowed up the others."

Hereupon Joseph informed the king, that but one interpretation could be given to both dreams. "The seven fat and seven lean oxen," said he, "and the seven full and seven withered ears of corn, were meant to predict "seven years of abundance, to be followed by seven years famine in Egypt; "and by the lean cattle devouring the fat, and the blighted devouring the "full cars of grain, an emblem was afforded to show that the plenty of the "first seven years would be insufficient to provide against the extremities of "the seven to follow: and this appears to be demonstrated by the lean oxen "not being sufficed, when they had devoured the fat ones. The famine "will, doubtless, be extreme. The purposes of heaven are not revealed "solely to alarm and distress mankind, but are intimate with a view of "inducing them to provide against future extremities: therefore, the calamities of the seven years of scarcity, will be greatly alleviated, if it shall "please your majesty to issue your royal command for providing a supply "against
The penetration of Joseph struck the king with admiration, and he requested his advice as to the most successful method of guarding against the threatened distress. He advised a reduction of all superfluous expenses, and that quantities of corn should be stored in magazines, and delivered out only in such portions as should be indispensably required for making bread, and for cultivation.

The credit Joseph had obtained with Pharaoh, on account of his skill in the solution of dreams, was greatly improved by the above instance of his expert and ready turn for economics; and he, besides, entertained so great a reverence for the solidity of his judgment and the importance of his counsel, that he appointed him superintendent of the stores, giving him full commission and authority to adopt the measures he had suggested, and to execute them accordingly as he should himself judge most expedient. At the same time, the king conferred on him the office of keeper of his signet, and invested him with certain distinguished privileges; such as wearing a purple habit, and riding publicly in a chariot. Joseph now began his progress through the kingdom,elloring up the corn in all parts where he came, and distributing among the farmers and husbandmen such a quantity only as would barely suffice for the sustenance of themselves and their families, and for sowing their ground; without making any person privy to the cause of his conduct on this occasion.

CHAP. VI.

Joseph becomes the favourite of the king. Particulars of what passed between himself and his brethren, on their arrival in Egypt.

Joseph had now attained his thirtieth year, and was so highly esteemed for his wisdom, that the king gave him the title of Phanthomphanes, which, in the Egyptian language, signifies the Discoverer of hidden things.

He married Afnath, the daughter of Potiphera, the high-priest of Heliopolis; and this match was effected by the mediation of the king himself. By her he had two children, previous to the famine, the eldest of whom he named Manasses, which signifies Oblivion, because the present prosperity of Joseph had caused him to forget his former misfortunes; and the younger was called Ephraim, or Restitution, on account of his being restored to the liberty enjoyed by his forefathers.

The seven predicted years of plenty were now expired, and in the eighth the scarcity began. This calamity spread an universal consternation throughout the kingdom, and the people came in great bodies to the palace, soliciting relief. Joseph, hereupon, took such prudent measures, to alleviate the public distress, that the people unanimously hailed him as their deliverer. It was not only the natives, but foreigners also who were supplied from the public granaries; it being the opinion of Joseph, that all mankind were of
the same family, and that the distress of the unfortunate gave them an indisputable claim to the assistance of those in more prosperous circumstances.

The famine was not confined to Egypt, several other countries, and particularly Canaan, being under the same predicament: and Jacob, having learnt that strangers were permitted to purchase corn in Egypt, sent all his children thither, for that purpose, save Benjamin, the brother of Joseph by the same mother, whom he detained at home with him.

Such was the influence which Joseph possessed at court, that no favour could be obtained from the king, but through his intervention. The ten brethren, therefore, applied themselves to him, on their arrival, for leave only to buy the quantity of grain they wanted. Joseph immediately recollected his brethren, though they did not know him; neither was it at all probable that they should, he being very young at the time of their separation, and now greatly altered in his person. Perceiving that he was in no danger of being discovered by his brethren, Joseph determined to make trial of them. He therefore, not only refused to supply them with corn, but also accused them of being spies. "My friends," said he, "instead of brothers, as you pretend to be, you are no other than a band of conspirators, of different countries. It is not probable that you, who plainly appear to be possessed of such extraordinary qualifications, should all be the sons of a private individual, when scarcely any sovereign can boast of such a progeny." The motive which influenced Joseph to this conduct was, that he might thereby draw from his brethren some information of what had passed in the family since his departure, and whether his brother Benjamin, was still at home; being very apprehensive lest they should have treated him in a manner similar to what he experienced from them in his own person. The brethren were greatly alarmed with the prospect of their danger, and clearly perceived that the design of their long journey was effectually defeated. Reuben, however, took courage, and, in the name of the rest, addressed Joseph in these words: "We do not come hither," said he, "either with the view of penetrating into mysteries of state, or of attempting any thing against the safety of the king, or the tranquility of his government. It was merely the scarcity of bread which compelled us to resort hither; or, should I rather say, that your humanity, in throwing open your market to strangers as well as natives, has invited us. The very resemblance which we bear to each other in our countenances, bespeaks us, as we in reality are, the sons of one man. Our father is, by birth, a Hebrew, and he is named Jacob. He had twelve sons, by four wives, and, whilst they all lived, every thing prospered with us; but, from the time that one of the number, named Joseph, was taken away from us, our misfortunes have continually accumulated. Our father still reproaches at that los, and his inconstant sorrow afflicts us equally with the untimely fate of our beloved brother. Our design in coming hither was, with your permission, to buy corn; and, during our absence from home, the care of our reverend father is entrusted to our youngest brother, Benjamin. Should you have any doubts of the truth of what I have now adduced,
"vanced, you have only to dispatch a messenger to our father, to be satisfied
that I have not uttered a falsehood."

Joseph, perceiving by this discourse, that his father and Benjamin were
safe and in health, ordered his brethren into close confinement, till he should
be at leisure to examine them with greater strictness. At the expiration of
three days, he commanded them to be again brought before him; and, upon
their entrance, addressed them thus: "You have allured me," said he,
"that you entertain no designs against the state, and that you are all bro-
thers, and the sons of Jacob? In confirmation of the truth of what you
have asserted, you shall leave one of your brethren with me, as an hostage,
and the rest shall carry home to your father the corn you purchase; after
which you shall return hither, with your youngest brother, whom you:
stay, you have left at home; and this only shall be the test of the rectitude
of your intentions. In the mean time, give yourselves no concern about the
hostage you leave with me, as he shall experience every indulgence dur-
ing your absence." This speech afflicted them in the highest degree, and
considering themselves to be on the very verge of ruin, they lamented their
misfortune, and repeatedly observed to each other, that it was an effect of
the Divine vengeance, which pursued them for the barbarity of their conduct
towards their unhappy brother. Reuben reproached them with the folly and
inefficacy of their late repentance; frankly telling them that they had no
other remedy than patience, under the judgment which they had drawn
upon themselves by their wickedness. Thus they conversed together, in the
perfusion that no one present understood their language. The bitter reflec-
tions which Reuben cast on them so powerfully awakened their feelings, that
Joseph, who observed the violent agitation of their minds, was obliged to
retire, left his emotions should discover him. After a short absence, he re-
turned to them, took Simeon for an hostage, and gave the rest a licence
to purchase whatever corn they might want; but he secretly instructed one
of his servants to put the money they should pay for it into each man's bag-
gage, which order was, accordingly executed.

Upon their return into Canaan, they acquainted Jacob with all the parti-
culars of their adventures in Egypt; concluding with an urgent request to
their father, to permit Benjamin to return with them to that kingdom, in
order to vouch for the truth of their former declarations, and to procure the
release of Simeon. Jacob was not at all satisfied with their conduct in
leaving Simeon behind them; but he would not give the least ear to the pro-
posal of sending Benjamin thither with them, although Reuben offered to
pledge the lives of his own children for the safe return of his brother. They
were reduced, by this refusal, to a terrible dilemma; to which the discovery
of their money in their sacks greatly contributed. But, their provisions be-
ing nearly exhausted, Jacob, at times, seemed to be partly inclined to per-
mit his son, Benjamin, to accompany the rest of his brethren, being con-
vinced that they must never think of returning to Egypt unless they
complied with the terms which had been prescribed to them, at their
departure from thence. Their wants still encreasing, the brothers were very
urgent with their father to comply with what had been proposed to him; but
Jacob
Jacob still refused to listen to them, till, at length, Judah, a man of a resolute temper, and great freedom of speech, adopted another method to engage his father to yield his consent to what they required of him. "In my opinion," said he to Jacob, "you express rather too great a degree of solicitude for the safety of Benjamin. Whether he goes with us, or continues at home, he must still submit to whatever God shall ordain. Yet you seem inclined to suffer us all to perish, for want of food, which must inevitably happen, if we should forfeit the favour of Pharaoh, through an ill-founded fear of what may happen to our brother. But would you not blame yourself severely, should the Egyptians put Simeon to death in the mean time? Place an entire confidence in the power of the Almighty, and rest assured that I will either conduct our brother back in safety, or perish in the attempt."

Jacob, at length, suffered himself to be persuaded, and delivered the child into their care; furnishing them with a double portion of money, that they might pay for the corn they had purchased in the former journey, and with presents of balm, myrrh, turpentine, honey, and other productions of the land of Canaan, for the use of the officer with whom they were to treat for the grain they intended to buy. Thus provided, they began their journey; leaving Jacob in the utmost anxiety for the safe return of his beloved children, and being themselves, very apprehensive, left this separation should so far affect their father, as to be the cause of his death.

Immediately on their arrival in Egypt, they waited on Joseph; not without some fear, that the circumstance of their discovering the money in their sacks, would be imputed to them as a fraud. When they mentioned the matter, however, to Joseph's steward, he utterly disapproved all knowledge of the transaction. They now, therefore, began to take courage, more especially when they saw their brother Simeon had obtained his liberty. Joseph enquired after the health of his father, and other particulars: and his apprehensions for Benjamin being now removed, he asked them whether he was the younger brother, whom they had before mentioned to him; to which they replied in the affirmative. He, thereupon, exclaimed, "God's providence is constantly over all his works!" and withdrew, with tears in his eyes, to indulge the impulse of nature. The same evening he invited them to sup with him, and placed them at the table in the same order in which they were accustomed to sit at their father's house, conducting himself towards them with all imaginable courtesy; but the portion allotted to Benjamin was double that of either of his brethren.

Joseph gave orders, after the repast was finished, that their corn should be measured, and that each man's money should be put into his sack, as before; secretly instructing his steward, moreover, to convey a certain silver cup, which he customarily used at his meals, into that particular sack which belonged to Benjamin. His intention in this was, to try whether, in case that Benjamin should be detained for the pretended theft, the rest would remain with him, for the purpose of obtaining his release, or whether they would not rather abandon him to his fate, and return to their father. The orders given on this occasion were punctually executed.
The next morning, by break of day, they began their journey, totally unincon- 
scious of the design which was in agitation against them, and pleasing 
themselves with the reflection, that they had both Simeon and Benjamin in 
their company, whom, they trusted, they should deliver up safe to their father, 
according to their promise. They had not proceeded far, before they found 
themselves suddenly surrounded by a party of horse, accompanied by the 
servant who had been commissioned to secrete the cup in Benjamin's bag- 
gage. This unexpected event incensed them to a high degree, and they exclaimed 
bitterly against the people who had so recently treated them with the most 
remarkable honor and hospitality. The Egyptians, on the other hand, 
reproached them, in terms equally severe, with the baseness of returning in-
juries for the numerous civilities and benefits they had received, and 
threatened them with a speedy punishment, adequate to their demerits; 
telling them, that however secretly they might imagine they had perpe-
trated this crime, there was an all-seeing eye above, from which it was not 
possible to conceal their iniquity. In this manner the Egyptians continued 
to reproach them, but the servant was more vociferous and insulting than the 
rest; insomuch that the unfortunate brethren, concluded that he was little 
less than insane. They urged the improbability of their committing a crime 
of that nature, since, uninfluenced by any considerations but those of honor 
and justice, they had, with the strictest fidelity, restored the money which 
they had paid for the corn, and afterwards found put into their sacks. 

"But," said they, "the most effectual way to evince our innocence or 
guilt, will be to search our baggage, to which we are ready to submit with 
the utmost confidence; and, should any one of us be found to have com-
mitted this action, we are all willing to suffer with him whatever punish-
ment he may be deemed to have deserved."

The Egyptians, accordingly, began to examine each man's baggage; 
declaring, however, that no one but the person in whose custody the cup 
should actually be found, should meet with the least molestation. They had 
now examined all the baggages, save that of Benjamin, without effect, and 
the brethren were felicitating themselves on the prospect of being quickly rid 
of these troublesome people, when, upon opening his sack, the cup instantly 
appeared. This unexpected discovery plunged them into inconceivable an-
guish; they burst into tears, tore their garments, and used the most ex-
travagant gestures, declaring that themselves and their brother were inevitably 
ruined by this incident, and, with the most poignant lamentations, deploiring 
their incapacity to fulfil the promise they had made to their father, on leaving 
him, to convey Benjamin home in safety.

Benjamin was conducted in chains before Joseph, his brethren accom-
panying him. Joseph received them with an assumed sternness, and re-
proached them in terms similar to these: "Is it thus, ye basest of men, that, 
regardles of the hospitable treatment you have received, and contemplating 
the anger of an offended Deity, you give the most sensible affront to your 
patron and benefactor?" The rest of the brethren earnestly requested that 
their lives might be accepted, in lieu of that of the unfortunate Benjamin.

"They
They repeatedly observed to each other, how much the situation of Joseph, if actually dead, was to be envied, in comparison with theirs; or, if he was still living, how much it redounded to his honour, that the vengeance of God should thus be exerted against them, in consequence of their cruelty to him. They also reproached themselves with being the authors both of the present as well as the former forrows of their unhappy father; Reuben continually recalling to their minds the guilt of their brother's murder. Joseph, pretending to deliberate for some time on the course he should take, told them, at length, that, as he neither thought himself justified in punishing the innocent indiscriminately with the guilty, nor in releasing the culpable at the instance of those who bore no part in the perpetration of the crime, they were at liberty to return home when they pleased, and that he should content himself with detaining Benjamin, to receive the punishment due to his offence.

This speech threw them into the utmost consternation; but Judah, a man of courage and abilities, and who alone had been able to prevail on his father to part with Benjamin, resolved to defy every danger in the attempt to save him, and, accordingly, addressed himself to Joseph in these words: “We do not pretend to deny, most excellent governor, that the crime charged upon our brother is of a heinous nature, and merits a severe punishment. It is certain that the guilt of the action can be imputed to one only of our number, and he chances to be the youngest; yet we are all willing to yield up our lives for the preservation of his.” With respect to the unfortunate youth, did we not place the most implicit confidence in your clemency, we should consider his case as desperate. We hope, however, that the benignity and tendernefs of your nature will operate against the notoriety of the fact, and induce you to set bounds to your resentment; the passion of anger being prevalent in ignoble souls alone. For, I speak with reverence, it would ill befit your honor and dignity, to condemn those persons to death, who have voluntarily submitted to your justice, and wish to owe their lives solely to your mercy. This would, in reality, be no more than granting us our lives a second time: for the generosity and dispatch with which you relieved us, when in distress for want of corn, proved the means of preserving our whole family from perishing by famine.

“"The act of supplying with bread those who were upon the point of dying for want of it, and that of granting pardon to an offender who has incurred the rigour of the law, are but different exertions of the same spirit of humanity; by the latter means, life is spared, by the former it is preserved. In condescending to our request, you will save those whom you formerly fed, for the very purpose of faving them; which purpose will be defeated, if you do not preserve the lives you have given; and thus we shall become indebted to you, not only for the necessaries of life, but even for life itself.

“"It appears as if the Almighty had, the more firmly to establish your fame, given you this opportunity to exercise your virtue, and to demonstrate to the world that you are equally merciful as liberal, and that you are...”
are not more prone to confer benefits on others, than to forgive injuries sustained in your own person. Humanity and charitableness are, it must be acknowledged, strong evidences of a generous disposition; but there is no quality which gives such lucre to an exalted station, as clemency; particularly if that clemency is exercised in the forgiveneis of injuries received by the party himself. If, therefore, it be praise-worthy to pardon the slightest faults, it must be little less than a divine benignity, which can influence a person to restrain his resentment of a material injury against himself.

It is not for our own safety that I am thus solicitous, but from a sense of the anxiety of a father for the loss of a child: I can form a just conception of the painful sensations arising from so unhappy a circumstance, having been a witness to the immoderate sorrow of my father when he was deprived of our dear brother Joseph. Were it not for the fatal effects, which we are certain our destruction would be productive of to our aged father, we should not think our own lives worth contending for; fearing that we are partly ambitious to become indebted to your virtue, and to acknowledge ourselves the monuments of your fame and kindness.

It is not for ourselves that we intreat, it is for an aged father, a man worn down with years and troubles; and in his name, only, we implore your pity on his children, who will all forfeit their lives by their conduct on this day. He is, without dispute, a virtuous man, and, if we are not so likewise, the fault is not imputable to him. He is daily tormented with griefs and fears, upon our account; and it were a pity, that a person of so amiable a character should be exposed to so dreadful a calamity.

When he shall hear of the manner and cause of our deaths, the news will certainly put a period to his days. The infamy of the transaction, nay, the very report of it, will assuredly produce this effect. We, nevertheless, admit the justice of your resentment; but we presume to hope, that we may be permitted to solicit you not to suffer your vengeance to fall upon our innocent father; and that, on his account you will be pleased to shew us lenity.

From the consideration of his age and infirmities, you will naturally be led to conclude, that, should we be taken from him, he could not long survive. Make the case of our father that of yourself, and of fathers in general. The very title of father conveys an idea of something sacred; being an appellation which God himself deigns to assume: and the Almighty Father will, indubitably, bless yourself and your offspring, for the reverence you shall shew to that universal title, in the persons of a fire who must, otherwise, be left childless.

Our lives are at your mercy, and you are at full liberty either to take them or not; the one will be an act of clemency, the other of rigid justice; and it is now in your power, in imitation of the Deity, to employ your prerogative for the welfare and preservation of mankind. The greater number of lives you save, the greater will be your reputation, and, in granting a pardon to our brother, you will preserve us all; for our safety is closely connected with his, and we must never return to our father without him:
"him: whatever he suffers, therefore, we must, *inevitably* undergo the "same.
"If, most illustrious governor, you should not think proper to condescend "to our present request, we have nothing further to ask, than that we may "be all included in the punishment, as if we had been accomplices in the "fact; which would be much more desirable to us, than to be compelled, "through mere desperation, to put a period to our own existence.
"I might plead, in favour of our brother, that he is young, and has had "little commerce with the world; and that it is *very unusual* to proceed with "rigour against persons thus circumstanced. But, to conclude, if we should "be condemned through the weaknesses of our defence, the blame must be "imputed to me; if, on the other hand, we shall be acquitted, we shall a-"scribe the honor to your generosity and kindness; acknowledging, that, "in pardoning us, you grant us a new life, and determine more properly "for us than we could do for ourselves.
"But, if it should be deemed requisite to make some atonement to "offended justice, I conjure you to permit me to suffer the punishment due "to my brother, and to consent that he may return to his father. Or, if you "have, in your own mind, doomed him to servitude, I am, of the two, the "best qualified to render you service; and I shall readily submit to either "fate."

At the conclusion of this speech, Judas, and the rest of the brethren threw themselves at Joseph's feet, to sollicit him in behalf of their brother, Benjamin.

The passions of tenderness and brotherly affection now became so powerful in the breast of Joseph, that he could no longer support the character he had assumed, but ordered his attendants to retire, that he might discover himself to his brethren without witnesses; and, being alone with them, he addressed them in these words: "I am infinitely happy," said he, "to see you thus "tenderly affect towards your brother; as, I must confess, I could not re-"train from entertaining some doubts of your regard for him, when I re-"flected on certain circumstances of your former conduct, with respect to myself. "In the whole of my late behaviour towards you, I proposed only to put your "affection to the test; and, from the event, I am convinced that, in all your "proceedings relative to me, you were not in the least actuated by malice or "ill-will; but that the providence of God interposed therein, making those "actions the means of procuring for us the happiness which we at this time "enjoy, and the prospect of greater blessings in future.
"But, as I now find my father to be in such a situation as I could rather "have wished, than expected; and that you have all that affection in your "temper, which is the true charactertistic of brethren; all past injuries are "forgotten, and I should rather return you my thanks, as the agents of Di-"vine providence, for our common benefit, than recall to your remem-"brance any transactions of ancient date, which might, perhaps, at the "time, appear to have an evil tendency. I desire that you will forget all "these matters, and not render yourselves uneasy by the recollection of for-"mer"
mer ill-designs, which never took effect; since it has pleased the Almighty, 
thus to bring good out of evil.

"Return, therefore, to your father, with the happy tidings of the unex-
pected blessings which God hath conferred on you. Hasten your departure, 
left his very toils and fears should bring any ill accident upon him; 
which would utterly destroy all the comfort I propose to myself in seeing 
him once again, and in participating with him the blessings which I now 
"enjoy. Be gone, therefore, and return with all possible dispatch; and do 
not neglect to bring with you, your wives, children, and all your kindred:
as, at this time in particular, when there are yet five years of the famine 
unexpired, I should be very unwilling that my dearest friends should re-
main at so great a distance from me." Jopheth then tenderly embraced his 
brethren, who, with many tears, acknowledged and lamented their base 
practices against so worthy a brother. He afterwards entertained them at 
lupper.

When the news of the arrival of Joseph's brethren was communicated to 
the king, he was exceedingly rejoiced thereat, and ordered several wagons 
laden with corn, gold and silver, and various other presents to be sent 
to their father; to which Joseph added many others from himself; some 
being intended for the father, others for the brothers themselves, but the 
most valuable portion was destined for Benjamin.

C H A P. VII.

Jacob, having learnt the splendid condition of his son Joseph, in Egypt, repairs 
thither, accompanied by his whole family.

WHEN the sons of Jacob returned to their father, they acquainted him 
that Joseph was still living, and enjoying great authority and magni-
ficence, and holding, next to Pharaoh, the most distinguished rank in the 
Egyptian dominions. Jacob readily credited what was told him; and these 
extraordinary incidents furnished him with many reflections on the infinity of 
God's grace and kindness to him; and, without any further delay, he began 
his journey to Egypt.

When Jacob arrived at the Well of the Oath, he offered an oblation to God; 
yet fearing, left the plenteous state of Egypt should seduce his sons to settle 
there, and thus divert them from returning again to Canaan, the country 
which God had promised him for an inheritance. He was also partly ap-
prehensive, left God should inflict some calamity on him and his followers, 
as a punishment for undertaking the present journey, without first imploring 
his advice and direction; or, lest he should die before his arrival in Egypt. 
In the midst of these reflections, he fell into a profound sleep, during which 
the Almighty appeared to him in a vision, and called him twice by his name. 
Jacob demanded, who it was that called him? and the Lord answered him 
thus: "Haft thou, then, forgotten thy God, Jacob? The God of thy fore-
fathers, who never rejected the prayer either of them or their posterity, in 
the time of their need; that God, he placed thee at the head of thy 
family,
family, contrary to the inclination of thy father; and, when thou didst retire into Mesopotamia, being at that time unmarried, blessed thee with an advantageous match, and brought thee back to thine own country, full of riches, and with a numerous progeny; that God, who hath been the perpetual protector and guardian of thy family, and hath preferred thy son, Joseph, to a station in Egypt next in honor to that of the king. I am now come to be thy guide on the way, and to intimate to thee that thou shalt find thy life in the arms of thy son, Joseph; that thy descendants shall be powerful and renowned for many ages, and shall, at length, possess the land which I have promised them.

This vision gave Jacob fresh courage, and he continued his journey with his family, consisting of seventy persons. The pronunciation of their names being rather inharmonious, I should have omitted them, but for the sake of convincing those persons of their error, who insist that we are of Egyptian, instead of Mesopotamian extraction.

The legitimate children of Jacob were eight sons and a daughter; besides which, his concubines, Zilpah and Bilhah, bore him each two sons. Of the legitimate offspring of Jacob, six sons, viz. Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judas, Issachar, and Zabulon, and one daughter, were born to him by Leah: and the remaining two sons he had by Rachel.

Reuben had four sons: Hanoch, Phallu, Affaron, and Charmi.
Simeon had four sons: Jamuel, Jamin, Ohad, Jachin, Zoar, and Shaul.
Levi had three sons: Gerfion, Chaath, and Merari.
The sons of Judas were Salath, Phares, and Zarah: and to Phares were born Efron, and Amyr.
Issachar was the father of four sons; viz. Thus, Phuas, Samaron, and Job.
Zabulon had three sons; Saran, Elon, and Jalel.
The name of the daughter of Jacob was Dinah.
These persons, amounting to thirty-three in number, were the children of Leah, and their progeny.
The children of Joseph were Manasses, and Ephraim.
To Benjamin were born ten sons; Bolau, Baccharis, Alabel, Gera, Naaman, Jec, Ros, Momphis, Opphis, and Arad.
I hefe persons, the sons of Rachel and their offspring, added to the foregoing thirty-three, make the number of forty-seven; and these are the legitimate descendants of Jacob.

By his concubine, Bilhah, Jacob had two sons; Dan, and Nephthali.
To Dan was born only one son, whom he named Ufis.
Nephthali had four sons; Jefel, Guni, Ifares, and Sellim.
Thus the issue of Bilhah, and their progeny, being seven in number, when joined with the aforementioned forty-seven persons, amount to fifty-four.
By Zilpah, his other concubine, Jacob had also Gad, and Asser.
The sons of Gad were seven in number; Saphonias, Augis, Sunis, Azabon, Acrin, Eroed, and Ariel.

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Affar
After had one daughter, named Sarah, and six sons, whose names were
Jommes, Iuis, Iuis, Baris, Abar, and Mechiel.
These sixteen, added to the preceding fifty-four, amount precisely to
seventy; the number of Jacob's family specified above, exclusive of
himself.
When Jacob and his company had travelled a part of the way, Judas was
dispatched to give notice of their approach to Joseph, who immediately set
out to meet his father, and they, accordingly met at a place called Heropoli-
sis. The joy of this interview affected Jacob so strongly, that it was with
difficulty the attendants could keep life in him; nor was the agitation of
Joseph much inferior to that of his father. He afterwards, accompanied by
five of his brethren, hastened away to acquaint the king with his father's ar-
ival, desiring the rest of the company to continue their journey at a moderate
pace.
Pharaoh expressed great satisfaction on receiving the news, and question-
ed Joseph what profession his kindred chiefly followed. Joseph replied,
that they had been wholly accustomed to a pastoral life. He answered this
for two reasons: first, that they might, by this means, be kept together,
and, thereby, be enabled to give the necessary attendance to their father;
and, secondly, to obviate all cause of jealousy between them and the Ægy-
prians, by any interference of the former in the employments to which the
latter devoted their time. Jacob was introduced to the king, and met with
a very gracious reception. Pharaoh, asking him his age, and receiving for
answer, that he was in his hundred and thirtieth year, manifested some sur-
prise at the circumstance; which being noticed by Jacob, he acquainted the
king, that his ancestors usually lived to a much later period. Jacob and his
family had a residence assigned them by the king, at Heliopolis, where the
royal flocks were constantly kept.
At this time, the famine in Ægypt became daily more grievous. The
waters of the Nile, that source of fertility to the country, were dried up;
nor had they any rain, to supply the defect. The bulk of the people were,
in consequence, involved in the utmost misery imaginable; being, through
want of forage, totally destitute of subsistence, which could not be obtain-
ed but for ready money; and, when that failed, they were obliged to barter
their lands, cattle, slaves, and what other effects they chanced to have,
in exchange for corn. Thus the possessions of the whole community came,
by degrees, into the hands of the king; and the wretched people submitted to
every inconvenience and misery, to preserve themselves from starving. The
priests were the only class of people, throughout the kingdom, who, in the
general calamity, retained the possession of their property and freedom.
In consequence of the Nile's having resumed its ancient state, and the re-
freshing showers now again descending, to fertilize the soil, the famine began
gradually to abate, and the face of the country once more put on its wonted
appearance. Joseph, hereupon, made a progress through all the principal
towns and cities of the kingdom, and, summoning the inhabitants together,
re-inflated them in the possession of their lands, which they had sold to the
king, on condition that they should pay a fifth part of the produce thereof for
the
advance the glory of his own nation; and would acquire immortal fame by his virtue and bravery. This intelligence gave such an alarm to the king, that, by the advice of the scribe, he commanded the Egyptian midwives diligently to attend the delivery of every Hebrew woman; preferring each female infant, and calling every male into the river. He intrusted the execution of this order to the Egyptian women, as being least likely to neglect the strict performance of it from any motive of pity, and enjoined them, upon pain of death to themselves and their families, not to secrete any child, or, in the least respect, to deviate from this command.

This decree was inhuman to an extreme; first, as it deprived so many parents of their children; secondly, as it rendered the parents themselves accessories to the destruction of their own offspring; and, lastly, as it tended to the utter extinction of the whole race of the Hebrews. Their situation now seemed desperate; but the providence of God will ever be superior to all human cunning and violence; for this child, of whom the scribe had foretold, was born, and secretly and safely nurtured, in spite of all the methods put in practice to destroy him, and lived to verify the predictions concerning him. All this was effected in the following manner.

There was an Hebrew, named Amram, a man of high rank, and great reputation, whom this decree affected in a particular manner; both as it tended to the extirmination of the Jewish people, and also as it particularly regarded his own family, his wife being, at that time, pregnant. In this emergency, he prayed to God, that he would commiserate the present wretched condition of a people, who had never deviated from his worship; that he would be their director and preserver; and that he would, at a proper season, extricate them from a calamity, which threatened nothing less than the utter extirpation of the whole race. The Almighty listened to his prayer, and, appearing to him in a dream, told him that, as he had not forgotten the piety of his ancestors, neither would he neglect to reward him also, according to his merits; encouraging him to hope for a favourable change. "It was I," said the vision, "who, from such a small beginning, raised your nation to its present populous state. It was I, who conducted Abraham, without a single attendant, from Mesopotamia to Canaan, and, exclusive of other blessings, beffowed on him a son, by a woman who, according to the common course of nature, was past child-bearing. He dying, left vast possessions to his descendants: to Ishmael he left the country of Arabia; to Isaac became the portion of the children he had by Cheturah, and to Isaac was given the land of Canaan. Nothing but the most extreme wickedness and ingratitude can have obliterated from your mind the glorious successes which attended your arms, while I fought on your side; nor the numerous blessings which I conferred on Jacob and his posterity, who, from seventy persons only, which was their number when they first settled in Egypt, are now increased to upwards of six hundred thousand. Set your mind at rest, and be assured that I will provide for the welfare of the Hebrew nation, and of yourself in particular; for the child, whose predicted birth is so much dreaded by the Egyptians, and on whose ac-
"count all the male infants of the Hebrews, newly-born, have been doomed
to death; that child, I say, shall be born to thee; shall escape all the
snare laid for his life; shall be educated in a manner totally unexpected;
and in due time, shall rescue the Israelites from the yoke of the Ægypt-
tians, and render his name immortal by the glorious achievements he shall
perform: he shall have a brother, whom I will invest with the high-priest-
hood, which dignity I will confirm to him and his heirs, in perpetuity.
Take courage, therefore; for this, and much more, will I do for yourself
and your descendants."

When Amram awaked, he communicated his dream to his wife Jochabel,
and they were greatly embarrased, not knowing what construction to put
upon this extraordinary vision: they gave no credit to the fortunate events
which had been predicted to Amram in his dream, but were exceedingly
troubled concerning the fate of the expected child. Soon after this, the
time of Jochabel's pregnancy expired, and she was delivered with little pain,
and in so short a time that the child came into the world before the Ægypti-
tian midwives could be called to her assistance: this circumstance occasioned
them to put more confidence in what had been foretold to Amram in his
dream.

The child having been kept for three months in the most secret manner,
Amram became apprehensive left a disappointment of the prediction, and the
destruction of father, mother and infant should be the consequence of a dis-
covery, and therefore resolved to leave the disposal of events entirely to the
direction of Providence. He revolved in his mind the difficulty and danger
of a longer concealment, suggesting that if the child should be secred from
observation, yet many difficulties, and infinite hazard must attend himself
and his family; but, he entertained not the least doubt of the veracity of the
Almighty, nor of his power to preserve them from the dangers which appeared
to hang over them at that period. They, accordingly, determined to
expose the child. For this purpose, they framed a kind of basket, of bul-
rushes twisted together, and, having pitched the joints, to keep out the water,
put the child into it, and let it afloat; offering up, at the same time, the
most fervent prayers to God, to interpose his providence for the preservation
of the infant. The daughter of Jochabel, named Mariam, was ordered by
her mother to walk on the opposite bank of the river, and to observe what
became of the child. The following instance may serve to convince man-
kind, that it is in vain for human wisdom to oppose the will and pleasure of
the supreme Being; and that such persons as, from motives either of advan-
tage or security, contrive the ruin of others, with whatever subtlety their de-
signs may be concerted, will find their malicious intentions finally defeated:
while those, on the other hand, who calmly and patiently submit to the Di-
vine will, shall be extricated from their troubles, even by supernatural
means.

It chanced that Thermuthis, the king's daughter, was, at this juncture,
taking the air by the river's side, and, perceiving something floating at a
distance, she ordered a swimmer to go into the water and bring it on shore;
when the princess found it was a child which her attendant was bringing to
her,
her, she was highly delighted with the circumstance. She instantly directed that some women should be instantly sought for, to suckle the infant. Several were, accordingly, brought and tried, but without effect, as the babe shewed the utmost aversion to take the breast. Mariam, who came to the spot at the time, apparently from mere curiosity, observed to the princess, that the method then taken would answer no purpose; "For," said she, "the "child being of one country and the nurse of another, it is not likely that "the milk of the stranger should be either wholesome or palatable to him; "but, if any Hebrew woman could be procured, he may, perhaps, receive "her milk with readiness and satisfaction." This proposal appeared so reasonable to the princess, that she ordered Mariam to endeavour to find such a nurse without delay.

She returned, in a short time, with the mother of the child, who was totally unknown to the princess and all present; and no sooner did Jochabed offer the infant the breast, than he began to suck with the utmost eagerness; which being remarked by the king's daughter, she desired her to take charge of the infant. Thus, as a special instance of God's favour to Moses, he was saved from impending death; and was nurtured and educated, by those very persons, who had devoted the whole race of the Hebrews to destruction, on his account alone.

The child was named Mo-Yies, with reference to the circumstance of his preservation; Mo, in the Ægyptian language, denoting Water, and Yies, signifying Preferred*. This child became, in progress of time, beyond dispute, the most accomplished person throughout the kingdom, as the Almighty had predicted to Amram. He was descended, in the sixth generation, from Abraham; his father Amram being the son of Caath, the son of Levi, the son of Jacob, the son of Isaac, who was the son of Abraham.

As he grew up, he manifested a maturity of understanding far superior to his years. His childish amusements partook of seriousness and were of such a nature as even to convey instruction; all his actions being accompanied with such a grace, as gave the world a specimen of what might be expected from him in future. At three years of age, the beauty of his person created universal admiration, and rendered him pleasing to men of the most cynical and morose disposition.

Thermuthis, from a principle of pure affection to the child, and being herself unmarried, determined to adopt him. She introduced him to her father, whom she addressed, on the occasion, in these words: "This infant is "of the sweetest and most tractable disposition that can be imagined. I have "brought him up myself, and am indebted to the bounty of the Nile for the "precious gift. It is my intention to adopt him; and I now present him "to you, as a successor to your throne." The king received the child from her hands with an affectionate tenderness, and, fondling him, to gratify his daughter's humour, took the crown from his own head, and placed it on that of the child; who, handling it in a wanton, careless manner, let it fall to the ground; after which he trampled on it.

This.

* This etymology of Moses is confuted by Scaliger, in his notes upon the fragment of Berossus, p. 48.
This incident was considered, by those present as a bad omen, both to the king and the state: in so much that the scribe, formerly mentioned, declared aloud, that the boy ought to be destroyed; "for this," said he, addressing himself to the king, "is the child, who, I predicted to you, would bring destruction upon Egypt; and he has, in the present instance, partly verified the prophecy, by the contempt he has manifested for your government, in thus treading your crown under his feet. This is he, in short, from whose death alone you can hope for the peaceful enjoyment of your authority: and, by adopting my advice, you will deprive the Hebrews of all hope, and will remove every future cause of apprehension in the Egyptians." The king, however, gave no heed to this warning, but suffered his daughter to remove the child, without the least opposition: a further instance of the eminent favour with which the Almighty constantly distinguished Moses. The liberal education, which the prince bestowed on him, created an expectation in the Hebrews, that he would, in the course of time, effect their deliverance: while the Egyptians, on the other hand, were equally apprehensive of mischief from the same cause; but as they had no prospect of a successor to the throne, worthy of that dignity, the barbarous design, which had been concerted against Moses, was suffered to drop.

CHAP. X.

The exploits of Moses, in the war against the Ethiopians.

Such was the education which Moses received; and, as he approached to manhood, he gave repeated proofs of his conduct and courage, and of the eminence which, it might be expected, he would acquire, in future, by his military achievements. He particularly distinguished himself for his skill in the science of war, on the following occasion.

The Ethiopians had made an incursion upon the territories of Egypt, and laid waste a considerable tract of the country. This action highly incensed the Egyptians, who raised a numerous army, with the view of taking ample vengeance for the inful and injury. A battle ensued, and the Egyptians were defeated: a certain number were killed in the action, and the rest shamefully repulsed, and driven back to their own home. The Ethiopians pursued their advantage so closely, that they over-ran the whole country as far as Memphis, and from thence to the sea; burning and destroying everything wherever they came, without opposition on the part of the inhabitants. In this dilemma, the Egyptians applied themselves to their priests and oracles for advice. The answer they received was, that they must solicit the assistance of a certain Hebrew, to extricate them from their difficulties. The king, thereupon, acquainted his daughter, that he proposed to send another army against the Ethiopians, and that he was very desirous that Moses should take upon himself the command of his forces. The prince was readily engaged to exert all her influence, to induce him to comply with the king's desire; but she previously bound her father, by a solemn oath, strictly to prohibit every attempt against his personal safety; at the same time reproaching the priests with
THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

with the baseness of imploring the aid of a person, whose destruction they had so lately meditated and advised.

Thermuthis and the king found little difficulty in prevailing on Moses to accept of this commiision, and his compliance gave infinite satisfaction to those invested with the sacred function, of both nations. The joy of the Egyptians arose, first, from the hopes of subduing their enemies under his conduct; and, next, from the prospect of being able, after having obtained the ends for which he was advanced to the above post, to effect the destruction of Moses. The Hebrews, on the other hand, were happy in the idea, that, under the direction of so expert a leader, they might probably, in a course of time, be enabled to throw off the yoke of the Egyptians. Moses deliberated on the properest method to attack the enemy unexpectedly in their quarters. The passage through the interior part of the country was much infested with serpents, both of the flying and creeping kinds, and all remarkably fierce and venomous. This rout was generally considered as being too dangerous to risk the march of an army through it. Moses, for this very reason, preferred it to the other road along the banks of the Nile; and the event justified his choice. To provide against the dangers of this perilous passage, he adopted the following stratagem. The Ibis is a mortal enemy to all kinds of serpents, who constantly fly from its presence, with the utmost precipitation. Though this bird is destructive of those reptiles, it is gentle and inoffensive to all other creatures. But I need say no more respecting its qualities, as the Greeks are sufficiently acquainted with the natural history of this bird. The method which Moses adopted, to preserve his troops from the attacks of these venomous animals was, to carry with him a number of the above-mentioned birds, confined in cages made of bulrushes.

When Moses had arrived at that part of the country which is infested by the above-mentioned noxious animals, he turned the birds loose; and the serpents dispersed, as from a natural enemy. He now hastened in pursuit of the Ethiopians, whom he surprized and defeated, and having effectually cut off a retreat into Egypt, such as escaped the fury of the battle, were under a necessity of returning home. After this he besieged and laid waste several towns and cities, and committed great slaughter upon the people.

This victory revived the drooping courage of the Egyptians; while the Ethiopians, on the other hand, were reduced to despair; having no prospect but death or slavery. They were, at length, compelled to retire to Saba, the capital of Ethiopia, to which city Cambyses afterwards gave the name of Meroe, in compliment to his father. Moses laid siege to this place, although nature and art seemed to have combined to render it impregnable; it being situated at the conflux of the rivers Altaphus and Alalaborg with the Nile: it is, moreover, seated on an island, encompassed with a strong wall, and defended by ramparts, and other works, from the attacks of an enemy, and the inundations of the Nile.

Moses was much dissatisfied with his present state of inactivity, the enemy keeping close within their walls: but in the interim, an incident happened.
of a very extraordinary nature. It chanced, on a certain day, that Tharbis, the daughter of the king of Ethiopia, observing Mofes, with his sword in his hand, conducting himself with great bravery under the walls of the town, was so charmed with his behaviour, that she fell passionately in love with him. Her affection still increasing, she, at length, opened her mind on the subject to some of her most intimate friends, and commissioned them to make him a tender of her hand in marriage. Mofes accepted the proposal, but, conditionally, that the city should be surrendered previous to the celebration of the nuptials; and this agreement was ratified with an oath, and, almost in the same instant, carried into execution. A great slaughter, however, was made of the Ethiopians; and, after the solemnization of the marriage, the Egyptians returned home, crowned with victory.

C H A P. XI.

The ingratitude of the Egyptians towards Mofes, who, for the preservation of his life, flies from Egypt to Madian.

The only return which those ungrateful wretches made for all the benefits they had received from the preserver of their nation was, to carry their envy and hatred of him to such extremity, as to lay snares for his life. They were apprehensive left the great reputation he had acquired by his military achievements, might inspire him with the design of rendering himself independent; and, therefore, accused him to the king, of having murdered a native of the realm. The king was but too well inclined to listen to the calumny, partly from a jealousy of his fame for valour and wisdom, and partly from the insinuations of the priests and scribes, who never ceased their importunities, till they had prevailed on that prince to become a party in the combination against him. In short, Mofes was doomed to death; and it was by a particular interposition of Providence that he was enabled to escape, in the very moment that his enemies had fixed on for the execution of their design.

Having learnt that the roads were way-laid, he directed his flight through a defart; naturally concluding that no one would think of tracing him on that road. Throughout his whole journey he could not procure any kind of food. About noon, he arrived within a small distance of Madian, a city on the coast of the Red-Sea, which was so named, from one of the sons of Abraham, by Cheturah. Being come within sight of the city, he sat himself down by the side of a fountain. As he sat there, an incident happened, which took its rise, in some measure, from a custom of the country; and it afforded him an opportunity, not only of signalizing his courage and regard for justice, but also of raising his fortune. Such is the scarcity of water in that country, that each shepherd strives to be first at the fountain in the morning, before it be drawn dry, or not a sufficiency left for his cattle. At this time, there came to the fountain seven virgin sisters, the daughters of Raguel, a priest, and a person held in much estimation in that part of the country.
THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

In the country of the Troglodytes, the women are commonly employed in tending the flocks; and the daughters of Raguel having brought their father’s sheep to the well, and drawn a sufficiency of water, emptied it into troughs, the better to divide it amongst them. In the interim, certain shepherds came to the spot, and obliged the virgins to retire, intending themselves to make use of the water which had been drawn. The brutality of this behaviour greatly enraged Moses, who espoused the cause of the virgins, and compelled the shepherds to relinquish their design. The daughters of Raguel expressed a due sense of the obligation which the stranger had conferred upon them; and, on their return to their father’s house, acquainted him with all the particulars of what had passed: unanimously requesting that he would make some kind of return for the kindness which had been shewn them. Raguel was charmed with the grateful disposition of his daughters, and ordered them to bring the stranger to his house, that he might reward him according to his merit. Moses being accordingly introduced to him, he, after complimenting him on his late conduct, assured him that he would give him speedy conviction, that he had not conferred an obligation on a person destitute of gratitude. He afterwards received him into his family; adopted him; bestowed one of his daughters on him in marriage; and appointed him to the superintendence of all his cattle, which article, in those days, constituted the whole wealth of the Troglodytes.

CHAP. XII.

God appears to Moses in the burning bush. The rod of Moses converted into a serpent.

Moses was now established in the house of his father-in-law, Jethro, or Raguel, and had the sole management of his flocks. Mount Sinai was famous for the excellency of its pastures, and exceeded all the other mountains of the country in height. A tradition prevailed among the neighbouring people, that this mountain was the residence of the Almighty; and, in this persuasion, they constantly forbore either to feed their sheep, or even to walk thereto. It chanced that Moses drove his sheep hither on a certain day, and, while he was employed in tending them, a phenomenon appeared to him of a very extraordinary nature: he perceived a fire burning in a bush, the flames of which were remarkably fierce, yet neither the leaves, flowers, nor branches received the least damage therefrom. This sight greatly surprized Moses; but his astonishment was raised to the highest pitch, when he heard a voice from the midst of the bush, calling him by name, and addressing him in these words: "How durst thou presume to set foot on this spot, where no mortal ever trod before, solely on account of the universal reverence in which this place has ever been held? Retire; and be contented with the privilege you have enjoyed, in consequence of your own virtues, and of those of your ancestors; nor dare to pinch your curiosity any farther." The voice also predicted to him, that he should acquire great reputation; and ordered him to return to Egypt, where
where he should obtain an unlimited command over the nation of the Hebrews, and should finally deliver them from their present bondage; "For," said the voice, "they shall inherit the lands which Abraham possessed; and to your wisdom shall they be indebted for the acquisition of all those blessings. But do not fail, when you shall have conducted the Hebrews out of Egypt, immediately to offer up a sacrifice on this very spot."

When the voice had finished speaking, Moses, in the utmost amazement, replied in the following terms: "I know thee, Lord, and, after the example of all my ancestors, have constantly adored thy power. It were madness, therefore, in the extreme, to hesitate to obey thy mandates. Yet how shall I, without abilities, and in an obscure station, be enabled to prevail on such a multitude, first, to abandon their present settlement; and, secondly, to follow me, entirely under an uncertainty, wherever I shall be pleased to conduct them? Nay, admitting that my interest with them should be sufficient to induce them to constitute me their leader, who shall compel Pharaoh to permit them to depart; seeing that the revenues of Egypt would be so much diminished by the loss of their labour?" The voice again ordered him to make himself ready, promising that he should want for no assistance of which he should stand in need. But, effectually to remove every doubt which he might still entertain, the voice commanded him to cast the rod which he held in his hand on the ground. This being done, the rod was instantly converted into a serpent, twining itself in folds, and threatening an attack: and in a short time it returned to its former shape. Moses was then ordered to put his hand into his bosom, which he did, and, upon drawing it out again, it appeared to be as white as chalk; presently resuming its native colour. He was further commanded to throw a small quantity of fair water on the ground, where it appeared to have acquired the quality of blood. As Moses expressed the utmost astonishment at the sight of these supernatural operations, God assured him that he would confer on him the power of working the like miracles, in order to evince to the Hebrews that he was invested with a commission from the Deity, to take upon him the office of their leader.

The Lord then commanded Moses to return immediately to Egypt, and, for the greater dispatch, to continue his journey night and day. Moses could no longer, after what he had heard and seen, have any doubts remaining of God's power and justice; he, nevertheless, requested that he might retain the faculty of working miracles; when he should arrive in Egypt; and that God would condescend to communicate to him the name of that awful Being, of whose infinite power he had so lately received such convincing proofs; in order that he might be enabled, on all occasions, to invoke him by his proper appellation. The Almighty was pleased to grant this request: but the name was, till then, never heard by any man, and I am withheld from mentioning it by a reverential awe. The gift of performing miracles, at all times, was also conferred on Moses, who was now convinced that he should live to be an eye-witness of the happy deliverance of the Hebrews, and of the confusion of their enemies, the Egyptians.

CHAP.
Moses, having now received intelligence of the death of the king of Egypt, who had compelled him to abandon that country, requested permission of Raguel to return thither to his friends and relations. His request being complied with, he began his journey, accompanied by his wife Zipporah, the daughter of Raguel, and the two children he had by her, Gerthom, and Eleazar. Now Gerthom, being interpreted, signifies a foreigner; and by Eleazar is signified, the Help of God; because it was through the intervention of the providence of the Almighty, that Moses was preserved from the snare laid for him by the Egyptians.

When he had approached nearly to the borders of Egypt, by the immediate direction of the Almighty, he was met by his brother Aaron, to whom he communicated the wonderful occurrences upon the mount, and the revelations, instructions and ordinances which God had delivered to him. Having made some farther progress on his journey, great numbers of the most considerable among the Hebrew people came forth to give him welcome. After some conversation, Moses was convinced that the power of words was not alone sufficient to obtain his point; and therefore, in support of his commission, authority and power, he had recourse to miracles, appealing to the evidence of their senses in regard to the wonders he performed, which they beheld with astonishment, and considered as an indubitable token that God would relieve and provide for the safety of his people.

Moses having so far prevailed upon the Hebrews, as to obtain a promise of obedience to him, repaired to the new king, and mentioned the toils he had sustained and the dangers he had encountered in conducting the war of the Egyptians against the Ethiopians, in the prosecution of which he had constantly observed as unremitting an attention for the advantage of the party to which he was attached, as he could have manifested in behalf of his own countrymen; and he remarked that the rewards he had received were inadequate to his services. He circumstantially related what the Almighty had communicated to him in his vision upon Mount Sinai; adding that, to induce a confidence in his promises, the Deity had given him tokens by miracles and revelations; finally importuning Pharaoh not to betray a disbelief of God, by opposing his divine pleasure.

Pharaoh treated the above relation with contempt and ridicule; whereupon Moses endeavoured to force conviction upon him by repeating, in his flight, those miracles which he had performed upon Mount Sinai; but this provoked Pharaoh to a violence of anger and opprobrious language. "Thou " contemptible runagate," said he, "for the safety of your person you made " a scandalous retreat from Egypt, and now return to delude the people by " the exhibition of your magical flights; and have the effrontery to assume " as much consequence, as if you were the only man conversant in the di-

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"Vine mystery; and so extravagant is your vanity, that you imagine yourself an object worthy public adoration: but, notwithstanding this ostentation, be informed, that my priests can rival your utmost dexterity." The priests being now called, were directed to throw down their rods, which were instantly changed into serpents. "I am not unacquainted with the address of the Ægyptians," said Mofes, "nor do I hold them in contempt; therefore this circumstance does not affect me: but I may with confidence declare, that their magic is as much inferior to the works I perform, as human things are to those of Divine origin: and I shall immediately convince you that I mean not, under the semblance of truth, to impose illusions upon the populace; but that I act under the authority of an omnipotent Deity, who will punish the obstinacy of those who shall wilfully shut their eyes against such demonstrative evidence." Thus saying, he threw his rod, also, upon the ground, which instantly assumed the appearance of a serpent, and swallowed up those of the Magicians, one after another; after which it returned to its former shape.

This miracle, instead of convincing the king, served only to incense him still more. He, accordingly, reproved Mofes, and issued fresh orders to the officers appointed to overlook the Hebrews at their work, not only to keep them constantly employed, but also to make an addition to their ordinary tasks; and they were, in consequence, deprived of their former indulgence, in having the straw they uled in making bricks brought to them, and were compelled to fetch it during the night, that their day-labour might not be interrupted.

But neither the king's displeasure, nor the murmurings of his own people, who were very urgent with him to desist from all further application in their behalf, could prevail on Mofes to recede from the plan he had adopted, to effect their deliverance. He, therefore, again waited on Pharaoh, to request that he would permit the Hebrews to go to Mount Sinai, there to offer up an oblation to the Almighty, according as they had been commanded. "It will be in vain," said he, "to oppose the decrees of providence: therefore beware; lest, by refusing to let the people go, you bring upon yourself those judgments, which will inevitably be the portion of those who contemn the commands of God. Should such be your conduct, you will find yourself disappointed in all your undertakings; your women will be afflicted with sterility, and the very elements themselves will conspire to avenge the cause of their Creator. Nor will you be left exposed to these calamities, even should the Hebrews quit your dominions, unless they have your licence and protection. And, rather than the design shall fail, the Almighty will himself effect it, in the end, whether you consent or not."
The ten plagues inflicted on the Egyptians, in consequence of the obstinacy of Pharaoh.

The king would not pay the least regard to the intercession of Moses, and this obduracy proved the source of many miseries to the Egyptians; in speaking of which, I shall be the more particularly explicit, both on account of the novelty of the subject, and also to shew that the predictions of our prophet were not the mere effusions of a fanciful imagination. These transactions, in short, ought to be universally known, in order to guard mankind against the commission of those enormous crimes, which infallibly bring down upon them the severest judgments of heaven.

The first miracle which Moses wrought for the punishment of the Egyptians was, by converting the waters of the Nile, which were their only drink, into blood; and this alteration was not in point of colour only, but all those of the natives who were necessitated to drink of it were afflicted with a violent choleric, while to the Hebrews it was perfectly wholesome. The king, being apprehensive of the total destruction of his subjects, contented, at length, that the Hebrews should depart: but, no sooner had God, in consequence of the above concession, removed this terrible plague, than he immediately recalled his promise. This ingratitude and duplicity so highly enraged the Almighty, that he quickly visited the land with a second judgment; causing frogs to be produced in every quarter, in such numbers, that the whole earth was covered with them, and the waters of the river became stagnant and corrupted. The bed-chambers, and tables were infested by these animals; no place, in short, was free from them; and the inconvenience was heightened by the noisome stench proceeding from them. Pharaoh, hereupon, again sent for Moses, and acquainted him that he might retire, with the Hebrews, whenever he should think proper. This permission was no sooner granted, than the frogs totally disappeared, and all things returned to their former state.

But Pharaoh again refused to fulfill his promise, on the plea of its having been extorted from him by fear, and, consequently, that he was under no obligation to comply with the terms thereof. This breach of faith, so derogatory to the character of a monarch, was succeeded by a further manifestation of the vengeance of the Almighty. The natives were infected with a terrible and uncommon disease; being covered with lice, which eat into their bodies, and gave them the most excruciating pain; neither could any remedy be found for this disorder, baths, ointments, and all other applications proving equally inefficacious. Pharaoh, therefore, once more consented that the Hebrews should retire; but, when he perceived that God had freed his subjects from the above calamity, he declared that they (the Hebrews) must leave their wives and children in his hands, as pledges for their return.

This circumstance enraged the Almighty more than all the rest of that prince's conduct; as it seemed to denote a design of deceiving providence, and an opinion that it was not God, but his servant Moses, who had inflicted...
inflicted these punishments on the Ægyptians, for their injurious and oppressive treatment of the Hebrews. God, therefore, filled the whole country with numberless swarms of flies and insects, many of them of such species as the inhabitants were totally unacquainted with. They lay on the ground in such abundance, as to put a stop to all tillage; and so venomous were they, that multitudes of the people were destroyed by them; some being suddenly taken off, while others fell a prey to lingering diseases, which were generated from the putrefaction of these insects. But even this was not sufficient to induce him to desist from his opposition to the will of God; he would not suffer the Israelites to go, but on the terms of their leaving some of their women, and all the children behind them.

The next judgment, which the Lord inflicted on the Ægyptians, in consequence of the incorrigible obstinacy of their sovereign, was a kind of inward ulcer, of which vast numbers of the people died.

Pharaoh still persisting in his contempt of the Divine Will, God was pleased to visit the Ægyptians with a plague of hail, which utterly destroyed the fruits and vegetables in the bud. This hail, exclusive of its being a phenomenon in Ægypt, far excelled in size whatever had been hitherto seen of the kind in the coldest climates; and what escaped the hail fell a prey to a devouring swarm of locusts, and in this manner was the whole produce of that year utterly confounded. It will naturally be supposed that, had not this prince been equally infatuated as wicked, these judgments would have awakened him to a due sense of his danger; but the truth is, that Pharaoh had impiously determined to contest the matter with the Almighty, even at the risk of the destruction of himself and his people. He, at length, yielded that the Hebrews should be at liberty to depart with their wives and children, laying only their effects behind them, to compensate the Ægyptians for the losses they had sustained. But Moses objected to this proposal, as being unreasonable; because, in that case, they should be totally unprovided for a sacrifice.

This point was debated so long between the king and Moses, that, in the interval, God spread a thick darkness over the land, during the continuance of which many persons perished; whilst not a few were apprehensive of being swallowed up in one general abyss. At the expiration of three days and nights, light re-appeared; and, Pharaoh still continuing obstinate, Moses once more presented himself before him, and addressed him in these terms:

"How far will you set your will in competition with that of the Almighty! "He enjoins you, by me, to diminish his people, the Hebrews; and nothing "but a compliance with his pleasure in this respect, can preserve you from "the impending destruction." The freedom of this expostulation so incensed the king, that he ordered Moses, at the peril of his life, never to mention another syllable to him on the subject. Moses replied, that he had now fully executed his commission; but that he was perfectly convinced that, in a very short time, both the king and his nobles would, of their own accord, urge the Israelites to hasten their departure: and, with these words, he retired.

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The Almighty still retained one plague in store, to punish the impious obstinacy of Pharaoh. He commanded Moses to give notice to the Hebrews to make ready on the thirteenth, the sacrifice which they were accustomed to offer on the fourteenth day of the month Xanticus. This month, which the Macedonians term Xanthicus, is called, by the Hebrews, Nisan; and Pharmuthi by the Egyptians. Moses, in obedience to the command, convened all the Hebrews in one place; dividing them into tribes and companies. The assigned day being arrived, and all the necessary preparations made, early in the morning they offered up a sacrifice, sprinkling their houses with the blood of the victims, for the purpose of purifying them. The flesh which was not eaten, they burnt; being upon the point of entering upon their journey. Such are the ceremonies, which we observe to this day, in the celebration of the Pascha, which signifies passing over; because God passed over the Hebrews without doing them the least hurt, when the Egyptians were struck dead by the pestilence; which, in the course of one night, made such devastation among the first-born of Egypt, that multitudes of people of all ranks, beset the palace, loudly importuning the king to dismiss the Hebrews without any further delay. That prince, thereupon, sent for Moses, and ordered him to assemble his countrymen, and to retire with them out of the land; being strongly prepossessed, that the deliverance of Egypt could never be effected, while they should remain in the country. At their departure, many of the Egyptians presented them with valuable gifts; some merely with the view of hastening them away, others from motives of friendship; nor could they refrain from tears at parting from the Hebrews; many feeling a sincere compassion for the barbarities they had been guilty of towards them.

C H A P. XV.

The Hebrews depart from Egypt, under the conduct of Moses.

The rout which the Israelites took was by Letopolis, a city at that time uninhabited; and on the site of which Cambyses, in his expedition against Egypt, built the city of Babylon. They marched with great expedition, and, on the third day after their departure, arrived at Beulzephon, on the borders of the Red-Sea. As they could obtain no provisions in their passage through the wilderness, they subsisted, for the space of thirty days, on no other food than meal kneaded with water, and made into cakes. They had now exhausted all the food they had brought out of Egypt, although they had used it with all possible parsimony. It is in commemoration of that scarcity, that the festival of eight-days is held, which we call that of Unleavened Bread. But the number of the Hebrews was prodigious: there being sixty thousand men capable of bearing arms, exclusive of the women and children.

It was on the fifteenth day of the month Xanticus that the Hebrews departed out of Egypt; Moses being, at that time, in the eightieth year of his
his age, and Aaron, his brother, in his eighty-third. A period of two hundred and fifty years had elapsed from the time of Jacob's arrival in Egypt; and of four-hundred and fifteen years from the era of the entrance of Abraham into Canaan. They carried with them the bones of Joseph, as he had enjoined his sons, some time previous to his death.

The Egyptians quickly repented of the permission they had granted to the Hebrews to withdraw themselves; the king in particular, who imputed all the misfortunes which had befallen the nation, to the enchantments of Moses. They determined, therefore, to pursue them; believing that they should easily subdue and compel them to return in their wearied and defenceless situation, if they should but be able to overtake them; but this they doubted, the road which they had taken, being replete with difficulties even to a single traveller, but much more to so large a number of persons marching in one body.

But the motives which induced Moses to prefer this road to any other, were various: first, he hoped that the very length of the way would deter the Egyptians from pursuing him, even if they should incline to that measure. Another reason was, that he wished to avoid passing near Palestine, left the people of that place, between whom and the Hebrews an enmity subsisting of ancient date, should gain intelligence of their march, and take that opportunity to fall upon, and destroy them. He was further induced to pass by the way of the wilderness, though inconvenient and round about, from a desire of performing the vow, which he had formerly made, to sacrifice on mount Sinai as God had commanded him; intending from thence to direct his course to Canaan.

When they arrived on the coast of the Red-Sea, they were overtaken and hemmed in by the Egyptian army, which consisted of six hundred chariots, fifty thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot; the main body being drawn up in battle array. The Egyptians had secured all the passes, and so effectually shut up the Hebrews between impassable mountains, and the sea, that they had not the least prospect whatever of escaping. To fly or fight with success was equally impracticable: and thus they were reduced to the wretched alternative, either to starve or yield themselves slaves to the Egyptians. In this desperate situation, they imputed the blame of all their misfortunes to Moses. The many wonders which God had wrought for their deliverance, and for the confirmation of their faith, were now obliterated. The clamours and cries of the women and children, who considered themselves as being utterly lost, incensed the people so much, that they were on the point of stoning their false prophet, as they now supposed Moses to be, and of resigning themselves once more to the abject slavery from which they had so lately been delivered.

Moses was not to be moved either by the threats or outrages of this headstrong multitude: he placed the firmest confidence in the power of God, who, he was convinced, after having afforded them so fair a prospect of obtaining their liberty, would not suffer his people to return under the yoke of their enemies. "Suppose," said Moses, addressing himself to the people, "that you had deposited a valuable truft in the hands of a person, who
had hitherto conducted himself in a manner perfectly to your satisfaction; would not this embolden you to rely upon him, in the same case, at any future time? Is it not the height of madness, then, to despair? seeing that God himself hath promised to be your protector! Nay, the very dilemma to which you are now reduced, ought to raise rather than to depress your expectations. He has suffered this distress to come upon you, merely to convince you of his power, and of his predilection for our nation, by extricating you therefrom, in a manner equally to the admiration of yourselves and your enemies. The interposition of God's providence is not to be expected in matters of small importance; but in extraordinary cases which surpass our weak comprehension, and admit not of human assistance, and in circumstances of a judicial nature, it is that the Almighty will rescue those who rest their hope of deliverance upon his unbounded goodness: therefore despair not of success while you have a protector who is able to exalt the lowly, and level the honour of their oppressors with the dust. Because you are now encompassed by the sea and mountains, without a prospect of avoiding your enemies, imagine not that your safety is at the mercy of the Egyptian troops; for the God whom you worship has power to dry up the waters of the ocean, and reduce the mountains to a level with the plains. Let his will be done."

CHAP. XVI.

The Red-Sea divides, affording a passage for Moses and his followers: the whole Egyptian army being in pursuit, is drowned by a sudden return of the waters.

Moses having uttered these words, led the Hebrews towards the sea, in sight of the Egyptians, who, being fatigued with the pursuit, had resolved to take some refreshment, and defer giving battle till the next day. Having arrived at the sea-side, Moses, taking out his rod, addressed himself in prayer to the following purpose. "Almighty God! It is not by human means that thy servants can be delivered from their present dreadful situation. To thy people, who, in obedience to thy commands, have departed from Egypt, O God! be merciful; for we rely on thee alone for succour, and thou only art able to secure us against the cruelty of our oppressors. Deign, O God! to give new life and confidence to thy faithful servants by a speedy assistance in their present afflictions. It is in thy gracious promises that we rest our only hope: for though we are encompassed with the sea and mountains, all obstructions to our passage will be removed if it shall please thee to interpose in our behalf: at thy command the waters will retreat, and the mountains be levelled with the plains." Having concluded this prayer, Moses struck the sea with his rod (which was the ensign of his commission for performing miracles), and the waters instantly divided; upon which, putting himself at the head of his men, he instructed them to offer thanksgivings to heaven for the remarkable providence manifested in their favour, and, in the name of the Almighty, called upon them to follow him. The Egyptians observing them to
to proceed on the way which had been formed for their escape by the miraculous retreat of the waters, considered them as possessed of infinity, and judged that they were on the verge of inevitable destruction; but seeing them continue their course without impediment, they prepared to pursue them, flattering themselves in the vain imagination that they might pass the same road with as little danger and interruption. While the Egyptians were amusing themselves and making other preparations for their attempt, the Hebrews reached the opposite shore. The Egyptians did not apprehend that the passage had been opened solely for the preservation of the people of God, and ruin of their persecutors, but upon being witnesses to the success of Moses and his followers, they became more eagerly determined upon a pursuit, and more confident of success in their intended enterprise. They proceeded on their design, and when they had got within the bed of the river, the waters returned to their former course, and the whole army perished. This signal judgment was attended with thunders of thunder, lightning, rain, and other violent contents of the elements, so that nothing can be conceived more dreadful than the calamity of these infatuated people, who fell victims to the displeasure of an offended God.

It is not in the power of language to describe the joy of the Hebrews for this unexpected deliverance. Seeing their cruel enemies utterly destroyed, and themselves in the secure possession of liberty, gave rise to the most sincere gratitude towards the Divine Being, whose providence had indisputably directed these singular events; and they employed the whole night in hymns, thanksgivings, and prayer; and, on the occasion, Moses composed a song in hexameter verse, which he dedicated to the honor of God.

The dividing of the sea for the preservation of the Hebrews, is not to be disputed; by a reference to ancient records, it will be found that a previous circumstance of the same wonderful kind has occurred. The several historians who have given the life of Alexander, attest that when the Macedonians, under the command of that prince, were at a loss for a passage, the Pamphylian-Sea divided; Alexander being appointed the instrument of God's providence for the destruction of the Persian empire.

On the day following that of the above-mentioned judgment, the arms of the Egyptians were driven on shore, near to the spot where the Hebrews had pitched their tents; and this was considered by Moses as an additional instance of God's providence, the people being greatly distressed for want of arms, which were thus provided for their use. In obedience to the will of God, Moses now led his followers to Mount Sinai, there to offer sacrifice and oblation to God.
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTiquITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK III.

Containing the history of such incidents as happened from the year of the world 2454, to 2455.

CHAP. I.

The Journey of the Israelites from Egypt to Mount Sinai. The difficulties they encounter on the way. They murmur against Moses. The extremities to which they are reduced by hunger and thirst. They are relieved by a miracle.

The extreme hardships which the Hebrews suffered on their journey through the wilderness of Mount Sinai, did not a little abate the joy they felt, on occasion of their late miraculous and unexpected deliverance. They could procure no food; and the water they chanced to meet with, was in small quantities, and of so bad a taste and quality, that the very cattle would not drink of it. At the instigation of their guides, they carried with them a supply of water when they first entered into the wilderness; and, that being exhausted, they were necessitated to sink pits; which, on account of the rocky quality of the ground, was not effected without great labour and fatigue.
In the evening they arrived at a place called Marah, which signifies, in the Hebrew, Bitterness; this name it acquired from the taste of its waters. They were much wearied; and, their provisions having fallen short, they now began to feel the cravings of hunger. But they agreed to make a short stay at this place, having fortunately discovered a pit of water, on the spot. This pit, it is true, could not afford a sufficient supply for so numerous a company; yet, when they considered the general state of the country, and that this was the last place where they could expect to find any water till they should arrive at Mount Sinai, the above discovery gave them no small satisfaction. But this water was equally bitter with the rest, and was utterly unwholesome, both for the people and their cattle.

Moses saw that the spirits of the Israelites were much depressed; neither was he capable of affording them the least comfort, as their present foes were not to be vanquished either by skill or valour. The whole community partook of the danger, and unanimously imperturbed Moses for relief in their distresses. He again had recourse to supplications, praying that God would be pleased to correct the bitterness of the water, and to render it fit for use. The Almighty instantly complied; and Moses took from the ground a piece of wood, which chanced to lay near at hand, and cleaving it in the middle, threw it into the water; acquainting the Hebrews that God had listened to their prayers, and had engaged to provide them with such water as should be fit for drinking; conditionally, that they should yield the most implicit obedience to all his commands. This they promised; and Moses ordered them to empty the well of half the water which it contained; assuring them that the remainder would, in that case, be pure and agreeable. This was accordingly done; and the effect was consonant to what Moses had predicted.

They removed from thence to a place called Helim. At a distance, this place bore a very flattering appearance, being planted with palm-trees; but upon a nearer approach, the face of things became totally changed; for these palm-trees consisted of seventy only in number, and those too of the dwarf species; nothing which grew there arriving at maturity, through the mere want of moisture. Nay, though there were twelve springs on this spot, neither the trees, plants, nor herbage were in the least benefited by them, as they never rose to a sufficient height to refresh the earth with their waters. The soil was naturally sandy, and if a vein of water made its appearance by accident, its foulness rendered it totally unfit for service.

The flock of provisions, with which the people had furnished themselves for their subsistence for the space of thirty days, was now exhausted, and no means appeared of obtaining a further supply. The reflections suggested by these various calamities plunged the people in absolute despondency; and the impulse of their present wants and miseries obliterated from their minds the remembrance of all the former mercies of God towards them; whether proceeding directly from him, or whether communicated to them through the medium of his servant Moses, whom they accused as the cause of all their misfortunes, and threatened with immediate death. In the midst of this furious tumult, while the people, with stones in their hands, were pre-
paring to put their threats in execution, Mofes appeared among them, with that firmness and confidence which a faith in God, and conscientious integrity will ever inspire; and, with a force of elocution peculiar to himself, addressed them in words to this effect: "You must not imagine that the difficulties in which you are now involved can justify your forgetfulness of the former unexampled bounty and mercies of God towards you. And may not providence again interpose in your favour? It is highly probable that your present afflictions are intended as a trial of your resignation and gratitude. Beware, lest you render yourselves unworthy of God's favour, by an unbecoming impatience under misfortunes, by ingratitude for past benefits, and by railing a fruitless opposition to the Divine will; for it is with the Lord God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, that you now contend. And, with respect to your enmity to me, it arises solely from my having strictly adhered to the commands of the Almighty. I have done nothing without his authority, and you cannot charge me with having deceived you in any one instance whatsoever." He then proceeded to remind them of various instances of God's kindness to them: such as their redemption from the bondage of Egypt, with the attendant circumstances; their safe passage through the Red-Sea, the destruction of the Egyptians, who were drowned in the attempt to follow them; and the miraculous manner in which it pleased God to furnish them with arms, of which they were before utterly destitute; with many other particulars of a like kind. "Put your trust, therefore," said he, "in the omnipotency of God, which is incapable of diminution, and submit with patience to every reverie of fortune, in the firm persuasion that the Almighty will in due time, extricate you from all your difficulties. You must not, in the present case, consider yourselves as being either forsaken or neglected by Providence; but it is God's pleasure hereby to put your resolution and attachment to freedom to the test, and to make trial whether you will submit to a temporary want of food and drink, or whether you are rather determined again to return to that ignominious slavery, from which you have so lately been delivered. I am totally indifferent with regard to whatever may befall myself; and therefore condemn your threats of violence against my person; but you will recollect that your own security is closely connected with mine, and that, should you put me to death, the action would import no less than a reprobation of the decrees even of the Almighty himself."

This speech restored the most violent among the multitude to a degree of reason; Mofes himself palliating their late unruy conduct, which he modestly imputed to the peculiarity of their situation. He then withdrew to an adjacent rock, where he offered up supplications to God; humbly petitioning him to commiserate the condition of this unfortunate people; to pardon their intemperate passions, and to charge the whole blame of their conduct on the weakness of their nature. To this prayer God returned for answer, that he would speedily relieve the necessities of the people.

Mofes, having obtained this promise, returned to the people with joy depicted in his face, which they construed into a good omen; and, forgetting their late fadness, began to assume an air of cheerfulness. He acquainted them.
them with the declaration of the Almighty, that he would quickly take compassion on them; which was soon afterwards fully verified: for a numerous flight of quails, being over-wearied in their passage across the Arabian Gulph, in the neighbourhood of which they are found in great abundance, dropt into the camp of the Hebrews, their strength being totally exhausted. The people considered this circumstance as an evident interposition of Providence in their behalf; and each man eagerly exerted himself to procure as large a share as possible of this unexpected bounty.

The Almighty, in a short time afterwards, furnished them with a second supply of food, of a different kind; for it chanced, as Moses was at his devotions, with his hands stretched out towards heaven, a sort of dew fell on them, and sticking to them, quickly acquired a considerable degree of confidence: Moses immediately conceived an opinion that this was intended as food for the people, and, tasting it, found to his infinite satisfaction that he had not formed a wrong judgment. The populace entertained a notion that, it being now the winter season of the year, this dew was nothing more than a kind of snow. Moses soon convinced them of their error, and, first tasting it himself, and then giving it to them to make an experiment, proved to them that it would be found to be a certain preservative against famine: it had something of the flavour of honey, was nearly the size of a coriander seed, and in its appearance was not unlike bedellium.

The gathering of it caused, at first, much confusion and strife among the people, till the matter was regulated by an edict; enjoining all persons to gather each day an equal quantity, which was limited to the measure of an homer; Moses, at the same time, giving them the strongest assurances that they should have a constant supply of that food. This regulation was made to prevent the stronger from gathering a larger portion than should fall to their share, to the prejudice of the weaker part of the community. To ensure obedience to the edict in question, God ordained, that whatever should be gathered by any person, over and above the specified quantity, should, on the next day, become putrid, and unfit for food. This dew possessed one incredible and miraculous property, which was, that all who eat of it preferred it to every other kind of subsistence. To the present time, certain dews and rains are common in that country, which nearly resemble this which Moses procured by his intercession with God. It is styled, by the Hebrews, Manna: the term Man signifying an interrogation; as if we should say, What is this? The people expressed the utmost joy on the occasion; considering this relief as coming immediately from heaven; and this was their sole subsistence for the term of forty years, during which they remained in the wilderness.

They departed from thence to Rephidim, where they were again greatly distressed for want of water, not having been able to procure any for the space of several days. They once more began to reproach Moses, but he withdrew to a distance from them, and offered up prayers to God; beseeching him that, as he had hitherto preferred them from perishing by hunger, be would now be pleased to avert the danger which threatened them, through the want of water. The answer which he received was, that God would
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grant them a supply of water where they should least expect it; ordering him with his rod to strike an adjacent rock, which, in consequence, should produce a sufficiency to serve their purpose. Moses, hereupon, returned to the people, who were become impatient of his stay, and intently gazing on his countenance, to try if they could discover the success of his supplications. He acquainted them that God would relieve them from this calamity also, by causing a river to flow from that rock. They imagined that they were to have dug a channel for the water through the rock; which to persons in their exhausted condition, would have been a work of infinite labour and toil. But they were presently undeceived; for, Moses striking his rod upon the rock, a considerable stream of water gushed forth, which was equal to crystal in clearness. It would have been difficult to have decided, whether the people were more astonished at the performance of this miracle, or over-joyed at the unexpected relief, the water being perfectly sweet and palatable. Perceiving by this event that Moses stood highly in favour with the Almighty, the people were now extravagant in their praises of him, and offered sacrifices to God, in token of their gratitude.

There is a passage in the holy scripture, which is preserved in the temple at Jerusalem, mentioning that God had predicted to Moses all the circumstances of this miracle, some time before it was carried into execution.

CHAP. II.

Five kings enter into a confederacy against the Hebrews. Joshua defeats the Amalekites. The Hebrews arrive at Mount Sinai.

THE whole adjacent country now rang with the fame of the Hebrews; and the rulers of the various provinces entertained so strong a dread of their prowess, that they formed a confederacy among themselves, the object of which was, either to compel them to retire to a greater distance, or otherwise, utterly destroy them: and, with this view, they sent ambassadors to each other, to concert the necessary measures. The principal contrivers of this design were the Gobolians, and the inhabitants of Petra; these were the most martial people of those parts, and passed under the denomination of Amalekites.

Five kings embarked in this enterprise against the Hebrews, and as many of their neighbours as they could prevail upon, they engaged to favour their design. "These people," said they, "are a company of vagabonds, who fled from the slavery which they suffered in Egypt, to establish themselves elsewhere, by forcing others out of their possessions. The best method of counteraacting them will be to attack them immediately, while their army is yet in an undisciplined state, and totally unprovided with necessaries; and not to wait till they shall have the audacity to invade us. We have only to fall upon them in their present defenceless condition, before they have possessed themselves of any places of strength, and we shall find them an easy conquest." The opinions in the confederate council were various.
but, at length, it was determined to commence a war against the Hebrews, for the purpose of driving them from the borders of their territories.

This determination gave no small alarm to Moses, and the people were thrown into the utmost confusion, by the prospect of so unexpected a war with an enemy who were amply provided with every necessary, of which themselves were totally destitute. Moses, to remove their dispondency, reminded them of the many proofs they had received of God's favour, and encouraged them to confide in his omnipotence and mercy for an assured victory over their enemies. "Despise," said he, "the advantages of arms, money, and men; on which your enemies so much depend, and rely on the protection of the Almighty, who has so often fought your battles. Hath he not constantly manifested himself the friend of our nation, and the foe of the Egyptians? Finally, remember that the acquisition of this victory will put you in possession of all the blessings of this life: therefore take courage, and exert yourselves like men."

This speech revived the drooping spirits of the people, and Moses, convening the leaders and chief persons of the several tribes, exhorted the younger part of the assembly to pay due attention to the advice of those whom age had rendered more experienced than themselves, and recommended to the rest an implicit obedience to the orders of their commander. Their late apprehensions were now totally dispelled, insomuch that they expressed the utmost contempt of every kind of danger, and manifested a vehement desire of coming to action, in full confidence of obtaining such a victory, as should at once deliver them from all their troubles. They, therefore, earnestly solicited Moses to lead them instantly against the enemy, whilst the soldiers continued in so favourable a disposition towards an engagement. Moses, thereupon, selected from the multitude a number of men, whom he deemed the best qualified for the service they were to go upon, and, forming them into one body, appointed Joshua, the son of Nun, and of the tribe of Ephraim, to be their leader, who was equally famous for his valour and prudence; he was of exemplary piety, a disciple of Moses, and one who did honor to the instructions of so great a matter. He detached several parties; some to secure their water, others to guard their camp, and others to defend the women and children. All the necessary preparations were now made for an engagement: the troops lay upon their arms during the night, whilst Moses, Joshua, and the other principal officers of the army, sat in council, regulating the operations of the ensuing day. When the dawn began to appear, Moses recommended it to Joshua and the other commanders of the Hebrews, and also to the soldiers in general, to fulfill, by their conduct on that day, the expectations which the world had conceived of them, and thereby to acquire immortal fame.

Having thus impressed their minds with a due sense of piety, and an eager desire of glory, Moses recommended them to the divine protection, and retired to the top of the mountain. The two armies immediately joined battle, and the contest was carried on with great obstinacy on both sides. Whilst Moses held up his hands, the battle went in favour of the Israelites; but when, through fatigue, he was incapable of holding them up any longer,
the Amalekites had the advantage. When Moses noticed this circumstance, he desir'd Aaron and Hur, the husband of his sister Mariam, to place themselves by his side, and assist his hands; with a strict caution not to suffer them to drop again. The Amalekites were utterly routed, and not a man would have escaped, had not the darkness of the night favoured the flight of the wretched remains of their army.

This victory stands unparalleled in the whole history of our ancestors; both for the glory of the action, and for the beneficial consequences with which it was attended; it being a decisive conquest obtained over an invading enemy, the fame of which spread terror throughout all the adjacent provinces; and which was, moreover, attended with an inmenaxl booty. The plunder consisted of gold and silver plate, vessels of brass curiously wrought, money, splendid arms and habits, horses, baggage, and other valuable articles. Such was the event of this battle. On the next day, Moses gave orders to strip the bodies of the dead, and to collect their scattered arms: he also conferred rewards on those who had particularly distinguished themselves by their valor. Nor did he neglect to ascribe due praise to the merit of the general; giving him public thanks for his conduct on the occasion, which were confirmed by the shouts and acclamations of the whole army. The number of the slain of the Amalekites, was so great as to baffle all computation; whilst the Hebrews loft not a single man in the action. Moses erected an altar on the spot, which he dedicated and inscribed to God the Conqueror, and sacrificed thereon; predicting, at the same time, the total destruction of the Amalekites, in consequence of their treacherous conduct towards the Hebrews, when they were on the verge of perishing in the wilderness. The solemnity concluded with feastings and rejoicings; Joshua and the other officers, with the whole army, being entertained by Moses in a manner suitable to the occasion.

This was the first action in which the Hebrews were engaged, from the time of their departure from Egypt. After having refreshed themselves for a few days, they proceeded forwards, with a better regulated and more numerous army than before: the plunder which they took from the Amalekites having enabled them to supply a great number of the people with arms. Continuing their progress thus, by short marches, they arrived at Mount Sinai, where, as we have already observed, God appeared to Moses in the burning bush. This was the third month from the time of their leaving Egypt.

C H A P. III.

Raguel repairs to Mount Sinai, to felicitate his son-in-law Moses on his late successs.

WHEN the news of the miraculous success which Moses had experienced was communicated to Raguel, he immediately determined to pay his son-in-law a visit, with the view of congratulating him on the occasion, and of meeting with his daughter Zipporah and their children. Moses received him with the greatest joy imaginable, and, offering up a sacrifice
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crifice to God, scattered all the people, distinguishing them according to their tribes and families, on a spot not far distant from the burning bush already mentioned. In the midst of their festivity, Aaron, Raguel and the rest, sung hymns in honor of the Omnipotent author of their late deliverance: nor did they omit to pay the due tribute of praise to the army, and to their preserver, by whose authority and guidance so many wise and brave men were directed in their proceedings, which were attended with such astonishing success.

CHAP. IV.

The advice of Raguel to Moses on the subject of religion, government, and the management of the troops under his command.

At a time when Moses was attending to the judicial appeals of the public, it was observed by his father-in-law, that he must be greatly embarrassed by the diversity of business in which he was engaged: but, conscious that the people held his authority in so high a reverence as to submit more cheerfully to the sentence of ruin from him, than obtain a partial decision in their favour from another tribunal, he judged it not prudent to interrupt the course of public justice: but when the business of the day was concluded, he delivered his sentiments to the following effect: “The matters which occupy your attention are too numerous and important to be dispatched by one man, and as a considerable portion of your time is engaged in attending to the personal appeals of individuals, I would recommend to you the appointment of persons qualified to act in that department; but it must be your particular function to attend to matters of religion and government; for there is no man to whom the temporal and eternal welfare of so numerous a body of people can be entrusted with so much safety as with yourself.

The great advantage the people will derive from your assistance and advice; the benefits experienced by those whom you relieved in the time of danger; the superiority of your talents, and the power you possess of rendering yourself still more extensively useful, you cannot be unacquainted with. Now it is my advice that your particular province shall be to attend the offices of divine worship, as in that department you will be afforded the opportunity of promoting your own as well as the public welfare in the most effectual manner; and that the determination of private controversies be referred to officers, whom you may appoint. I would farther advise you to a general muster of the people under your command, and to divide them into companies, consisting each of a thousand men, and that officers be invested with proper authority for the government and regulation of the several companies; then to subdivide them into bodies, consisting of five hundred, fifty, thirty, twenty, and ten men each, with officers over each party, bearing denominations correspondent to the number under their command; each company having persons of approved integrity respectively appointed to judge and determine controversies. But in cases of in-

“tricacy
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"Tricacy and importance reserve to the people the right of appealing for your "final decision: and thus you will secure to yourself the opportunity of dif-
"charging your duty in divine worship, both for your own benefit and that "of the people under your command, to whom their regulations will secure "the due administration of public justice."

This proposal was highly agreeable to Moses; and he gave directions for immediately adopting the several regulations which Raguel had suggested; and before an assembly of the people, acknowledged them to be the production of his father-in-law. In his writings he has warmly disapproved of arrogating to ourselves a reputation due to the merit of others; but particular mention will be made of this matter in the progress of the present work.

CHAP. V.

The law of God is communicated to Moses upon the Mount Sinai. The ten commandments.

Moses called an assembly of the people, and informed them of his intention of repairing to the mount for the purpose of addressing himself to the Lord, adding, that he entertained the hope of returning with comfortable assurances. Having directed them to pitch their tents at the foot of the mount, he ascended.

Ancient tradition has represented the habitation of God to be upon this mount, on the credit of which, the place is held in sacred veneration: from its extreme height and the craggy disposition of the rocks, it becomes fatiguing to the eye, and appears to be inaccessible. As Moses had directed, the Hebrews stationed themselves at the foot of the mountain, where they humbled themselves before the Lord, and ruminated on the agreeable information promised them on the return of their leader. During his absence they observed the appointed festivals, frequently purified themselves, and lived in the most rigid continence, in obedience to the command imposed upon them, hourly supplicating God to extend his gracious favour to Moses, and through him, to befall upon them what might be deemed expedient towards their happiness. They feasted on this occasion, and their wives and children were dressed with more than ordinary pomp. Before sun-rise, on the third day, a cloud appeared, covering the whole camp of the Hebrews, every other part of the hemisphere being remarkably clear; this was the first prodigy known of the kind. A violent storm of thunder, lightning, wind and rain ensued, intimating that God was present. Of this the world will judge; but I must observe, that it does not come within my province to make the least innovation upon the authority of the holy scriptures. So greatly alarmed were the Hebrews by this circumstance that, with marks of the greatest consternation, they closely confined themselves to their tents, admitting the belief that God, in his displeasure, had taken away Moses, and that they would experience a similar fate. While they were under this terrible apprehension Moses return-
ed, but with such expressions of joy and dignity in his countenance, that their fears were removed: the air now recovered its former serenity.

Moses summoned the people to attend to what the Lord had commissioned him to deliver to them, and having repaired to an eminence for the advantage of being better heard and seen, he addressed them to the following purpose: "As the Divine Being has hitherto proved indulgent to your prayers, if am I now, ye Hebrew men, and brethren, to inform you, that on the present occasion your messenger was received with gracious benignity. Be assured that God will protect your army, and bestow such directions for the conduct of life, that you cannot form an idea of greater happiness than a punctual observance of his commands will ensure to you. If you revere the Lord for the wonders he hath performed in your favour, disregard not, I beseech you, what I am about to relate. Slight not the commission for the insignificance of the bearer; for, though by the voice of man, it is God who speaks to you at this moment. Consider the excellency and advantage of the commission I am charged with, and adore the person of that Being who, for promoting your happiness, hath deputed me to signify his Divine pleasure. Do not consider me as Moses, the son of Amram and Jochabeal, but as the instrument of God, by whom the waters of the Nile were changed into blood, and the Egyptians discomfited by a diversity of plagues; who procured a safe passage through the sea; obtained food for you from heaven, and caused water to burst from the rock; instituted Adam lord of the earth; preserved Noah in the deluge; gave the land of Canaan into possession of our progenitor Abraham; caused Sarah to conceive and bring forth Isaac at the very advanced age of his parents; bestowed upon Jacob the blessing of twelve wonderful sons, and exalted Joseph to the government of Egypt: you are to consider me only as the messenger of heaven; for the God who performed the above wonders honors you with the precepts which I shall deliver in obedience to his commands. Preserve these injunctions inviolate, and hold them dearer than either your wives or children; and your obedience shall ensure to you the blessings of a happy life, a numerous offspring, a fertility of the earth, and an untroubled sea, and you shall be so formidable to your enemies that they shall not presume to dispute your superiority; for I have spoken with the Almighty in person; I have heard his Divine voice, and am enjoined to assure you that he will ever extend his fatherly protection both to yourselves and your progeny."

Having finished this speech, he led the people to a spot where they distinctly heard the immediate voice of God giving them instructions concerning the performance of their duty. To this he was induced by the consideration, that these instructions would come with far greater weight from the Deity himself, than from the lips of any mortal, however he might be respected by them. The voice was distinctly heard and underlaid by every one present; but, with regard to the commandments, which were comprised in the two tables left by Moses, we are restricted from giving the identical words thereof, but the purport of them is as follows.
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1. We are taught, that there is no more than one God, and that he alone is entitled to our adoration.
2. That we are not to worship the image, or other representation of any living creature.
3. That every man is bound to abstain from swearing rashly.
4. That due reverence is to be paid to the seventh day, on which we are to desist from all our usual avocations.
5. That our parents have the strongest claim to our obedience and respect.
6. That we must do no murder.
7. That we are prohibited from committing adultery.
8. That we are not to steal the property of another.
9. That we must not, in any manner, calumniate the character of others.
And, 10. That it is not allowable, even to wish for the possession of any thing which belongs to our neighbour.

The people expressed great satisfaction in hearing from the mouth of the Almighty those particulars which had been before communicated to them by Moses. A few days only had elapsed, however, when they began to importune Moses to obtain for them a code of laws, for the regulation of their civil concerns; with which he complied. But I refer my readers, for a more particular account of these laws, to a tract which I have written expressly on the subject.

Nearly about this period, Moses again repaired to the mount, having previously acquainted the people with his design, that a sufficient number might be present at the time of his retiring thither. As he continued there longer than they had expected, forty days being elapsed before his return, the people began to be apprehensive for his safety; and, in the midst of their misfortunes, they dreaded nothing so much as the being deprived of him by any finer accident. They were much divided in their sentiments on the occasion; some, who were not very favourably dispos'd towards him, inferred that he had certainly been devoured by wild beasts; others, more charitably inclined, fancied that the Almighty had taken him to himself; but those of most prudence among them, considered the matter in both points of view.

"If," said they, "he has in reality been torn in pieces by wild beasts, it can only be regarded as one of those casualties, to which mankind are continually exposed. And, with respect to the opinion of his being tran-"flated to heaven, it is a mere conjecture, strictly conformable to the ex-"alted idea which was universally entertained of his virtues." Their grief, however, arose rather from their conviction that the loss of such a leader was totally irreparable, than from any particular affection which they bore him. They, at length, gave up all hopes of his return, and abandoned themselves, in consequence, to utter despair; nay, they durst not even remove their camp; having been ordered by him to continue where he left them till he should come back.

At the expiration of forty days, during which he tasted neither food nor drink, Moses returned to the army, by whom he was received with inconceivable joy. He acquainted them that, as a proof of the Divine favour to them, the Almighty had communicated to him, for their use, a set of instructions
instructions which would render their lives virtuous and happy. He further informed them, that it was God's pleasure that they should build a tabernacle, for his occasional residence among them; whereby the necessity of any future journeys to Mount Sinai would be precluded, as this tabernacle was still to accompany the army wherever it went. With respect to the form and dimensions of the building, he told them, that he was already provided with full instructions; and concluded with producing to them the two tables, on which were inscribed, by the hand of God himself, the ten commandments, five on each table.

CHAP. VI.

By the appointment of God, Moses erects a superb tabernacle for the Divine worship.

The return of Moses, and the discourse he held, greatly elevated the affections of the people, who became emulous to usurp each other in contributions towards the intended structure. Gold, silver, copper, scarce and valuable wood, that was not subject to injury from the worm; precious stones set in gold, rich perfumes of various kinds; scarlet, purple, white and blue sheep-skins; wool of the same colours, and cattle for sacrifices were presented in great abundance. Some of the people gave in proportion to their possessions, and others considerably more than they could afford without inconvenience. The public contribution being made, Moses selected certain skilful architects, and ordered them to forward the building with all possible dispatch, according to the commands he had received from the Almighty. These architects are mentioned in the sacred Scriptures; one was named Bezaleel, and he was the son of Uri of the tribe of Judah, and the other was Aholiab, the son of Ahasaph of the tribe of Dan; and of so high a reputation were they for proficiency in the art they professed, that they would have been appointed to the employment had the election depended on the voice of the public.

Moses judging it expedient to put a check upon the extensive liberality of the people, issued a proclamation setting forth, that what had been collected was fully sufficient for the use and service of the tabernacle; which was to be so contrived as to admit of removal as occasion might require. In due observance of the commands he received from God upon the mount, Moses gave instructions concerning the magnitude and proportion of the building, and the construction of the sacrificing and other vessels and utensils necessary in the worship of God. In forming the sacred vestments the women displayed great zeal in the pompous ornaments they provided; and in other respects they employed their attention in contributing to the magnificence of the structure, and supporting the dignity of the sacred function.

The materials being prepared, Moses appointed a festival, enjoining every man to attend and offer sacrifice according to his ability: and when this ceremony was performed, he began to construct the tabernacle, which we shall endeavour to describe with all possible accuracy.
In the outward court, which was an hundred cubits in length, and fifty in breadth, were twenty pillars of brass, placed at equal distances, ten pillars being ranged along and ten across the building; each pillar was five cubits high, and decorated with borders and rings of silver: the bases of these were of brass curiously wrought and gilt, and were affixed to the earth by means of pins, each of a cubit in length. Cords being fastened through the rings, bound the several parts together in so compact a manner, as to give it sufficient firmness to withstand the most violent gales of wind: and, from the cornices, a veil of the finest linen wrought with great ingenuity, depended to the very bases of the structure.

Such were the dimensions of three of the sides of this edifice; the front of which was fifty cubits in width. The entrance was twenty cubits wide, with two pillars of wood on each side the passage. The bases of these were overlaid with brass, and all the remaining part with silver. There were six other pillars, three on each side, which, for the sake of strength, were let into each other, and concealed from view by a curtain of exquisite workmanship. The entrance, which, as it has been already observed, was twenty cubits wide, was also five cubits in depth; and before it hung a veil of fine linen, curiously wrought with flowers and figures, in colours of violet, scarlet, and purple, but the representation of animated creatures was avoided.

A laver, being a large vessel of brass, with a foot of the same metal, was placed within the gate of the court, for the priests to wash their hands and feet therein.

The tabernacle stood in the midst of the court, with its front to the East, for the benefit of receiving the rays of the sun at its rising. Its length was thirty cubits, its breadth twelve, and its height equal to the breadth. Of its two sides, one faced the South, and the other the North; and the prospect from the back-front was towards the West. Each of these sides was formed of twenty planks, of a quadrangular shape, a cubit and a half in breadth, and of the thickness of four fingers: these planks were overlaid with gold; with two tenons, let into as many mortises, to each plank, and two bases of silver. The West-front was composed of six planks, of the same kind with the foregoing, which were also covered with gold, and were inserted into each other with so much art, that they appeared to be one entire piece. These six planks measured but nine cubits; but two others, of the same dimensions with respect to length and breadth, but much thicker than the rest, were added to them, and placed in the same position, one at each end, for the purpose of connecting more firmly the two ends and the West-front of the tabernacle together.

Golden rings, or staples, were fastened to all these planks, and they were placed in regular order; answering in a direct line to each other. Several bars, plated with gold, and of the length of five cubits, were fastened through these rings, and, extending from one end to the other, were designed to strengthen that division of the building, by compacting its various parts as closely as possible. The back part of this edifice was furnished, in like manner, with bars and rings; the bars being disposed in such order as to...
answer to each other. Bolts and staples were also fixed at the corners, and these, with the assistance of mortises, to bind the different parts together, served to secure the tabernacle from the injuries of the weather.

The inner part of this tabernacle consisted of three divisions, each of the length of ten cubits. At the above distance from the bottom stood four pillars, with equal spaces between them; reaching from one side of the tabernacle to the other: these pillars, and their bases, were constructed on the same plan, and with the like materials, as those mentioned before. Beyond these pillars, was the Sanctum Sanctorum, or Holy of Holies, into which even the priests, to whom all the other parts of the tabernacle were open, were prohibited entrance.

The tabernacle, being thus divided into three parts, appears to bear some analogy to the plan of the universe. The first division, to which the very priests were denied access, may be admitted, in some measure, to resemble the heavens, as being the residence of the Deity: and the two other divisions, which were free to the priests alone, may be considered as no unapt emblems of the earth and sea. Five gilded columns, the bases of which were brass, stood at the entrance of this tabernacle, with curtains of fine yarn, which were dyed blue, purple, and scarlet, and interwoven with each other.

The first curtain, which served to separate the Holy of Holies, or the space within the four pillars mentioned above, from the Holy, by which title the whole remaining part of the tabernacle is distinguished, was ten cubits square, and was richly ornamented with flowers, and various other figures; from which, however, those of living creatures were totally excluded. A second curtain, of equal size and workmanship, spread before the five columns at the entrance of the building, being fastened with hooks and eyes to the top, and hanging down as low as the middle of the columns; the remaining part being left open for the entrance of the priests. This curtain was commonly concealed from view by another of the same size, placed at a small distance from it, but less costly in its materials and workmanship. A number of rings were tacked to the outer curtain, with strings passed through them, to draw it up at pleasure; and, on particular occasions, to expose the inner one to the view of the people. The outer one served at ordinary times, and in bad weather especially, as a kind of fence to that within, from the rain or any other injury. To this day, the same sort of curtain is used at the door of the temple.

The tabernacle was covered, both at the top and sides, with ten pieces of hanging, which reached within a foot of the floor. These hangings were each twenty-eight cubits in length, and of the breadth of four cubits, and were joined together with golden loops, in so artificial a manner, that they seemed to form one whole piece. Eleven other pieces of the same breadth, but longer by two cubits each, than the former; and which were made of goat's hair, instead of wool; of which the others were composed, served as coverings to the ten abovementioned: and the eleventh was hung against the door of the tabernacle, to which office it was particularly designed on account of its being the odd number. Over these coverings of goat's hair was another of skins, to preserve them from the bad effects of the heat and the rain.

This
This spectacle, at a distance, from its sky-coloured appearance, seemed to many to be an exact representation of the heavens.

The tabernacle being thus completed, they next began to construct the ark, for which purpose they made use of a certain wood, which is called Heron by the Hebrews, the extreme hardness of which enables it, in a particular manner, to resist either rottenness or the worm. The figure and dimensions of the ark were as follows: The length of it was two cubits and a half, and the breadth and depth one and a half; the whole being overlaid with the finest gold, and contrived with such skill, both within and without, that not the least part of the wood could be seen. A number of golden hooks were employed to cramp together the different parts of the cover, all of which were highly polished and so firm as to preclude all danger of their grating against each other.

Four golden rings were fastened to the frame, one at each corner: and through these were passed two bars of gilt iron, one on either side, for the purpose of removing the ark from place to place; for the sole mode of conveyance used was that of carrying it on men's shoulders, which office was performed by the priests and Levites alone. On this cover were placed two winged figures, called by the Hebrews, cherubims; and which corresponded with the description given by Moses of those beings which he saw surrounding the throne of God; the like of which no mortal had ever seen before. The two tables of the decalogue were deposited in the ark, which was appointed to be placed in the sanctuary.

A table, to which that at Delphos bore no small resemblance, was fixed in this tabernacle; the length being two cubits, the breadth one, and the height a cubit and a half. The feet of this table were round, from the bottom upwards to the middle; but square from thence to the top; with a border projecting from them, of the thickness of four fingers, and a crown of gold encompassing it on every side: these feet, in short, exactly resembled those which the Dorian make use of for their beds. Four rings of gold were fastened beneath this border, into the upper parts of the feet, one to each corner; with gilt bars made of the most solid wood, to serve as handles for removing it as occasion should require. This table was placed on the North-side of the temple, at a small distance only from the sanctuary. Twelve loaves of unleavened bread, six on each side, continually stood on the table, piled regularly one above another. Each loaf contained the quantity of two ephahs, or seven attic corylax, equal to two omer, according to the Hebrew measure, of the finest flour: and above each pile of loaves was placed a golden dish filled with incense. These loaves were removed at the end of every seven days, and the table supplied with fresh ones. The seventh day is that which we term our sabbath. But of this we shall speak more at large in a subsequent part of the work.

On the South-side, directly opposite to the tabernacle, stood a candlestick, cast in gold, and hollowed throughout; the weight thereof being one hundred mines, called by the Hebrews, cinchares, and by the Greeks, a talent. The ornaments of this candlestick consisted of bowls, lilies, pomegranates, and small cups, amounting to seventy pieces, and were spread over the seven branches,
branches, answering to the number of the planets, of which the candlestick was composed. Each branch was surmounted with a lamp, and, as the candlestick stood in an oblique position, all these lamps fronted towards the East and South.

In the space between the aforesaid candlestick and table, a small altar of incense was placed, which was constructed with the same impenetrable kind of wood with the ark. The length and breadth of this altar were each one square cubit, and the height two cubits; with a golden fire-hearth, encompassed with a border of the same metal, and rings and staves, for the convenience of removing it.

In the front of the tabernacle, another altar was erected, of the same kind of wood with the former; being five cubits square, and three in height. It was framed upon the same model with that before-mentioned, with this distinction only, that every part of it was overlaid with brass, and that a grate, formed of a kind of net-work, was fixed in the middle space between the top and bottom, to admit the passage of the ashes. A number of funnels, phials, censers, cups, pans, and other instruments were also provided for the service of the altar, all which were made of fine gold. These are the sole particulars worthy notice, relative to the construction of the tabernacle, and to the various instruments appertaining to the use thereof.

CHAP. VII.

Respecting the garments of the priests, high-priests; the purifications and festivals.

We shall now give a description of the garments worn by the inferior priests, styled, by the Hebrews, Chaaneans, and also by the high-priest, whom they distinguished by the title of Anarabaches: and it will be proper to begin with the former. Every priest was prohibited from exercising the office, till he had first been purified, in the usual forms prescribed by our law. The under garment which he wore was made of fine linen, twined in folds, and is called a manachase, or binder, by the Hebrews, and in shape much resembles our drawers, or drawers. The priest, in putting it on, drew it over his feet, and it was open from the top downwards, and closely tied upon the hips.

Over this was a coat of very fine linen, called chethemene, signifying a linen cloth; chethon being the term used for flax, of which linen is made. It fit very close to the body, having narrow sleeves, reaching to the ground. This garment was fastened about the waist with a linen girdle, of the breadth of four fingers, and ornamented with needle-work of divers colours, so ingeniously executed, as to resemble, in a considerable degree, the skin of a snake. Various flowers and figures, in blue, purple, and scarlet, were embroidered on this girdle, which passed twice round the body of the priest, and, for ornament sake, was suffered to hang down to his feet, except on those occasions when he was engaged in the duties of his office, at which times he threw it back over his left shoulder, that he might have his hands the more at liberty. This girdle was called abaneth by Moses; but
we now term it emian; a word which we have borrowed from the Babylonians. There was neither plait nor fold in this garment, which was made wide at the neck, and was held together with a buckle, both before and behind: the Hebrews have given it the name of mitthanae.

The priests also wore a sort of mitre or cap, called mannaemphthes, which resembled a small helmet, and covered little more than one half of the head. This cap was made of linen, and being bound about the head with a fillet, covered with another of finer texture, and this came so low, as totally to conceal the under one, and to secure it from all danger of falling off, while the priest was performing sacrifice. What has been said will suffice, on the subject of the habits of the inferior priests in general.

Exclusive of the habits and ornaments above-mentioned, the high-priest was accustomed to wear certain others, to which he was entitled by his office: such as the metheir, which is a purple robe reaching to his ankles, and is fastened round him with a girdle, nearly resembling that already described, except that the ornaments were variegated with gold. A fringe went round the bottom of this vesture, which was also ornamented with curious pomegranates and bells of gold, placed interchangeably, and at equal distances. This robe was without seam, and had two openings in it, both lengthways; the one reaching a little below the shoulders, and the other to the middle of the breast, with a border to conceal those openings, and another to cover the parts through which the arms were to pass into the sleeves.

The priest wore over this garment another, which greatly resembled the epomis of the Greeks, according to the description which has been given us of the latter, and was named the ephod. The length of it was a cubit, and it was embroidered in every part with gold and a great variety of the most beautiful colours: it had also sleeves to it; and thus was in reality nothing more than a short coat.

Upon the middle of the breast of this robe was left a vacancy for receiving the ellen, which by the Greeks is called logion, signifying the Oracle, or, in the Latin, Rationale. To the corners of the ellen were affixed rings of gold, through which purple ribbons were passed for the purpose of fastening the ellen and the ephod together. The seams and spaces were concealed by fringes of a colour correspondent to the vestment, being wrought over them. On each shoulder, the high-priest wore a fardsmyx set in gold, and these stones answered the purpose of clasps by closing the parts of the ephod. The names of Jacob's twelve ions were engraved upon the above-mentioned stones in Hebrew characters; that worn on the right shoulder bearing the names of the six elder, and the other those of the younger brethren. The ellen was enriched by twelve stones of beautiful appearance and inestimable value; on these twelve stones the names of Jacob's twelve ions were respectively engraved, according to the order of their births; and this distinction was given on account of their being esteemed the superiors of our several tribes. They were made fast by small partitions of gold, and disposed into four rows: the first consisting of a fardsmyx, a topaz and an emerald; the second a ruby, a Jasper and a sapphire; the third a Lygryus, an amethyst and an agat; and the fourth a chrysolite, an onyx and a beryl. As a further support to the weight of these precious stones, two other fastenings were con-
veyed to the upper part of the ephén, and to them were joined two gold chains, worked in wreaths, and reaching to the shoulder-piece; the upper ends of the chains were carried about the back and hooked behind the border of the ephén. A girdle of the colour of the robe was also joined to the ephén, and this passing twice round the body, was formed in a knot before, where the ends, depending from the waist, were terminated by tassels of gold fringe, curiously wrought.

The tiara, or mitre of the high-priest, differed no otherwise from that of the inferior priests, than in being covered with another, of a purple or violet colour, and surmounted with a triple crown of gold. A kind of cup, much resembling the bud of a plant which is called, by the Hebrews, faccharus, and hyoicyamos by the Greeks, was placed over this crown. But, for the information of those to whom this plant is utterly unknown, or known by name only, it may not be amiss to subjoin a short description of it. The plant in question, grows usually to the height of something more than two fathoms; the root of it bearing some resemblance to that of a turnip, and its leaf to mint. The bud is shaped like a round knob, and is enclosed in a coat, which cracks and falls off, in proportion as the fruit grows ripe. This cup, which, as I before observed, was placed over the golden crown, was much about the size of the joint of a man's little finger, and round and hollow, like the inside of a goblet; but, for the benefit of the reader, I will explain myself a little more fully on the subject. It was partly of a hemispherical figure, narrow towards the top, and widening itself towards the brims, like a pomegranate cut in two: nature had furnished it with a cover, so curiously rounded, that it seemed to have been turned for the purpose, and from this there arose a number of sharp points, resembling the prickles of a pomegranate; and within this cup was the fruit contained. Its seed was shaped like that of the plant sideritis, or wall-fage, and it bore a flower which differed very little in its appearance from that of plantane. Such was the figure of the ornaments on that part of the mitre which reached from the neck round to the temples; but on that part which covered the forehead, was fixed a golden plate, on which was inscribed the holy name of God. It is unnecessary to add any thing further, respecting the habits of the high-priest.

But here I cannot refrain from expressing my surprize at the effrontery of those who pretend to condemn us, as being guilty of blasphemy, and of contemning the worship of the Deity. Every one who pays due attention to the foregoing particulars respecting the structure of the tabernacle, the farcical garments, and the various vessels and instruments appertaining to the service of the altar, must necessarily be convinced that our legislator was a pious man, and that those accusations have no other basis than the malice of our enemies. For, to any man who deliberately and candidly examines the matter, it will plainly appear, that the whole bears a strict analogy to the structure of the universe. The three divisions of the tabernacle may be, with great propriety, compared to the earth, the sea, and the heavens; the two first of which divisions were open to the priests in general, whilst every person was forbid to enter into the last; it being peculiarly appropriated to the residence of the Almighty. The twelve months of the year are signified by the same number of loaves of shew-bread, which were placed on
on the table mentioned above. The seven lamps over the branches of the golden candlestick, refer to the seven planets; and the seventy pieces of which the candlestick is composed, denote the twelve signs of the zodiac. The four colours which are wrought into the curtains, as well as the curtains themselves, are intended to represent the four elements. The earth, from which the flax is produced, may be considered as being typified by the fine linen. The sea is represented by the purple colour, which derives its origin from the blood of the fifth murex. The violet colour is an emblem of the air, as the scarlet is of the fire. With respect to the garment of the high-priest, the linen of which it is composed represents the whole earth, and its violet colour the heavens. The pomegranates refer to the lightning, and the noise of the bells to the thunder. The ephod, with its four several colours, has a reference to the very nature of the universe; and the intermixture of gold, which we observe in it, may, in my opinion, be considered as regarding the rays of the sun. The ephod, or rationale, which is placed in the middle of the garment, denotes the situation of the earth in the center of the universe. The girdle which passes round the body of the priest, is a symbol of the sea, environing the earth. The sun and moon may be supposed to be expressed by the two sardonyx stones; and either the twelve months, or the signs of the zodiac, by the twelve other stones. The violet colour of the tiara resembles heaven; and it would have manifested a great want of reverence to the Deity to have inscribed his sacred name on any other colour. The splendor and majesty of the supreme Being are signified by the triple crown, and the plate of gold.

Thus have I illustrated the subject with all necessary perspicuity: nor would I, on this or any other occasion, let slip an opportunity of doing all possible honor and justice to the character of our incomparable legislator.

C. H. A. P. VIII.

Aaron constituted a high-priest by Moses.

The Almighty appeared to Moses, and commanded him to appoint his brother Aaron to the priest-hood, laying that, of all men, he was most worthy of the exaltation. Hereupon Moses assembled the people, and in a most pathetic manner represented to them the great virtues of his brother Aaron, mentioning that he had repeatedly exposed his life to imminent danger for the public welfare, for which he entertained the most zealous attachment. They admitted the propriety and justice of the recommendation, and Moses proceeded in the following manner: “We have now, ye good people of Israel, executed the work which the Almighty enjoined us to, according to our best abilities. But as it remains now to be consecrated, and as the supreme Being will vouchsafe to honor the structure with his sacred presence, the nomination of a high-priest, qualified for the exercise of the sacerdotal function, is a matter claiming our most serious consideration. As men have naturally a partiality to themselves, I freely acknowledge that I should assume this honourable distinction with a high degree of
of satisfaction, and, indeed, consider myself as being in some measure entitled to it, on account of the perils and hardships I have encountered in the cause of the people. But, in the present instance, it so happens, that the Almighty, whose servant the high-priest peculiarly is, has already ordained Aaron to the office, as being the most deserving of that dignity. From this time, therefore, Aaron is to officiate at the altar, and to offer up his prayers to God in your favour; which must, doubtless, prove the more effectual, as coming from a mediator appointed by the Almighty himself."

The people unanimously coincided in the appointment of Aaron; than whom no man had a better claim to the priest-hood, either with regard to the high rank of his family, or the gift of prophecy with which he was endued. Superadded to these considerations, the public were greatly influenced in his favour on account of his relationship to Moses, whose extraordinary qualities had procured him a high degree of veneration. At this period, Aaron had four sons, whose names were Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar.

The surplus of what had been collected towards building the tabernacle Moses ordered to be expended in veils and coverings for the edifice in question, the golden candlestick, the altar of incense, and the other sacred vessels, in order to secure them from damage, in case of removal. He afterwards assembled the people, and laid a tax on them of half a shekel each person, to defray the expenses of the work; computing four Attic drachmas to the Hebrew shekel: and to this they submitted with all imaginable cheerfulness. The number of those upon whom this tax was levied was 60,550; who were all denizens, and from twenty to fifty years of age. The money thus raised was wholly appropriated to the service of the tabernacle.

The next business which engaged the attention of Moses was that of purifying the tabernacle, and the priests who were ordained to offer sacrifice; and this was performed in the following manner: he mixed five hundred shekels-worth of the finest myrrh with an equal quantity of iris, to which he added half that quantity of cinnamon and balmam, both articles remarkable for their fragrancy. These ingredients, being first pounded together, and steeped in a hin, equal to two Attic choas, of the best olive oil, were set over the fire, and melted down into an ointment of the most pleasing odour conceivable. The ceremony of purification consisted in anointing the priests and the tabernacle with this ointment, and in offering up certain sacrifices, of different kinds, in the tabernacle.

I will not tire the patience of the reader with the relation of all the particulars relative to the golden altar of perfumes, and the oblations made thereon; but shall briefly observe, that incense was offered upon it twice a day, a short time before sun-rise, and about the hour of its setting; and that the lamps of the holy candlestick were constantly supplied with purifying oil; three alone being kept burning during the day, and the rest were lighted up in the evening. The names of the two principal artizans, who were employed to superintend the construction of this edifice were Bezaleel and Aholiab; but the most expert workman was Bezaleel. The whole work was compleat-
ed in the course of seven months, and within the term of one year from their departure from Egypt.

The dedication of the tabernacle, and of all the vessels belonging thereto, took place in the year following, on the new moon of the month Xanthicus, or Nisan. The Almighty, on this occasion, gave the Hebrews a convincing proof of his gracious acceptance of their zeal for his service, by descending to take possession of the building which they had erected for his residence. The circumstances attending this miraculous event were as follow: The sky was totally clear, save just over the tabernacle, which was covered as well as partly environed, with a cloud, neither so thick as to indicate the approach of bad weather, yet sufficiently opaque to intercept the sight. From this cloud issued so gentle and refreshing a dew, as convinced all true believers that God himself had designed to visit them in person on the occasion.

Moses, after having rewarded the various artizans who had been employed in erecting and ornamenting the edifice, according to their respective merits, offered up, in the door-way of the tabernacle, a bullock, a ram, and a kid, as an atonement for the sins of the people, in obedience to the orders which he had received from the Almighty on that subject. When the beasts were killed, Moses took a part of the blood of each animal, and sprinkled Aaron and his sons therewith; after this, he purified them with water of the fountain, and anointed them with oil; and thus were they consecrated priests of the Lord. This ceremony was performed for seven successive days, on each day an oblation or sacrifice being made to heaven. Moses appointed the celebration of a festival on the eighth day, and on this occasion, enjoined the people to provide such sacrifices as their circumstances would permit. They not only acquiesced in this order with cheerfulness, but with an emulative piety strove to excel each other in the value of their offerings. No fire had been carried to the altar; but when the sacrifices were prepared and laid thereon, a flame, resembling a flash of lightning, burst forth and consumed them, to the amazement of the spectators.

Had not Aaron been perfectly resigned to the will of the Almighty, his sorrow must have been extreme and inconsolable on account of the judgment of heaven upon Nadab and Abihu, the two eldest of his four sons. Disregarding the injunction of Moses, they were preparing to sacrifice, according to the ancient manner, when they were struck to death by a judicial fire from heaven. Moses directed their father and brothers to convey their remains out of the camp, and cause them to be interred in a proper manner. The people gave way to the most immoderate grief for the loss of these brothers; but Moses exhorted Aaron and his remaining sons to bear the shock of this dreadful circumstance with a becoming fortitude, observing that it was not consistent with the dignity of the priest-hood to indulge the weakneceses and private passions of humanity, in prejudice of the glory of the universal Creator.

Moses paid no regard to the acclamations of the multitude, but entirely resigned himself to the worship and service of God, conducting himself as a private individual, excepting only that he continued to perform the duties of
his holy function. Instead of repairing to Mount Sinai, he now retired to
the tabernacle for instructions to regulate his conduct for the public advan-
tage. He delivered to the people written laws and precepts for rendering
them acceptable in the sight of the Almighty, and for the preservation of
peace and unanimity. Of these laws, which were imparted to him by God,
further will be said in the progress of the work.

I shall here observe, that to preclude the possibility of imposition upon the
world, by assuming the semblance of the holy vestments, and a vain preten-
tion to the gift of prophecy, when the Almighty condescended to honor the
sacrifices with his presence, some signal evidence was given indisputably
proving the divine visitation. For example; the fardonyx, which the high-
priest wore on his right shoulder (with the nature of which none one is
sufficiently acquainted) displayed a supernatural brilliancy whenever the Al-
mighty approved the oblations which were offered up to him; nor has the
fact ever been doubted by any, except such as endeavour to acquire a reputa-
tion for wisdom, by affecting a thorough contempt of our religion. But I
shall mention one other instance, which is still more extraordinary than the
former. When God was, at any time, in consequence of our supplications,
disposed to grant us a victory, the twelve precious stones in the ephod, or ra-
tionale, emitted so dazzling a luster, as gave the people the most perfect
assurance of the success of their prayers. From hence it arises that those among
the Greeks who view our religious ceremonies with a favourable eye, and
have themselves been witnesses to the above miracle, have given to the ephod
the title of logion, signifying, in their language, an oracle. But both the
fardonyx and the ephod have lost this supernatural quality for upwards of two
hundred years past, on account of the violent displeasure which the Al-
mighty has conceived against us for our sins. I shall now resume my narra-
tive, leaving what I may have further to say on the foregoing subject, to anoth-
er opportunity.

The consecration of the tabernacle, and of all those things which were
dedicated to its service, being now compleated, the people gave an unbounded
loose to their joy, which they expressed in continual hymns and sacrificers;
flattering themselves that, as the Almighty had now condescended to take up
his residence among them, all their difficulties would be at an end, and that
they should for the rest of their lives enjoy an uninterrupted course of pro-
sperity. All the tribes offered sacrifices, both jointly, and separately; and
the leaders and princes of the different tribes brought each six waggons,
drawn by two horses, to assist in removing the tabernacle, in case of need; to
these they added a charger weighing one hundred and thirty shekels, and a
silver bowl of seventy shekels, both filled with fine flour mixed with olive-
oil, and intended for the oblations; with an incense-cup, filled with per-
fumes, and estimated at the value of ten daricks. Their burnt-offering con-
sisted of a young bullock, a ram, and a lamb of a year old; and, for their
fin-offering, they sacrificed a he-goat. They also sacrificed each day two
bullocks, five rams, as many lambs of the first year, and a like number of
he-goats, for their peace-offerings: and these sacrifices were continued at the
rate of one each day, for the term of twelve days.

Moses
Moses now, as I have already observed, constantly repaired to the tabernacle instead of Mount Sinai, to receive instructions from the Deity, relative to the laws which were to be established for the government of the Hebrews; which, being of divine origin, and far above all human comprehension, were entitled to an implicit and perpetual obedience from those for whose benefit they were promulgated. But I shall speak more fully to the point in a tract which I shall devote wholly to that subject.

CHAP. IX.

Of sacrifices and purifications.

SACRIFICES are either public or private, and there are two modes of celebration. One is called a burnt-offering, or holocaust, signifying that the whole sacrifice is to be burnt. The burnt-offering of a private man consists of a bullock, a lamb, and a goat: they must be males, and the two latter not more than a year old, though the first may somewhat exceed that age. Being killed, the priest sprinkles the blood of the animal about the altar, and after being divided, salt is thrown upon the parts, and they are laid upon the wood, which is previously kindled to consume them. The entrails and feet being washed by the priest, he casts them into the flames, to be entirely consumed with the other parts of the offering. The skins are the property of the priest.

For peace-offerings, or offerings of thanksgivings, the same species of creatures, being male and female, upwards of a year old, and free from blemish, are sacrificed. The priest sprinkles the altar with blood, and lays thereon the kidneys, caul, fillets of the liver, and the rump of the lamb. The breast and right shoulder belong to the priest. The persons who offer the sacrifices are allowed to eat of what remains for the space of two days, but what is not consumed in that time must be burnt.

The sin-offering is performed in the same manner; but such as cannot provide the above sacrifices are allowed to substitute two young pigeons, or two turtles; one as a burnt-offering and the other as a due to the priest.

A lamb, or young he-goat, is the offering for the sin of ignorance: and in this ceremony the priest only sprinkles the corners of the altar with blood; after which he places upon the altar the kidneys, the caul and the fibres of the livers of the sacrifices. The flesh and the skin belong to the priests, in virtue of their office, and our law expressly orders that the whole of the flesh shall be eaten on the day of sacrifice.

If a man is guilty of a wilful sin, of which no legal evidence can be adduced against him, he shall offer a ram, as an atonement; the flesh of which shall be given to the priests; conditionally, that it be eaten in the tabernacle, and on the same day. The sole difference between the sin-offering of a private person and that of one of the heads of the tribes was, that the oblation of the latter consisted of a bull and a he-goat, instead of a ram, which was required from the former.

It
It was also ordained that in all sacrifices, whether private or public, a certain quantity of fine flour should be brought with each victim: the proportion being one for a lamb, two for a ram, and three to a bullock; and this was to be mixed with oil previous to its consecration. The proportion of oil used on these occasions was, half a hin to a bullock; a third part of one of those measures to a ram, and a fourth part to a lamb. A like quantity of wine was also provided for the same purpose, and was by the law ordered to be poured upon the altar. The method of offering fine flour, without sacrificing, for the performance of a vow, was to spread a handful of it upon the altar, and to deliver the rest to the priest, to be eaten either boiled, or being kneaded with oil, or made into cakes; the person sacrificing, at the same time, referring such a quantity as he deemed requisite for burnt offerings. It is prohibited by the law to sacrifice the young with the dam, unless the former be at least eight days old. Divers sacrifices are appointed for the recovery of health, and in other cases; on all such occasions, cakes are eaten with the flesh of the victims, and the priests are admitted to take their share; but no part of it is allowed to be left till the next day.

C H A P. X.

Abstract of the laws relating to the priests, the sacrifices, solemn days, and other matters, as well civil as religious.

It is also ordained by the law, that a lamb of the first year shall be sacrificed every morning and evening, the charge to be defrayed out of the public treasury, and on the seventh day, or sabbath, two are to be offered up in like manner. At the beginning also of every month, exclusive of the customary oblations, seven lambs, each one year old, and a ram were sacrificed; likewise a he-goat, as a propitiation for sin, left any offence should, per chance, remain unexpiated.

At the commencement of the seventh month, called Hyperberethaeus, the offering consisted of a bullock, a ram, seven lambs, and a he-goat, for a sin-offering.

The tenth day of the same month was observed as a fast till night; and the offerings were a young bullock, two rams, seven lambs, and a he-goat for a propitiation, exclusive of two other goats; one of which was presented alive at the altar, and afterwards suffered to go loose into the wilderness, as a scape-goat, to atone for the sins of the people: the other goat and the bullock were conveyed to a clean spot, at a small distance from the camp, and there totally consumed to ashes. The high-priest afterwards returned to the temple, with the blood of the two animals, which he sprinkled with his finger, seven times, on the cover of the tabernacle, the golden altar, the great altar which stands before the door, the floor, and, in general, the whole edifice: the bullock was provided on the occasion by the high-priest. The extremities, together with the kidneys, the fat, and part of the liver, were placed on the altar; and, with a ram, which was also
also furnished by the high-priest, were all sacrificed to the Almighty, as a burnt-offering.

The people received orders to put their tents in such a condition, by the fifteenth day of the same month, as to refill the rigour of the approaching winter; and they were further enjoined, immediately upon their entrance into the promised land, to repair to the capital, as being the place defined for the feast of the holy temple, and there to solemnize a festival of eight days, with burnt-offerings, oblations, and peace-offerings; carrying in their hands branches of myrtle, willow and palms, with small sprigs of the peach-tree.

The first of the eight days was set apart for the burnt-offering, which was to consist of thirteen young bullocks, fourteen lambs, two rams, and a goat, for a propitiatory sacrifice. A like number of the lambs and rams were daily offered up for the space of six days; but of the bullocks, one was abated in the sacrifice of each day, till they amounted to no more than seven. The eighth was to be kept as a day of rest and relaxation; and the people offered up, as I have already observed, a calf, a ram, seven lambs, and a goat, for an atonement. In commemoration of this incident of the Hebrews erecting their tents, was the feast of tabernacles instituted; and it is to this day observed by our people with all imaginable strictness. On the fourteenth of the moon, of the month Xanthicus, or Nisan, which is considered as the beginning of the year, we celebrate the feast of the passover, as did our ancestors at the time of their deliverance from the yoke of the Egyptians: in the celebration of this festival, we are enjoined by our laws to take especial care not to leave any part of the oblation till the next day.

The feast of unleavened-bread, which continues seven days, commences on the fifteenth of the same month, and is next in succession to that of the passover. The oblations directed to be made on this occasion are, two bullocks, one ram, and seven lambs, for a burnt-offering, and a goat each day, for a sin-offering, for the benefit of the priests. The people, on the second day of the feast, and the sixteenth of the month, offer up an oblation to God of the first fruits of their grain, before they presume to taste of it themselves. The mode of the oblation is as follows: they parch a quantity of corn in the ear on a clean hearth, and having bruised it well, they take the quantity of an aillet, and place it upon the altar, where one handful of it is suffered to remain, and the rest falls to the share of the priest. The people are then permitted to reap their corn as they please; and the oblation usual in this case, is a lamb for a holocaust, or burnt-offering.

The feast of pentecost was celebrated on the fiftieth day, that is at the conclusion of seven weeks, or forty-nine days, subsequent to that of the passover: the term pentecost signifies in the Greek tongue, fifty; which number is denoted in the Hebrew, by the term afitartha, by which title the above feast is distinguished by the Jews. The sacrifice appointed for this day was two wheaten loaves of leavened-bread, containing two aills of flour, and the same number of lambs, which were to be eaten in the evening by the priests: but no part thereof was to be reserved till the next day. The burnt-offerings were three calves, two sheep, fourteen lambs, and two goats,
for an atonement for sin. There were also various other ordinances, regulating the number and quality of the burnt-offerings, and the times in which they were allowed a relaxation from labour, in their several feasts; together with certain rules, prescribing which of the sacrifices might be eaten.

The quantity of twenty-four aars of fine flour was also appointed to be taken out of the public flock, and to be made into loaves of leavened-bread, each loaf to contain two aars. It was further ordered that this bread should be baked on the eve of the sabbath, and placed the next morning on the holy table, forming two piles, each consisting of six loaves, which were to be placed opposite each other, with a golden cup of incense on the top of each pile: and these loaves were to remain till the next sabbath-day, when they were to be given to the priest, and their places supplied with others. The incense was to be renewed in the like manner; and that which was taken away was ordered to be thrown into the holy-fire, in which the burnt-offerings were consumed. The quantity of an aar of fine flour steeped in oil, and slightly baked, was offered by the high-priest twice a day; the one half in the morning, and the remainder in the evening. But I shall add nothing further on the subject at present; as I shall be under the necessity of speaking more amply thereon in another part of the work.

CHAP. XI.

The Levites are selected to perform the service of the altar. Particulars respecting those meats and persons which are deemed clean and unclean. The laws relating to women in child-bed, and to cases of adultery and jealousy.

Moses, having separated the tribe of Levi from the rest of the people, to officiate at the altar, purified them with water from the spring; and, after they had sacrificed in the manner prescribed by our law, committed to their care the tabernacle, the holy vessels, and all things else thereunto appertaining, under the control of the priests; and they were from this time considered as being consecrated to the service of the Deity.

At the same time Moses instructed the people in those points which constituted the difference between meats clean and unclean; or those which were allowed and those which were prohibited from being eaten: but we shall speak further with respect to this matter as opportunity shall offer. They were strictly enjoined to abstain from the blood of every kind of creature whatever, upon a supposition that the very being of the animal was inherent therein: nor is the flesh of any creature that hath died of itself; or the fat either of goats, sheep, or oxen to be eaten under any pretext whatever.

All lepers and such as were infected with a gonorrhæa, were obliged to retire from the city; and, in like manner, women, during the time of their courses, were enjoined to withdraw themselves from all communication with the other sex for the space of seven days, at the expiration of which they were considered as being purified, and were allowed to return to their families.
milies. Those who had assisted at the interment of a corpse were also deemed unclean for the seven succeeding days. But when the term of the pollution extends beyond seven days, the party must offer two lambs; one of which must be sacrificed, and the other given to the priests. The same oblation must be made by those who are subject to nocturnal pollutions; and they must besides, bathe themselves in cold water, as men usually do after having been carnally connected with their lawful wives. Leprous persons are totally banished the city, and excluded from all human conversation. But if it so happens that God is graciously pleased to free any person from this dreadful distemper, and to re-inflate him in his former health, the party on whom such blessing is conferred, is bound to offer various sacrifices, in gratitude for the benefit bestowed: but of this I shall speak more amply hereafter. This, however, is sufficient to expose the falsity of that story, in which it is asserted that Moses was expelled from Egypt as a Leper, and that all his followers were infected with the same disorder, in a greater or less degree. For, had this been the case, a regard for his own honor would have induced him, instead of enacting a similar law, to have opposed every attempt towards its establishment, with all his influence; especially as, in many parts of the world, lepers, instead of being held in contempt and abhorrence, were often preferred to posts of trust and profit, both in the military, ecclesiastical, and civil departments of the state. If Moses and the bulk of the people were in reality tainted with this disease, how happens it that he did not rather make regulations in favour of those afflicted with it? And it is now fully apparent that this degrading report is utterly devoid of truth, and has been propagated merely with the malevolent design of casting an odium on ourselves and our religion. But Moses, who was free from blemish in his own person, and was associated with those who were equally untainted with himself, enacted this law for the sole purpose of advancing the glory of God. Every man, however, is at liberty to form what opinion he pleases on the matter in question.

A woman, who has lately brought forth a child, is restricted, if it be a male, both from entering the temple, and from attending on public worship, for the space of forty days; or, if it be a female, for double that term. But, at the expiration of that time, she is admitted to make the oblations prescribed in such cases; part of which are offered up to the Almighty, and the remainder falls to the share of the priests.

If a man entertains a suspicion of his wife's chastity, he must bring with him an oblation of an eflair of barley-meal; spreading a handful of it on the altar, and delivering the rest to the priests to be eaten. One of them, having placed the woman at the gate of the temple, which faces the tabernacle, takes off her veil, and, having inscribed the sacred name of God on a piece of parchment, orders her to declare upon her oath, whether she had ever defiled her husband's bed. To this she replies with the following imprecation: "If I am guilty of the crime laid to my charge, may my thigh rot from my body; may my belly burst, and let the last hours of my life be spent in torture: but if, on the other hand, it shall appear that the accusation against me is founded solely on the unreasonable jealousy of my
my husband, I beseech thee, Lord, to grant me a son within the space of ten months from the present day." The priest then washed the writing out of the parchment with fair water, into which, after having strained it into an earthen vessel, he cast some of the dust from the floor and walls of the temple, and presented it to the woman to drink. In case she proved innocent of the crime alluded against her, she quickly afterwards conceived, and was, in due time, safely and happily delivered of her burthen; but, if to the crime of incontinence she added that of perjury, her death was attended with all the circumstances of horror and ignominy already mentioned. These are the particulars of the ordinances which Moses delivered to his countrymen, respecting the sacrifices and purifications: the account of some other laws which he enacted for their use will be found in the following chapter.

C H A P. XII.

Laws prohibiting adultery and incest, and for regulating the marriages of the priests. The sabbath of the seventh year, and the year of jubilee. Laws and ordinances of war. Moses numbers the people. The silver trumpets.

MUTUAL confidence between man and wife was considered by Moses as indispensably necessary towards connubial happiness, and he was convinced that the interest of the government, as well as of private families materially depended on the propagation of mankind under the sanction of the marriage institutions. Incest, either with the mother, mother-in-law, aunt, either on the side of father or mother, sister, or daughter-in-law, he pronounced to be an abominable sin. He forbad the cohabitation of man and wife during the periodical state of purgation. He proclaimed an intercourse with boys and creatures of the brute creation to be wickedness most enormously heinous. And the above offences he pronounced to be punishable by death.

Besides an observance of the general laws of matrimony, particular ordinances were made in respect to the priests. They were prohibited contracting marriage with maid-servants, slaves, women being divorced, or such as came under the denomination of public hosefifes. A priest was permitted to marry a widow, but that liberty was not granted to a high-priest, who was enjoined to marry only a virgin. The high-priest was not allowed to approach the dead, but the inferior persons invested with the facerdotal function were permitted to shew the usual forms of respect towards their deceased fathers, mothers, brothers or children. A priest having any disease or bodily imperfection, was excluded from performing ceremonies at the altar, and even denied admission to the temple, but he was allowed his full proportion of the oblations. Moses judged that the exercise of the sacred function required a purity of manners in the common concerns of life, and therefore deemed those unworthy the facerdotal robe, who were not free from imputation on the score of moral rectitude. The priests were not allowed the use of wine at the time of wearing the vestments of their office; and the sacrifices
cifices they made were appointed to be perfect in form, undivided, and free from impurity.

These laws Moses promulgated in the desert, and he caused them to be duly observed. He established ordinances for the regulation of the people, when the promise respecting their possession of the land of Canaan should be fulfilled. With reference to the keeping holy the sabbath, he directed that every seventh year the earth should not be cultivated, but be allowed what was called a year of rest; and that the produce of each seventh year should not be put in store, but be the common property of mankind, strangers and Hebrews having an equal right of possession. It was also determined that a year of rest should take place after every seven times seven years. The subsequent year, being the fiftieth, was called the year of the Hebrew's jubilee, and in this, debtors and servants were restored to liberty, as were slaves, who had accepted the sentence of servitude in exchange for that of death.

At the approach of this year of jubilee, which, being interpreted, signifies Liberty, all lands, having been alienated, returned to the original proprietors; and the restitution was made in the following manner. An exact computation was formed of the produce of the land, from the time of the sale thereof, and also of the charges which had accrued upon it, and, if the former were found to exceed the latter, the ground was restored to the seller, without any kind of condition whatever: but, if the expenses amounted to more than the produce, the purchaser received the difference, and relinquished the possession to the first owner: if the produce and the expenses chances to be equal, the land in that case also, again became the property of the seller. The same rule was also observed with respect to the sale of houses situated in villages; but a different mode was adopted in regard to those in towns enclosed with walls.

In this latter instance, if the seller refunded the purchase-money before the expiration of the twelve-month, he was entitled to resume the possession; but, if he suffered that period to elapse, he was deprived thereby of all claim to this privilege till the year of jubilee. These laws were delivered to Moses by the Almighty in person, on Mount Sinai, for the use of the Hebrews, who were at that time encamped in the valley, at the foot of the mountain; and he caused them to be fairly transcribed for the benefit of their descendants.

These necessary regulations being made for the religious and civil government of the state, Moses now directed his attention to the forming of certain ordinances relating to the military department. He, accordingly, issued orders to the heads of the several tribes (that of Levi only excepted) to form exact lists of those persons in each tribe who were qualified to bear arms: the Levites, being consecrated to the service of God, were, consequently exempted from every other kind of duty. The number of those thus qualified was found upon the review, to be 603,650, from the age of twenty years to fifty. And Moses advanced Manasseh and Ephraim, the sons of Joseph, to the rank of princes of the tribes; the first in the room of Levi, and the other in that of Joseph, his father, in compliance with the request which
Jacob made to Joseph, when he adopted the sons of the latter, as we have already observed.

When the Hebrews, at any time, pitched their tents, the tabernacle was erected in the center of the camp, three tribes being stationed on each side thereof, with wide streets and intervals between; and with a market-place, in which were shops of various trades arranged with such regularity, as to resemble a well-constructed city. The quarter next the tabernacle was assigned to the priests and levites; the latter of whom were numbered apart from the rest of the people, and were found to amount to 23,880 males, from the age of thirty days and upwards.

While the cloud, formerly mentioned, continued to hover over the tabernacle, the people, considering it as an intimation of the presence of the Almighty amongst them, remained in camp; but struck their tents, and proceeded on their march, whenever it was removed.

Two silver trumpets were made, by the direction of Moses, of the following shape and size. Their length was nearly a cubit; the circumference of the tube was nearly equal to that of a flute, being just of a sufficient width at the mouth to admit the breath of the person sounding it, and it was curving at the end like a bell, or a common trumpet. This instrument is named by the Hebrews an afophra. The use of one of these trumpets was to convene an assembly of the people, and the other was to summon the heads of the tribes to council; and, when they were both sounded together, it was considered as a signal for the convention of a general assembly. But these trumpets were likewise used in their sacrifices, on their sabbaths, and on various other occasions. The removal of the tabernacle from place to place was performed in the following manner: on the first sounding of the trumpets, the three tribes which were stationed on the east-side thereof began to put themselves in motion, as did those on the south-side upon the second sounding. The tabernacle was then taken to pieces, and the several parts of it were laid upon the carriages; six of the tribes preceding, and the remaining six following it; while the Levites closely environed it, to prevent the approach of all unqualified persons. The three tribes which were posted on the west-side of the camp began their march on the third sounding of the trumpets; and the fourth sounding was the signal for those to move which were placed on the north-side. At this period Moses and the Hebrews celebrated the paschal-sacrifice, being the second return of that solemnity from the time of its institution previous to their departure from Egypt.

CHAP. XIII.

A mutiny against Moses in consequence of a deficiency of provisions. The miracle of the quails.

The army now departed from Mount Sinai, and after sojourning at different places, repaired to Jeremoth, where an insurrection took place, the people violently upbraiding Moses of having prevailed upon them
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them to evacuate one of the most eligible parts of the globe, and under
pretence of procuring the blessings of plenty and happiness for them, deluding
them into a state of the most pressing necessity; alledging, that they already
were in the greatest extremity from a deficiency of water, and if they should
be no longer supplied with manna, inevitable ruin must ensue. The popular
clamour against Moses having arrived to a great height, one of the people
addressed himself to the desperate multitude, reminding them of the hazards,
fatigue and toil which he had encountered in the cause of the public, and advis-
ed them to depend upon the Almighty for relieving their necessities: but this,
instead of appeasing, aggravated the mutiny to a more violent degree of des-
peration. Notwithstanding the insult and indignity which had been cast upon
Moses, he appealed to them in terms of the most gentle persuasion, and assur-
ed them that they should be speedily supplied with meat sufficient for
their sustenance for several days. They paid no regard to what Moses said,
but gave vent to insulting and opprobrious language, scornfully asking him
by what means he could provide maintenance for so many thousand people.
He replied, that the Lord and his servant would speedily supply them.
Upon his pronouncing these words an immense number of quails fell into the
camp, and were taken up by the people: but soon after this circumstance,
God judged it proper to execute vengeance upon the Hebrews for the iniquity
of their conduct, and afflicted them with a terrible plague, to which great
numbers fell a sacrifice. The place where this punishment was inflicted
upon the Hebrews, was called Cabrothaba, or the graves of lust.

C H A P. XIV.

Moses sends spies into the land of Canaan. They are equally delighted and alarmed at
the account they receive of the state of the country, and its inhabitants. A conspi-
cacy is formed against Moses, which is defeated by Joshua and Caleb. Moses and
Aaron solicit pardon for the people, and succeed in their application.

WHEN the Hebrews had arrived at a place called the Streights, which
lies on the borders of Canaan, and is remarkable for the inconve-
niencies of its situation, Moses addressed himself to the people in these words:
"It pleased the Almighty to promise us two signal blessings; liberty and
the possession of a fruitful land. The first of these his bounty hath already
befallen on us, and you will, e'er long, be established in the enjoyment
of the other. We are now upon the borders of Canaan, and it will be
in vain for the princes of the country, even with their united force, to
oppose our progress. Yet must we not expect to effect a conquest over
this country without great difficulty and danger. Let us, therefore, send
proper perils secretly to examine into the state of the country, and of
its inhabitants: but, principally, let us act in concert, and let us ascribe
the glory of all our actions to God alone, who will be constantly present
amongst us, and in all our battles will be our guard and defender."

This proposal was highly approved by the people, who, at the instigation
of Moses, immediately made choice of twelve of the most eminent persons
for-
for courage and prudence, one out of each tribe, to be dispatched before, in quest of intelligence. They travelled through the whole country from Aegypt and the parts adjacent, as far as the city of Amathe, and to Mount Libanus. Having made strict observations on the nature of the soil, the condition of the country, and the manners of the natives, they returned; having completed the undertaking in forty days. The account they gave of the amazing fecundity of the land, together with the fight of the fruits which they had brought with them, in confirmation of their assertions, inspired the people with the most eager desire of rendering themselves masters of so desirable a country.

But when the spies had represented to them the difficulties and dangers of the enterprize, the rapid and impassable rivers, the inaccessible mountains, the numerous strong holds, and impregnable cities, and a gigantic race of men, dwelling in Hebron, of such enormous stature and strength that, from the time of their leaving Aegypt to that day, they had never seen anything similar;—all these considerations, I say, which had already filled their minds with fears and apprehensions, through their insinuations, produced the same effect upon the multitude.

These suggestions discouraged the people to such a degree, that they quitted the assembly in the utmost confusion, and gave themselves up, during the whole night, to despondency and lamentations; loudly venting their complaints both against the Almighty, and against Moses. "God," said they, "gives us the most flattering promises, but he performs nothing which he has promised." They next directed their resentment against Moses and Aaron, and having thus spent the night in imprecations on their leader and blasphemy against God; they early in the morning entered into a combination to put Moses and Aaron to death without delay, and to return to Aegypt.

In the midst of this dangerous tumult, Joshua, the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, and Caleb, of the tribe of Judah (who disdented in opinion from their associates in the late expedition to the land of Canaan) fearing the consequences which might attend the tumult, adressed the people to this effect: "Can you possibly, good people, entertain the least doubt of the veracity and goodness of the Almighty, yet, at the same time, give ear to idle stories concerning the land of Canaan, which are calculated and promulgated merely to impose on your credulity! Ought you not rather to confide in those, who have exerted themselves to the utmost to establish you in the possession of those blessings? The height of mountains, and the depth of rivers, are feeble obstacles to check the progress of men of unshaken resolution, engaged in a glorious cause; especially when God himself has promised to be their protector and defender. Let us advance, therefore, to the attack without hesitation, nor harbour the least doubt of success. You have only to follow us where we shall lead "you, and trust to the power of the Almighty for the event." This was the method they took to allay the fury of the people: but Moses and Aaron prostrated themselves before the Lord, and besought him, not for their own sakes, but for the sake of those who were committed to their guidance and care,
By direction of the Almighty, Moses informs the people that they shall not enter the land of Canaan, which is defined to be the inheritance of their descendants. Their repentance and humiliation. The reputation and authority of Moses. A famine in the days of Claudius.

A Confidence in the above vision induced Moses to inform the populace that God would subject them to a severe judgment; saying, that it was not intended as a punishment adequate to their guilt, but as a salutary correction of a father to his refractory offspring. "Upon my entering the tabernacle of the Lord," said he, "to avert the vengeance of heaven by tears and supplications, and to implore that, in his infinite mercy, God would not extirpate you from the earth, the Almighty condescended to communicate that you had betrayed shocking instances of ingratitude for the blessings he had bestowed, in rejecting the confidence due to the promises he had made, and depending on the falsehoods and misrepresentations which had been propagated by the spies. Be assured that God will not utterly destroy his chosen people; but the land of Canaan you must not expect to obtain; for you are irrevocably doomed, for the term of forty years to wander in the wilderness. This sentence, however, is not meant to extend to your children, to whom God, in his own good time, will bestow the sovereignty of that auspicious country, which the obdurate inidelity of their progenitors has rendered them unworthy to possess."

The people now in amazement and terror, applied to Moses, imploring him to intercede with God in their favour, and obtain a remission of the punishment denounced against them for their iniquities, and a deliverance from the wilderness. He gave them to understand, that the proceedings of the Almighty being founded in wisdom and equity, it was folly to imagine that the punishments he was pleased to denounce against mankind might be averted by their importunate and unjustifiable solicitations. It may, perhaps, appear a matter of wonder to some, that Moses should alone be capable of quelling the turbulent spirit of so numerous a body of people, and of reducing them to reason: but, the Almighty granting him assistance, the multitude were prepared to yield to the force of his eloquence. In the several tumults which they had raised, they constantly experienced the ineffectiveness of controverting his will: and thus it often happens in calamities of other kinds.

This man was greatly famed for his piety and courage, and likewise for the reputation which his assertions had obtained with the world, and which to this day are received with the same deference as they were during his life;
for the Hebrews yield as implicit an obedience at the present time to the ordinances he established, as if he were still alive to punish the breach of them, and, in cases of transgression, they need no other witnesses to accuse them than their own consciences. Many instances might be quoted of the peculiar reverence which all men manifested for him, as a person vested with an authority more than human. Among various others take the following. A number of persons came on a certain occasion from the further side of the Euphrates, a journey of four months, at a great expense and the imminent risk of their lives, merely out of a particular regard for our manner of worship. They were permitted to sacrifice, but were not suffered to partake of their own offering; that indulgence being in some cases prohibited by the law of Moses: some were utterly refused the liberty of sacrificing, while others were obliged to desist when the ceremony was half performed: others, in short, could not even obtain admission into the temple; readily submitting to the disappointment, rather than infringe on the ordinances of Moses; and this solely from conscientious motives: for considering the laws themselves as of divine original, they shewed the greater respect to the person appointed to promulge them.

In the reign of Claudius, and during the pontificate of Ishmael, a short time before the commencement of the war between the Romans and the Jews, so severe a famine arose in Judæa, that an article of flour was valued at the rate of four drachmas. At that period there were brought to the feast of unleavened-bread a quantity of that article, amounting to seventy chorusses, which are equal to thirty-one Sicilian, and forty-one Attic medimni. Although the priests were almost famished for want of bread, yet their reverence for the laws, and their apprehensions of the displeasure of the Almighty, even for their most secret sins, so effectually preponderated against their sense of hunger, that not a single person amongst them attempted to purloin the least morsel of this provision. Who, therefore, shall any longer hesitate to believe the extraordinary actions which were performed by Moses, when even the enemies of our religion are compelled to admit the divine authority of the writings which he hath left us; and to confess that the founder of our republic acted under the immediate influence of the power of God himself? But on this matter every man is at liberty to adopt whatever sentiments he shall judge most conformable to reason.

End of the Third Book.
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK IV.

Containing the history of such transactions as happened from the year of the world 2455, to 2493.

CHAP. I.

The Hebrews, in direct contradiction to the advice of Moses, attack the Canaanites, and are shamefully defeated.

Among all the troubles and mortifications which the Hebrews experienced in the wilderness, nothing affected them more sensibly than the restriction which God had lain them under from attempting the conquest of the land of Canaan. This measure, in short, they were determined, at all events, to carry into execution; and, as Moses from time to time earnestly dissuaded them therefrom, they acquainted him, in plain terms, that they would no longer submit to be directed by him, but would follow the dictates of their own judgment: adding, that they were convinced he had no other motive in withholding his consent, than to make himself necessary to them, by detaining them as long as possible in their present distressful situation. Under the influence of this notion, they rashly entered upon the war, in a full persuasion that God would afford them his assistance therein; not so much from any peculiar regard for Moses, as from the fatherly affection
tion which he had constantly expressed for their nation, and their pious ancestors. They doubted not, if they conducted themselves courageously, that he who had formerly conferred on them the blessings of liberty, would now grant them victory; and even admitting that Moses should exert all his endeavours to render the Almighty unfavourable to their cause, they imagined they should still be an over-match for the Canaanites. "Where is the difference," said they, "whether we are subjected to the tyranny of Pharaoh or of Moses? We change our master, it is true, but our condition must still continue the same, as long as we submit to be deluded by the artifices of this vain, ambitious man. Mark what a boast he makes of his private conversations with the Deity, and of his revelations from heaven, as if the knowledge of the secret intentions of the Almighty had been communicated to him alone! Are we not all equally the descendants of Abraham with himself? Whence arises it, then, that Moses should exclusively possess this privilege of foretelling future events? Is not this the land, of which God has promised us the possession? Why, therefore, do we hesitate to make ourselves masters of it? Without suffering ourselves to be longer deluded with the idle pretence of seeking God, and submitting to the arrogance and insolence of an individual, we have no means left to extricate ourselves from the inconveniences of our present situation, and to avert those with which we are threatened, than, putting ourselves under the guidance of the Almighty, to march immediately against the Canaanites, without waiting any longer for the concurrence of our legislator."

Such were the sentiments of the people in general; and, under the influence of this impetuosity, they marched with the utmost resolution and confidence to the attack. But the Canaanites, though inferior in force to the Hebrews, received their shock with firmness, and put the assailants to the rout, killing a considerable number of them on the spot, and pursuing the rest even to their camp. The Hebrews were totally dispirited by this defeat, which they apprehended, might prove still more fatal to them in its consequences; and they were so conscious of the imprudence of having joined in battle with the enemy before they had received God’s direction on the subject, that they readily imputed this shameful repulse to their rashness and disobedience.

The Canaanites were so elated with this success, that Moses, fearing lest they should attempt to push their advantage further, considered it as the most advisable step he could take in the present dilemma, to withdraw again into the wilderness. Having proposed this measure to the people, who were now convinced of their absolute dependance on him, they willingly assented thereto, with a full determination to attempt nothing further against the Canaanites, till they should be duly authorized by the commands of the Almighty.

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C H A P. II.

Corah and his associates raise a faction against Moses and Aaron, relative to the appointment of the latter to the office of high-priest.

As it is customary, among numerous bodies of people, when their affairs are in an unprosperous state, for murmurings and tumults to arise; the like befell the Jews in the present instance. They amounted to fix hundred thousand fighting men, and were, at best, rather impatient of control; but if any inopportune event happened, the violence of their tempers became ungovernable, as well to each other as to their leaders. This propensity to dissention gave rise to the most dangerous sedition that ever happened, either among themselves, the Greeks, or in any other nation; and it must have involved them in irretrievable ruin, had not Moses, generously forgetful of all their former ingratitude, interposed for their preservation: and it pleased God, notwithstanding all the contempt they had shown both of his commands and of himself, in the person of his servant Moses, again to extend his mercy towards them, and to deliver them from the impending destruction. The particulars of this sedition, and of the conduct of Moses consequent thereon, are as follow.

Corah, a man of considerable reputation among the Hebrews, both on account of his rank and wealth, and thoroughly versed in the arts of acquiring popularity, entertained a strong jealousy of the extensive power which Moses had obtained over the people. This man, being of the same tribe and family with Moses, and his pretended being more ample than those of the other, loudly exclaimed against the injustice which had been done to himself by the advancement of Moses to the supreme authority; and his complaints made a strong impression on the Levites and those of his own family. "It is scandalous and insufferable," said he, "that Moses, under the guise of piety and devotion, should thus pursue the dictates of his ambition to the prejudice of others; as an instance of which, he has recently conferred the office of high-priest and other honors, on his brother Aaron, without asking the consent of the people, and merely of his own arbitrary will and authority.

And what renders this man's conduct still more dangerous is, the specious manner in which he infinuates himself into power; utterly depriving the people of their liberty before they can be aware of his treacherous designs. The conscientious man, who perceives in himself such qualities as render him eligible to the supreme government, will submit his pretensions to the judgment of the people, without making use of violent or unfair practices to carry his point. Nay, it often happens that men, finding they shall not be able to compass their designs by honest means, will affect the appearance of integrity. But fraud may sometimes succeed where force fails, and such dark proceedings ought to be exposed before the state becomes endangered thereby. What apology can Moses offer for bestowing the high-priesthood on Aaron and his family? If the Almighty has de-
creed that the office shall be hereditary in the tribe of Levi, I myself, who, exclusive of my being of the same lineage with Moses, surpass him both in wealth and years, might claim a preference: or, if that dignity be to go by seniority, Dathan, Abiram, and Phala, who are the heads of the tribe of Reuben, and men of unblemished reputation, have a more equitable claim.

Although Corah's pretext was a regard for the public welfare, yet the real design he had in view was to dispose of Aaron of that dignity, and to establish himself in his room. The plausibility of these suggestions won so much on the minds of the people, that no less than two hundred and fifty of the chief men among them united in a plot, to deprive Aaron of the high-priesthood, and to bestow it on Corah.

The people were now thrown into a great ferment, and ran in the most tumultuous manner to the tabernacle, crying out, "Stone him! stone him!" (meaning Moses.) "Take away this tyrant; and relieve us from the intolerable burdens with which he has loaded us. If the choice had been of God's appointment, he certainly would not have fixed on a person so unworthy of the honor, or, if he had intended the post for Aaron, he ought to have obtained it regularly by the suffrages of the people, and not through the favour of his brother."

Moses was well informed of the proceedings of Corah, and of the effects which they had produced on the multitude. But, depending on his integrity, and conscious that the advancement of his brother to the priesthood had been ordained expressly by God himself, and had not been effected through any finiter views of his own, he made no scruple, being skilled in the arts of ingratiating himself with the people, to appear before the whole multitude assembled: and he addressed himself to Corah in these words.

"I consider you, Corah, and the several persons who have espoused your cause (pointing to the two hundred and fifty principal men who had joined the faction) as persons deserving an honourable distinction; but still some consideration is due to the rest of the people, notwithstanding their inferiority in wealth and other qualities. Aaron was not constituted high-priest on account of his riches, in which point you exceed him in the proportion of one half; nor was it from a superiority of birth, for in that respect we are all upon terms of equality, being of one family, and deriving our origin from the same progenitor. In electing my brother to the office, I deprived no man of his rightful possession. Had I acted on a self-interested motive, I should have taken possession of the place myself, but I was guided by principles of honor and justice. Is it not improbable that I should be guilty of treachery towards another without any view to my own private advantage? But far from me such iniquity of conduct. The Lord would not have permitted such an affront to his divine will, nor you to remain in ignorance of what would prove most acceptable to him. It was the Almighty himself who appointed Aaron to the priesthood, and that act of the Divinity discharges me of every criminal imputation. Supposing Aaron to be invested with the sacred function in conformity to the Divine pleasure, excluding the idea of my partial in-
"terference in the cause, he shall still depend upon a repetition of your suf-
frages, without availing himself of any advantage on the score of his for-
mer election.

"Hence it will be evident that he is not actuated by motives of ambition,
and that he will readily relinquish every private advantage for the sake of
your tranquility and happiness. It would surely have manifested a high
degree of impiety to have rejected the offer which the Almighty was gra-
ciously pleased to make us. It is indisputably requisite that we should
afford our beneficent Patron an opportunity of confirming to us the pos-
session of his promised bounty: I therefore advise that the matter in ques-
tion be submitted to the determination of God, and that you oppose not
whomsoever he shall appoint to the holy office.

"Your presumption, Corah, in contending against the liberty of the
Almighty to select a priest to serve at his altar, is an instance of impiety
which must be looked upon with astonishment and horror. But another
day will put a period to this controversy. Let the candidates for this holy
office assemble to-morrow in the morning with fire and incense in their
centers. And, Corah, I enjoin you, in particular, to curb your ambi-
tious views, and not to attempt exalting your own power and authority
above that of the Deity. In the discharge of his sacred office, the conduc-
t of Aaron having been unexceptionable, to his presence on this occasion
no reasonable objection can be formed. Being assembled, let the candi-
dates offer up incense in the presence of the multitude, and the sacrifice
proving most acceptable to the Lord shall distinguish the man to be consti-
tuted high-priest, and the possession of the sacred office shall be ratified and
confirmed to him by the authority with which I am invested. Thus will
all contentions subside, and I shall be no longer subject to the accusation
of partiality to my brother Aaron."

C H A P. III.

The judgment of God upon Corah, Dathan, and Abiram. The priesthood given to
Aaron and his posterity.

The multitude were appeased by the above address, which removed
the unfavourable impressions they had entertained against Moses,
whom they acknowledged to be a man of sagacity and virtue: and the coun-
cil was now dissolved.

The people attended the sacrifice on the following morning, and were di-
vided in the interests of the contending parties, some being desirous of ex-
posing Moses as a man acting on partial and interested motives, and the more
moderate endeavouring to preserve tranquility, from a consideration that
government and the public welfare would be greatly endangered if the com-
monalty were suffered to obtain the ascendency. The lower ranks of man-
kind are naturally disposed to be envious of superiority, to be swayed by and
propagate popular reports and calumnies.

Dathan
Dathan and Abiram were summoned to attend in support of their pretensions; but upon the return of the messengers, Moses was informed that they positively determined not to abide by the proposed decision, on the plea that by means of sinister and indirect practices he had obtained an unwarrantable power; and that they had resolved no longer to submit to the authority he had usurped. Moses now called to certain elders, and commanding them to follow him, repaired towards the spot where the mal-contents had assembled. Upon receiving intelligence of his approach, Dathan and his adherents, with their women and children quitted their tents, and attended by the guards, to resist any attack which might be made, waited the event of this unexpected proceeding. Moses deliberately approached Dathan, and then with uplifted hands thus appealed to heaven in a voice sufficiently audible to be underflood by the surrounding multitude.

"Divine Creator and blessed Lord of the universe, thou art the irrefragable witness that my conduct has been wholly regulated in due conformity to thy sacred and especial commands: thou who didst look down with pity upon the Hebrews, graciously affording them the means of escaping their cruel oppressors, relieved their distresses, and, in my person, hast extended thy powerful support to their leader: thou, O God! to whom all things are known, I beseech thee to hear my prayer; bear witness to the integrity of my life against the malicious accusations of my ungodly enemies. Thou knowest, O God! that happy in the blessings which attended my industry and the favour of my father-in-law, Raguel, I relinquished all the conveniences of a private life, and, in behalf of the liberties of the people, engaged in perilous and fatiguing commissions, and am even now striving against hardships and dangers in the cause of this ungrateful people. But since I have repeatedly preferred them from impending ruin, and they make such returns for the benefits they have received as to consider me as an object of displeasure and jealousy, do thou, O Lord, who didst condescend to appear from the fire upon Mount Sinai, permitting thy servant to hear thy voice, and making him a witness to thy wonderful prodigies; thou who didst confer on him the honor of an ambassado into Egypt, lowering the arrogance and pride of the people of that country, and redeeming the Hebrews from their oppression; thou who reduced the powerful Pharaoh and humbled him at my feet; who formed a dry passage through the sea, and changed that passage into sea again, for the preservation of thy people and the destruction of the Egyptians; provided us with arms when in a defenceless state; gave sweetnefs to corrupt waters, and commanded streams to burst from the rocks when we were in danger of perishing from extreme thirst; afforded us food from the sea, and supplied us with nourishment from heaven; thou, by whose direction our laws were framed and our government established; who art the righteous judge and infallible witness of all things in the creation; do thou espouse my cause, and bear testimony, that in the appeals submitted to my decision I have distributed justice equally, and never shewn partiality towards the rich man, or been corrupted to oppress the poor.

"I am
"I am now accused of having raised my brother to the high-priesthood without the sanction of thy divine will and especial appointment, but solely from a motive of private affection. I now beseech thee, O Lord, to afford a proof that things are not governed by chance, but that all is regulated by thy pleasure and divine providence. I pray thee, O God, out of the favour thou has, in numerous instances, shown to thy people, that thou wilt be pleased to execute a signal judgment upon Dathan and Abiram, who have insolently dared to assert, that my impositions have rendered the designs of heaven abortive, thereby impiously reflecting upon the Deity as a passive and insignificant Being. Vindicate, O Lord, thy power and glory to future ages, by an exemplary punishment upon these blasphemous detractors. Let them not meet the fate of common men, but as an example, teaching generations yet unborn, to hold thy divinity and power in due reverence, and as they are unworthy to inhabit the earth, let that earth swallow them with their families and all their dearest posessions. If I am guilty of the crimes imputed to me, may the lot of my accusers, be happiness and freedom, and may the imprecations I invoke upon them be directed to fall a just punishment upon myself. But when thou, O God, shalt direct thy vengeance against the oppressors of thy people, distinguished, I beseech thee, the guilty from the unoffending; involve not such as have lived in a due reverence of thy honor and glory in a common fate with those who have dared to violate thy divine commandments."

Having delivered this appeal, which was frequently interrupted by tears, the earth became violently agitated, resembling the billows of an enraged sea; a general consternation prevailed among the people, who confusedly traversed the camp with expressions of the utmost terror and amazement. At length, the ground on which they stood opened, with a horrible sound, and swallowed up the whole faction, together with their families, their tents, and all their posessions; the fissure closing again immediately, with such exactness that not the least mark of it could possibly be perceived.

Such was the miserable end of these mutineers; and in this manner did God at once vindicate both his justice and his power. Nor was the fate of these persons in the least commiserated by their friends or relations; nay, the whole multitude, on the contrary, expressed the greatest satisfaction on the occasion, considering them in no other light than as the pest of their nation, and as men who were undeserving even of human compassion. Moses afterwards assembled all those who had offered themselves as candidates for the high-priesthood; again referring the choice to God himself, that he, among those who pretended to that dignity, might be elected, whose oblation should be found to be most acceptable in the sight of the Almighty. The number of those persons was two hundred and fifty; all men of great reputation with the people, both on account of their high rank, and of their personal qualifications; and with them came Aaron and Corah. The whole company placed themselves before the tabernacle, and began to offer up the incense they had brought with them. At this instant a fire suddenly appeared, to which
which that of volcanos, or of whole forests involved in flame, bore no kind of proportion; and its brightness and intensity plainly demonstrated that it came from heaven alone. This fire so effectually consumed the bodies of Corah and his associates, that not the smallest remains whatever of their carcasses could be found; yet, as a convincing proof that this was effected by a supernatural agency, Aaron received no kind of injury from it. In order to perpetuate the memory of this tremendous judgment, Moses ordered Eleazar, the son of Aaron, to affix the centers of Corah and the rest to a brazen altar, which was erected for that purpose. It was now incontrovertibly proved that Aaron had not been advanced to the pontificate by any unfair means, but by the appointment of God himself; in virtue of which evidence he continued to hold it for the remainder of his life.

CHAP. IV.

Various incidents which befel the Hebrews for the term of thirty-eight years, during which they continued in the wilderness.

This seditious disposition of the people still predominated, notwithstanding the late calamities of which it had been productive; and another tumult arose which was more fatal, if possible, in its effects than the former; as the causes which gave birth to it were of a nature not easily to be removed. The Hebrews had conceived a notion that the punishments which God was pleased, from time to time, to inflict upon them, were the result of the applications of Moses to the Almighty for that purpose. "For what crime," said they, "did those noble and eminent persons lose their lives, in consequence of the prayers of Moses, but the too great zeal for the worship of their Creator?" The destruction of those persons has enabled Moses to confirm his brother in the pontificate, as no one will dare to dispute the possession of it with him, when they consider how severely those who before contested it with him have suffered for their imprudence." The relations of the deceased embraced this opportunity of incensing the multitude against Moses, by representing to them the necessity of giving a timely check to his arrogance and lust of power, which, they observed, might be very easily effected.

Moses foresaw the approaching storm, and with great prudence, in order to avert the danger which was greatly to be apprehended from the present tumultuous conduct and disposition of the people, convened an assembly, in which he patiently listened to their complaints, and, that he might not encrease the popular ferment, ordered the heads of the respective tribes each man to bring his rod, with the name of his tribe inscribed thereon; and that the pest should be conferred on him, whose rod should bear upon it any peculiar mark of the favour of God towards him. This proposal was agreed to, and Aaron brought his rod with the rest, on which he had inscribed the title of the tribe of Levi. Moses placed them in the tabernacle for the present, and, on the following day, re-produced them to their respective owners in the presence
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presence of all the people. All the rods were found to be in the same state in which they were left the day before, save that of Aaron, which appeared not only covered with branches and buds, but, to increase the wonder, bearing a ripe almond also; the rod having been taken from a tree of that species. This extraordinary spectacle threw the people into the greatest consternation imaginable; and, although they could not divest themselves entirely of their resentment against Moses and Aaron, the rancour of their enmity having in a great measure subsided, they acquiesced in the determination of the Almighty, with respect to the election of Aaron, who was thus a third time confirmed by God himself in the possession of the office of high-priest, in which he continued, without any further interruption, to the time of his death. This incident, in short, happily concluded those commotions in which the Hebrews had been unfortunately engaged, at different periods, for so long a course of time.

Moses exempted the Levites, who, as we have before observed, were dedicated to the immediate service of God, from all military duty and charges; and, that they might not be prevented from attending properly to the duties of their function by the care of providing a maintenance for themselves, he directed that, as soon as the Hebrews should, with the affilience of the Almighty, have acquired possession of the land of Canaan, the revenues of forty-eight of the most flourishing cities throughout the country, together with the land round each, to the extent of two thousand cubits, should be appropriated to the use of the priests and Levites; granting them, besides, a tenth part of the annual produce of the earth, which duty was to be paid by all the possessors of land in general; and this ordinance is observed, with the strictest punctuality, even to the present time. Having spoke sufficiently respecting the revenues of this tribe, I shall now advert to those particulars which relate to the priests alone.

Of the forty-eight cities above-mentioned, Moses ordered that thirteen should be assigned to the maintenance of the priests, and the tenth part of the amount of the tithes, and the first-fruits of all the productions of the earth, as obligations to God. The firstling of every four-footed animal offered in sacrifice, if a male, was delivered to the priests to offer up, and afterwards to be eaten by the owners and their families in the city; save only such as, by our laws, are prohibited to be eaten, in which case the owner shall present a shekel and a half to the priest, in lieu of the animal, and the first-born of a man is to be redeemed with the sum of five shekels: a duty is paid also upon wool and corn, as in the case of those who bake bread, who are obliged to deliver a cake to the priest.

With respect to the Nazarenes, who oblige themselves by a solemn vow to suffer their hair to grow for a certain time, and during that period to abstain from wine; when they repair to the temple, to confecrate their hair, the time expressed in their vow being expired, whatever sacrifices they offer, fall to the share of the priests: and the same rule is observed with regard to the feet, who flile themselves Corban, which signifies a gift. These perions, at the time they appear before the priests, and request to be released from their vow and engagements, are obligated to pay a certain sum, which is fixed at fifty shekels
The breast and the right shoulder of every beast that is killed for private use belongs also to the priest. Such was the provision which Moses made for the maintenance of the priests, exclusive of the sin-offerings, of which we have already spoken in the foregoing book. The wives, children, and servants of the priests were also allowed to partake of all oblations, save in the case of sin-offerings, which were to be eaten only by the priests officiating at the time, and that on the same day, and without quitting the temple.

These regulations being made, and the public tranquility being now fully restored, Moses marched his troops to the frontiers of Idumæa, previously dispatching his ambassadors to the king of that country, to request a free passage for the Hebrews through his territories; engaging that his troops should be guilty of no irregularity on their march, and should pay for whatever necessaries they might stand in need of. The king, however, refused to grant his request, and raising a numerous army, prepared to oppose him, in case he should attempt to force a passage. Moses, on this occasion, applied to God for his direction how to act, and received for answer, that he must carefully avoid being the aggressor; whereupon he determined to pursue his route by the way of the wilderness.

At this period, Mariam, the sister of Moses died, in the commencement of the month Xanthecus, forty years having now expired from the time of evacuating Egypt. She was publicly interred, with great magnificence, upon the mountain called Sin; and after thirty days, which was the time appointed for mourning, Moses performed the ceremony of purification upon the people. A red heifer which had not been subjected to the yoke, was brought by the priest to a clean spot at a small distance from the camp, and there slaughtered, after which, dipping his fingers in the blood, he seven times sprinkled it upon the tabernacle of the Lord; and the whole carcass was then put upon the fire, with a small branch of cedar, some hyssop, and scarlet wool. The whole being confounded, the ashes were gathered and conveyed to the cleanest adjacent part, by a goat of unblemished chastity. Such as required to be purified in consequence of having rendered themselves unclean either by touching a corpse, or attending the ceremony of interment, was to cast a part of these ashes into a fountain, and on the third and seventh day, with a bunch of hyssop to sprinkle himself with the water. This ceremony of purification Moses enjoined to be practiced when the Hebrews should possess the land promised them by the Almighty.

The purification for the death of Mariam being performed, Moses marched his army to Arabia, directing his road through the desert, and upon his arrival at the principal city, which was called Aret, but now bears the name of Petra, Aaron ascended an high mountain, and it having been predicted to him that the period of his life was near approaching, he disrobed himself of the pontifical stole, and resigned it to his son Eleazar, as the rightful successor to the dignity. In the first moon of the month called by the Athenians Hecatombaeon, by the Romans Augustus, and by the Hebrews Sabba; he died upon this mountain in the presence of the whole army, being in the hundred
hundred and twenty-third year of his age. Thus in the same year Moses left his brother and sister.

C H A P. V.

Moses subdues Sihon and Og, and divides their kingdoms, by lot, between two tribes and a half tribe of the Hebrews.

The time allotted for the mourning for Aaron (which was thirty days) being now expired, Moses advanced with his troops to the banks of the Arnon, which takes its rise among the mountains of Arabia, and, traversing the whole desert, finally discharges itself into the lake Asphaltitis; separating the country of the Moabites from that of the Amorites, both which were remarkable for their fertility. The king of the Amorites was named Sihon, to whom Moses sent a very respectful message, desiring his permission to march through his country, and giving him the strongest assurances that his subjects should not sustain the least damage whatever. Sihon would not grant him a passage; but posted himself of all the fords, to prevent his crossing the river.

This refusal, and the consequent conduct of the Amorites, incensed Moses to a high degree, and he determined to disappoint their meditated attack upon him, by carrying the war into their own country; being apprehensive lest the Hebrews, through inaction and the want of provisions, should again fall into their former irregularities. But, to avoid the imputation of rashness, he first applied himself to God, to know whether he might attempt to force a passage with the sword; and the Almighty not only granted him permission, but promised also victory in the contest. Thus encouraged, Moses led his troops to the attack, having previously inspired them with the fullest confidence of success, by communicating to them the declaration of the supreme Being in their favour. Immediately upon the first onset, Sihon and his army fled with the utmost precipitation; being seized with a terror which rendered them incapable of opposing the Hebrews. They flattered themselves that they should secure a retreat in some of their fortified cities: but the Israelites, who were lightly armed and very swift of foot, pursued them so closely, that their flight availed them little; Sihon the king and great numbers of his followers being slain on the banks of the river, where they halted to quench their thirst. The victory, in short, was complete, and the Hebrews obtained a prodigious booty on the occasion; the most valuable part of which was a plentiful crop of corn, still unripe, of which they had long been in great want. The whole country, in fact, was now become their own, through which they ranged without controul; very few of the inhabitants having survived the late defeat.

The Amorites manifested on this occasion an equal deficiency of conduct and of courage; having neither prudence to avert the danger, nor firmness to sustain it. The spot which the Hebrews had now acquired the possession of formed a kind of peninsula, being situated between the rivers, viz. the Arnon
on the south, the Jaboc, which empties itself into the river Jordan, on the north, and the river Jordan on the west.

But the Israelites had still another formidable enemy to encounter, in the person of Og, the king of Galadene and of Gaulonitis, who was hastening to the assistance of Sehon, his friend and ally, at the head of a numerous and powerful army. He received intelligence on his way of the defeat of Sehon; but this did not in the least discourage him from pursuing his design; and he continued his march, with a firm resolution to risk the event of a battle with the Hebrews. This temerity, however, cost him dear; himself and his whole army being utterly destroyed. Moses, in consequence of this second victory, crossed the river Jaboc, penetrated into the territories of Og, razing the cities, and putting the inhabitants to the sword. These people were renowned for their wealth and power, and the king himself was a man of great valour. He was of remarkable stature, as was evident from the dimensions of a bed which was found in his palace at Rabatha. It was constructed of iron, and measured four cubits in breadth, and nine in length. This last victory not only established the Israelites in security for the present, but proved of still more considerable advantage to them afterwards; for they acquired no less than sixty fortified towns of great strength, and each individual of the army became enriched by the plunder which he obtained on the occasion.

C H A P. VI.

Moses invades the country of the Madianites. Particulars relative to Balanam and Balaak. Zimri opposes Moses. Phinehas, from motives of zeal, puts Zimri and Coabi to death.

The Hebrews soon afterwards removed their camp to an extensive plain, in the neighbourhood of Jericho; a city famous for its opulence, and abounding in palm-trees and balsam. These people were so elevated with their late successes, that they eagerly wished for further opportunities of signalling their valour; and Moses deemed it highly impolitic to suffer this martial disposition to be depredated through the want of exercise. He, therefore, after having spent some time in offering oblations to God, and in rejoicings and entertainments, detached a body of his troops to ravage and destroy the country of the Madianites. The motives which induced him to commence this war were these:

The growing power of the Israelites had of late given great umbrage to Balaak, king of Moab, and an ally of the Madianites; insomuch that he began to be apprehensive for the safety of himself and his dominions; for he was ignorant that God had restricted the Hebrews from attempting the conquest of any other country than that of Canaan. He durst not openly attack a people whom repeated victories had rendered so confident of success; but being desirous to give some check to their further progress, he sent ambassadors to the Madianites, to consult with them on the steps necessary to be taken, for the common safety of both nations.

With
With these ambassadors the Midianites joined some of the principal men of their own nation, and sent them to Balaam, who refused beyond the Euphrates, and had acquired a great reputation by his predictions, requesting him to return with those persons, that he might denounced the vengeance of Heaven upon the Hebrews. He received them with great respect, and after supper was ended addressed himself in prayer to God, for his direction how to act. The Almighty was pleased to order him not to comply with the request which had been made to him; and he thereupon went back to his guests, and acquainted them that he would gladly have gratified their desire, but that God, to whom he was indebted for all his reputation as a prophet, had refused him his permission; adding, that the people whom they wished him to curse, were the peculiar favourites of heaven; and that he, therefore, would rather advise them to secure their friendship upon any condition whatever.

The ambassadors now returned home; but were sent back again on the same business by the Midianites, at the earnest entreaty of Balaak, who was greatly chagrined at the bad success of their first journey. Balaam, being desirous of obliging them, again had recourse to the Lord to know his pleasure, who incensed that he should make a second application to him on the subject, abruptly answered, that he might return with the ambassadors, agreeable to their request; which he, accordingly did, without noticing the extraordinary mode in which this permission was granted. In passing through a narrow part of the road, which lay between two walls, and would not admit of the passage of two persons at a time, he was encountered by an angel of the Lord. The ass on which Balaam rode flopped short at the appearance of this vision; and upon his endeavouring to make her proceed she crushed his foot against the wall; the angel still remaining on the same spot, and the prophet continuing to correct the animal as before. But God being pleased to enrage the creature with the power of speech, she reproached her master with the injustice and cruelty of his conduct, and explained to him the cause of her not going forward, pleading, also, that she never till now had once given him the least offence. Balaam was equally amazed and alarmed at this circumstance, of the ass speaking with a human voice; and the angel, now discovering himself, reproached him in very severe terms; telling him that the beast was not in the least to blame on the occasion, but that he himself had incurred just censure, by presuming to enter upon a journey in direct contradiction to the express will of the Almighty. Balaam was very desirous to return immediately, but the Lord commanded him to proceed on his way, strictly enjoining him, however, to utter nothing but what he himself should suggest to him. The above condition being admitted, Balaam repaired to the king, who received him in a gracious and condescending manner, and he requested that he might be conducted to some adjacent eminence, commanding a view of the Hebrew army. Balaak, attended by his courtiers and other persons composing the train of royalty, accompanied him to the top of a mountain about sixty furlongs from the camp. After mature deliberation, turning his face towards the spot on which the Hebrews were encamped, he delivered his predictions in these words:

"Happy
Full of himself who, that God compelled comfort, care, upon among since, found in since, faith, the whole universe shall be filled with your fame, and your offspring shall endure so abundantly, that they shall be found in every part of the earth. Blessed and wondrous nation! who, numerous as ye are, derive your origin from one common ancestor.

You must, for a time, be satisfied with the possession of the land of Canaan, though a spot too confined, both for your numbers and your fame; but know that the period approaches, when you shall have no other limits than those of the world. Your issue shall be numerous as the stars of heaven: yet shall no want of any of the conveniences or comforts of life be found among that infinite multitude: but the Almighty shall confer on you the blessings of plenty, peace, valour and victory; and the children of your foes shall be your subjects and servants. May our enemies therefore, be yours also; since, by rising in opposition against you, they will expose themselves to inevitable destruction. It is to God, in short, that you are indebted for all these favours; to that God who alone can exalt the oppressed, and humble the haughty, as in his wisdom and justice he sees fit.

Throughout the whole of this speech, it was apparent that the prophet was actuated by a supernatural and divine impulse. But Balaak vehemently complained that he had falsified his promise, and, after having received many valuable presents to denounce a curse upon the Israelites, had loaded them with blessings. To these reproaches Balaam replied in the following terms:

Can you imagine, O king, that a prophet, when delivering his predictions, is permitted to utter, and to omit what he thinks proper? In this case, he is merely the instrument of the Deity, who fугжеетs to him every word he speaks; and he is himself totally unconscious of all he says. I perfectly recollect that both yourself and the Midianites urgently solicited me to repair hither, and that I came, in consequence, with a sincere desire to render you every service in my power. But as all opposition to the will of God is vain, I found myself restricted from pursuing my own inclinations on the occasion.

When the spirit of God takes possession of our breasts, we no longer retain a command over ourselves. It was far from my intention to utter a single word in praise of the Israelites, or concerning the happiness and glory which the Almighty deigns to bestow upon them; but I found myself compelled to declare what the Almighty has decreed in their favour. However, in order if possible, to fulfill the wishes of yourself and the Midianites, let other altars be erected, and fresh sacrifices be offered up, and I will again make trial whether God will permit me to curse this people.”

This
This proposal was immediately complied with; but God still refused to hearken to the solicitations of the prophet, who, falling on his face, predicted the unhappy fate of various princes and states, who should unfortunately oppose that chosen people; several of the particulars of which have been fo circumstantially verified, that there is every reason to expect that the rest will be accomplished in due season.

This disappointment incensed Balaak to that degree that, he dismissed the prophet, with evident marks of displeasure, who immediately departed homewards: but, when he arrived on the banks of the Euphrates, he be- thought himself of an expedient to ingratiate himself with Balaak and the princes of Madian, and being again introduced to them, addressed them in these words:

"In order to convince you how sincerely I am disposed to gratify your wishes, though in some degree, at the hazard of God's displeasure; I have devised a scheme which, possibly, may produce some effect in your favour. You must not imagine that the destruction of the Hebrews can ever be effected by war, pestilence, famine, or any other of the various casualties incident to mankind. They may, and necessarily will be frequently subjected to the scourge of temporary calamities; but they will, at length, surmount their troubles, and will learn wisdom from their misfortunes.

"If you can derive any satisfaction from the acquisition of a flight and short-lived advantage over them, adopt the advice which I shall now give you. Select a number of the most beautiful virgins of your country; and having set off their natural charms with the ornaments of art, let them be sent into your enemies camp; being previously instructed in what manner to demean themselves. If the young men among the Hebrews should appear to be captivated with their beauty, and should express their passion with any degree of warmth, either in their words or actions, let them peremptorily declare their intention to return home directly, unless their tutors will consent to abandon the religion and laws of their country; substituting in the place thereof those of the Madianites and Moabites; and, should they comply therewith, they will draw upon themselves the resentment of the Almighty." Having concluded his speech, he retired.

This advice was immediately carried into execution; and the Hebrews were effectually ensnared by the charms of the persons, and conversation of these maidens, and urged their suit with the utmost fervency of passion. The women conducted themselves in such a manner as to raise the desires of their lovers to the highest pitch; and, perceiving that they had fully succeeded in this part of their design, they instantly feigned a resolution of returning home without delay; but contented to remain where they were for a short time, at the earnest request of the men, who, to induce them thereto, eagerly pressed upon them the acceptance of their affection, their lives, and their fortunes. The virgins now perceived that their lovers were ready to submit to any terms they should preferibe, and one speaking in the name of the rest, addressed them in these words.
It was not from any motives of disgust towards our parents and friends, nor with the view of making sale of our persons (homely as they are) that we have quitted our dwellings, most illustrious youths, to repair to your camp; but solely with the design, as you are entire strangers in this country, to render you any service which may lay in our power. On this account, and having also formed a favourable opinion of your generosity, we have behaved with an innocent freedom. You profess an ardent affection for us, and an earnest desire to retain us with you. Could we be convinced of the sincerity of your professions, we should not hesitate to comply with your wishes, provided you will make us your wives, for on no other terms will we consent to continue with you; nor will you, we trust, think us over solicitous in a matter of such delicacy. The youths, eager to promote their suit, readily promised every thing required of them; and the maiden proceeded thus: "As we are thus far agreed, it is proper that we should take notice of some other trifling matters, which still require to be adjusted between us. You have been educated in the practice of certain rules and ordinances, even with respect to the meats and drinks which you are accustomed to use, which differ from those of all the other nations of the earth. Previous to an union between us, you must, determine to adopt our manner of living and mode of worship; as from thence we shall be enabled to judge of the warmth and sincerity of your affection for ourselves: nor will you incur any censure in worshipping the gods of our country, which are, in reality, almost universally adored throughout the world; whereas, the Deity whom you revere, has no other votaries than yourselves."

The Israelites were so intent on the gratification of their appetites, that they implicitly yielded to whatever the virgins were pleased to require of them; and did not even scruple to abandon the ancient religion and laws of their forefathers; joining with these women, who were now become their wives, in the notion and worship of a plurality of gods, in the indiscriminate use of all kinds of meats, and, blinded by the vehemency of their passion, gave themselves up to the practice of every species of irregularity.

The whole camp, by imperceptible degrees, became infected with the conduct of these men; few instances remaining of that veneration of the Deity, by which the practice of former times was distinguished; for the licentiousness to which the introduction of these new customs and manners had given birth, so universally pervaded all ranks of people, that it soon became utterly impracticable to check the progress of this dangerous evil.

One of the chiefs of the tribe of Simeon, who was named Zimri, had espoused Coibi, the daughter of Zur, a Midianite of the first rank and quality. This man, at the instigation of his wife, openly avowed his marriage and his consequent change of religion. Moses, fearful of the consequences of this disorderly conduct of the people, convened a general assembly, and, in a discourse which he had framed for the purpose, represented to them the indignity which the memory of their ancestors sustained from their present conduct, in thus preferring the indulgence of their inordinate
dinate lusts and appetites, to that veneration which they owed to their Creator; urging them to atone for their misconduct by a speedy repentance, and to manifest a magnanimity of soul, not in violating the established laws of their country, but in subduing the force of their unbridled passions. He farther observed to them, how inconsistent it was for men who had demeaned themselves soberly and virtuously in the wilderness, to be guilty of such unpardonable excesses in a land of plenty, and to squander in their prosperity what they had acquired, not without considerable danger and difficulty, in the time of their adversic fortune. By these means he hoped either to shame, or to argue them into a change of conduct; carefully avoiding to give the least umbrage, by addressing his discourse to any one person in particular, it being his intention to reclaim those who were culpable, and not to expose them by a public cenfure. When Moses had finished, Zimri rose from his seat, and replied to him in these terms.

"I am one of the number who would not have submitted to your oppression, had not an obedience to your laws been enforced by the circumstance of their having been established at a remote period, whence they have derived their whole credit and authority. Under the pretext of acting in conformity to the will of God, and the legislative institutions, you have abridged us of those liberties to which every individual who is not subjected to the controul of a master has an indisputable claim. If we are to yield our necks to the galling yoke which you endeavour to impose on us, in what will the difference consist between our condition in Egypt, and that under the present legislator? You have assumed to yourself the power of enacting such laws as you think proper, and, if we infringe them, we must submit to whatever penalties you please to inflict; whereas it is yourself alone who merit punishment, for having abrogated those customs which are common to all the nations of the earth, and having set up your own will in opposition to the general practice of mankind. Conscious that I have done nothing worthy of censure, I am ready to avow and justify my conduct on all occasions. It is laid to my charge that I have taken a foreign woman to my bed. I acknowledge the fact, without a blush; nor did I ever wish to make a secret of the transaction. I admit likewise, that I have adopted a new mode of worship, and I think it highly proper that, in all such cases, every man should have liberty to examine, and decide for himself; without being restricted, as in an arbitrary state, to govern himself by the opinion of any individual: nor shall I suffer any man to direct me in those matters which concern myself alone."

In this speech, Zimri delivered the sentiments of the whole party; and the people waited in anxious expectation of the event of so audacious an insult; being greatly apprehensive that it would be productive of mischievous effects. But Moses, being fearful lest the multitude should rise in arms if he should attempt to resent the gross affront which had been offered him, instantly diminished the assembly, without making the least reply to his opponent. This outrage, however, would probably have been carried to much greater
greater lengths, but for the death of Zimri, which happened soon afterwards in the following manner.

Phinehas, the son of Eleazar the high-priest, and grand-nephew of Moses, was highly renowned for his valour and other accomplishments. This youth was so much incensed against Zimri, on account of the contempt he had shewn of the laws of his country, that he determined to put him to death; from a conviction that, in the case of a faction similar to the present, the more exalted the rank of the ringleader might be, the more exemplary ought to be his punishment. He, therefore, repaired to the tent of Zimri, and slew both him and Coibi with one thrust of his sword. Many others of the Hebrew youths, animated with a like spirit with Phinehas, immediately attacked the associates of Zimri, they major part of whom they devoted to a similar death with their leader; and those who escaped at that time, were quickly afterwards carried off by a pestilence, which swept away not only the mutineers themselves, but such of their relations also, as by their influence and authority, might have restrained them from the commission of those sins, which occasioned their deplorable fate. The number of those persons who lost their lives in this manner, amounted to fourteen thousand.

These treacherous practices of the Madanianites enraged Moses so highly, that he detached a body of troops to over-run their country, and totally to root out the whole nation. But with regard to that transaction, we shall speak more at large hereafter. I must not omit to mention here a circumstance which strongly evinces the ingenuous disposition of our legislator. Balaam, as I have already observed, not having been able to obtain permission from the Almighty to curie the Hebrews, yet planned a scheme by which their enemies, the Madanianites, had nearly effected their ruin, by inducing them from their faith and obedience to God. Moses, notwithstanding, makes the most honourable mention of this prophet, in the writings he has left us; inserting not only his predictions, but also every particular relative to him, which could do honor to his memory; although he might, without the least fear of detection, have ascribed those predictions to himself, and thereby have greatly enhanced his reputation with the world. These are my sentiments on the matter; but I leave others to determine thereon as they shall see fit.

C H A P. VII.

The Madanianites are totally defeated by the Hebrews in a pitched battle.

The number of the troops sent by Moses on this expedition was 12,000 men, 1000 from each tribe, and they were headed by Phinehas, of whom we have made mention, in the foregoing chapter.

When the Madanianites heard that the enemy had already marched to their frontiers, and were still advancing, they assembled their troops, seized upon several of the palisades, which they fortified in the best manner the shortness of the time would admit, and prepared to receive their attack. At the very first shock,
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thock, however, they gave way, and fled, an incredible number of them being killed in the pursuit. Among these were the five kings of the country, whose names were Ochus, Sures, Robeas, Ures, and Reccem; from the latter of whom the metropolis of Arabia derives its name; having been founded by the above monarch: this city is stiled by the Greeks, Petra. The Hebrews ravaged the whole country, and, in pursuance of the instructions given by Moles to Phinehas, utterly destroyed all the inhabitants, save the virgins, who were carried away captives, to the number of 32,000. Phinehas afterwards returned with his detachment to the army, bringing with him a prodigious booty, consisting of 52,000 oxen, 60,000 asses, with household plate, and vessels of gold and silver to an immense value.

Upon a distribution of the spoil, Eleazar and the priests received one fiftieth part, another fiftieth fell to the share of the Levites, and the remainder Moles divided among the people, every individual of whom acquired a considerable booty on the occasion. Moles being now greatly advanced in life, declined the functions of a leader, governor, and prophet, in favour of Joshua, whom he proclaimed to be his successor, in conformity to the command he had received from the Almighty. Joshua was perfectly qualified to execute the important commissions with which he was invested, having obtained to a proficiency of knowledge in the divine and human institutions, under the immediate direction of his just and able predecessor.

About this time, the tribes of Gad and Reuben, and half the tribe of Manasses petitioned Moles to grant them the country of the Amorites, which had been lately conquered, and was considered by them as a spot highly desirable; they were the more solicitous to obtain this point, as they possessed numerous herds and other cattle, and the earth produced abundance of excellent pasture. Moles understood this request to be made merely to avoid engaging in battle, and accused them of pusillanimity and idleness.

"I perceive," said he, "the drift of your stratagem: your design is to indulge yourselves in ease and idleness, while your countrymen are opposing the common enemy, and encountering the difficulties which must inevitably occur in pursuing their victories beyond the Jordan, and penetrating into the country which has been promised them by the Almighty."

In consequence of Moles having manifested a displeasure at what they requested, they urged, that the sole motive of their application was a desire to obtain a place of security for their wives, children, and effects; adding, that if fortified places were to be assigned them for the above purpose, no impediment would remain against their engaging in the common cause, and that they would pursue the war wherever their leader should command.

The scruples which Moles had entertained, being entirely removed by this declaration, he transferred to them the land of the Amorites, in the presence of Eleazar, the high-priest, Joshua, and the other chief magistrates, conditionally that they should unite with their countrymen in a league offensive and defensive, and not quit their arms till the war should subside.

Ten of the forty-eight cities before mentioned were built by Moles, and three of them he appointed as sanctuaries for such as had killed a fellow-
creature by chance-medley, or without malice prepense. During the life
of the high priest within whose jurisdiction the homicide was committed, the
refugee was to remain in banishment; and if the offender was found without
the place of refuge, the law allowed that the kindred of the deceased might
slay him; but gave no other person an authority to deprive him of life.
Bozor, erected on the borders of Arabia, Ariman in Galadenc, and Gaul-
nan in the country of Batanae, or Batanitis, were the cities of refuge or
sanctuary. Mofes enjoined, that upon taking possession of the land of Ca-
naan, three cities of sanctuary, having the privileges above described, should
be constructed, among those belonging to the Levites.
Solophades, a distinguished person of the tribe of Manasses, died about
this period, leaving daughters, but no male issue; and on this occasion the
principal people of the tribe submitted it to the determination of Mofes,
whether the daughters had a right to claim the inheritance of their father's
effects. The decision of this point was, that they should be entitled to the
benefit of inheritance, on condition that they married into the tribe of which
they were members, but that if they contracted marriage with persons of
different tribes, they were not to be considered as legal heirs. In confe-
quence of this resolution, an ordinance was issued, prohibiting the aliena-
tion or transferring of inheritance, which was to be respectively preferred
to the several tribes.

C H A P. VIII.

The last oration of Mofes to the people: the laws which he delivers to them.

Forty years, within thirty days, having now elapsed since the departure
from Egypt, Mofes assembled the people at a place now called Abila, on
the banks of the river Jordan, and adjacent to a field of palm trees, and
addressed them to the following purpose.

"The pleasure of the Almighty, and the course of nature requiring me
to resign my breath, after having arrived to the hundred and twentieth
year of a vexatious and toilsome life; and it being ordained that I shall
no longer employ my arms in war, or my advice in council, to facilitate
your progress towards the land of Canaan, I am sensible, in this the
latest hour of my existence, of a peculiar satisfaction in the idea that I
leave my fellow-soldiers and the partners of my toils and sufferings in a
happy prospect of those promised blessings which are to crown their
wives. Even at this most important period, I must not omit that part
of my duty which relates to your happiness, nor fail, according to the
abilities I possess, of explaining to you in what that happiness consists,
and pointing out the means by which it is to be obtained: and in this I
shall so conduct myself as to ensure a lasting veneration in your memories.
The unremittting attention which I have observed in my endeavours to
promote your welfare and happiness, will give authority to what I shall
deliver, and let the integrity of my past days bear testimony that I am
deferving confidence: and further be it observed, that the declaration
of
"of a man on the verge of eternity is uttered in the sincerity of heart, "and claims a sacred observance.

"Be assured, that all human happiness consists in the favour of the Al- "mighty, to whom alone it belongs to reward the virtuous and punish the "wicked. If you demean yourselves conformably to the commands of "God, and to the precepts which I have communicated to you by his or- "der, you shall acquire the highest degree of reputation for your virtues, "and the prosperous state of your affairs shall constantly excite the envy "and jealousy of your neighbours; besides, the happiness you now enjoy "shall be continued to you in perpetuity, and all your wants shall be abun- "dantly supplied. But, beware that you make no innovations either in "your laws or religion. Adopt my counsel, and you shall become invin- "cible; for while God is on your side, it is a matter of no consideration "by whomsoever you are opposed. Virtue is constantly attended with ade- "quate and glorious rewards, and is in itself the greatest benefit which "man can possess. Exercise it among yourselves, and it will render you "mutually happy, and establish your fame in afterages. By such con- "duct you will ensure to yourselves an happy establishment; and my utmost "wish would be gratified, could I but see you in a settled state before I re- "sign my breath. To obtain this, you have only to pay due attention to "the precepts which have been delivered to you for the regulation of your "conduct, and to yield an implicit obedience to the orders of those who "shall be placed in authority over you, to provide for your welfare and se- "curity.

"The divine Being, by whose direction you have been hitherto guided, "and to whose bounty you owe all the benefits derived from my administra- "tion, will continue to be your guardian and protector, so long as you wor- "ship him in the manner he has prescribed. You will have also a sufficient "number of excellent advisers in the persons of Eleazar, the high-priest, "Joshua, the scribe, and the heads of the tribes. Demean yourselves to- "wards them with all submission; for thereon will your happiness greatly "depend; as he will never be qualified to govern others, who has not first "learnt the lesson to obey.

"Beware that you do not mistake licentiousness for liberty, an error which "you have too often committed on former occasions, and that you do not, "in consequence, rise in rebellion against your governors. This is an er- "ror to which you have at all times been too subject; correct this evil pro- "pensity in future, and you will be greatly benefited thereby.

"God grant that none of my successors may experience an impetuosity of "conduct from you, similar to what I have been too often exposed to; for you "must be sensible that my life was frequently in much greater danger from "you than from all the attacks of our enemies. I mention not this circum- "stance with a design to reproach you; nor would I wish to remind you of "your former faults at the time I am about to leave you for ever. Let your "paxt misfortunes teach you prudence, and, when you have obtained "possession of the land of Canaan, do not suffer yourselves to be seduced by: "the riches and plenteousness of the country to depart from your duty to: "your:}
your governors; but remember that your welfare depends on a due sub-
serviency to your superiors; and that if ever the attractions of wealth and
luxury shall render you neglectful of that veneration which you owe to
God, and of the respect to which your rulers are entitled, the Almighty
will forfake you, and instead of your guardian and protector will become
your avowed foe: you shall lose with ignominy the conquests you ac-
quired with reputation and valour, and shall be dispersed as vagabonds
over the face of the whole earth.

When these calamities come upon you, it will then be too late to re-
pent of your misconduct, and to wish that you had conformed yourselves
to the laws of God and your country. Effectually, therefore, to guard
yourselves against falling into so fatal an apostacy in future, you must ut-
terly extirpate the inhabitants of the countries you shall subdue, and to-
tally consume their temples, groves, and altars with fire. Left this, how-
ever, should not be sufficient to answer the intent, I have composed a
code of laws and ordinances, for the regulation both of your public and
private conduct, under the immediate direction of God himself; the due
observance of which will render you the happiest people on the face
of the earth.”

At the conclusion of this discourse, Moses delivered to them a written book,
containing the laws and rules above-mentioned. The prospect of his approach-
ing death suggested various affecting reflections to the surrounding multitude.
Some were apprehensive that they should not be able to find, among their
whole number, any person worthy to succeed him as their commander.
Others revolved in their minds the bravery of his conduct, and the readi-
nesses with which he had encountered every danger and difficulty for their
service. Some, again, were fearful that the loss they should sustain by his
death would be irreparable; as no person could, in their opinion, be so well
qualified to act as a mediator and intercessor between them and the Almighty.
But the remembrance of their ungrateful conduct towards him in the Wil-
derness, rendered them inexpressibly, and they could not refrain from ex-
pressing their grief in the loudest lamentations. Moses, with some diffi-
culty, pacified them at length, and, after having again recommended it to them
to pay a due attention to the book of laws, already mentioned, he dismissed
the assembly.

But it will be proper, before I proceed any farther, that I should in-
erit those laws, in order to demonstrate to the reader their conformity to the
character of the person who compiled them, and to make him acquainted
with the established form of our government. The only alteration that I
have presumed to make in them has been to arrange them in their proper
order, something different from that in which they stand in the above-men-
tioned book, penned by Moses. Thus much I thought necessary to premise,
in order to avoid the imputation of having acted disingenuously. That
part of our laws which I now propose to take notice of, relates solely to the
public government and constitution of our nation; intending to treat upon
those which refer to all commercial connections, as well between ourselves as
with strangers, in a separate treatise, which, with God’s permission, I mean,
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in due time to publish, respecting the foundation and tendency of those laws.

Those which I mean now to particularize, are these following.

"When ye have settled yourselves in the land of Canaan, ye shall build
"on a spot distinguished by its fertility and the beauty of its prospect, and
"to be chosen by God himself, by the agency of his prophet, one single
"temple. In this temple ye shall erect one altar only, which shall be
"formed of unhewn stones, taken promiscuously from the quarry, and fitted
"to each other with all possible accuracy and neatness; ye shall not ascend
"either to the temple, or to the altar by a flight of steps, but by a gentle
"rising of the ground. And ye shall erect no other temple or altar through-
"out the land which ye shall possess; for ye are one nation, and adore one
"only God."

"Let the blasphemer be slain to death, and his carcase be hung upon a
"gibbet for the space of a whole day, and afterwards be thrown into the
"ground with every mark of ignominy."

"Thrice a year, every individual of your nation shall repair from all
"parts of the land to this temple, to offer sacrifices, and to implore the fu-
ture blessings of heaven; and, by the freedom of a social intercourse, to
give birth to a reciprocity of friendship among the different members of
the community. It tends greatly to promote the benefit of men of the
fame lineage and profession to acquire a personal knowledge of each other;
for the impression made by a word, a look, or an action often surpasses all
conception; whereas, this advantage will be entirely forfeited unless such
meetings are promoted."

"Exclusive of the tenth appropriated to the maintenance of the priests
and levites, a second tenth also of the value of the produce of the land
shall be expended in sacrifices, and in the celebration of public solemnities
in this holy city; as the power who grants us the gratuitous possession of
the land, is, doubtless, fully entitled to a part of the fruits thereof."

"Nothing shall be offered in sacrifice which is purchased with the wages
of prostitution; for the Almighty abhors all unclean practices. Nor,
for the same reason, will any thing be accepted as an oblation which arises
from the hire of a female animal, intended to preserve the breed."

"Ye shall not speak ill of the Gods of other countries, nor shall ye de-
spoil their temples, or take away any vessel or other thing which is de-
tined for the service of their altars."

"No man shall presume to wear a garment made with a mixture of wool-
len and linen, unless he be of the order of priests, to whom that privi-
lege belongs alone."

"At the conclusion of every seventh year, during the celebration of the
feast of tabernacles, the priest shall read to the people assembled the book
of laws, at which ceremony persons of every rank, sex, and age shall be
permitted to attend; for it is highly proper to impress their minds with a
due knowledge of the laws, that they may not plead ignorance in ex-
cuse for their misconduct. Offenders also are more easily restrained from
the commission of crimes, when they know the punishments which they

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are liable thereby to incur. The impressions which men receive by the
car are forcible and permanent, and, being convinced of the propriety
and necessity of legal institutions, they are at all times prepared to ac-
cuse themselves, whenever they are guilty of a breach of those insti-
tutions."

"But I particularly recommend it to you to initiate your children early
in the knowledge of these laws, as the most advantageous and necessary
study to which they can possibly apply themselves. Twice a day, there-
fore, let them be put in mind of the memorable mercies of the Al-
mighty towards them, particularly in their deliverance from the bondage
of the Ægyptians: for thanksgiving is a duty equally incumbent upon
us with prayer. Inscribe upon their doors, their heads, arms, and other
parts of their bodies, memorials of the power and goodness of God, that
they may constantly have in their minds the bounties of divine providence
towards them."

"In each city let a council be established, consisting of seven persons;
men equally famed for their virtue and piety; and to these let twice the
same number of levites be added."

"Permit no man to use irreverent or scurrilous language in your courts
of justice: for, by accustoming yourselves to pay a due deference to your
earthly governors, you will intensively become attached to the practice of
all religious as well as moral duties."

"The sentence of the judge must be definitive, except in cases of evident
error or bribery. As justice is the point to which the proceedings of the
courts universally tend, it ought to be administered with the strictest im-
partiality. It argues a distrust of the divine power and mercy, to mani-
fest more fear of the resentment of a man in high station than of God
himself, as if the latter was inferior to the former; which those who act
in the above manner evidently infinuate."

"If the persons before whom a matter is brought to be decided, should,
either from the want of a thorough knowledge of the particulars, from
misinformation, or from any other circumstance, be found incompetent
(which not unfrequently happens) to pass judgment therein; let the cause
be removed to the holy city, to be determined by the high-priest, the
prophet and the senate."

"No man shall be condemned upon the testimony of fewer than two
credible witnesses."

"The natural levity, and propensity to talkativeness of the female sex,
renders them unfit to be admitted as witnesses in a court of justice: their
testimony, therefore, shall not be received."

"Every slave also, shall be rejected as an evidence, because from the
debasement of his mind, arising from the abjectness of his condition, he
may probably, either through fear, or from motives of avarice, be in-
duced to deviate from the truth."

"He who prefers a false accusation against another upon oath, shall in-
cur the same punishment as, in case of conviction, would have been in-
icted on the party accused."

"If
"If a man be found dead in any lone place, and no proof can be given, "either positive or presumptive, of the manner in which his death hap- "pened, the strictest inquisition shall be made, and rewards offered for the "discovery of the parties concerned. But, should these measures fall of "success, the magistrates of the several districts adjacent to the spot where "the body was found, shall assemble, and ascertain, by an exact measure- "ment, which of those districts is nearest to the spot in question. This "matter being determined, the inhabitants of such district shall pro- "vide a heifer, which they shall bring into a place totally uninhabited for every "purpose of vegetation; and, after cutting the sinews of the neck of the "victim, the priests, levites, and elders shall wash their hands with water "over the head of the animal, and in the most solemn manner shall declare "their innocence, and utter ignorance of the homicide in question; con- "cluding the ceremony with the most earnest supplications to the Deity, "to avert the guilt of blood from the people of that place in future."

"An aristocracy being the best form of government, let that be adopted "and constantly maintained by the Hebrews, and the abolishment of it will "be attended with many bad effects: for under such a government the peo- "ple are subjected to the laws alone, which will sufficiently instruct them in "every point of their duty; let them be satisfied, therefore, that the Al- "mighty deigns to take upon himself the supreme direction of their "affairs."

"If, notwithstanding, ye should find in yourselves a propensity towards a "monarchical government, be careful to choose for your king, a person of "your own nation; a person eminent for his justice and probity, of great "moderation, and free from guile: a person who shall place greater confi- "dence in the direction of the Almighty, for the good government of his "kingdom, than in his own judgment: a person, in short, who shall con- "form himself upon all occasions to the advice of the high-priest and el- "ders; without indulging himself in a plurality of wives, or in useless pa- "rade and ostentation; let this affectation of power and pomp shoulcl in the "end lead him to encroach upon your rights and privileges, and to assume "a degree of authority which may prove highly inconsistent with your in- "terest."

"Ye shall not remove either your own or your neighbour's land-marks, as "they were from the first designed to maintain inviolable the peace of so- "ciety. Let them remain immovable as the foundations of the earth, and as "if they had been fixed by the hand of God himself, at the æra of creation. "The breach of this injunction will inevitably produce wars and tumults; "and, as ambition is the basis of war, this kind of injustice derives it origin "from avarice."

"Ye shall neither eat yourselves, nor offer in sacrifice to God, the first- "fruits of such trees as do not bear till the fourth year from the time of "their being planted; all such being unnatural productions. But in the "fourth year, when the fruit is become fit for gathering, let the whole be "plucked, and conveyed to the holy city, where the owner shall consume it, "together
together with the tithes of his other fruits, in company with his relations
and friends, and with the widows and orphans."

"No vineyard shall be ploughed up, for the purpose of its being fown;
since superfluous cultivation will but impoverish the land."

"Oxen are the only animals which shall be used for the plough; for beasts
of different kinds should not be joined together in the same yoke."

"The feed with which ye sow the land shall be unmixed; as, by mingling
several sorts together, you will create an unnatural confusion."

"Ye shall not suffer animals of different species to generate; lest the evil
example should tempt mankind to indulge themselves in the gratification
of unnatural lusts."

"As the most scandalous excesses have frequently proceeded from trifling
beginnings, the strictest precaution should be used that nothing be
permitted which may tend to create a depravity of manners. Even the
minute trifles, therefore, in appearance, ought to be adverted to in the
compilation of a body of laws, as matters of the most serious consequence
frequently depend thereon."

"When ye reap your corn, be careful that ye leave a large proportion of
gleanings for the relief of the poor; and ye shall act in like manner when
ye gather your grapes and your olives. Nor will your bounty go unrewarded; for, when a man evinces a proper commiseration of the miseries
of the poor, God will fertilize the land which he ploughs, and will grant
him the blessing of plenty. Ye shall not muzzle the ox whilst he treadeth
out the grain; as it would be totally inconsistent with justice and reason to
debar any animal from partaking of the fruits of his own labour."

"Suffer the passenger, whether he be a native or a stranger, to gather the
ripe fruit as he paces through your grounds, and to eat his fill; but without
taking any part thereof away with him."

"At the time when ye press your grapes, if a Traveller should request a
few bunches of them, do not deny him so small a proportion of those fruits
which God has been pleased to bestow upon you in such great plenty; particu-
larly as this fertile season is but of short duration. Nay, if, through an habitual modesty and reserve, men should be unwilling to solicit you for
a small part thereof, ye are obliged to press the acceptance of it upon
them. For, if they chance to be of your own nation, they have an indubitable
right to partake with you, as being of the same blood with
yourselves. If they are strangers, the laws of hospitality require you to
admit them to a share of the bounties of the Almighty. Nothing is to
be accounted as given in vain which is bestowed in this manner; for the
blessings which the wealthy part of mankind enjoy are to be considered as
a deposit, placed in their hands by God himself, for the relief of all such of
their brethren as are afflicted with want and distress. Nor can men make
a more proper return for the munificence of God towards themselves, than
by participating the favours they receive with the rest of their species.
The breach of this injunction shall be punished with thirty-nine lashes,
to be inflicted by the hands of the common executioner: an abject chaf-
tisement, 'tis true; but well adapted to the crime. The remembrance of

"the
"The many sufferings which ye underwent, both in Αἰγύπτιο and the wilder-
ness, ought to humanize your temper so far, at least, as to render you
compassionate to the neccesfitous."

"Exclusive of the two annual tenths, already mentioned, one of which
was set apart for the use of the levites, and the other for the celebration
of all public solemnities; a third also shall be levied, to be distributed
every third year among the poor widows and orphans of your nation."

"Ye shall not neglect, at the proper seasons, to bring your first-fruits to
the temple, and, after returning thanks to God, and offering the customary sacrifices, ye shall deliver them into the hands of the priests; having paid the usual dues to the levites, and for the solemnization of the festivals; when ye are about to return home, ye shall place yourselves before the door of the temple, and shall give thanks to God for relieving the Israelites from their grievous bondage in Αἰγύπτιο, and for effacing them in the possession of so beautiful and fertile a country; publickly declaring, at the same time, that ye have paid the several dues required by the law. Ye shall then offer up your prayers to God, both for your own private welfare, and for that of the public; requesting not only a continuance of his present favours and mercies, but also an encreas of them in future."

"A man who has attained to a marriageable age, and is inclined to take to himself a wife, shall make choice of a virgin, who is a free-woman, descended from virtuous parents, and well educated: but let no one presume to attempt the chaitly of the wife of another man, thereby to give uneasiness and vexation to her husband."

"If a freeman marries a bond-woman, he shall not be justified on the plea of love; for a man derogates the dignity of human nature when he suffers his passions to usurp the mastery over him."

"Let no man espouse a reputed harlot; for God will not accept a nuptial oblation from the hands of an impure person; moreover, the offspring of such marriages commonly manifest their origin by the depravity of their manners."

"A man, who imagining he had married a virgin, finds himself deceived, shall bring the matter to a judicial determination, and shall produce his proofs: the father, brother, or the person who is the nearest relation to the woman, shall appear in her behalf. If the charge against her be not clearly proved, the husband shall be compelled to entertain her as his lawful wife, and the marriage shall never afterwards be dissoloved, but upon the most indubitable evidence of her guilt. But, should it appear that the accusation was founded solely in malice and calumny, the husband shall, by way of punishment, receive thirty-nine stripes, and shall also be amerced in the sum of fifty shekels, to the use of the father of the woman. On the other hand, if the guilt of the woman shall be made evident, and the be of mean extraction, she shall be slain to death; or, if honourably descended, particularly from a sacerdotal family, she shall be burnt alive."

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“If a man shall marry two wives, and shall (from whatever motive) prefer the one before the other, and the favoured wife shall prevail upon him to demand the privilege of primogeniture in behalf of her son, who is younger than the son of the other wife; in this case, I say, ye shall not comply with his demand; for, according to my laws, the elder son is entitled to a double portion of the inheritance, and it would be unjust to suffer this partiality of his father to operate to his disadvantage, by depriving him of the above privilege.”

“If a virgin, who is contracted to one man, shall suffer herself to be debauched by another, both parties shall be deemed as guilty, and shall both be punished with death; the man for seducing the woman to prefer the gratification of an avaricious or lustful appetite, to an honourable matrimonial alliance, and the woman for suffering herself to be influenced by such base and degenerate motives. But, if a man shall be convicted of having ravished a woman, on a spot at a distance from all help, he alone shall be sentenced to death.”

“Whoever shall seduce a virgin, who is under no engagement to any other man, shall either marry her, or, if the parents of the woman will not consent thereto, let the delinquent compound for his offence by the payment of fifty shekels to her father.”

“When a man is determined, as often happens, to separate himself from his wife, upon whatever account, he shall deliver to her an instrument, signed by his own hand, whereby he engages never to require her to return to him again: and this will bear her harmless in contracting a second marriage; nor will the divorce be otherwise valid. But if, after the death of her second husband, the woman should be inclined to return to the first, she shall not be indulged therein.”

“When a married man dies, leaving no issue, let the brother of the deceased spouse the widow, and, if a son should be the produce of this second marriage, he shall be named after the first husband, and shall inherit the estate; for it is necessary to the public welfare, that family names should be preferred from one generation to another, and that their possessions should devolve entire from heir to heir: and it will be a conflation to the widow to spend the remainder of her days with one so nearly related to her first husband. In case of the refusal of the brother to conform to this ordinance, let the widow prefer a complaint against him to the senate, setting forth the insult which, by his refusal, he had cast upon the memory of the deceased. The members of the senate shall then interrogate him on the subject of his conduct, and whatever arguments he may use in his defence, the result will be this: the widow shall loofen the latchet of his shoe, and, spitting in his face, shall reproach him with the contempt he has manifested for the memory of his deceased brother; adding, that by such conduct he justly incurred his present punishment. He shall then quit the court, thus stigmatized; and the widow shall be permitted to marry whoever she thinks proper.”

“If a woman, of whatever condition, whether maid, wife, or widow, be taken prisoner, and the person who makes capture of her be inclined...
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"marrv her, they shall not cohablt as man and wife 'till the woman shall
"have shaven her head, and shall have fulfilled the time of her mourning
"for the friends and relations she may have lost in the battle; and at the
"end of the time she shall be allowed to enter into the nuptial state. Every
"man who takes a woman to wife with the view of having issue by her, is
"bound to pay some attention to the wishes of his wife, and not to indulge
"his own inclinations at the expense of hers. But at the expiration of
"thirty days, which is a sufficient term for bewailing the lossof our friends
"and relations, the marriage ceremony may be performed without any im-
"potation. If he should, through a natural quickness of temper, wish to
"separate himself from her afterwards, he shall not reduce her to her former
"state of slavery, seeing that she hath by her marriage emancipated herself
"from bondage."

"When children shall be guilty of irreverent behaviour towards their pa-
"rents, let the father or mother, whom nature has constituted their judges,
"admonish them in terms similar to these:

'Ic should reflect, children, that the end for which marriage was instituted, was
neither the gratification of an avaricious, or a baseless disposition; but, in the first
place, to obtain children; and secondly, to educate those children in the knowledge
and practice of virtue and obedience, that they may prove the comfort and support of
their parents in the last stage of life. It must be sensible that we have neglected no-	hing in your education to enable you to live happily in this world: And how inadequate
has been the return which we have made us for all our affection and tenderness! But
the passions of youth are impetuous, and its errors merit some kind of indulgence. If
have acted wrong; correct your fault, before it be too late. It is possible thai ye
may not be apprized that, by your undutifulness to those from whom, next under
God; you derive your existence, you commit a mortal offence against the majesty of the
Almighty himself; as being the common father of mankind. The laws, also, de-
ounce the severest penalties against those who are guilty of this breach of duty, the
infliction of which God grants you may never experience!

"If this admonition produce the proper effect, let the former misconduct
"of the parties be forgiven, as the effect rather of human frailty than of
"premeditation; and this lenity will redound to the honor of our laws, and
"will greatly administer to the comfort of the parents. But if the children
"still persevere in their rebellion, in utter contempt both of the authority
"and advice of their parents, let the laws, in that case, take their course;
"and let the parties, in consequence, be floned to death, on a spot without
"the city; and their bodies, after being exposed one whole day on a gibbet,
"shall be taken down in the evening to be interred."

"The same rule shall be observed, with respect to the burial of the body,
"in every other case of public executions. Even the enemies of the state-
"are entitled to the rights of burial. It is sufficient that the delinquent
"suffers the penalty of the law, and the punishment ought not to extend
"beyond death."

"It shall not be permitted to one Hebrew to lend to another either money,
"meat, or drink, upon usury; for it is an unjustifiable action to make an advan-
"tage of the distresses of those of our own nation. Let it be remembered
that the conscientious of having done a good action, is its best reward:
thus benevolence itself would become clear gain, would man but confide
in the Almighty for that reward which he will indubitably confer, either
sooner or later, on the virtuous and humane. Let those who borrow either
money or fruits, wet or dry, make a point of discharging the debt when-
ever God shall enable them so to do: for this is nothing more than de-
positing so much money or effects in the hands of another, for your own
use and service upon any future occasion."

"If a debtor shall be so totally devoid both of shame and conscience
as to neglect the re-payment of what he borrowed, the creditor shall de-
mand of him a pledge, which he shall receive at the door, but shall not
be permitted to enter his house, unless in virtue of an order, for that pur-
pose, from the judge. In case that the debtor can conveniently spare the
article which he has pledged in the hands of his creditor, the latter shall
retain it till he has received satisfaction for the debt; but if, on the other
hand, he should chance to be in very indigent circumstances, it shall be
returned to him again before sun-set; particularly if it should be a gar-
ment, which he may possibly want to keep him warm during the night:
so much does God commiserate the case of the poor."

"Ye shall not receive in pledge either a mill, or any thing which apper-
tains to the working of it; lest the owner should thereby be deprived of
the means of earning a maintenance."

"Whoever shall privately sell a Hebrew into slavery shall be put to death;
and he who steals from another either gold or silver, shall make a two-fold
restitution."

"He shall not be subjected to the punishment of the law who shall kill a man
in the act of stealing, or making forcible entry into an habitation, in or-
der to rob the same."

"The penalty for stealing a labouring beast shall be four times the value
of the property stolen, except the creature be an ox, and in that case the
fine shall be quintuple: the robber not being able to discharge the penalty
shall be made a slave to the party he has injured."

"One Hebrew being sold to another, shall serve for the term of six years
and be then emancipated: but in case of his having issue in the dwelling of
his master, by any fellow-servant, and shall be inclined to continue in
his servitude, himself, his wife and children shall be freed in the year of
jubilee."

"A man who shall find gold or silver upon the way, shall inquire for the
owner, and restore it to him: and in regard to cattle, the person who shall
find such as have gone astray, shall keep them till the proprietor can be dis-
covered, calling heaven to witness that he covets not the goods of another
man. It is contrary to the principles of humanity to take advantage
of the misfortunes of our fellow-creatures."

"Let those who observe a traveller to be at a loss upon the road, direct
and advise him, according to the best of their knowledge and ability."

"To
To make a traveller the object of sport, and to impede the progress of his journey, and thereby delay his business, argues a cruelty of disposition.

Speak not injuriously of absent persons, or of those labouring under the affliction of deafness.

If, in a quarrel, a man shall strike another, and not with a sword, the aggressor shall be punished by a number of blows equal to those constituting his offence. If the party assaulted linger for some days, and then expire, no action for murder shall ensue; but if he recover, the whole expense incidental to his cure shall be defrayed by the assailant.

A man who by assaulting a woman shall cause her to miscarry, shall be adjudged to a forfeiture for the loss of a subject; and a further penalty shall be inflicted upon him, as a gratuity to the husband. If the woman die, the sentence of death shall be executed upon her destroyer; for the crime of taking away the life of a fellow-creature requires that the life of the offender be forfeited.

Whoever shall be found with any poisonous preparation in his custody, shall suffer death, as a just punishment of his malicious designs.

He who shall wilfully strike out the eye of another, shall make satisfaction in kind; unless the injured party shall be inclined to accept of a sum of money, as a compensation for the hurt he has sustained; the law, in this instance, leaving him to his option.

The owner of a vicious ox shall be obliged to kill him. If the animal chance to gore any person to death, let him be floned, and let no man eat of his flesh; and, in this case, if it be proved that the owner of the beast had been made acquainted with his mischievousness, he shall himself be put to death, for neglecting to take proper precaution to prevent the above accident. The master of an ox that hath killed either a male or female slave, shall pay thirty shekels to the owner of such slave. If one of those animals chances to kill another, they shall both be sold, and the produce of the sale shall be equally divided between the two owners.

Whoever digs a pit, or a well, shall lay boards over it, and raise a mound about it, not with the view of excluding others from a participation of the water, but to prevent any accident which might happen therefrom to man or beast; and if, in failure of such precaution, any animal should unfortunately fall into such pit or well, the proprietor of the ground shall make good the value of the creature so lost.

Whoever receives either money or effects in trust for another shall preserve the deposit inviolate, nor shall he suffer himself to be persuaded to deliver it to any person but the legal proprietor thereof, upon any consideration whatever. For, although there should be no witness either to the deposit, or to the peculation, in case he may have been guilty of it, yet his conscience will assuredly supply that defect, and will either condemn or acquit him in the sight of God, who cannot be deceived by the utmost exertion of human artfulness and fallacy. But if the deposit should be lost, without any bad design on the side of the person in whose hands it was entrusted, he shall present himself before the seven judges, Vol. I.
of whom we have already spoken, and shall make a solemn declaration,
upon oath, that he is not privy, in any respect whatever, to the manner
in which it was lost; and he shall thus acquit himself of any imputation
of fraud in the execution of his trust. But should any proof arise, in
future, that he had converted the smallest part of the deposit to his own
use, he shall be subjected to the payment of the whole."
Ye shall observe the strictest punctuality in the payment of the labour-
ers whom you employ; neither defrauding them of the smallest part of
their just demands, nor delaying the payment thereof a day beyond the
time that the work is finished."
It were injustice to punish the children for the offences of their fathers:
on the contrary, if their own disposition be naturally good, the circum-
stance of their parents misconduct ought to be considered as a misfortune
to them; and we are bound rather to revere them for their own virtues,
than to despise them on account of the vices of others. Nor should we,
in all cases, impute the wickedness of the children to those from whom
they derive their birth; for there are some tempers so unaccountable as
not to be influenced either by precept, example, or even by the severity
of punishment."
Some persons, influenced by horrid and unnatural passion, voluntarily
render themselves eunuchs, and thereby, as far as in them lies, counter-
act the design of nature and providence in the creation of the different
sexes; rescinding, at the same time, the means of population, and, con-
sequently, depriving the world, to the utmost of their power, of the be-
cnefit of posterity. Their minds, also, must doubtless have been totally
corrupted and debilitated, previously to their making this infamous ex-
periment on their bodies. Avoid these wretches as monsters in nature;
nor suffer any creature to be castrated, either of the human or brute spe-
cies, as you, in that case, depart from the first institute of nature."
The foregoing laws I have formed for the regulation of your con-
duct in times of peace, and I hope that both yourselves and your pos-
terity will ever religiously adhere to them. Yet, as it must be expect-
ed, that accidents will naturally arise in the best regulated states, I shall
endeavour, in the fewest words possible, to give you such advice, as shall
enable you to provide against all contingencies."
May you possess in peace the land which God hath defined for your
residence, and may you quietly reap the fruit of your toil and perseve-
rance, unexposed to the attempts either of foreign enemies, or of more
dangerous domestic foes; as an internal schism would hazard the destruc-
tion of the ancient form of government, both civil and religious, which
was established by your ancestors, and is founded on such ordinances as
they received from God himself: and from these you must never de-
part."
If, however, either yourselves or your posterity should at any time be
compelled to enter into a war, I sincerely wish it may be with a foreign
foe. To avoid the blame of rashness and precipitation, let your proceed-
ings be regulated in proper form. In the first place, send ambassadors to
reason with your opponents, on the injustice of their conduct towards you; 
for it is but right that you should endeavour to settle your differences by 
a negotiation, without proceeding to force. You may represent to them 
that it is not your desire to enrich yourselves with plunder; that you 
will not to push matters to extremes, but are willing to accept of any 
terms which may be consistent with justice and reason; not arrogantly 
presuming on the superior advantages you enjoy in a numerous and well-
disciplined army, plentifully provided with all kinds of military stores, 
or what excels all, on the favour and protection of an Almighty Power, 
who will constantly fight on your side. But if your antagonists should de- 
terminate to risk the event of a war, meet them boldly in the field, put- 
ting yourselves under the direction of the Almighty, and, next to him, 
of the most experienced and valiant man you can select from your whole 
army. Entrust the supreme direction of the war in the hands of a few 
only; for a multiplicity of leaders is prejudicial; not only on account 
of the dissensions, but also of the delays which too commonly arise from 
thence. Be careful in the choice of your soldiers; for their courage 
must be equal to their strength; as a defect of resolution in a few may 
suffice to dispirit and seduce a whole army.” 

But these following persons shall be excused from military service: 
the masters of new-built houses, in which they have not yet resided the 
term of one year entire; all such persons as have planted vineyards, the 
produce of which they have not yet tasted; and men lately married, who 
have not yet brought home their wives; and who will devote those hours 
to dalliance which ought to be employed in the service of their coun- 
try.” 

Let your troops be kept under the strictest discipline. If at any time, 
during a siege, you should want wood, for the construction of military 
engines, or for any other purpose, ye shall not cut down any fruit-trees; 
seeing that they were both created and planted for uses very different from 
that to which you mean to apply them. Were they endued with the gift 
of speech, they would complain bitterly of the injustice of destroying 
them, who were guiltless of the cause of the war, with the view of pro- 
moting its progress; and would add that, could they be permitted to 
change their situation, they would transplant themselves to some distant 
part of the earth.” 

When you have obtained a victory, put those to death who shall re- 
sist you, but save the lives of the rest, and render them your tributaries; 
excepting the Canaanites alone, the whole race of whom you shall utterly 
exterminate.” 

No man shall be permitted to wear the dress of a woman, nor shall any 
woman, in battle, particularly, assume that of a man.” 

Such were the laws and regulations which formed the basis of the Hebrew 
commonwealth, at the time of the death of Moses, who left various other 
ordinances also, which he had framed about forty years before that period; 
but of these I shall speak in a separate tract.
He afterwards continued to assemble the people for several successive days; bestowing benedictions on those who should conform to his laws, and denouncing curies against the transgressors of them. He also read to them a prophecy, which he had composed in hexameter verse, relating to sundry incidents, which afterwards happened conformably to the prediction, both with respect to the circumstances and to the course of the events. This prophecy he ordered to be deposited in the oratory. The books of the laws he put into the hands of the priests, to whose care also he committed the ark, in which were the two tables containing the ten commandments; giving it in charge to the people, as soon as they should be firmly established in the promised land, to take ample vengeance on the Amalekites for their former injurious treatment of them in the wilderness.

He further ordered that, when they should have acquired the entire possession of the land of Canaan, and should have destroyed all the inhabitants, they should erect an altar a little to the eastward of Sichem, between the mountains of Garizim, on the right, and Gebal on the left; and that the whole army being divided into two corps, consisting each of an equal number of tribes, together with the priests and the levites, should be cantonned on the above mountains.

The two corps were, alternately, to offer up prayers to God for blessings on all those who obeyed his commandments, and gave ear to the injunctions of his servant Moses; that party which was stationed on mount Garizim taking the lead; and the other on mount Gebal, at the close of this ceremony, raising the loudest shouts, in token of their concurrence. The latter party were then to recite certain maledictions against the unbelievers and the disobedient, and to be answered in the aforesaid manner by those on mount Garizim. In order to perpetuate the memory of this transaction, these blessings and maledictions were inserted in a book. Moses, also, when he drew near his end, caused them to be engraved on each side of the altar; the people being, at the same time, engaged in offering up sacrifices and burnt-offerings to the Almighty, which they were permitted to do on this occasion, though uncennial; Moses declaring, however, that it should not be drawn into a precedent.

Moses convened all the people on the next day, and obliged not only the men, women, and children, but even the slaves also, to enter into a solemn engagement, which they ratified by an oath, to pay the strictest obedience to the foregoing laws, unseasoned by promises, and unwavering by threats. They likewise promised, that, if any person, however closely connected with them either by blood or friendship, or any body of people, should attempt to introduce a change in those laws, they would firmly unite themselves against him or them; persecuting them with unceasing ardour, and utterly destroying their habitations: but, if the power of the innovators should be superior to theirs, they would at least enter their protest against the impiety, and would by every possible means manifest their utter detestation thereof.

This was the substance of the oath which Moses administered to the people on this occasion. He also gave them the necessary instructions relative to
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to the manner of performing sacrifice; and recommended to them to undertake no enterprise of consequence, till they should first have learnt how far the Almighty favoured their design, by observing the appearance of the precious stones in the breast-plate of Aaron, according to the manner before preferred.

A short time previous to the death of Moses, Joshua predicted the various particulars of the services which he should render the people, both in his civil and military capacity; by these discourses preparing the multitude to receive the new laws lately promulgated by Moses. He further acquainted them that what he said was suggested to him by God himself; who had revealed to him that, whenever they should abandon the faith of their forefathers, they should experience the severest afflictions; that their country should be over-run and laid waste by strangers, their temple be reduced to ashes, and themselves be led captive by a cruel and barbarous people; and that they should then, too late, repent of their disobedience and ingratitude to the Almighty. He added, that God would, nevertheless, in processes of time, take pity on their situation, and reinstate them in the possession of their country and of their temple; but that they would often relapse into their former errors and wickedness.

Moses then gave his instructions to Joshua, relative to the plan of operations which he was to pursue in the ensuing war against the Canaanites; giving him the strongest assurances that God would grant him success in his undertaking, and predicting many circumstances of the future prosperity of the people, of whom he afterwards took his leave in the following speech:

"As this is the day appointed by the Almighty for the determination of "my life, it will be proper that, while ye are yet about me, I should return him thanks for all the mercies which he has showered down upon "you; both in delivering you from the dangers and calamities to which "you have been so repeatedly exposed, and in granting you those innume-"rable favours and blessings for which you are so highly indebted to his "bounty. I must likewise acknowledge my own obligations to his good-"ness for the assistance he has been graciously pleased to afford me in all "my endeavours to promote your happiness and welfare, in effecting which "I have had no other share than as being an instrument in the hands of God. "Blessed and praised be his holy name for all these mercies; and to his "protection, in these last hours of my life, I now deem it my duty to "recommend you. Let me remind you also of the duty and reverence "which you are bound to pay to that Supreme Power, who alone is en-"titled to your adoration. I would recommend it to you also to set "a just estimate on the laws he hath communicated to you, through me, "as being the most valuable and sacred of all his bounties. An earthly "lawgiver would naturally resent a neglect of his ordinances, and a "contempt of his authority: judge then what will be the indignation "of the supreme Being, who is your heavenly legislator, when

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" he
he shall call you to account for your disregard of his command-
ments."

At the conclusion of this speech he gave his benediction to the se-
veral tribes; predicting to each, many incidents which were to happen
to them in future, and which were afterwards fulfilled. The people
abandoned themselves to their grief; the women beating their breasts,
and the very children expressing their sorrow by the loudest lamen-
tations. Such was the respect and affection which even those innocents
manifested for this great man. In short, persons of every age, sex, and
rank appeared to be equally affected on the occasion. The regret of
one part of the multitude arose from the consideration of the difficul-
ties they must expect to suffer after the decease of Moses: others now
repented of their former injurious conduct towards him; acknowledg-
ing that they had never formed a just value of the advantages which
they had enjoyed under his direction, till now that they were on the
point of being deprived of him for ever. But this contagious ten-
derness shewed itself in no one more visibly than in Moses himself,
who, notwithstanding all his endeavours to support the character of
the philosopher in this last hour of his life (consoling and admonish-
ing them to a due resignation to the divine will, and to the law of na-
ture) at length abandoned himself to the frailty he had condemned,
and joined in weeping with the rest. As he passed on towards the
spot where he was to yield up his breath, the multitude still continu-
ing to follow him with tears, he made a signal with his hand to those
who were farthest off to stop, and, addressing himself to the others who
were nearest him, begged that they would continue where they were,
and not disturb the tranquility of his last moments, by their vain and
unseasonable laments.

They obeyed; but still pursued his steps with weeping eyes and af-
flicted minds, till they could no longer discern him. He proceeded for-
wards, accompanied solely by the elders, with Eleazar the high-priest,
and Joshua, whom it had pleased God to appoint as his successor.
When he had reached the top of Abarim, which is a very high moun-
tain situated opposite to Jericho, he spent some short time in contem-
plating the prospect which lay before him of the fertile land of Ca-
naan, and then dismissed the elders; retaining with him only Eleazar
and Joshua. Having bid a final adieu to these two persons, and ex-
changed many reciprocal embraces, he was taken from their sight in a
cloud, and conveyed into a neighbouring valley. It is recorded in the
Holy Scriptures that he died, lest the world should give into a notion
that, on account of his eminent virtues, he had been translated immedi-
ately to heaven. He lived to the age of 120 years; during a third
part of which time, within one month, he possest the supreme author-
ity among the Hebrews. He died on the first day of the month Dyl-
trus, as it is named by the Macedonians, and by us Adar; which is the
concluding month of the year.

This
This man excelled in wisdom, was a consummate orator, and possessed so admirable a command over his passions, that they seemed to form no part of his composition: as a general and a prophet, he surpassed all who have either preceded or followed him. The mourning for him continued thirty days; and the people were more affected by the loss of this great and virtuous man, than by any other misfortune that they had ever experienced. Nor was this the character which he had obtained among his contemporaries alone; but he has acquired as great reputation with posterity by his writings, as he did with those who lived in his own time, by the fame of his actions. These are all the particulars we have been able to collect relative to the death of Moses.

End of the Fourth Book.
After the death of Moses, Joshua succeeds to the supreme command; subdues the Canaanites and divides their lands, by lot, among the tribes.

The last duties having been paid to the memory of Moses, and the time of mourning for him being now expired, Joshua commanded the people to prepare themselves for marching, and secretly dispatched certain persons to Jericho, to gain intelligence of the disposition of the inhabitants, and the strength of the place.

The tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half-tribe of Manassés having been permitted, as we have before observed, to settle themselves in the country of the Amorites, which includes a seventh part of the land of Canaan, Joshua assembled the leaders of those tribes on the present occasion, and, after reminding them of their obligations to Moses, urged them to fulfil the promises which they had formerly given him, and to afford their brethren, the Hebrews, every assistance in their power; with which they cheerfully engaged to comply, and, accordingly, joined the army with a body of fifty thousand men. Joshua then quitted Abila, and marched sixty furlongs nearer
nearer the river Jordan, the tents were scarcely pitched, when the spies which had been sent to Jericho returned, and gave the following account of what had befallen them in the execution of their commission.

That under the guise of being strangers, they obtained a free access to the city, and were indulged in examining the walls, gates, and fortifications of the place, without the least molestation or hindrance; that, towards evening, they retired to a house, in a quarter of the city adjoining to the wall, where they refreshed themselves; that, having finished their supper, while they were consulting on the means of effecting their retreat from the city, intelligence was brought them that the king had been made acquainted with their arrival, and with their concealment in the house of Rahab, and had ordered them to be instantly seized and put to the rack, for the purpose of extorting from them a confession of their designs; that, in consequence of this intelligence, Rahab conducted them to a retired part of the house, where she covered them over with a quantity of flax, and told the officers of justice, when they came to search for them, that it was true such strangers had come to her house that evening, about sun-fet, but that they had departed immediately after supper, and, was instant pursuit made after them, might easily be overtaken; that the apparent simplicity of the woman so effectually imposed on the officers, that they retired without searching the house, and hasted towards the river Jordan, in hopes of discovering them; that, when the confusion which this alarm had occasioned was in some measure subsided, Rahab represented to them the great danger to which she had exposed both herself and her family, by secreting them, and exacted from them an oath, to preserve herself and her relations from the universal destruction in which, it had been revealed to her by the Almighty, the whole city was to be involved; that they cautioned her to be careful when the city should be attacked by the Hebrews, to remain closely shut up with her kindred in her own house, which she should distinguish from the rest by a scarlet thread affixed to the door, the intent of which signal should be communicated to the general, who would, doubtless, protect from harm all those who should be found within the walls of that house; and that, having returned her repeated thanks for her kindness, they then departed, being let down from the top of the wall by a cord, which Rahab had provided for that purpose. Eleazar the high-priest, and the elders, having been consulted how far the promise of safety which the spies had given to Rahab was binding, formally pronounced that it could not by any means be dispensed with.

As the city of Jericho was situated on the other side of the river Jordan, the waters of which were particularly rapid at that time, Joshua, being totally destitute of the means of passing his army over, became greatly dispirited at the prospect of these apparently insurmountable obstacles to his success; but God was pleased to revive his courage, by giving him a full assurance that those difficulties should be removed, and that the river should be rendered fordable.

On the second day after receiving this revelation, the promise was made good to him, and the army passed over in the subsequent order: the priests...
went first, bearing the ark: after them followed the levites, with the tabernacle and the holy vessels: and they were succeeded by the whole army, which marched in separate divisions, according to the rank of their respective tribes; the women and children being placed in the centre, the more effectually to preserve them from being carried away by the force of the stream. No sooner had the priests entered the river, than the violence of the waves began to abate, and the waters receded, till the channel became, at length, quite dry; and thus the whole multitude passed over without the least apprehension of danger. During the whole time that the army was passing over, the priests remained in the midst of the channel, and when they had landed, the waters resumed their former state.

The army then marched forwards to the distance of about fifty furlongs, and encamped within ten furlongs of the walls of Jericho. Joshua erected an altar on this spot, consisting of twelve stones, which twelve princes of the several tribes had, by his order, collected from the bottom of the channel of Jordan, with the view of perpetuating the remembrance of this miraculous separation of the waters. On this altar he offered sacrifices, and celebrated the feast of the passover in the place where he was then encamped. The corn being ripe, and the whole face of the country overspread with flocks and herds, the manna which had been their only food for the space of forty years in the wilderness, failed them at this juncture: but the loss of this sustenance was amply compensated by the great abundance which they found themselves at full liberty to enjoy.

The conduct of the inhabitants of Jericho, in suffering the Israelites to ravage the open country, while they continued close shut up within their walls, convinced Joshua that no consideration would be sufficient to induce them to meet him in the field; and he, therefore, determined to lay siege to the city. On the first day of the above festival, Joshua commanded a procession to be made round the walls of the city, in the following order: seven priests, blowing horns or trumpets, to rouse the ardour of the troops, led the way; these were followed by others of the same function, carrying the ark on their shoulders, and attended by a numerous guard of soldiers: the procession was closed by the elders: when they had made the circuit of the city, they returned to the camp. This was repeated for six days successively; and on the seventh, Joshua, addressing himself to the army and people, acquainted them that they would become masters of the place on that very day, without the least effort on their part; as the walls would fall spontaneously, and leave the city utterly defenceless: enjoining them, at the same time, to put every living creature they should find therein to the sword, Rahab and her family only excepted, without referring to their use the smallest part whatever of the plunder. He farther ordered that all the gold and silver should be collected together, and offered up to the Almighty, as the first-fruits of their conquests in the land of Canaan.

Having given them these instructions, he advanced with his army towards the city, and, after having gone in procession seven times round the walls, with the priests, the elders, and the soldiers, in the manner mentioned above, they halted, and the walls suddenly fell to the ground, without the
the agency of any kind of engine, or other means to effect their fall. The
cornification of the inhabitants was so great on the occasion, that they were
deprived thereby of all power to defend themselves; and the Hebrews, en-
tering the city without the least opposition, put all without distinction to the
sword, save Rahab and her friends and family, who were preferred by the
spies formerly mentioned, and conducted by them to Joshua, who made her
many acknowledgements for the essential service she had rendered his agents,
and rewarded her with a liberality becoming his high station.

After the total extinction of the inhabitants, the city itself was reduced to
ashes, and a prophetical curse was denounced against those who should pre-
fume to rebuild it; purporting that he who should lay the first stone of a new
foundation should lose his eldest, and he who completed the undertaking,
his youngest son; nor was this malediction pronounced in vain, as will
appear in the sequel. The gold, silver, and brass which was found in the
city amounted to an immense value, and Joshua delivered the whole of it,
without the least diminution, to the priests, to be deposited in the sacred
treasury.

But, notwithstanding the strict precaution of Joshua, it so happened that
Achar, the son of Zebadde, of the tribe of Judah, having discovered among
the plunder, the king's cloak, which was of gold tissue, and an ingot of the
same metal, weighing two hundred shekels, secreted the whole for his own
private use. To palliate the action, he argued thus: that it was ridiculous
to offer up to God such things as he could not possibly stand in need of; and
that he had ventured his life to obtain this booty, which would be of infinite
service to him: he therefore buried the articles in a hole which he dug in his
tent; vainly imagining that he might deceive the Almighty with the same
facility as he imposed on mankind. At this period, the army lay encamped
at a place to which the Hebrews had given the name of Gilgal, signifying
liberty; for they considered themselves as being fully secured from all attempts
of the Egyptians, and from all misfortunes similar to those which they had
experienced in the wilderness.

In a short time after the destruction of Jericho, a body of three thousand
men was detached by Joshua to possess themselves of the city of Ain, which
was situated a small distance only from the former; but on this occasion the
Hebrews were repulsed with the loss of thirty-six men. The news of this
check threw the Israelites into the greatest consternation imaginable; not so
much in consideration of the number killed, though they were all choice men,
as of the bad effects which it might produce; for, having flattered them-
selves with a course of uninterrupted successes (in consequence of the promise
they had received from God) they perceived that the spirits of their enemies
were now revived, and this reflection induced them to set a part a whole day
to the purpose of fasting and humbling themselves before God. So universal
was the despondency, with which the army was affected, that Joshua ad-
dressed himself to the Almighty on the occasion with more than usual im-
portance, in these words:

"We did not, O Lord, undertake this war from any rash or ambitious
impulse, but merely from a confidence in the promises of success which:
"were made to us by thy servant Moses, and which were confirmed by num-
merous signs and wonders. But how are our hopes deceived! Must we
not from hence conclude, either that Moses was not divinely inspired, or
that thy purposes were destitute of a solid foundation? If such be the
commencement of a war, we may reasonably dread the farther progress
of it; lest this slight repulse should be followed by others of much greater
or consequent. But do thou, O Lord, who alone art able to afford us relief
in our distresses, assist and preserve thy people! vouchsafe to grant unto us
confidence and victory, and, above all things, to guard us from the evil
of desperation!"

Joshua remained prostrate on the ground, whilst he pronounced this
prayer; at the conclusion of which God commanded him to rise, and to
purify the army from a pollution which it had contracted, by a secret and fa-
crilegious theft, for which atonement must be made; enjoining him, at the
same time, to cast lots for the discovery of the offender, who should instantly
be put to death; after which the Israelites should infaillibly obtain the vic-
tory over their enemies. Joshua, having received these instructions and as-
furances, communicated them to the people; and, in the presence of Elea-
zar the high-priest, and the princes of the several tribes, cast lots as he had
been commanded; taking first the tribes, secondly, the families of each
tribe, and lastly, the individuals of each family; when, in the conclusion,
the lot fell upon Achar, who was of the family of Zacharias, of the tribe of
Judah. He was immediately seized, and finding himself detected, ac-
knowledged the fact, and delivered up the effects he had secreteed, in the fight
of all present. He was instantly dragged away to an ignominious death;
and his body, like that of a common malefactor, was interred without any
of the customary honors.

The army being thus purified, Joshua led them against the city of Ain,
having previously planted a body of troops in ambushade, and the next
morning at day-break offered the enemy battle. The Ainites were so elated
with their recent success, that with the most daring intrepidity they attacked
the Israelites, who, on their side, feigned to give ground, till they had
drawn their foes to a convenient distance from the city; when, upon a sig-
nal given, they halted, and, at the same instant, the troops which had been
placed in ambushade suddenly entered the city, with little or no resistance on
the part of the inhabitants; the majority of whom had got upon the
walls to be spectators of the battle; imagining, from the appearance of mat-
ters, that the victory was already nearly won. A dreadful slaughter, how-
ever, ensued in the city; and those troops which had marched out to the at-
tack, having been, in the intermediate time, totally defeated by the army
of Joshua, retreated towards Ain for shelter; but, when they perceived the
disaster which had befallen their city, they fled, in the utmost confusion, to
seek an asylum in the fields and woods; but of those who escaped in this
manner the number was very inconsiderable. The booty taken on this oc-
casion was of an immense value; consisting of a vast number of women, chil-
dren, and bond-slaves, a prodigious quantity of plate and costly furniture,
numerous flocks and herds, and coined money to a very large amount. Both the city and all the adjacent country, in short, abounded in riches, and the plunder was divided among the troops which were encamped in Galgala.

The Gibeonites, whose country was situated at a small distance from Jerusalem, having learnt the wretched fate of the two cities of Jericho and Ain, began to reflect that a like doom, in all probability, would soon befall themselves, unless they could devise some expedient to ward off the impending danger: being apprized, however, of the determination of Joshua to extirpate the whole nation of the Canaanites, they judged that it would be in vain to make any application to him to be excepted from the general denunciation. They proposed, nevertheless, to their neighbours the Cephi-
rites, and to the people of Keriath-jearim, to unite with them in a solicitation to the Hebrews for an alliance; representing to them, that, if they should not succeed in their views, their common interest required that they should join their forces, in mutual assistance of each other. The proposal was adopted, and a deputation was sent to Joshua, consisting of such persons as were deemed the best qualified for the task of executing such a commission. These deputies were instructed cautiously to conceal from Joshua the knowledge of their being Canaanites, but, on the contrary, to intimate that they came from a far distant land, and that they held no connection whatever with the people of that country. They were farther instructed to pretend, that the fame which the Hebrews had acquired had induced them to come thus far, to form an alliance with them; observing that the condition of their cloaths evinced the great length of the journey they had taken; being now worn to tatters, although quite new when they first departed from home. The garments themselves, also, were adapted, both in point of materials and every other particular, to favour the deception. They, accordingly presented themselves, thus habited, before the assembly of the chiefs of the Hebrews, in the quality of deputies from the Gibeonites, the Cephi-
rites, and the people of Keriath-jearim; requesting to be admitted to the honor of an alliance with them, and professing them their friendship and assistance, on the sole condition of being secured in the enjoyment of their rights and privileges; adding, that they were apprized of the promises of God to the Israelites, to put them in possession of the whole land of Canaan, and sincerely congratulated them on this predilection of the Almighty for their nation. Joshua was so far deceived by the specious pretexts and appearance of these men, that he readily entered into a treaty with them, to which the high-priest and the elders acceded at the same time; and it was afterwards ratified, in the most solemn manner, in the presence and with the consent of the whole multitude assembled. Having thus insidiously effected their purpose, the deputies now returned home to their respective cities. Soon afterwards, Joshua advanced with the army to that part of the land of Canaan which borders upon the plains. Here he learnt that those Gibeonites and their confederates were of the Canaanitish race, and dwelt not far from Jerusalem. He, therefore, commanded the attendance of some of the principal men of the country, and reproached them with the disingenuous-
nefs of their late conduct; which they vindicated in the best manner they
were able upon the plea of necessity. When the high-priest and the elders
were consulted as to the validity of a treaty thus surreptitiously obtained,
they were clearly of opinion that it could not in justice be dispensed with;
but proposed, by way of modification, that the Gibeonites and the rest should
be condemned to the most servile offices of labour, to which condition they
gladly submitted for the preservation of their lives.

When this revolt of the Gibeonites, and their alliance with the Hebrews
was communicated to the king of Jerusalem, he was so highly incensed on
the occasion, that, joining his troops with those of the kings of four of the
neighbouring districts, he laid siege to their city; encamping his army near
a certain fountain not far distant from the walls of the place. In this emer-
gency the Gibeonites applied to Joshua for assistance; being thus compelled
to have recourse to those who had taken up arms against them, to preserve
them from the attacks even of their own countrymen and neighbours. Joshua
hastened to their aid, and, after marching night and day, attacked the ene-
my early in the morning, at the very instant they were about to assault the
place; totally routed, and pursued them through a considerable extent of
country, as far as the valley of Bethora. Never did the Almighty manifest
himself more strongly in favour of the Hebrews, than on the present occa-
sion; for, exclusive of a violent storm of thunder and lightning, accompa-
nied with hail of a surprising size, which lasted during the whole time of
the battle, the sun itself, to the utter amazement of every spectator, who
had never seen any thing of the like kind before, stood still in the firma-
ment, and thus prolonged the day far beyond its usual extent, that the He-
brews might have sufficient day-light to compleat their victory over their
enemies. The five kings fled for safety to the cave of Makkada, where
they were all discovered by Joshua, and were put to death. The circum-
fstance of the progress of the sun being stopped is fully authenticated in
the copies of the sacred writings, which are deposited in the temple.

After this victory, Joshua marched the army back to the hilly part
of Canaan, where he put great numbers of the people to the sword, ac-
quired a large booty in cattle, and then returned with his troops to Gilgal.

The fame of the military actions of the Hebrews spread universal terror
through the land. Nevertheless, the kings of that part of the country of
Canaan which lies contiguous to Mount Libanus, and to the plains, as also
the kings of the Philistines, united their forces, with the view of attacking
the Hebrews, and encamped, with an army consisting of three hundred
thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and two thousand chariots, near a city
named Berothe, which is situated at a small distance from the Upper Cecedea,
in the province of Galilee. The formidable appearance of this army greatly
dispirited both the Israelites and their general; insomuch that their fear fell
little short of desperation: but the Almighty reproaching them with their
cowardice, and diffidence of his power to protect them, and renewing his
assurances of victory, he enjoined them to hamstring the horses, and con-
fume the chariots of the enemy with fire; thus encouraged, I say, they
quickly
quickly recovered their resolution, and boldly marched against the foe, with the fullest confidence of success. On the fifth day the armies joined battle, and the contest was maintained for a considerable time, with equal obstinacy on both sides. The Canaanites were, however, at length broken and put to flight, and the slaughter of them was so great as almost to exceed belief; all the kings being killed, and their whole army in a manner annihilated; and such was the fury of the victors, that when there remained none of the enemy to kill, they wreaked their vengeance on the horses and chariots. This decisive victory, in short, put Joshua in possession of the whole country. He made himself master of their cities, and destroyed the inhabitants wherever he could find them. The very nation became, at length, extinct, save a small number of persons, who fortunately effected their retreat to certain places of considerable strength. And all these successes were obtained in the short space of five years.

After this victory, Joshua marched from Gilgal and encamped on the mountains near to Siloe, where he fixed the tabernacle, and proposed to remain till an opportunity should offer for erecting a temple; the situation of the place being perfectly adapted to that design. From thence he repaired, accompanied by all the people, to Sichem, where, according to the command and prediction of Moses, he erected an altar. He then separated his army into two bodies, one of which he posted on Mount Garizim, and the other on Mount Gebal; assigning to each an equal number of the priests and levites; and on the latter of the two mountains he built another altar. On this altar they sacrificed, and, after denouncing the maledictions formerly recited, and causing them to be inscribed upon the altar, they returned back to Siloe.

Joshua was now far advanced in years, and, reflecting that the Canaanites still retained possession of several places, which art and nature had combined to render in a manner impregnable; for they had long entertained an opinion, in conformance of having received from their ancestors a tradition on the subject, that their country would be subdued at a certain period, by a people who should come out of Egypt, and had, therefore, upon the first appearance of the Hebrews, taken the earliest precaution to fortify and secure themselves in the best manner possible: this consideration, I say, induced Joshua to convene a general assembly of the people at Siloe, which was very numerous, and all their proceedings were conducted with the utmost harmony. Joshua, in a very concise speech, acquainted them with the cause of their being summoned together. He began with representing to them the numerous successes with which God had been pleased already to favour them, in conformance of their religious observance of his laws; one and thirty monarchs having been dispossessed by them of their dominions: he observed, however, that the Canaanites still retained possession of many strong cities, the conquest of which would necessarily take up a considerable time; and that, for this reason, he thought it advisable to permit those tribes which had come to their assistance from the other side of Jordan, to return home. He also recommended that a certain number of persons should be selected out of each tribe, of reputed probity and skill, who should be employed
employed to take a survey of the whole land of Canaan, and to return a faithful report thereof, with all possible dispatch.

This proposal was unanimously approved, and, proper persons being immediately chosen for the execution of this commission, Joshua appointed several able geometerians to attend and assist them.

They were also instructed, exclusive of the estimate which they were to make of the extent of the country, to form another of the comparative fertility of the soil in different parts: for in Canaan there are many long tracts of land, which, when set in competition with some others, may be deemed fruitful, but which bear no proportion in fertility to the ground in the neighbourhood of Jericho and Jerusalem. The districts in question are, it is true, of no very great extent, and a considerable part thereof is over-run with mountains; but the natural productions of the soil excel, both in beauty and abundance, those of every other part of the country. Joshua, therefore, determined that, in the division of the land amongst the tribes, each lot should be rated according to the value, and not to the extent of the ground. The persons who were commissioned to execute this business, were ten in number; answering to the tribes which were to partake in the division of the country. These commissioners, after an absence of seven months, returned to Siloe with the estimates they had formed, at which place the tabernacle fell remained.

Joshua, hereupon, in the presence of Eleazar, the high-priest, the elders, and the princes of the tribes, divided the whole country between the nine tribes, and the half-tribe of Manasses; proportioning each share to the number of persons in the tribe to which it was allotted. The lots of the several tribes fell as follow:

The tribe of Judah acquired for their share the whole of the Upper Judæa, extending in length to Jerusalem, and in breadth to the lake of Sodom; including the cities of Alcalon and Gaza.

To the tribe of Simeon was assigned that part of Idumæa, which is situated near the frontiers of Egypt and Arabia.

The tribe of Benjamin obtained for their share all that tract of land which reaches in length from the river Jordan to the sea, and breadth-wise from Jerusalem to Bethel. The extent of this territory bears no proportion to its value; the two cities of Jericho and Jerusalem being both included therein.

The portion which fell to the tribe of Ephraim comprised all that tract of ground between the river Jordan and Gadara in length; and extends in breadth from Bethel to the Great Plain.

The half-tribe of Manasses acquired that space of land which reaches in length from the river Jordan to the city of Dora; and in breadth to that of Bethfana, the present name of which is Scythopolis.

The tribe of Issachar became possessed of that part of the country reaching in length, from the river Jordan to Mount Carmel, and in breadth, as far as Mount Italyr.

The portion of the tribe of Zebulon included the whole tract of land bordering on Mount Carmel and the sea, and extending as far as Genezareth.

3
To the tribe of Afiler was given all the country which is situated behind Mount Carmel, opposite to Sidon, together with the city of Arce, or Ac-
tipus.

The lot of the tribe of Naphthali included the Upper-Galilee, and the whole country extending eastward to the city of Damascus, Mount Libanus, and the source of the river Jordan; which river takes its rise from that side of the above mountain, which lies contiguous to the city of Arce, towards the north.

The tribe of Dan obtained for their share the vallies lying between Az-
tus and Dora, on the West; together with the cities of Jamnia and Gittha, and the whole extent of country from Acron to the mountain, where commences the portion allotted to the tribe of Judah.

In this manner did Joshua divide, among the nine tribes and the half-
tribes above-mentioned, the six provinces of the Canaanites, which bore the names of as many of the sons of Canaan. The province of Amorrhaea, which was so named from another of the sons of Canaan, had been long before granted by Moses to the other two tribes and the half-tribe, as we have already observed. The several countries, however, of the Sidonians, Aru-
ceans, Amathaeans, and Arithaeans were not included in the above division, because at that period they were totally uninhabited.

Joshua was now rendered incapable, by age and infirmities, to discharge the duties of his station; and, perceiving that those to whom he entrusted the direction of affairs, as well as those who were destined to succeed him in the supreme command, were totally regardles of the public welfare, he strictly enjoined each tribe respectively, utterly to extirminate such of the Canaan-
ites as might remain in the several quarters which they had obtained for an inheritance; reminding them also of the earnestness with which Moses had recommended to them this measure; and expressing his confidence of their paying all due attention to the advice of their late legislator in this instance; more especially as the preservation of their laws and religion absolutely de-
pended thereon. He also strictly charged them to put the levites in pos-
session of the remaining thirty-eight, out of the forty-eight cities assigned them by Moses; they having already obtained those ten cities which were sit-
tuated in Amorrhaea, on the other side of the river Jordan. Of these cities three were appointed as places of refuge: in the district belonging to the tribe of Judah, the city of Hebron was set apart for the above purpose; in that of the tribe of Ephraim, the city of Sichem; and Cedese, in the Upper-
Galilee, in the portion of the tribe of Naphthali; to all these regulations, from the great respect which they bore to the ordinances of Moses, the people very willingly consented. Joshua then proceeded to share the plunder which had been taken from the Canaanites among his troops; which plunder con-
sisted of cattle and flocks, money, plate, household furniture, and other articles to an incredible amount; and every individual of the Hebrew army became enriched by the booty which fell to his lot on the present occasion.

Joshua afterwards assembled the auxiliaries, consisting of fifty thousand men, of the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, which
came from the other side of Jordan to the assistance of their brethren, and addressed them in the following terms:

"Seeing that it hath pleased God to establish us in this country, and to grant the perpetual possession thereof to our descendants; and as he has also thought proper to make use of your professed service in reducing the land, it is but justice that ye should now be permitted to return home, to enjoy in peace the fruits of those toils and dangers which you have so cheerfully endured, in support of the common cause. Ye are, therefore, at liberty to return when ye please; and we are confident that, if ever the cause should again require it, you will not hesitate to march to our assistance with the same alacrity as before. The perils to which you have exposed yourselves in common with us demand our most grateful thanks, and we hope that the sense of the mutual obligations which we lie under to each other, will be improved into a firm and lasting friendship; recollecting that we are indebted to that union, next to providence, for the advantages we enjoy at this hour, and that God hath evidently ordained that our welfare shall depend on this close connection between us.

"We have equally shared the profits of those dangers and difficulties to which we have been in common exposed; having all acquired an immense booty in gold, silver, and other valuables; but you have this farther advantage, that in me you will ever find a friend, ready to acknowledge and repay the service you have rendered us: for ye have acted in the strictest conformity to the dying injunctions of Moses, and have left nothing unperformed which I could reasonably have expected from you. Depart, therefore, to your habitations; and may peace and happiness be your portion: but let no distance of place set bounds to the friendship we have plighted to each other; remembering that, although we are separated by this river, yet we are all of the same nation; that we alike derive our origin from the patriarch Abraham; and that we are all equally bound to worship, according to the ordinances of Moses, one and the same Almighty power who gave being to the ancestors of our several families.

"We may confidently depend on the favour and protection of God while we remain attached to that mode of worship: but, whenever we depart from it, and pay our adoration to the divinities of other nations, we shall be utterly abandoned by the God of our forefathers."

At the conclusion of this speech, Joshua took an affectionate leave both of the princes of the tribes, and of their followers in general, and then dismissed them; the rest of the tribes accompanying them part of the way on their return, and, with many tears, manifesting the sincere sorrow which this separation created in their bosoms.

These two tribes and the half-tribe had no sooner repassed the river, than, with the view of perpetuating the remembrance of this league, contracted between the tribes resident on the opposite shores of Jordan, they erected an altar on the farther shore. When the intelligence of this transaction was communicated to the tribes which remained with Joshua, they, being utterly ignorant of the intention of their brethren in what they had done, considered them in the light of persons who had adjured the religion of their ancestors,
ancestors, and had abandoned themselves to the worship of the gods of the heathens; and, in the first transports of their rage, they ran to arms, with a full determination to avert the injured honor of the Almighty, and to punish the promoters of this secession in a manner suitable to their demerits. Thus incensed, they resolved to pass the river immediately, and to execute their purpose on the principals, without regard to the rank of the parties, or to the ties of consanguinity, from all which they considered themselves as absolved in the cause of God, as they deemed this to be.

With great difficulty, and by making use alternately of threats and entreaties, Joshua, the high-priest, and the elders, at length, prevailed on the enraged multitude to delay the execution of so unexampled a vengeance, till more certain information could be procured, whether the parties accused were guilty of the supposed sacrilege; and engaged, if it should appear on examination that they had incurred this guilt, to interfere no farther in their favor. This proposal pacified the multitude, and they immediately deputed Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, and ten other persons of eminence, to pass over the river, and to inform themselves of the true state of this affair. Upon the arrival of these deputies on the other side of Jordan, a general assembly of the people was instantly convened, to whom Phinehas addressed himself in these words:

"Although we consider the crime with which you are charged as being of too heinous a nature to be punished with reprehension alone, yet, reflecting on the league of friendship which has so recently been contracted between us, and trusting that, upon due deliberation, you will perceive the error of your conduct, we have abstained from taking arms against you, till we should first have made trial what effects may be produced by this amably, on which myself and my companions have been deputed. We wish but to be informed by what motives you were influenced in the erection of this altar. If you are actuated therein by any devout intention, we shall gladly exculpate you from all blame; but, if you have adopted the worship of false gods, the reverence which we owe to the pure and undefiled religion of our forefathers will compel us to become your foes.

"We still cannot persuade ourselves, however, that a people so well versed in the laws of the only true God, through whose gracious bounty they have been so lately established in the possession of a country abounding with all the comforts of life, should thus ungratefully abandon the holy tabernacle, the ark, and the altar, and, deserting the worship pursued by their ancestors, should give themselves up to the idolatries of the Canaanites. If, nevertheless, you should have been thus unhappily seduced, you have only to abjure your error, and return to your duty, and you will again be received with the utmost cordiality of affection by your brethren. But if, neglecting this salutary counsel, you should pertinaciously adhere to the new mode of worship you have adopted, assure yourselves that we will readily encounter every toil and danger in the vindication of our laws and religion.

"In that case, we shall be reduced to the necessity of attacking, and utterly exterminating you; confounding in one general destruction, the apocata-

"tizing
izing Israelites and professed Canaanites. Do not place any hopes of safety 
that, wherever you may chance to be situated, you are still within the 
reach of the power and providence of Almighty God. Rather than con-
tinue in a land so dangerous to your virtue, however fruitful it may be, 
abandon it, and remove to some other spot less replete with temptations. 
Learn wisdom and temperance, and do not indulge an unfortunate pro-
penity to novelties. Let your affection for your wives and children in-
duce you to follow the advice we have now given you; for we are not per-
mitted to offer you any other alternative than, either to return to your 
duty, or to abide the event of a war, the very idea of which strikes us 
with the utmost horror."

To this speech of Phinehas, the rulers of the assembly, in the name of the 
rest made the following reply:

"We are not, in any respect, conscious to ourselves of having infringed 
the treaty we lately contracted with you; nor are we addicted to indulge 
ourselves in the introduction of novelties, with respect to religious matters. 
We acknowledge but one God, who is the God of the whole Hebrew na-
tion: and we admit but one altar, which is the brazen altar placed before 
the tabernacle. With respect to this altar, the erection of which has 
given rise to such unjust complaints against us, we never entertained the 
most distant intention of appropriating it to any religious purpose, but 
solely to transmit thereby to posterity the remembrance of our friendship 
and alliance with you; and as the means rather of confirming us in the 
faith of our ancestors, than of corrupting it. We can with confidence 
appeal to God for the truth of this declaration; and we request, therefore, 
that you will in future conceive a better opinion of your brethren, than to 
imagine that they can be guilty of a crime, which is inexpiable but by 
death, in any of the descendants of Abraham."

Phinehas and his companions were greatly rejoiced to find that the accused 
parties were so capable of justifying themselves; and, returning immediately 
to Joshua, related to him, in the hearing of the people, the particulars of 
all that had passed. The multitude expressed the highest satisfaction when 
they learnt from this account that all danger of a civil war was now fully 
obviated; and, after having sacrificed, in token of their joy, returned to 
their respective habitations; Joshua himself fixing his residence at Sichem. 

Twenty years had now elapsed from the period of this event, when Joshua, 
perceiving that the infirmities of age had now rendered him totally unfit for 
all public business, convened an assembly of the elders, the princes of the 
tribes, and the magistrates, together with as many of the commonalty as 
could conveniently attend. In a pious and pertinent discourse, which he had 
composed for the purpose, he represented to them the great obligations they 
were under to that Almighty Being, who, from the very abyss of misery and 
difficulties, had raised them to the highest pitch of reputation and plenty. He 
joined them so to conduct themselves in future, as to render themselves 
worthy of a continuance of the divine favour and protection; affuring them
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in the strongest terms, that their very existence as a nation depended on the due obsequence of the commands of the Almighty Power. He conjured them to pay a proper attention to the advice he had given them, as he was now on the verge of his departure from this world, and had conceived that he could not employ the last moments of his life in any manner more to their advantage, than in inciting them to the strictest obsequence of their duty to God.

Having pronounced these words, he expired, in the 110th year of his age; forty of which he had spent under the tutorage of Moses, and had governed the people, in quality of his successor, for twenty-six years. He was particularly eminent for his political knowledge, and for his admirable faculty of expression and persuasion; equally qualified to conduct the most important operations either of war or peace; and, in short, a person in every respect adapted to the execution of the high office to which God had appointed him. Nearly about this time also died Eleazar the high-priest, who was succeeded by his son Phinehas. The tomb of Eleazar is still to be seen in the city of Gabatha.

The people having consulted Phinehas relative to the farther prosecution of the war against the Canaanites, received for answer that it was God's pleasure that they should continue it, but that they should commit the supreme management and direction thereof to the tribe of Judah. This tribe, associated to themselves the tribe of Simeon; and it was agreed that they should mutually assist each other in extirpating the Canaanites who still remained unsubdued in their respective districts.

C H A P. II.


ADONIBEZECK (which in the Hebrew signifies, Lord of Bezec) was at this period at the head of a formidable army in the neighbourhood of the city of Bezec, waiting for an opportunity to engage the enemy, over whom they expected to obtain an easy conquest on account of the loss they had sustained in the death of their general. The tribes of Judah and Simeon gave them battle, which was supported with surprising bravery on both sides, but, at length, ten thousand of the Canaanites were put to the sword, many taken prisoners, and the rest fled from the fury of their conquerors. Adonibezeck was among the number of captives, and he was condemned to have his fingers and toes cut off: he admitted this sentence to be a merited judgment of heaven, for having himself inflicted the same species of cruelty upon seventy-two kings. When this sentence had been executed, he was conveyed to Jerusalem, where he died and was buried.

The Israelites traversed the country, laying waste the towns, and ravaging the parts through which they directed their course; they at length laid siege
to Jerusalem, and gained possession of the lower town, the inhabitants of which they put to death; but the situation of the city itself, the strength of the walls and the fortifications proving obstacles not to be surmounted, they retreated to Hebron, to which place they laid siege and conquered it by assault, allowing no quarter to the people, great numbers of whom fell victims to the rage of the affiaitants. Among the dead were found many bodies of the race of the giants, who were a people so greatly surpassing the rest of mankind in point of bulk and stature, and in other respects so widely differing from them, that great numbers of people who beheld them, imagined them to be a different species. The bones of some of this gigantic race have been preserved, and exposed as prodigies, and are still to be seen.

The town of Hebron, which was a place of some importance, with two thousand cubits of the circumjacent ground, was assigned to the Levites; the other part of the territory having been granted to Caleb, in conformity to the determination and appointment which had been made by Moses. Caleb was one of the persons whom Moses had deputed to reconnoitre the land of Canaan. A portion of land was also given to the sons of Jethro the Midianite, who was father-in-law to Moses, as a gratuity for having abandoned their native country and joined the Israelites, sharing the hazard of the war and the troubles which they encountered in the desert.

The two tribes above-mentioned conquered a number of cities upon the mountains, and others situated in the vallies adjacent to the sea, which belonged to the Canaanites, and among the number were those called Ascalon and Azotus. Gaza and Accaron, which were built in a flat country, successfully repelled the attacks made upon them by their superior strength in chariots, which are powerful and desperate implements of war.

Having derived immense riches from the spoils of the war, the enterprising spirit of the tribes of Judah and Simeon began to relax; and gradually quitting their arms, they applied themselves to the practice of husbandry in a peaceful and private retirement. The Benjaminites who acquired possession of Jerusalem, entered into a compromise with the people, who became tributaries to them; and both parties enjoyed the prospect of peace and happiness, no apprehension of violence being entertained by the one, and the other imagining themselves to be perfectly secure from the danger of a revolt. This example being followed by other tribes, the Canaanites were left in a state of uninterrupted tranquillity.

At this period the tribe of Ephraim had been a long time stationed before Bethel, but made no great progress towards taking the place; for though the attack was carried on with a singular degree of perseverance and bravery, an equal share of intrepidity was displayed in maintaining the defence. But, at length, the following circumstance gave the Ephraimites possession of the place. One of the inhabitants who was conveying provisions to the city, was taken prisoner by the enemy, who proposed terms to him, which being accepted, a covenant was mutually sworn to by the parties, wherein it was specified that the citizen should afford them an opportunity of gaining a private
vate entrance to the town, and that himself, his family, relations and friends should not be involved in the common calamity: in consequence of this stipulation the city was betrayed to the Ephraimites, who put all the inhabitants to death, excepting those only whose safety was made one of the conditions on which the place was surrendered.

The Israelites now declined the resolution of proceeding to a war against the people of Canaan, whom they determined to employ in the occupation of husbandry, expecting to reap very considerable advantage from their labour. But being violently addicted to avarice and luxury, they soon became wholly regardless of their duty to God, and of the discipline and legislative institutions of their forefathers, yielding an implicit sway to their inordinate appetites. The Almighty being highly offended by this depravity of conduct, signified to them, that they should meet a speedy retribution for having neglected to prosecute the war, and that the Canaanites themselves should execute the punishment denounced against them for their unseemly lenity. They were so lost to the principles of religion, that though this revelation of the Divine will gave them some alarm, it was not sufficient to induce them to commence hostilities. Their luxurious indulgencies had enervated them, and destroyed their genius and inclination for military exploits; and the profit derived from the tribute and labour of the Canaanites proved an additional motive to continue them in a state of inactivity.

No regularity being observed in the election of the senators and other magistrates, nor obedience paid to the authority of the elders; the people endeavouring to promote their separate interests, without regard to the public welfare; and the government having arrived to a state of total dissolution, an insurrection happened on the following occasion, and the consequence was an intestine war:

In the lot of Ephraim was a levite, who had married a woman of the city of Bethlehem, and of the tribe of Judah, for whom he entertained the most tender and ardent affection; but as she did not manifest an equal return of passion, frequent differences happened between them; and in the fourth month after their nuptials she eloped and returned to her parents. Grieved at this unfortunate circumstance, he hastened in pursuit of her, and was entertained with the greatest hospitality and kindness by her relations; and a reconciliation being effected between him and his wife, he proposed to return on the fifth day: but the friends being unwilling to leave each other their departure was delayed to a late hour. An afs being provided to carry the woman, they set out attended only by one servant, who, when they had proceeded about thirty furlongs, advised them to take an opportunity of securing a lodging at some adjacent place, that they might avoid the danger to which they would be expos'd by travelling by night, and in the country of an enemy; urging that being observed on the road at a late hour might subject them to injurious suspicions. The city being at this time in possession of the Canaanites, the husband was not inclined to take up his residence there, but resolved to travel twenty furlongs further in order to obtain an asylum among his friends and allies.
On the road towards Gabaa; a city in possession of the tribe of Benjamin, they found themselves, at a late hour of the night, destitute of all probability of procuring a lodging; but they were met by an eminent man of the tribe of Ephraim, who was returning from the country to his house at Gabaa, and he enquired the reason of their being abroad at so unseasonable a time; in answer to which, the husband said that he was a Levite, and conducting his wife from her father's house to their own house in the lot of Ephraim. From a principle of hospitality, and a regard to the tribe of which the travellers were members, the old man invited them to take shelter in his dwelling. This offer being accepted, some dissolute young men of the town observed in the woman an uncommon share of beauty, and when she had entered the house, they knocked at the door, and insisted that she should be delivered to them. The old man expostulated with them on the heinous crime of violating the principles of religion, humanity and common justice, by perpetrating any violence upon his guest, who, being his kinswoman and the wife of a Levite, he was bound to protect. But these arguments were treated with contempt, and they obstinately persisted in their demand of having the woman resigned to them, uttering the most horrid imprecations, and threatening to cut the old man's throat if he continued to protect her. In this extremity he offered them his own daughter instead of the Levite's wife; judging it to be most eligible thus to preserve the rights of hospitality, and the faith of society, at the expense of the reputation of a private family.

But so determined were they on the execution of their brutal design, that neither intercession or argument would prevail; and in this disposition they seized the woman, and forcibly conveyed her to their quarters, where the night was spent in scenes of the most profligate lewdness; and in the morning they suffered her to return. The unhappy event which had befallen her overwhelmed her with grief, shame, and indignation against the spoilers of her honor, and considering herself to be branded with the indelible stamp of infamy, she dreaded an interview with her husband; and so sensibly affected was she by the peculiar delicacy of her situation, that upon approaching him she suddenly dropped down, and instantly expired. At first her husband supposed her to be oppressed with fatigue, or attacked with a fainting fit, and endeavoured to revive her, speaking in the most tenderly affectionate terms, expressive of his unabating regard, and uttering the most soothing and pathetic assurances that notwithstanding the violence which had been offered to her, he did not consider her as being degraded from the dignity of unblemished virtue. But at length, he discovered that the animal powers were exhausted; and on this alarming occasion he manifested a remarkable instance of fortitude. He put the corps on the ass which his wife had rode, and conveyed it to his habitation; where he seperated it into twelve parts, which he distributed among the twelve tribes. The persons employed to deliver the parts of the body to the different tribes, were directed circumstantially to relate the barbarity which had been offered to the deceased, and to particularize the parties concerned in the horrid wickedness.

The people were so much exasperated against the perpetrators of this unparalleled act of cruelty, that they assembled before the tabernacle at Siloe,
Siloë, determining immediately to assault the city of Gabaa, and execute an exemplary punishment upon the ravishers. Hereupon the elders allayed the first impulse of their rage, by representing the imprudence of a precipitate declaration of war against their allies, and recommending a scrutiny into the merits of the cause in dispute. They urged that the laws and customs of the Israelites would not admit of having recourse to hostilities, previous to a negotiation for a compromise: they, therefore, advised that application might be made for giving up the offenders for the purpose of subjecting them to a punishment adequate to their guilt, urging that, in case of a refusal, they might then appeal to the sword for redressing the wrongs they had sustained.

In consequence of this advice, the Israelites demanded the ravishers; and they alleged that they had determined to punish the particular persons who had been guilty of the offence rather than involve the community in the cause of these profligate individuals. But the Gibeonites gave an absolute refusal, declaring, that they held it not consistent with the principles of honor to yield submission from an apprehension of a war; that they were not deficient in point either of power or military skill; and that they were unanimously determined to maintain their common defence with unremitting ardor.

Highly incensed by this reply, the Israelites joined in a solemn covenant against contracting marriage with the tribe of Benjamin, and to prosecute a war against that people with a degree of vigour equal to that manifested by their progenitors against the Canaanites. In consequence of this resolution, they marched against the enemy, the army being composed of four hundred thousand men; and they were opposed by the Benjamites with a force of twenty-five thousand six hundred, including five hundred slingers, so particularly dextrous in their profession, that they were equally certain of their mark, whether using their implements with the left or right hand. The armies joined battle in the neighbourhood of Gabaa, and the Benjamites obtained a victory, and put twenty-two thousand of their enemies to death, and the slaughter would, in all probability, have been much more considerable had not a suspension of hostilities been caused by the appearance of night. The Benjamites returned in triumph to the city, and the Israelites repaired to their camp in the utmost disorder, and under a great depression of spirits.

On the following day the battle was renewed, and in this contest also, the Israelites were defeated, with the loss of eighteen thousand men. So greatly were they affected by these misfortunes that they removed towards Bethel, observing a solemn fast on the next day, and, by the agency of Phinehas, the high-priest, supplicating the Almighty to remove his displeasure from them, and to grant them a superiority over the Benjamites.

The Almighty having listened to the prayers of the prophet and returned him a favourable answer, the army was separated into two bodies, one of which was drawn up in order of battle, and the other subdivided into parties of ambush, encompassing the city. With a view to entice the Benjamites from the town, on the first attack the Israelites retreated, continuing to lose ground in proportion as the enemy advanced; imagining victory to
be secure, they evacuated the town, in expectation of obtaining plunder, but when they had arrived within a certain space of the ambush, the Israelites faced about, and giving a signal for the other part of the army to fall upon the rear, fought with great fury, pursuing the Benjamites to a valley, where they were surrounded, and twenty-five thousand of them put to the sword. A chosen body of six hundred intrepid men who had cut their passage through the midst of the enemies troops, took up their quarters on an adjacent mountain.

The Israelites now proceeded to burn the city of Gabaa, and, without distinction of age or sex, they sacrificed the inhabitants; and many other cities belonging to the Benjamites shared the same fate; and so implacable was the animosity consequent on this dispute, that they detached a party of twelve thousand men against Jabs, a city of Gilead, which they subdued, and, on account of the inhabitants having refused to espousc the cause of the Israelites in the war against the Benjamites, they were all massacred, excepting only four hundred virgins.

The tribe of Benjamin being in a manner cut off from the main body, the Israelites experienced some compunction at having carried their revenge to so great an extremity: and they proposed the observance of a fast, but not intending thereby to indicate a consciousness of having done wrong by inflicting a punishment upon the offenders against the law. They dispatched messengers to invite the return of the six hundred men who had escaped to the mountains. They were found upon a rock called Rhoa, by the persons commissioned to treat with them. As a means to induce them to return, the messengers pleaded the unhappiness of their relations consequent on their departure, sympathizing with them in their own distresses, and representing that the tribe to which they belonged would inevitably be destroyed if they longer persisted to oppose the desired re-association; adding that, on condition of their compliance, their lands, cattle, and other effects should be faithfully restored. They accepted the proposals made by the messengers, and acknowledging the punishment inflicted upon them to be a righteous judgment of heaven for the offences they had committed, and submitting themselves to the authority of their superiors, again connected themselves in a fellowship with their tribe.

Previous to the war, the Israelites had engaged, by the solemnity of an oath, not to intermarry with the tribe of Benjamin; some expedient, therefore, became necessary for providing wives for these six hundred men. One party were of opinion, that as the oath was made under the impulse of sudden passion, it necessarily became void: others held that the pressing exigency of the matter depending, effectually discharged the obligation, allegging that the commission of perjury could not be construed to be a criminal act, if the party was not influenced by a malicious motive, and that it would be more acceptable to the Almighty to dispense with the observance of the obligation, than to exact a rigid obedience to it, and thereby expose a whole tribe to imminent danger. But the elders declared themselves utterly averse to the very idea of perjury, and would not admit the force of any palliative circumstances. The four hundred virgins who were preferred from the
flaughter at Jabes, were given in marriage to four hundred of the Benja-
mites; and for providing wives for the other two hundred, without violating
the oath, one of the senators recommended the following expedient:

On an approaching festival, which was celebrated three times a year at
Siloë, he advised that the Benjamites might be allowed to take such virgins
to wife as they might be able to carry off; adding that, if the fathers of the
virgins should apply for justice, the answer to them should be, that they ought
to have prevented the mischief by a more circumspect attention to the safety
of their daughters; and that the ill-policy of creating disaffections between
the Israelites and Benjamites had been already proved by fatal experience. On
the arrival of the festival above alluded to, the two hundred Benjamites who
remained in an unmarried state, dispersed themselves in the town, and as the
maidens were repairing towards the place where the customary solemnity was
to be celebrated, they were surprized by the Benjamites, each man seizing
one of them, and conveying her to his plantation. They now assiduously ap-
plied themselves to the business of husbandry, and were, at length retrieved
from a miserable and disconsolate condition to a state of great opulence and
power.

The Israelites now entirely relinquished the profession of arms, and em-
ployed themselves in rural occupations. The Canaanites availed themselves
of this change of disposition, and formed a conspiracy, intending to effect-
ually to reduce them as to prevent all probability of their reviving into a for-
midable enemy. They trained up the people in the discipline of war, raised
a powerful army, and provided chariots and other martial implements; they
prevailed upon Ascalon and Accaron, and several cities in the plains to espouse their cause. The Danites judging that they could not safely continue
to reside in the champain country, fled for sanctuary to the mountains. Their
force was not sufficient successfully to maintain a war, nor would the pro-
duce of the land they possessed afford a subsistence in a tranquil state: they,
therefore, dispatched five of their people to discover some favourable spot for
fixing their residence in the inland part of the country. Adjacent to mount
Libanus and the head of the letfer Jordan, these commissioners, after a day's
journey, perceived a fertile, and every way commodious situation; of which
they made an immediate report to their tribe, who speedily marched to the
place, and there erected a city, giving it the name of Dan, from one of
Jacob's sons by whose name the whole tribe was distinguished.

The Israelites were now shamefully abandoned to indolence and luxury,
and degenerated from a due observance of the laws and religion of the Al-
mighty, and, in short, the corruption and vices of the Canaanites prevailed
amongst them without controul, so that the government seemed to be threat-
ened with a speedy dissolution.
The judgment of God upon the Israelites, who are subdued by, and kept eight years in subjection to Chufarth.

The impiety and moral turpitude of the Israelites proved so highly offensive to God, that he withdrew his protection and support from them, and left them destitute of all hope of enjoying that state of happiness which they had employed so many years of painful industry to obtain. While they were engaged in this profligate course of life, war was declared against them by Chufarth, king of the Aifyrians, who put to death a great number of the Israelites; conquered many of their towns by assault; rendered others subject to his dominion by treaty; imposed burthensome taxes on the people, and continually annoyed them with various indignities and persecutions. They remained in this miserable situation for the space of eight years: but they were, at length, relieved from this oppression, as will be related in the following chapter.

The Israelites delivered out of bondage by Kenaz, to whom they entrust the government.

Kenaz, a man of the tribe of Judah, distinguished for the strength of his understanding and his great courage, being animated by a divine impulse, determined to attempt some bold enterprise in favour of the Israelites, who were reduced to the greatest extremity of distress. This resolution he communicated to such of his particular associates as he was persuaded he might safely entrust with so important a secret, and whom he knew to be men of steady and intrepid dispositions, and dissatisfied with the measures pursued in conducting the affairs of the government. It was agreed, when the matter in question had been deliberately considered, that the first step towards effecting the relief of the Hebrews, should be to surprize the royal guards, and put the troops of the garrison to death: and this being accordingly executed with a singular degree of bravery, they acquired a high share of martial reputation, and their party having gained considerable strength, they found themselves in a condition to engage in a fair battle with the Aifyrians, over whom they obtained a complete victory, obliging them to cross the Euphrates, and restoring the Hebrews to the inestimable blessings of liberty.

They returned the most grateful acknowledgments to Kenaz for the important service he had rendered them, highly applauding the courage and conduct which he displayed in effecting their deliverance; and, as an instance of their gratitude, they unanimously elected him to preside over them in the character of governor: he accepted this office, which he held for the space of forty years, and then expired.
CHAP. V.

The oppression of the Israelites by Eglon. They are restored to freedom by Ehud.

BEING again destitute of a ruler, the Israelites degenerated from a due reverence to God, and obedience to the laws, and were again exposed to afflictions proportioned to the enormity of their conduct. Their impolitic and irregular proceedings encouraged Eglon, the king of the Moabites, to commence a war against them; and he proved victorious in several engagements, and so effectually humiliated them as to render them tributaries to him. Having accomplished this, he established his court at Jericho, and for the space of eight years, kept them in a miserable and almost starving condition, inflicting continual oppressions upon them. But the Almighty attended to their supplications, and in commiseration of their sufferings, delivered them from the persecution of the Moabites in the following manner:

Ehud, a young man of Jericho, son of Gera, of the tribe of Benjamin, was of a particularly athletic make, and of a resolute disposition; and he had the advantage of using either hand with great dexterity, but, if there was any difference, he was most expert with the left. By means of presents and other courtly offices, this man insinuated himself into the favour of the king, who repaid the attention shewn to him with familiarity and professions of friendship, which gained Ehud a considerable interest at court. Having furnished himself with a poinard, which he girded to his right side, he repaired to the palace, being attended by two servants, who were directed, if occasion should require, to assist in concealing the weapon; and under pretence of making the king a present, he was admitted to him, in the middle of the day, at which time the guards were withdrawn, and most of the people retired to dinner. Ehud presented a gift to the king, who afterwards retired for refreshment to a cooler apartment. He now requested a private audience with Eglon, who, being seated on the throne, dismissed the attendants. He now prepared to strike the fatal blow; and being apprehensive left he should miss his aim, he determined to occasion the king to rise that he might be at a greater certainty of striking with effect. Pretending that he had a matter to communicate from the Almighty, respecting a late dream, the king was exceedingly anxious to learn what he had to divulge, and rising, for the conveniency of attending, Ehud seized that opportunity to strike the poinard into his heart, and, leaving the deadly instrument in the wound, he effected an escape, having closed the doors as he retreated from the building. During these transactions, the attendants remained quiet, lest they should disturb the king, whom they imagined to be asleep.

Ehud repaired immediately to Jerusalem, and caused it to be privately circulated that, with a view to restore the people to the enjoyment of freedom, he had put the king to death. This circumstance proved highly agreeable to them; and they dispersed men to sound trumpets through the country, which was the method of assembling the people. Towards evening the king's
king's attendants became apprehensive that some extraordinary accident had occurred, and upon going into the apartment, they perceived that their royal master had been murdered, and experienced an astonishment beyond the power of words to describe. Signals were immediately given for the guards to assemble, but before they could be collected, great numbers of the Israelites forced into the palace, and in the first impulse of their rage, slaughtered many of the enemy, about ten thousand of whom endeavoured to escape to the country of Moab, but the fords and passages being previously policed by the Israelites, their retreat was so effectually intercepted, that not a single man escaped. Thus were the Hebrews released from the tyrannous yoke of the Moabites; and as an acknowledgment for the benefits derived from the conduct of Ehud, they invested him with the government. He continued in the administration eighty years, and then died. Exclusive of the merit of the above noble exploit, on various accounts his memory deserves to be honourably transmitted to posterity. He was succeeded by Shamgar, the son of Anath, who died before the expiration of the first year of his government.

C H A P. VI.

The Hebrews are no sooner delivered from the tyranny of one nation, than they fall under the bondage of another, and are at length set free by Deborah and Barak.

Such was the perverseness of the Israelites that, notwithstanding they found themselves continually involved in great calamities, the natural consequence of their disregard of every institution, divine and human, they could not be induced to alter their conduct, and to return to their obedience to God. They were no sooner, therefore, freed from the bondage of one nation, than they became the slaves of another; and, in the present instance, paused from under the tyranny of Edom, king of Moab, to that of Jabin, king of the Canaanites.

The city of Azor, situated on the banks of the lake Samachonitis, was the metropolis of the dominions of Jabin, whose army consisted of three hundred thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and three thousand chariots, the command of which was conferred on Sisera, who, after repeatedly defeating the Hebrews in various pitched battles, at length reduced them to subjection, and rendered them tributary to his sovereign. In this abject condition, God, as a punishment for their impiety and ingratitude, suffered them to continue for the space of twenty years. However, at the expiration of that period, they manifested some signs of repentance, and appeared to be convinced that the infirmities to which they had been so long exposed, were the natural consequence of their apostasy from the religion of their ancestors. Under this conviction, they applied themselves to a certain eminent prophetess, named Deborah, which, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies a bee; requesting her to intercede in their behalf with the Almighty, that he would be pleased to deliver them from the persecutions of their merciless oppressors. God was pleased to condescend to her request, and ordered her to enjoin the Israelites, in
in his name, to elect Barak one of the chiefs of the tribe of Naphthali, for their commander.

Deborah, accordingly, sent for Barak, which title, in the Hebrew, signifies lightning, and directed him to assemble a body of 10,000 choice men, and to lead them against the enemy without delay; deeming the smallness of the number a matter of no kind of consequence, as God had promised to grant them victory. Barak, nevertheless, peremptorily refused to engage in the enterprise unless she would accompany him; to which, after reproaching him severely for thus relinquishing to a woman the honor of the command to which God had appointed him, she at length consented. This matter being settled, Barak assembled his troops and took post on Mount Tabor; and Sisera, by the command of Jabin, marched out to give him battle. For a short time, the two armies lay encamped within sight of each other; but the Hebrews were so terrified at the great disparity of numbers between their enemy's army and their own, that both the soldiers and their leader were on the point of retiring in the most daftardly manner, without even striking a blow: Deborah, however, by the force of exhortations, and assurances of God's favour and protection, prevailed on them, with no small difficulty, to abide the event of a battle. At the very commencement of the attack there arose a violent storm of rain and hail, which, being driven by the wind full in the face of the Canaanites, obliged them to shut their eyes, to preserve them from the fury of the tempest; rendered their bows and slings totally useless; and benumb'd their hands to that degree, as to prevent them from availing themselves of those weapons which were adapted to the purpose of a close fight. This tempest, which so much annoyed the Canaanites, proved of not the least prejudice to the Hebrews; but, on the contrary, served to encreas'd their confidence in the divine aid. In short, the Canaanites were totally routed; and, reckoning th'ose who fell in the engagement, those who were trod to death by the horses, those who were crushed to pieces by the chariots, and those who were killed in the pursuit, the whole of this immense army was utterly destroyed.

When Sisera perceived that his troops were flying on all sides in the utmost disorder and confusion, and that the day was inevitably lost, he leaped from his chariot, and took refuge at the house of a woman named Jael, by birth a Kenite, who received him with every outward demonstration of friendship and kindness. Being totally exhausted with the toil and fatigue of the day, he requested her to give him some drink, and she, accordingly, brought him a draught of four milk, which he swallowed with the utmost eagerness, and immediately fell into a profound sleep. When Jael perceived the situation he was in, she took an iron nail, and, approaching him without the least noise, drove it through his temple into the ground; in which condition she expos'd his body to the view of the Israelites, who came soon afterwards to her house in search of him. Thus was the prediction of Deborah to Barak verified: that the honor of the victory should in part be due to a woman.

Barak.
Barak afterwards directed his march towards Azor, and, meeting with Jabin on the way, encountered and slew him. He next made himself master of the city, which he razed from the very foundation; and from this time continued to govern Israel for the space of about forty years.

CHAP. VII.

The Hebrews are subdued by the Midianites, in conjunction with the Amalekites and the Arabians.

Soon after the deaths of Deborah and Barak, which happened nearly about the same time, the Midianites uniting their forces with those of the Amalekites and the Arabians, attacked the Israelites, and vanquished them in several battles; plundering and laying waste their country, for the full term of seven successive years. The Israelites were at length compelled to abandon their habitations on the plains, and to fly for refuge to the mountains, where they dug vaults and caves, both for the purpose of sheltering themselves from the pursuit of their enemies, and of secreting such of their effects and provisions as they had been able to save from the general depre
dation. The Midianites, however, did not attempt to obstruct them from cultivating their land in the winter; but continually deprived them of the fruits of their toil when the harvest season arrived. Thus were the Hebrews reduced to the most abject state of misery and want, and, in this extremity, placed all their hopes of relief in prayers and supplications to the Almighty, as their last resort.

CHAP. VIII.

Gideon delivers the Hebrews from the bondage of the Midianites.

As Gideon, the son of Joas, and one of the chiefs of the tribe of Ma
nasses, was on a certain occasion secretly threshing a small quantity of corn in a place where he had been accustomed to press his grapes; not daring to make use of his threshing floor for that purpose, left he should be detected by the Midianites; an angel appeared to him, in the shape of a young man, and felicitated him on his happiness, in possessing the favour of the Almighty in an eminent degree. "It is hardly credible," replied Gideon, "that a man in my distressed circumstances should be thus distinguished by the Creator of the universe." The vision bade him to take courage, and, from that hour, to employ all his thoughts in devising the means of delivering his countrymen from the bondage under which they had so long groaned. "Both my own incapacity," said Gideon, "and the weakness, in point of numbers, of the tribe to which I belong, effectually cut off all hopes of success in an enterprise of this nature." The angel made answer, that God would supply whatever might be deficient in him, and that under his conduct
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conduct the Israelites should certainly prove victorious. The particulars of this affair having been communicated by Gideon to several of his companions, they expressed the fullest confidence in the prediction, and, accordingly, quickly assembled an army of ten thousand choice men, who were determined to encounter every danger in support of the common cause.

In the interim, the Almighty appeared to Gideon in a dream, and gave him further instructions in what manner to proceed, in words to the following effect: "It is the common failing of mankind to arrogate to themselves the merit of such actions as are in reality produced by the interposition of divine providence; particularly if they appear to be effected by the agency of natural causes alone. But, to give you the strongest conviction that victory is derived from above, and that all human strength is vain without the divine aid, lead your army, in the most scorching time of the day, to the banks of the river Jordan, and take particular notice of the manner in which the soldiers drink. Such of them as shall lay themselves along upon the ground, and shall drink with apparent composure and unconcern, you may depend upon as men of courage and resolution, and fit for the design you have in meditation; but, with respect to those who drink in haste, and with visible marks of confusion in their countenances, they are actuated by a fear of the enemy, and must not, on any account, be confided in." Gideon obeyed, and upon trial found no more than three hundred men who answered to the first description.

With this handful of men Gideon took post on the banks of the river; but not without strong apprehensions respecting the event of the enterprise. To calm his fears, God ordered him to go secretly over to the enemy's camp that night, accompanied by one of his soldiers, where he should learn some particulars which should revive his drooping courage. He accordingly repaired to the camp of the Midianites, taking with him his own servant Phuram; and, drawing near to one of the tents, they overheard a soldier relating to his comrade the particulars of an extraordinary dream which he had dreamt. "I imagined," said he, "that a loaf of barley, which is the coarsest of every species of grain, and totally unfit for the food of man, dropped into our camp, and, rolling along, overfell at first the king's tent, and afterwards all the rest."

"This dream," replied his companion, "in my opinion, prognosticates the utter destruction of our army. Barley is, as you have rightly observed, the coarsest of all kinds of grain; and are not the Israelites the most despicable nation throughout all Asia? Gideon has lately raised a body of troops, with the view of attacking us, and I greatly fear that the circumstance of the overthrow of our tents by the barley-loaf can be explained no otherwise than by the total overthrow of our army by Gideon and his Hebrew associates." Gideon now returned to his troops, who were no less animated than himself by the favourable explication of this dream; manifesting the utmost ardour to oppose any danger whatever that might occur.
Gideon divided his little army into three bodies of one hundred men each, and having received orders from God to attack the enemy during the night, at the expiration of the fourth watch, he led them to the charge; each man carrying in one hand a pitcher containing a burning lamp, in order that they might attack the foe by surprize, and in the other a ram’s horn, to serve instead of a trumpet. The prodigious number of camels which the enemy had, and the variety of nations of which their army was composed, each being distinctively posted, necessarily occasioned their camp to take up a very considerable extent of ground; the whole, however, being enclosed within one common line of circumvallation. The Hebrews were ordered by Gideon, upon their arrival at the enemy’s camp, to break their pitchers, and, sounding their horns, each man with his lamp in his hand, to begin the attack with loud shouts. In full confidence that God would grant them a complete victory, they strictly adhered to the orders they had received, and the enemy, by this stratagem, were thrown into so great a confusion and consternation, to which the darkness of the night, the medley of languages, and those impressions of terror which would not permit them to distinguish between friend and foe, all greatly contributed, that they turned their arms upon each other, every man imagining the person next him to be an enemy. The slaughter, in short, was amazingly great; yet the number of those slain by the Israelites bore but a small proportion to that of those who fell by the hands of their own associates.

When the rest of the Israelites inhabiting the country received intelligence of this signal defeat, they instantly dispatched various parties of troops, to take possession of all the passes and passages of the mountains, rivers, and torrents, in order to cut off the retreat of the enemy, vast numbers of whom they put to the sword, and, among the rest, two of their kings, Oreb and Zeb.

The wretched remains of this vast body of men, consisting of about eighteen thousand, with much difficulty effected a retreat, and took post on a spot as far distant as they conveniently could from the Hebrew camp. Although the army of Gideon had undergone great fatigue in the late action, he nevertheless continued the pursuit of this remnant of the Midianites, and, coming up with them, totally routed the whole party; taking prisoners their two commanders, the princes Zebin and Hezarbon; and putting the rest to the sword. In these different engagements there fell, of the Midianites and their allies, nearly one hundred and twenty thousand men; and the booty taken by the Israelites, consisting of gold, silver, rich stuffs, camels, asses, and other articles, was of an immense value. Gideon upon his return home put to death the two Midianitish princes mentioned above.

The tribe of Ephraim, however, to which he belonged, jealous of the great reputation which he had acquired, affected to be highly offended at his conduct in engaging the enemy without their privity or concurrence, and were on the point of rising in arms against him; but Gideon, whose modesty and moderation were equal to his valour, averted the impending storm, by representing to them that throughout the whole of the late transactions he had acted
acted under the immediate direction of the Almighty; and that they were equally entitled with himself to a share in the honor of the victory, although it had pleased God to allot to him the most active part therein. By this discreet conduct Gideon rendered his countrymen a service still more essential than the late victory over the Midianites: as he thereby obviated a civil war; that greatest of all possible evils in a state, which must otherwise inevitably have ensued. The Ephraimites, nevertheless, suffered severely for this invidious and ungrateful conduct, as will be shewn in its proper place.

Having thus accomplished the deliverance of his country, Gideon would gladly have relinquished the command with which he had been invested; but he suffered himself, at length, to be prevailed on, by the earnest entreaties and importunities of the people, to continue in his office; which he held for the space of forty years; enacting laws, and administering justice with such strict impartiality, that not one instance occurred of an appeal from his decisions, throughout the whole period during which he governed Israel. He died in an advanced age, and was buried in his native place, the land of Ephraim.

CHAP. IX.

Particulars of the cruelty and tyrannical conduct of Abimelech, and of his death. The Ammonites and Philistines subdue the Hebrews. They are rescued from slavery by Jephthah, who defeats the Ephraimites; and after his death, Israel is governed successively by Abian, Elon, and Abdon.

The issue which Gideon left were seventy legitimate sons, by various women, and one natural son, by his concubine Druma, whom he named Abimelech. Soon after the death of Gideon, Abimelech repaired to Sichem, where the kindred of his mother resided. From them he obtained a supply of money, and, finding them to be men of dissolute lives, and qualified for the perpetration of any manner of wickedness, he engaged a certain number of them to accompany him on his return. Immediately upon his arrival at his father's house he put all his brethren to death, except Jothan, who fortunately escaped his cruelty, by concealing himself so secretly as to baffle every endeavour to discover his retreat. Having by this means seized on the supreme power, Abimelech openly professing the utmost contempt of every ordinance, divine and human, exercised his authority in a manner which drew upon him the universal odium.

Jothan, who had escaped the general massacre of his brethren, embraced the opportunity of the celebration of a public festival at Sichem to address the people, who were assembled in great numbers on the occasion, from the top of Mount Garizim, in the following allegorical speech: "At a time when the trees were endued with the gift of speech, they held a grand council for the purpose of choosing a king. The major part of the assembly concurred in soliciting the fig-tree to accept of the diadem; but the
the fig-tree modestly declined the intended honor; alleging that the fame
which it had acquired by the goodness of its fruit fully gratified all its
ambition. This modesty and reserve of the fig-tree was imitated by the
twine and the olive-tree also; and the regal dignity was, in consequence,
offered to the bramble, the wood of which is fit only for fuel. The bramble
readily consented to accept the sovereignty, on condition that they
should submit themselves, in all cases, to its absolute will and pleasure,
but threatened to consume them with a devouring fire, which should pro-
ceed from its own body, if they should presume to disobey its commands.

I do not," continued Jothan, "relate this fable with the view of exciting
you to laughter, but to point out to you the impropriety and injustice of
your conduct, in thus permitting Abimelech, who is alluded to as the
bramble, to rule over you without control, after having basely abdicated
the offspring of Gideon, to whom you have so many and powerful
obligations."

Having concluded his speech, he retired; and for the space of three
years afterwards, was compelled to lead a wandering life among the moun-
tains, through fear of the resentment of Abimelech. In a short time subse-
quent to this event, the Sichemites being impressed with a due horror of the
barbarity which had been executed on the sons of Gideon, banished Abi-
melech from their city and tribe; which indignity he sought every means
to revenge.

The season for gathering grapes was now arrived, but the inhabitants
durst not quit their city through fear of being exposed to the attacks of
Abimelech. It fortunately happened, that just at that period, a prince of
the country, who was named Gaal, arrived at Sichem, attended by several
of his relations, and a strong guard of soldiers. At the request of the ci-
tizens, he furnished them with a part of his troops, to protect them during
the vintage. They at first met with no interruption in gathering their grapes,
and even put several small parties of Abimelech's troops, which chanced
to fall in their way, to the sword; and in speaking of him, they applied the
most contemptuous terms at those times when their spirits chanced to be
elevated with wine.

Zebul, one of the principal men among the Sichemites, and who had
formerly been the host of Abimelech, contrived to give him private no-
tice of the practices which Gaal was carrying on against him; advising
him, at the same time, to endeavour to seize his person, by stationing a
party of his troops in ambush near the city; engaging to lure him into
the snare, and, when that design should be effected, to reinstate Abimelech
in the favour of the citizens. This advice was adopted; and Gaal, hav-
ing imprudently remained too long in the suburbs, in company with Ze-
bul, observed the troops of Abimelech advancing towards the city, and
mentioned the circumstance to Zebul; but the latter pretended to be of
a contrary opinion, and endeavoured to persuade him that it was the shad-
ow of the mountains which he saw. Gaal, however, persisted in his for-
mer affection, and was reproached by his companion with timidity, in

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thus retreating before Abimelech, whom he had so repeatedly branded with cowardice. This reproof induced him to lead his troops, though in some disorder, against the enemy; but he was repulsed at the first onset, and, after having lost a few of his men, retired within the walls of the city. From this incident Zebul took occasion to represent him to the people as a person deficient in valour, and thereby procured his expulsion.

In the interim, Abimelech, having received certain information that the Sichemites had determined, notwithstanding their late check, to perfect in gathering their fruit, detached a third part of his army to lie in wait to seize the gates, when the inhabitants should leave the city, for the above purpose.

This was accordingly executed, and the city, being taken by storm, was levelled with the ground, and the foundation firewrever with salt. Such of the inhabitants as had quitted the city, previously to its being taken, were attacked by Abimelech with the rest of his troops, who put great numbers of them to the sword. A considerable number of persons, of all sexes and ages, still remained, who had hitherto escaped the general carnage, and forming themselves into one body, fled for safety to a neighbouring rock. They intended to have erected a wall round this spot, which, being naturally of great strength, would thereby have been rendered impregnable. But Abimelech did not allow them time to carry this design into execution; for advancing against them with his whole army, he encompassed the place with a vast pile of faggots and brusht-wood, which being set on fire utterly consumed the whole company to ashes. The number of those who perished in this miserable manner was fifteen hundred men, exclusive of women and children. Such was the wretched fate of the Sichemites; a fate which would have entitled them to our commiseration, had they not merited it by their ingratitude to a man to whom they were so highly obligated.

From this instance of the bloody cruelty of Abimelech towards the Sichemites, it was very apparent to the Hebrews, that the insolent usurper meant to spread desolation and bloodshed as far as his conquests should extend.

Abimelech, soon afterwards, led his army against Thebes, of which city he made himself master by assault; but the garrison retired into the citadel. Having advanced to the very gates of this edifice, with a full determination either to force them or to set them on fire, a woman let drop from the top of the wall a large piece of a mill-stone, which, falling on his head, beat him from his horse. Perceiving, when he had in some degree recovered himself from the blow, that the wound which he had received was mortal, he ordered his armour-bearer to dispatch him instantly, that it might not be said that he died by the hands of a woman. He was obeyed; and thus according to the prediction of Jothan, paid the forfeit of his barbarities to his brethren and the Sichemites. Immediately after the death of Abimelech, his army disbanded; each man returning to his own habitation.
A Gileadite named Jair, of the tribe of Manasses, was the next who undertook the government of Israel. This man, in every instance, enjoyed great happiness, but particularly in the possession of a numerous and deserving progeny; being the father of thirty sons, equally famed for their virtue and bravery, and of high rank and authority in the country in which they dwelt. He officiated in this post twenty-two years, died in an advanced age, and was buried in the city of Camon, in the land of Gilead.

At this period, the Hebrews were become totally regardless of their duty both to God and man; and this extreme depravity rendered them so despicable in the eyes of their neighbours, the Ammonites and Philistines, that they invaded their country with a powerful army, and with great facility made an entire conquest of all that part thereof which lies on this side Jordan, intending to pass the river, and subdue the remainder.

In this dilemma, the Israelites, as was customary with them when they chanced to be involved in any great calamity, again had recourse to sacrifices and supplications to God for deliverance; and even this extorted repentance procured from the Almighty a promise of pardon and assistance. The Ammonites having at this time invaded the land of Gilead, the inhabitants took up arms, with the view of repelling their attacks, and, being destitute of a leader, solicited Jephthah, a man highly esteemed among them both for his courage and conduct, and who kept a considerable body of troops in his own pay, to take upon him for life the command of their army.

Jephthah refused, at first, to comply with their request; upbraiding them with baseness, in thus applying to him in their distress, to whom they had formerly denied all assistance at a time when he stood in the utmost need of aid against the cruel persecutions of his brethren. "You then," said he, "objected to me, that I was the son of a foreign woman, who had been introduced by stealth into the family; and on that plea, absolutely refused to afford me the help I craved at your hands, and thereby compelled me to retire into the land of Gilead, where I have ever since remained, lifting into my service all who offered themselves." The Israelites, however, still importuning him to espouse their cause, he at length yielded to their solicitations, and was accordingly invested with the supreme command of their troops.

Having incorporated his own forces with those of the Hebrews, Jephthah marched to Mispah, from whence he dispatched ambassadors to the king of the Ammonites, to represent to him the injustice of which he was guilty, in thus invading a country to which he had no reasonable pretension. This charge the king retorted upon the Israelites, who, he observed, after their departure from Egypt, had, without any other right than merely that of conquest, possessed themselves of the country of the Ammonites; peremptorily enjoining them to quit the same, and to seek some more distant residence. Jephthah replied, that the Ammonites, instead of complaining that the Hebrews had established themselves in Amorrhæa, ought rather
rather to acknowledge the moderation of that people in permitting them to remain the possession of their own country of Ammon, from which Moses might have expelled them; concluding with a declaration, that the Hebrews would not, upon any account relinquish those lands, in which they had been settled for the term of three hundred years, but would, with the divine aid, maintain themselves therein against every effort of their enemies to dispossess them. The peremptoriness of this declaration at once put an end to the treaty, and both parties prepared for war.

When the two armies were in sight of each other, Jephthah made a vow, that, if God should be pleased to permit him to return a conqueror, he would offer up in sacrifice the first living creature he should meet with upon his entrance into the city in which he resided. He afterwards engaged the enemy, and put them totally to the rout; pursuing them, with great slaughter, as far as the city of Mammath. He also made an irruption into the land of Ammon; taking and destroying several cities, and dividing the booty, which was very considerable, among his troops. This victory, in short, emancipated the Hebrews from a bondage under which they had groaned for the term of eighteen years.

The conduct of Jephthah, throughout the whole of this war, acquired him great and deferred reputation; but, upon his return home, an incident befel him which suddenly converted all his satisfaction into the severest sorrow. For, when he was on the point of entering the city in which he resided, the first person whom he discovered was his only daughter, who, with a heart filled with joy, had come forth to meet him, and to congratulate him on his return. He was struck with inexpressible horror at the sight, and, in the utmost anguish of mind, acquainted her with the particulars of his fatal vow. Unmoved at the dreadful tale, she nobly replied, that she should cheerfully submit to death, for the sake of preserving her father's honor, and of affuring the freedom of her country; requesting only that he would allow her two months to prepare herself, and to bid farewell to the virgins, her companions, after which she might perform his vow whenever she should think proper. This request was granted, and, at the expiration of the above term, this immaculately and self-devoted victim yielded up her life at the altar, in compliance with the will of her father; who hurried away by a blind zeal, manifested on the occasion an utter disregard of every consideration of justice and common fame.

In a short time after the above victory, the Ephraimites, instigated by a spirit of envy and malevolence which appeared to be inherent in that tribe, endeavoured to raise a fresh commotion in the state, by imputing to Jephthah a finister and avaricious design, in engaging in the late war without their concurrence. He urged in his defence, that they not only were well apprized of the distresses of their allies, but had even been repeatedly, though without effect, solicited by them for assistance; whereas a due sense of honor would, in such a case, have induced them to have precluded the necessity of an application. He farther observed that, as they had not dared personally to encounter the common enemy, it was the height of injustice thus to calumniate their friends who had undergone all the toils and hardships of the war;
war; and concluded with a threat that he would punish their insolence if they persisted any further therein. But, finding that he should be able to effect nothing by reasoning the matter with them, he was compelled to have recourse to a numerous corps of troops, with which he suddenly advanced against the main body of the army, which they had brought from Gilead, and totally defeated them; and pursued them so closely, that their loss in the battle and the pursuit, fell very little short of twenty-two thousand men.

Jephthah died in the seventh year of his administration, and was interred at Sebeth, the place of his birth, in the land of Gilead. He was succeeded by Abdon, of the tribe of Judah, who dwelt in the city of Bethlehem, and governed Israel seven years; but no incident happened during that period, of sufficient consequence to be recorded. He left ninety children, sixty of whom were males, and thirty daughters; all of whom were married at the time of his decease. To him succeeded Elon, of the tribe of Zebulon, who ruled the people ten years; nor was his government distinguished by any memorable event. The next person who governed Israel was Abdon, the son of Heliel, of the tribe of Ephraim, and a native of the city of Pharathon. He had a numerous progeny, consisting of forty sons, and thirty grandsons, all of whom were expert horsemen; and of these his ordinary guard was composed: but the tranquillity of the times during his administration afforded no incident worthy of being transmitted to posterity. He died at a great age, and was buried with much pomp and solemnity in the city of Pharathon.

C H A P. X.

The Philistines subdue the Israelites, and render them tributaries. The birth of Samson and his wondrous exploits.

The Philistines, after the death of Abdon, held the Hebrews in subjection nearly for the space of forty years; but they at length obtained their liberty in the manner following.

A person whose name was Manoah, of the tribe of Dan, a man of high rank and reputation in his own country, had married a woman of superlative beauty, but, to his own unspeakable grief, she proved childless. He had a house, situated on a lonely spot, in the midst of an extensive plain, to which he frequently repaired with his wife, and in this solitude he spent the greatest part of his time in importuning heaven for the blessing of a child. Manoah was of a disposition equally violent and jealous. It chanced on a certain day when the woman was at his house alone, an angel appeared to her, under the shape of a tall young man, and, bidding her to console herself, predicted to her that she should bear a male child, who, when he should arrive at the years of maturity, should be remarkable for the gracefulness of his person, and for his superior strength, and should greatly humble the pride of the Philistines; enjoining her, in the name of God, neither to cut his hair, nor to suffer him to drink any thing besides water; and, having given her these instructions, the vision instantly disappeared. On the arrival of her husband,
But kid, and Manoah Samson, which flame his had authority. an 'happiness', i

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The acquainted him with the particulars of this vision, highly extolling the -comely appearance of the angel, which made him suspicious that his wife had been guilty of conjugal infidelity, which she hoped to conceal under this pretext. The unhappy woman, strongly affected by the dishonourable and unjust suspicions of her husband, in the anguish of her mind besought the Almighty to vindicate her innocence, by permitting the vision once more to appear to her, at a time when Manoah should be present.

In consequence of her supplications, the angel, in a few days after, again presented himself before her, in the same place in which she had first seen him, and she begged his permission to fetch her husband, who instantly came with her to the spot. But such was the prevalency of his jealousy, that notwithstanding the evidence before him, he would scarce be induced to suppress his suspicions, and earnestly pressed the angel again to confirm the prediction which he had before communicated to his wife; but this the angel declined; observing to him, that it was sufficient his wife had been already made acquainted therewith. He then solicited the angel to declare to him his name and quality, that, when he should have obtained the promised blessing of a child, he might know to whom to pay his acknowledgments. The vision replied, that he neither expected nor desired any gratification for the tidings he brought. Manoah, with some difficulty, prevailed on him, however, to stay and partake of a kid, which he had killed and given to his wife to drefs.

When every thing was in readiness, the angel ordered the flesh and bread to be placed, without dishes, on an adjacent rock; which being done, with a wand which he held in his hand, he touched the flesh, and instantaneously a flame issued therefrom, which totally consumed both it and the bread; and the angel ascended to heaven in the smoke which arose from this preternatural fire. Manoah expressed a strong apprehension that this prodigy boded some great evil to them; but his wife endeavoured to dispel his fears, confidently assuring him, that it would be productive of the greatest comfort and happiness to them both. She soon afterwards perceived herself to be pregnant, and from that hour carefully kept in mind the instructions which she had received from the angel.

In the due course of time she was delivered of a son, whom they named Samson, signifying, in the Hebrew tongue, robust. As he grew up, the complexion of his person, and the rigid temperance which he observed in his manner of living, gave him an appearance something more than mortal.

Having repaired on the celebration of a solemn festival, to Timnah, a city belonging to the Philistines, he there saw a damsel of whom he became passionately enamoured; and urgently solicited his father to obtain her for him in marriage. His father, at first, refused to comply with his request; representing to him, that by the Hebrew laws all marriages with women of foreign nations were strictly prohibited; and that there were many women of his own nation with whom a matrimonial connection would be far more eligible than with the party with whom he sought an alliance. But the impetuosity of the son's passion proved an over-match for all the discretion and au-
Flavius working from riddle. No defiro once fituatcd body. Totally lion. The "his fome in fwarm have the miilrefs; 230 thority damfel fidence advanced whom trials, to le<ikd man too as tation quciled of lowitng myitery. Some the the proceed that was procured for the purpose, to his miilrefs. On the day of the nuptials, he was attended by thirty of the stoutest young men of the country, whom the friends of his bride, confecious of his amazing strength, had selected for that office, under the pretext of doing him honor; but, in reality, to prevent any bad effects which might otherwise happen, from his making too free a use of the juice of the grape. In the midst of their jollity, Samfon informed the company that he had a riddle to propofe to them, and that as many of them as should solve it in the course of seven days, should each man receive from him a coat and a shirt; and at once acquire both reputation and profit. The whole company, being animated, fome with a desire of manifesting their penetration, and others with a thift of gain, eagerly requested him to propound the enigma; which he accordingly did, in the following words: Out of the eater came forth meat, and from the fireng was produced sweetness.

When the Philiftines had in vain racked their imaginations for the space of three days, to discover the meaning of this riddle they applied themselves to the newly espoused wife of Samfon; enjoining her, at the peril of being burnt alive, to obtain from her husband an explanation of the whole mystery. He for some time refifled all her importunities; but, on her reproofing him with a want of affection for her, in thus refusing to confide the secret to her, he disclosed all the circumstances relative to his combat with the lion, and to the honey-combs which he brought her; and the communicated every particular to the Philiftines. The day being now arrived which had been appointed for the solution of this riddle, the Philiftines assembled before fun-fet, and repairing in a body to Samfon, gave him the explanation in the subsequent terms: No creature possesses more strength than a lion, nor can any thing be sweeter than honey. "And you might," said Samfon, "have added, that nothing can surpass the benediction and falsehood of the woman, "from whom you obtained the key to this eypher." He did not, however, neglect to perform his promise to those who should expound his riddle; and, to enable him to do this, he stripped thirty of the inhabitants of Askalon of their apparel; which city is situated in the dominions of the Philiftines.

Samfon so highly refted the conduct of his wife on this occasion, that he formally repudiated her; and she, from a motive of revenge, espoused the person who had been the chief promoter of their union. This action Sam-
Samson considered as so heinous an affront, that he vowed vengeance not only on the woman, but also on the whole nation of the Philistines; and an opportunity soon afterwards offered for the ample execution of his design. The time of harvest being now just at hand, Samson procured three hundred foxes, and, tying them tail to tail, with a firebrand between each two of them, he turned the whole number loose into the fields of the Philistines, where they presently destroyed all the corn which was then ripe for cutting. When the princes of the Philistines learnt who was the author of this outrage, and the motives by which he had been instigated to it, they immediately repaired to Timnith, and, seizing the persons of the late wife of Samson, and all her kindred, publicly burnt them alive.

Samson had now fixed his residence on the rock of Etam, a place of prodigious strength, and from thence made frequent incursions into the lands of the Philistines, destroying great numbers of the inhabitants. This rock was situated in the district of the tribe of Judah, against whom the Philistines, in revenge for the continual depredations of Samson, were on the point of commencing hostilities. It was in vain that these unfortunate people pleaded in their justification, that they had demeaned themselves peaceably, had regularly paid the tribute which had been imposed upon them, and were perfectly free from all participation in the guilt of Samson and his associates; for the Philistines peremptorily declared to them, that unless they delivered up the person of Samson, they must expect to be considered, and to be punished also, as the abettors of his crimes.

To clear themselves from every imputation on this head, they assembled a body of three thousand armed men, and marched to the spot where he resided, and there entered into conference with his companions, representing to them the danger to which the violences of Samson had exposed the Hebrew nation, by exciting against them the resentment of a powerful enemy, who, if not timely appeased, might probably be induced to extirpate their whole race; adding, that their sole design in coming thither was to secure the person of Samson, and to deliver him into the hands of the Philistines; to which they exhorted him to submit voluntarily, both for their sakes and for his own. Samson, hereupon, descended from the rock, and, having obtained a solemn oath from them that they would be satisfied with delivering him up to the Philistines, without offering him any personal injury themselves, surrendered himself to his countrymen, who bound him, and led him away to a spot before agreed on, which was then of no particular note, but which a memorable action afterwards performed there by Samson rendered deservedly famous to posterity. At a small distance from the camp of the Philistines, they were met by a numerous body of people, who expressed their joy at seeing this dreaded foe in their power, with the loudest shouts and acclamations.

Samson, in the mean time, snapping asunder the cords with which he was bound, seized the jaw-bone of an as which chanced to lie near him, and suddenly attacking the Philistines, flew nearly a thousand of them on the spot, and put the rest to flight. He was so much elated with this victory, that
he arrogated to himself the honor of that action, without considering that it was to God alone, to whom the glory of the achievement ought to have been ascribed. But, in the midst of this impious vaunting, he found himself suddenly attacked by a violent thrift, which convinced him of the vanity of his boasts, by demonstrating to him that all his successes did not exempt him from the common accidents of human nature. He, therefore, humbled himself before God, acknowledging his former presumption in asuming to himself the late victory, requesting pardon for his crimes, and promising in future to rely solely upon the power and goodness of the Almighty for deliverance in all his difficulties. Nor was his penitence ineffectual: for immediately there gushed from a neighbouring rock a stream of the purest water, for the relief of his raging thirst; and this rock to the present time bears the name of the jare, in allusion to the abovementioned exploit of Samson.

He now held the power of the Philistines in such utter contempt, that he scrupled not to go publickly to Gaza, and to take up his abode at a common inn. The circumstance of his arrival having been communicated to the governor of the city, he stationed a number of soldiers and spies about the house, to prevent his escape. Samson, having received some intimation of the design, rose at midnight, and, taking the gates of the city off their hinges, conveyed them away on his shoulders, with all their appurtenances of frames, bolts, and locks, as far as mount Hebron, where he left them.

By degrees, Samson had now acquired so strong a dislike to the laws and customs of his own country, and, consequently, such a propensity to those of the neighbouring nations, as, in the sequel, proved his destruction. He unfortunately conceived a violent passion for a common prostitute, in the land of the Philistines, whose name was Dalilah; and with this woman he openly cohabited. The princes of the country, perceiving to how great a degree he was infatuated by his infamous passion, secretly wrought upon this mercenary woman, by the force of bribes and promises, to unite with them in the design of effecting his ruin. The part which they assigned her to act in this plot was, to obtain from him a confession where that invincible strength was feated, of which he had given so many extraordinary proofs. She, accordingly, took every opportunity, in his hours of inebriety or dalliance, to express her admiration of his strength and activity, and to importune him to acquaint her in what part of his body that excellency lay, which rendered him so infinitely superior to all other men. But Samson retained as yet so much prudence, as enabled him to perceive and to counterwork the artifices of his mistress; and he replied, that if his hands were bound with seven green withs, or creepers of the vine, he should then possesse no greater degree of force than the rest of mankind.

This information Dalilah immediately communicated to the magistrates of the place, who, in consequence, secretly dispatched a band of soldiers to the house in which Samson lodged, with orders to secure his person on the first opportunity that should offer. Finding him intoxicated and asleep, they bound him in the manner before described; but Samson being awakened by the outcries of Dalilah, that the Philistines were upon him, instantly snapp...
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ped the withs, like so many threads, and, putting himself in a posture of defence, obliged the assailants to make a precipitate retreat. Dalilah affected to be highly incensed at the deception which had been put upon her, and bitterly reproached Samson with a want of affection for her; adding that she thought herself greatly injured by his suspicions that she was less capable of keeping a secret than any of her sex. She, however, still persisted in soliciting him to reveal to her what she desired to know, and he again deceived her, on two subsequent occasions, with feigned slopries; telling her at first, that if he were to be bound with seven cords, he should be deprived thereby of all power of resistance; and, afterwards, that the same effect would be produced by filitying and braiding his hair.

Though thus thrice baffled, Dalilah was not yet discouraged; but, partly through resentment, and partly from a principle of obstinacy, she continued to urge him so earnestly with entreaties and careness, that, in an evil hour, she disclosed to her the important secret in these words: "That supreme Being, from whom I derive my existence, and who has been pleased to distinguish me in a particular manner by his favour, has strictly commanded me never to suffer my hair to be cut; as in the preservation thereof "entirely consists my safety and strength." Having made this discovery, she soon afterwards deprived him of his locks whilst he slept, and, in this defenceless condition, delivered him into the hands of the Philistines, who put out his eyes, and led him about as a public spectacle.

A considerable time had now elapsed, when a festival was celebrated by the Philistines, at which were assembled all the princes and nobility of the country. In the height of their merriment, it was proposed to send for Samson, to make sport for the company. The roof of the edifice in which they were regaling, was supported by two large pillars only. Samson, whose hair was now grown again, meditating vengeance on his enemies, was now brought into the assembly; and feigning to be weary with walking, he defied the boy by whom he was attended to lead him to one of the pillars, that he might rest himself against it. His request being complied with, Samson, exerting his utmost strength, shook the pillar with such force, that he soon brought down the building on the heads of all those who were there-in, amounting to full three thousand persons; himself perishing with the rest.

Thus died Samson, in the twentieth year of his administration. He was famed for his amazing strength and courage, and acquired great honor by the exertion of those qualities against the enemies of his country. It must be acknowledged that he suffered himself to be deluded by the artifices of a wicked woman; but this is a frailty inherent in the very nature of man-kind. His corpse was conveyed by his relations to Shalim, where it was interred in the burial-place of the family.
CHAP. XI.

Particulars relative to Naomi, Ruth, and Booz. Samuel is born. The Philistines obtain several victories over the Hebrews.

After the death of Samson, Eli the high-priest, succeeded to the government, and in his time there arose a dreadful famine in the land. In consequence of this death, Abimelech, a citizen of Bethlehem, in the tribe of Judah, accompanied by his wife Naomi, and his two sons, Mallon and Chellion, retired with his effects into the land of Moab. Here every thing went favourably with him, and his sons contracted themselves to two women of the country, whose names were Orpha and Ruth. At the expiration of ten years, Abimelech and his sons died, all within a short time of each other. Naomi, seeing herself thus deprived of those persons her affection for whom had been the sole motive which had induced her to quit her own country, determined to return thither, especially as she had learnt that matters were now in a better state than when she came away. The widows of her sons were very urgent with her to suffer them to accompany her; but to this she absolutely refused to consent; alleging the length of the journey, and her incapacity to provide for them on their arrival at Bethlehem, as reasons for her refusal. These objections satisfied Orpha; but no arguments could induce Ruth to abandon her mother-in-law; and Naomi, therefore, departed taking Ruth with her.

They were received on their arrival at Bethlehem by Booz, a relation of the deceased Abimelech; and, the people calling Naomi by her name, and welcoming her on her return home, she replied that, instead of Naomi, they ought rather to call her Mara; the first signifying happiness, and the latter sorrow. It being now the time of harvest, Ruth went with the permission of her mother, into the fields to glean; and wandering by accident into a field which belonged to Booz, he chanced to come thither himself quickly afterwards, and enquired of his head-servant what he knew of her. The servant acquainted him with such particulars concerning her situation as he had learnt from herself; and Booz, being highly pleased with the affection which she manifested for her mother-in-law, and her regard for the memory of her deceased husband, ordered that she should not only be permitted to glean, but also to reap and carry away as much corn as she thought proper, and that she should be daily furnished with a like portion of meat and drink with the rest of his servants. Ruth carefully saved a part of the provisions which were given her, and carried it home at night, together with her gleanings, to her mother-in-law; and Naomi made a like reserve for Ruth out of what she obtained from her charitable neighbours.

Ruth acquainted her mother with the kindness of Booz towards her; adding that, as he was a person of considerable property, and famed for his virtue and piety, it was probable he might commiserate their misfortunes, and take them under his care. Ruth still continued to repair every day during
during the harvest season to the fields of Booz, to glean with his maid-servants; and, for the space of a few days, while his people were employed in threshing the corn, Booz took up his lodging in his own barn. This circumstance coming to the knowledge of Naomi, she advised Ruth to convey herself privately into the barn, during the night, and to lay herself down to rest at the feet of Booz; imagining thereby to promote the advantage of both parties.

Ruth, from a scrupulous regard for the orders of her mother, obeyed; and Booz, chanceing to wake about midnight, and perceiving a woman lying near him, asked her who she was. Having been satisfied in this point, no further discourse passed between them till morning, when he bid her to take as much corn as she pleased, and to return home, before his servants should rise to their work; observing that, in such-like cases, persons could not be too cautious, however innocent their intentions were, to prevent discovery. He further told her that, as there was a person then residing in Bethlehem, who was still nearer related to her than himself, he would advise her to inform upon his receiving her as his wife, according to the laws of Moses; and that, if he should refuse to comply with her demand, he himself should then be at liberty to espouse her. With these instructions Ruth returned to her mother, to whom she communicated all the above particulars; and Naomi offered up her most grateful acknowledgments to heaven, for this favourable change in their affairs.

On the same day, about noon, Booz convened an assembly of the magistrates of Bethlehem: having previously given notice of attendance to Ruth and her kinsman. Upon their appearance, he questioned the latter whether the estates of Abimelech, and his two sons, Mallon and Chellion, did not devolve to him after their decease. Having received an answer in the affirmative, he then reminded him, that the same law which gave him possession of the estate, provided also, that he should marry the relict of the deceased; and, pointing to Ruth, "That woman," said he, "is the wife, the dow of Mallon: determine, therefore, whether you will receive her in marriage, or relinquish the possession of her late husband, which you now enjoy." The kinsman declined to espouse her, alleging that he was already married, and had several children; and, in due form, resigned to Booz, who, next to himself, was the nearest of kin to her, all pretensions both to the woman and the estate. Booz caused this renunciation to be registered, and then ordered Ruth to loofe the shoe of her kinsman who had refused to espouse her, and to spit in his face, according to a form practised in all similar cases.

Booz afterwards married her, and, before the expiration of the year, she bore him a son, who was named Obed, which, in the Hebrew tongue signifies assistance; alluding to the assistance which it was hoped he would render to Naomi in her old age. Obed was the father of Jesse, from whom descended David, king of Israel; in whose family the supreme government remained throughout twenty-one generations. I have been the more explicit in the foregoing relation, with the view of evincing, that the Almighty is sometimes pleased to effect the most important purposes by the meanest
meanest instruments; frequently advancing to regal power men of the most humble birth and station, as in his wisdom he sees fit. This remark we find particularly verified in the case of David.

At this period the Hebrews were unfortunately involved in an unsuccessful war against the Philistines. Hophni and Phinehas, the two sons of Eli, the high-priest, were men totally divested of every sentiment of religion and morality. Not satisfied with the customary gratuities and presents which they received from the people, they were guilty of the greatest excesses of extortion and rapine. They scrupled not to debauch women, even when engaged in the exercise of their devotions; and would often prefer their infamous suit at the very altar: and in the undisguising commission of these enormities they manifested an effrontery scarcely to be paralleled.

Eli observed with the deepest sorrow, the profligacy of his children; being under continual apprehensions that some dreadful judgment would befall them, as a punishment of their wickedness. Nor was he much less affected by the wretched condition of the people, who groaned under the intolerable oppressions of these merciless tyrants; but when God was pleased to reveal to the unhappy father, and to the prophet Samuel, who was as yet but a child, the miserable end which awaited those men, he abandoned himself to his lamentations for them, as for persons who were to be considered as already dead. But, to avoid irregularity, it will be necessary that I should first make mention of a few particulars respecting Samuel, and afterwards proceed to relate the terrible catastrophe of these licentious men, and thus lay before the reader the true cause of all those misfortunes which befell the Hebrews at the period in question.

Elkanah, a Levite, dwelling at Ramath in the district of the tribe of Ephraim, had two wives, whose names were Hannah and Phenannah. The latter bore him several children, but the former, for a considerable time appeared to be barren; which circumstance, however, did not in the least lessen his regard for her. Having repaired on a certain occasion to Shiloh, where the tabernacle then was, he allotted to each of his wives a portion of the provisions he had brought with him; Phenannah and her children eating at a separate table. This circumstance so much affected Hannah, who considered it as a reflection on her barrenness, that she could not refrain from tears. It was in vain that her husband and the rest of her friends endeavoured to comfort her; and, in the anguish of her mind, she immediately hastened to the tabernacle, and, with the utmost fervency of devotion, addressed her prayers to the Almighty, that he would be pleased to grant her the blessing of a son; promising, in the most solemn manner, to dedicate him solely to his service.

Eli, who chanced to be sitting before the tabernacle at the time, concluding, from the length and earnestness of her prayer, that she was intoxicated, reproached her with coming thither in such a condition, and ordered her to be gone. She assured him that she was perfectly guiltless of the charge, being accustomed to drink nothing but water, and that the agitation of her mind arose from the want of children, which had been the subject of her supplications to God. Eli thereupon, dismissed her with
with an assurance that God would grant her request. Thus encouraged, 
she returned with a joyful heart to her husband, recovered her appetite, of
which she had long been totally deprived, and in a short time went back with
him to the place of their residence, where he conceived, and was in due time
delivered of a son, who was named Samuel, which signifies in our language,
"sent of God." When the parents of the child went again to Shiloh, to make
the usual oblations, Hannah, being mindful of her vow, delivered her son
into the hands of Eli, to be dedicated to the service of God. His hair was
suffered to grow, and he was not permitted to taste of any other liquor than
water; was appointed to officiate, also, in the temple, and in time became a
prophet of great reputation among the people. Hannah afterwards bore to
Elkanah several sons, and three daughters.

Samuel, being now in his thirteenth year, began to prophecy; and, lying
one night on his bed, he heard a voice which called him by his name.
Imagining it was the voice of Eli, he immediately went to him, to know his
will; but Eli assured him that he had not called him. This was repeated
three times; and Eli, perceiving, at length, where the mistake lay, ordered
him, if the voice should call him again, to answer in these words: "Say on,
"Lorp, for thy servant heareth, and is disposed to obey thy commands."

At the next call, Samuel replied as he had been instructed, and the voice
then proceeded in these words: "As thou art willing to listen to my injunc-
tions, I will now give thee to know, that the Hebrews are, at this mo-
ment, on the verge of a calamity so dreadful as not to be expressed, and
almost surpassing conception. In the course of a single day, the two sons
of Eli shall be slain; and the high-priesthood shall be for ever taken
away from his family, and transferred to that of Eleazar: for Eli
hath manifested a greater regard for his sons, than for my service, and
hath thereby involved both himself and them in one common destruction." Samuel
was very unwilling to acquaint Eli with what had been communi-
cated to him by the Almighty; but, being adjured by the high-priest to con-
ceal nothing from him of all that had passed, he gave him a circumstantial
account of the revelation; thereby leaving him no room to doubt of
the unavoidable ruin of his profligate children. From this period, the re-
putation of the predictions of Samuel encreased in the most rapid manner
imaginable.

The troops of the Philistines had now proceeded without opposition as
far as Ampheke, and, continuing to advance farther into the country of the
Israelites, a battle at length ensued between the two armies, in which the
Hebrews were shamefully defeated, with the loss of four thousand men on
the spot, and were pursued even to their camp. This unexpected over-
throw plunged the Hebrews in the deepest despondency, and they dispatched
messengers in all haste to Shiloh, with a request to the high-priest and elders,
to cause the ark to be sent without delay to the army, that through its pre-
fence they might be enabled to obtain a victory over their enemies; being
totally unconscious that they were devoted to destruction by a power far su-
perior to that of the ark; even by that eternal Being, on whose account alone
the ark itself was held in reverence. Their request was, however, complied with; and the two sons of Eli were commissioned by their father to convey the ark to the army, himself being too feeble to attend on the occasion, with a strict injunction never to see his face again, unless they brought back their charge in safety. On the arrival of the ark, the Hebrews resumed their courage, as if victory had been inseparably connected with its presence; and their opponents, on the other hand, considered it as a prelude of their destruction. The event, however, proved, that both the hopes of the one party, and the fears of the other were equally ill-founded; for, in a second engagement, which soon afterwards ensued between the two armies, the Hebrews fled in the most daftardly manner on the very first onset; leaving thirty thousand of their men dead on the spot, among whom were the two sons of Eli, and abandoning the ark of God to the possession of the enemy.

CHAPEL XII.

The fatal tidings of the loss of the ark occasions the immediate death of Eli. Ichabod is born.

A Young Benjamite, who escaped from the battle, having brought the dreadful news of this defeat, and the consequent loss of the ark, to Shiloh, the whole city was filled with the bitterest sorrow and lamentation. This being observed by Eli, who was sitting in a chair at one of the gates, he directly suspected that some disaster had befallen the army; and, calling the young man to him, learnt from him all the particulars of what had happened. The loss of men which the Hebrews had sustained in the battle, and the death of his sons were circumstances of which, as we have before observed, he had already been forewarned by a revelation from heaven; and he, therefore, supported this part of the intelligence with a becoming fortitude. But, when he learnt that the ark of God had fallen into the enemy’s hands, he sunk under the unexpected shock, and, falling backwards from his seat, yielded up his life, in the ninety-eighth year of his age, and the fortieth of his government. When the wife of Phinehas, who was at that time in the seventh month of her pregnancy, received the news of her husband’s death, she instantly fell in labour, and died on the same day. The child, however, survived, and was named Ichabod; signifying shame and ignominy, in allusion to the disgrace which the Israelites had incurred by the above defeat.

Eli was the first of the family of Ithamar, one of the children of Aaron, who was preferred to the high-priesthood; for, till the time of his appointment to the office, it had regularly descended from father to son in the family of Eleazar, who was succeeded therein by Phinehas; from this latter it passed to his son Boccejas, from whom it devolved to Ozis, who was the immediate predecessor of Eli; and in his family the above dignity remained till the reign of King Solomon, at which time it reverted to the line of Eleazar.

END OF THE FIFTH BOOK.
Chapter I.

The Philistines take the ark, which is removed to five cities, and attended by divers plagues.

The Philistines conveyed the ark in triumph to Azotus, and deposited it among other trophies in the temple of Dagon. Upon repairing to the temple the next morning, in order to perform their devotions, they perceived that the figure of Dagon, which they worshipped as their god, had fallen from its pedestal, and was lying before the ark. They replaced the idol, but on their return the following day, again found it on the floor of the edifice, in a posture of adoration to the ark; and this was the case for several successive days. They were greatly surprized at this preternatural moving of the image, which they considered as an indication of ill-fortune. In short, the sacrilegious temerity of the people of the city and province of Azotus was punished by a terrible plague, by which great numbers were destroyed. This plague was a violent dysentery, and rapid decay of the entrails, attended

* Ashdod.
ed with the most excruciating tortures. They were also visited with another plague by their lands being infested by surprising numbers of mice, which entirely destroyed their corn and the other fruits of the earth. Being, at length, convinced that their impious violence upon the ark was the cause of these judgments, they dispatched messengers to the people of Acalon, to solicit them to remove the ark from their city. This offer was joyfully accepted, but in a short time, the people had occasion severely to repent their conduct; for when the ark had been conveyed to Acalon, that place was visited with the same plagues which had prevailed at Azotus. It remained not long in this city, but was conveyed to different places, till it had passed through five of the Philistian cities, being constantly attended in its progress by the calamities abovementioned.

A council of the principal men of the five cities of Gath, Ekron, Acalon, Gaza, and Aklon, was assembled to determine upon measures for disposing of the ark. It was recommended by the one party, to return it to the people by whom it was originally possessed; for they believed, that the God who had spread such devastation in their cities, would still continue to exercise his displeasure upon those who should keep the ark in their possession. Others would not allow this to be the cause of the public calamities; and they argued that it was not probable the Lord entertained the respect which was pretended for the ark, as he had suffered the Israelites to be deprived of it, by an enemy, and especially as that enemy professed a different religion; and they advised that the prevailing troubles might be considered as occurrences produced in the common course of nature. A third party adopted sentiments between the extremes of the two preceding. They proposed, that for each of the abovementioned cities, a golden image should be provided, and that these five images should be consecrated to the honor of God, as an instance of gratitude for having relieved them from the terrible affliction of the plagues, which human means were not able to eradicate. They also proposed five golden mice, thereby referring to the vermin which had destroyed the produce of their grounds; and that a carriage, in the form of a wagon, should be constructed for the purpose of receiving the ark, upon which was to be laid a box containing the images and golden mice; this carriage was to be drawn by two mule-horses, their calves being taken from them and confined, that they might not cause them to delay their progress. The vehicle was taken to a spot branching into three roads, and the beasts being allowed to pursue their own course, it was to be understood that, if they pursued the Hebrew road, the misfortunes which the people of the five cities had sustained, proceeded from the ark; but if they took any other direction, the public calamities were to be attributed to some different cause.

CHAP.

* In the original these cities are called, Gitta, Accaron, Acalon, Gaza, and Azotus.
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CHAP. II.

The rejoicings of the Israelites on the recovery of the ark. The defeat of the Philistines.

The animals being allowed the liberty of following their own course, immediately struck into the Hebrew road, and, with as much regularity as if they had been impelled by the direction of a driver, proceeded towards a village belonging to the tribe of Judah, called Bethhemeth, where they flopped, notwithstanding a fertile and extensive plain seemed to invite them to continue their journey. At this time the people were busily occupied in getting in the harvest, but they left their work, and being joined by great numbers from the town, proceeded towards the ark, the return of which afforded them inexpressible pleasure. They took the ark and the box containing the images and golden mice from the carriages, and having placed them on a large stone; sacrificed the vehicle on which the ark was conveyed, and the beasts which drew it, as a burnt offering to the Lord. A number of the Philistines who had followed the ark, waited till the conclusion of the above ceremony, and then returned to their companions.

Seventy of the Bethhemites, incurred the displeasure of God on the above-recited occasion, by touching the ark, which was a liberty granted only to those invested with the authority and qualification of priesthood. In the midst of their rejoicings, the spirits of the multitude were exceedingly depressed by the fate of these men, whom they lamented, not as having discharged the common debt of nature, but, as falling judicial victims to their own temerity. This calamity convinced them that they were unworthy to be entrusted with the care of so sacred a deposit; and they, therefore, dispatched messengers to the Hebrews, to inform them that the ark was brought back. Upon this intelligence being communicated, it was conveyed to Kiriath-jearim, in the neighbourhood of Bethhemeth, and deposited in the house of a Levite named Aminadab, who being a man of strict piety and exemplary morals, was considered worthy of the sacred trust. To this man and his sons the care of the ark was assigned, and, excepting the four months when it was detained by the Philistines, it remained twenty years in their possession; and so worthily did they execute the office conferred upon them, that the public acknowledged themselves to be perfectly satisfied with their conduct, and bestowed upon them a high degree of reputation. During the period of the ark remaining at Kiriath-jearim, the people employed the greatest portion of their time in the exercise of the religious duties: and Samuel availed himself of this favourable disposition of the multitude, to harangue them on the subject of liberty.

"Experience must have convinced you (said he) of the unrelenting nature of our oppressors: but you are conscious that our earnest prayers for relief are graciously accepted by the Lord. It is necessary that you should know, the desire of liberty without a vigorous exertion of the means to obtain"
"obtain it, cannot prove effectual. Take especial care that you degrade "not your profession by a corruption of manners, but preserve an inviola-"ble regard to virtue and justice; purge your hearts from all evil propensi-
"ties; adore the Lord, and worship him with a fervency of zeal; and let "the whole tenor of your lives manifest a due reverence of his sacred per-"son. It is on God that we must depend for the blessings of liberty, and a "triumph over our enemies; for without the divine assistance, all human en-
deavours will be in vain: but if we strictly adhere to the practice of piety "and moral rectitude, we shall infallibly enjoy those rewards which he has "been graciously pleased to promise."

This speech was received with the loudest acclamations of applause from the people, who unanimously engaged themselves in a solemn profession to submit themselves entirely to the pleasure of the Divine Being.

Samuel summoned the people to assemble at the city called Mizpeh (fig-
"nifying confpicious), and at this place they performed sacrifice, offering sup-
plications to the Lord, and observing the day as a solemn fast. The Phili-
tines gained information of this meeting, and advanced towards the spot with a powerful army, intending to make an attack by surprize. The formi-
"dable appearance of the foe threw them into the greatest consternation, and they repaired to Samuel, to whom they alleged, that they dreaded the event of engaging an enemy by whom they had been so frequently vanquished; adding that in compliance to his direction, they had assembled at Miz-
peh for the purposes of offering up sacrifices and supplications to the Lord, and entering into a solemn engagement of fidelity; and that they now found themselves in a defenceless state, exposed to the mercy of the Philistines; wherefore they entreated him to exert his endeavours to prevail with the Lord to deliver them from the impending danger, which they could not hope to escape but through the intervention of the Divine Providence. Samuel en-
couraged them to hope for success; saying that the Lord would indisputably grant them the protection which he had been graciously pleased to promise. After this, he offered a fying lamb as a sacrifice in the name of the Hebrews; suppling the Lord to preserve them from the calamities threatened by the Philistines. This sacrifice proved agreeable to the Lord, who, in reply to the request of Samuel, promised that the Hebrews should obtain a compleat victory over their enemies. Before the sacrifice was entirely con-
sumed, the Philistines formed themselves into the order of battle, and as they had not afforded the Hebrews time to put themselves in a state of de-
fence, they entertained the most confident expectation of conquest. But the issue of this matter proved so contrary to the expectation of the Philistines, that it would fearfully have been credited had it been predicted by an oracle.

On the spot where the Philistines were stationed, the Almighty caused a vio-
lent trembling of the earth, which opened in different places and swallowed up great numbers; at the same time the most terrible thunder roared in the heavens, and the lightnings descended upon them in continued flashes, so dreadfully scourching them that they could neither make use of their arms against the Hebrews, nor see how to avoid the danger. They fled in the
greatest consternation to Chore, and were pursued by the Hebrews, who committed a great slaughter upon them in their retreat. At this place Samuel caused a monumental stone to be fixed for the purpose of denoting the bounds of the spot whereon the victory and pursuit took place, and he distinguished it by the name of the strong, in commemoration of the powerful support, which was manifested by the Almighty in behalf of the Hebrews. These events so effectually depressed the spirits of the Philistines, that they never re-assumed courage sufficient to renew hostilities against the Hebrews. Samuel continued to make incursions upon the enemy till he reduced them to a state of hopeless subjection. He recovered the whole tract of country between Gath and Ekron, which had been conquered by the Philistines. Previous to this period the war between the Canaanites and the Hebrews had subsided.

C H A P. III.

At an advanced period of life, Samuel resigns the government in favour of his sons, Joel and Abiab.

Having reinstated the people in their possessions, and made some progress towards introducing a regularity of government, Samuel established a plan for the administration of public justice. Certain towns were appointed, wherein the judicial business was to be transacted; and to each of these he referred twice a year, in order to enforce an inviolable observance of the laws of his nation. For a long series of time, this system of policy was practised; but when the infirmities of advanced life had rendered him unequal to the arduous task of conducting the public affairs, he retired from the administration, and invested his authority in his sons, Joel and Abiab. He commanded them to divide the people into two bodies, over each of which they were respectively to preside; and that, at Bethel and Beer-sheba, they should each establish a court for the purpose of attending to legislative appeals.

From the conduct of Joel (who was the elder son of Samuel) and his brother Abiab, we may learn, that children do not always inherit the good qualities of their parents, and that a virtuous offspring may derive their origin from profligate ancestors. These degenerate sons proceeded in a course diametrically opposite to the instructions and example of their father. They prostituted the judicial character to interested considerations; for it was not according to the merits of the cause, but the estimated worth of the bribe, that judgment was pronounced. At the times they should have been employed in the distribution of public justice, they were indulging themselves in luxury and intemperance; and in every instance their conduct was a direct violation of the laws of God, and equally contrary to the commands of their father, whose attention had not been more materially engaged on any subject, than the observance of a necessary subordination of the people towards their superiors, and common justice among themselves.

C H A P.
The licentious conduct of the sons of Samuel incensed the people to so high a degree, that, when he repaired to Ramah, where he then resided, they loudly complained to him of the mal-administration of his children, and earnestly pressed him, in consideration of his own infirmities, which rendered him incapable of supporting the weight of the government; and of the insupportable disorders committed by his sons, that he would appoint a king to reign over them, under whose command they might revenge the injuries which they had so long sustained from the Philistines.

This determination of the Israelites so greatly affected Samuel, who was naturally attached to the love of justice, and the abhorrence of all arbitrary power, that the reflection would neither suffer him to eat or sleep. While he was under this anxiety, the Almighty appeared to him during the night, and addressed him in these words: "Be comforted, Samuel, and no longer afflict thyself with respect to the application which the people have made to thee: for it is not thy government, but mine, which they thereby mean to reject. Such was their conduct also when they were first delivered from the bondage of the Egyptians. Suffer them, therefore, to pursue their own inclinations; but they may be assured that the time approaches, when they shall dearly repent of their ingratitude both towards me, and towards my prophet. But their repentance and compunction shall avail them nought; for the design which they meditate, when once effected, will be totally irremediable. However, it is my will that you should give them for their king the man whom I shall point out to you; after having previously laid before them a state of the miseries which they are about to bring upon themselves by their perverseness, and represented to them the great unwillingness with which you accede to the proposed innovation."

In consequence of these orders and instructions, Samuel, on the next day, convened an assembly of the people, and gave them a positive assurance that he would assign them a king; but desired permission first to acquaint them with the evils and inconveniences which they must expect to endure under that particular form of government. "You are not apprized," said he, "that your kings will compel your children to serve them in different capacities: some in their armies, both as common soldiers and officers; others in attending on their persons; some again as their husbandmen and vine-dressers, and others as artificers in various branches. Your daughters also will they doom to those servile offices in which you have been accustomed to employ the meanest of your slaves. They will give your lands, and your flocks and herds, to their eunuchs and others whom they shall be pleased to favour; and, in a word, you shall become the vassals, not only of your sovereigns, but of their servants also. When that period arrives, you will then recollect my present endeavours to dissuade you from your purpose;"
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"purpose, and, in the anguish of your souls, will address your prayers to
the Almighty to be released from so intolerable an oppression. But he
will then reject your supplications and suffer you to languish under the
punishment which you will so justly have incurred by your folly and in-
"gratitude."

The people were totally deaf to all that he could say upon the subject; alledging that they could not preserve themselves from a foreign bondage under any other form of government, and justifying their choice by the example of all the neighbouring nations. When Samuel perceived that all his arguments had not the least effect upon them, he dismissed the assembly, with a promise that he would call them together again as soon as God should have revealed to him on whom he pleased to confer the regal dignity.

C H A P. V.

Saul is proclaimed king. The city of Jabsch is besieged by Nabal, king of the Ammonites. Saul defeats the Ammonites, and obliges them to abandon the siege.

KISH, a person of virtuous character, of the tribe of Benjamin, had a
son, named Saul, who was equally famed for his personal and mental qualifications. The father having lost some asses, which were of a peculiarly excellent breed, sent Saul, accompanied by one of his servants to seek for them. After a long and fruitless search, Saul determined to return home, being apprehensive that his longer absence would create an uneasiness in the mind of his father. When they approached near to Ramah, the servant advised Saul to have recourse to a certain famous prophet who lived in that city, for intelligence concerning the asses. Saul replied, that he was totally defitute of money to gratify the prophet for his information; having expended the whole of what he brought from home. The servant answered, that he had himself a quarter-shekel still remaining, which he imagined would be sufficient for the purpose: for he was not apprized that this man did not, like some others, make a traffic of his knowledge in hidden matters. Upon their arrival at Ramah, they met a number of damsel at one of the gates, who were coming out of the city to draw water. By them they were directed to the residence of the prophet; and the maidens further advised them to lose no time in repairing to his house, as in case of delay they would not be able to obtain a conference with him that night; he having invited a number of guests to sup with him.

Samuel had already been forewarned of God that the person whom he was to proclaim king over Israel was a young man of the tribe of Benjamin, and that he should come to his house that evening; and he was, in consequence, waiting at home in expectation of the stranger's arrival. At the precise hour appointed by the Almighty, Saul arrived at the house of Samuel, who immediately discovered, by inspiration, that he was the person whom God had chosen. Saul, addressing himself to Samuel with great courteousness, desired to be introduced to the prophet. Samuel replied that

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he was the person; and, inviting him to partake of the repast which he had provided, informed him not only that the affairs which he sought were safe, but also that he was on the point of being advanced to the very summit of power. Saul answered, with great modesty, that both his family and his tribe were too inconsiderable, to permit him to indulge the most distant hopes of acquiring so transecedent an honor. At supper, Saul was seated above the rest of the guests, consisting of seventy persons, with his servant next him, and Samuel ordered the attendants to set before Saul a royal meal. At the hour of rest the company retired, but Saul and his servant remained with the prophet that night.

The next morning by sun-rise, Samuel dismissed his guest; accompanying him a small distance on his way home. Being come to a convenient spot, the prophet desired Saul to send his servant a little way on before, as he had something of consequence to communicate to him in private. His request being complied with, he took out of his pocket a phial of oil, and, pouring it upon his head, pronounced and saluted him king of Israel; at the same time admonishing him that this distinguished honour was conferred on him to the intent that he might revenge the injuries which the Hebrews had received from the Philistines, and defend them from all future attacks of their enemies. "To evince," said Samuel, "the truth of what I have now predicted to you, soon after your departure from hence you shall fall into company with three young men going to Bethel to sacrifice, and carrying with them three loaves, a kid, and a bottle of wine. They shall salute you with great respect, and shall make you an offer of two of their loaves, which you are to accept. After quitting those men, you shall proceed towards the sepulchre of Rachael, where you shall receive information that the affairs are found. From thence you will continue your journey to Gabbatha, at which place, meeting with a company of prophets, you shall find yourself suddenly inspired with the divine Spirit, and shall prophesy with the rest, to the utter astonishment of all who hear you. When all these events shall be accomplished, you will then have no room to doubt that God distinguishes you by his peculiar favour. You may afterwards return to your father's house, and when I send you, repair immediately to me at Gilgal, where we may join in offering up oblations and thanksgivings to Almighty God." With these words they separated, and Saul found the predictions of Samuel minutely verified.

When Saul returned home, he was closely questioned by his kinsman Abner, for whom he entertained a particular friendship, relative to the incidents of his journey, all of which he readily communicated to him, save that which regarded his advancement to the regal dignity; being apprehensive, from his knowledge of the frailty of human nature, that, if this circumstance should obtain belief, he should draw upon himself the envy and jealousy of his relations; or incur the censure of being a weak and vain man.
An assembly of the people being soon afterwards convened at Mizpeh, Samuel addressed himself to them in the following terms: "It is God's pleasure that I should recal to your remembrance, that it is to him that you are indebted not only for your emancipation from the bondage of the Egyptians, but also for repeated and signal deliverances since the above period. I am to remind you, that you have no otherwise repaid those mercies and favours than by the most ungrateful neglect and dishonour; having, as far as in you lay, rejected the government of the King of Kings, and chosen for your ruler a man formed like yourselves, and subjected to the same passions and frailties: a ruler who shall consider you in no other light, than as instruments destined to procure him the gratification of his libidinous appetites. However, as this is your absolute determination, and as you are above all restraint either of duty, honor, or conscience, your demand shall be complied with; separate yourselves, therefore, into tribes and families, and let the lot decide on whom your choice shall fall." They obeyed; and Saul, the son of Kish, of the family of Matri, of the tribe of Benjamin, was thus elected to the high office in question. The very moment that the election was finished, Saul privately withdrew himself from the assembly, in order to avoid the congratulations of his new subjects. A rare example of modesty and prudence in one thus suddenly advanced from a private station to the supreme government of a numerous and mighty people!

In the dilemma occasioned by the retreat of Saul, the prophet applied to God, to be informed of the place where he had concealed himself, and, having obtained the requested information, he dispatched some persons to the spot, who quickly returned to the assembly accompanied by Saul, who, it was immediately observed, was taller by the head than any of the rest of the people.

The prophet, upon the appearance of Saul, presented him to the people, who received him with the loudest acclamations of joy; Samuel noticed to them, at the same time, the superior height of his person, and his majestic mien; and read in the hearing of the multitude and Saul himself, the prediction which he had formerly delivered to them, respecting the evils which they were to experience under a monarchical form of government; after which he deposited the book in the tabernacle; there to remain as a ratified testimony of the truth of what he had foretold.

He afterwards returned to Ramah, the place of his abode, and Saul repaired to Gibeah his native city. A numerous train of persons accompanied him thither, from motives of duty and respect to their new sovereign; but with these were intermingled a number of profligate wretches, who behaved with the most contemptuous insolence, not only towards their loyal fellow subjects, but even towards the prince himself.

Within the course of a month after the accession of Saul to the supreme authority, a war broke out between the Ammonites and the Hebrews, in the course of which he acquired considerable renown. Nahash, the king of the Ammonites, invaded the country of the Israelites beyond Jordan.
dan with a powerful army, where he subdued several cities, and spread desolation throughout the land. This prince, not contented with reducing the inhabitants to slavery, in order to prevent even the possibility of their revolting, put out the right eye not only of his prisoners, but also of those who yielded themselves on capitulation; and thus, as in battle the left eye was constantly covered with the buckler, rendered them totally incapable of serving in the field.

Nahash afterwards marched his army into the country of the Gileadites, situated on this side Jordan, and encamped near Jabesh, the capital of the province. He sent a summons to the inhabitants, peremptorily requiring them to submit without delay to the cruel conditions above-mentioned, and threatening, in case of refusal, to destroy the place, and to put the citizens to the sword. These people were at first much divided in their sentiments, whether they should return a resolute, or a submissive answer to this summons, and they at length determined to steer a middle course, and sent a message to Nahash, requesting that he would grant them a truce for seven days, during which time they might send to their allies for assistance; and promising, in case their applications should prove unsuccessful, either to yield themselves upon the terms proposed by him, or to march out and give him battle. To these conditions Nahash, influenced by the most conunittate contempt of the whole Hebrew nation, readily assented.

The Gileadites, accordingly, dispatched express to all parts of the country, to acquaint their neighbours with the eminent danger to which they were exposed; but, though their situation was universally deplored, yet no one dared to stir in their defence; and the people of Gibeah, where Saul kept his court, were not less infected than the rest with this extreme dread and apprehension of the power of the Ammonites.

Saul, who had been some time absent from the capital, chanced to return just at this time; and, having learnt the cause of the apparent sorrow and conformation of the people, he, actuated by a divine impulse, sent back some of the messengers, with orders to assure their fellow-citizens that he would deliver them from their enemies in the course of three days, and that the rising sun should behold the total defeat and destruction of the haughty foe; and the rest he retained with him, to serve him in the capacity of guides.

**CHAP. VI.**

Saul assembles an army, defeats the Ammonites, and is again anointed, and proclaimed king.

Saul perceiving the great averseness of the people to engage in this war, and being satisfied that in the present case, the utmost dispatch was necessary in assembling an army, devised the following expedient to induce them to take up arms: he first cut off the legs of a certain number of his own oxen, and then issued a proclamation, that the same should be done to the
the oxen of all such persons as should either refuse or neglect to appear in arms on the next day, on the banks of the river Jordan; thence to follow him and Samuel wherever it should be deemed requisite to lead them. The fear of incurring the above penalty influenced the people to that degree, that, at the precise time, they assembled to the number of 700,000 effective men, exclusive of a separate body of 70,000, which were furnished by the tribe of Judah; as appeared by a mullet made near the city of Balam, which was the appointed place of rendezvous.

With this army Saul crossed the river Jordan, and, after a march of about ten sthen during the night, at length halted on the spot which he had before fixed on for that purpose. At break of day the next morning, he separated his army into three divisions, and, suddenly breaking in upon the enemy's camp, defeated them with incredible slaughter; their king Nahash being among the number of the slain. He pursued the glorious advantage he had gained, and marched with his troops into the country of the Ammonites, which he utterly laid waste, and re-conducted his army home, crowned with victory, and enriched by the spoils of their enemies. These successes acquired him great reputation, and those of his subjects who had before taken every opportunity to manifest their contempt of him, were now the most zealous in his praise.

Nor did the multitude forget, on this occasion, to compliment themselves on the success of their expedition in chusing a king; and they even inferred that some of those who had been most strenuous against the measure should be put to death; but Saul, thanking them for their zeal, declared, with an oath, that he would not, upon any account, permit the glories of their late victories to be filled with the blood of their friends; strongly recommending it to them, at the same time, to confine to utter oblivion the reflection on all past disagreements and animosities.

At this period Samuel proposed that a second convention of the people should be held, with the view of confirming again the advancement of Saul to the supreme authority. They, accordingly, assembled at Gilgal, where the same ceremonies were repeated as had been used at the former election, in the fight and hearing of all present.

Thus was the Hebrew government changed from a republican, to a monarchical form. During the whole term of the administration of Moses and Joshua it was aristocratic, and for the space of eighteen years after the death of the latter, no one being invested with the supreme authority, the whole nation was involved in an absolute anarchy. They were afterwards governed, for a considerable term of years, by certain magistrates who were denominated judges; and to this form succeeded that of the regal government.

When the assembly was on the point of separating, Samuel addressed himself to them in the following speech: "I conjure you, in the name of that Almighty Power, who appointed those admirable brothers, Moses and Aaron to conduct your ancestors out of Egypt, and to serve them as governors and guides, to declare freely, in the presence of your sovereign, whether the whole of my conduct throughout my administration has not been
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been regulated by the strictest regard to justice; and whether I have
ever taken from any man either his ox, his sheep, his as, or any other
part of his property. Not that I mean to insinuate, in the most distant
manner, that either guilt or imputation is to be incurred, by the accept-
ance of such articles as may be ranked under the head of the necessaries
of life. But, if you have any charge of this kind to produce against me,
I once more request that you will now openly prefer it, without any manner
of reserve." To this the whole multitude replied, with one voice, that
his conduct during his government had been blameless and praiseworthy in
the highest degree.

Upon this declaration in his favour the prophet proceeded in these words:
I am happy to hear you thus acknowledge, in the presence of your love-
reign, that you have no complaint to make against my administration; and
I wish that I could say that your conduct has been equally faultless. But,
indeed, to deal ingenuously with you, you have acted with great impru-
dence. What could induce you, after having experienced so many signal
mercies and deliverances, while you continued under that form of go-

government prescribed by God, now to choose an earthly sovereign to rule
over you? You appear to have totally forgotten the miraculous increa-

of the Hebrews, who, at the period of Jacob's arrival in Ægypt, whither
he was obliged to repair for food, amounted to no more than seventy per-
sions, exclusive of himself. In like manner have you forgotten also the
deliverance which God was pleased to grant them, from the cruel op-

prefion to which they were so long subjected in that country; not by the
intervention of a king, but by the ministry of his servants Moses and
Aaron, who conducted them into the land which you at this time possess.

Had you, I say, recalled to mind these signal mercies and blessings, you

certainly would never have failed in that respect and obedience which you
owe to so generous a benefactor and protector. How often has your apo-

stacy compelled the Almighty to abandon you to all the miseries of abso-

lute slavery; yet, upon your humiliation and repentance have you been
freed from your bondage, and again received into his favour, did not the
same supreme Power alone enable you to subdue first the Assyrians, after-

wards the Ammonites and Moabites, and finally the Philistines; not by
the agency of kings, but under the direction of Jephthah and Gideon?

What infatuation, then, has influenced you to reject the government of a
heavenly ruler, and to prefer the reto that of an earthly sovereign? How-
ever, as you were obstinately bent on subjected yourselves to the yoke of
regal authority, God has been pleased to appoint a king to reign over
you. But, to convince you of the great displeasure which the Almighty
has conceived at your conduct in this instance; I do now beg of heaven that
such a storm may instantly arise, as was never before seen in this country
in the present season of summer." He had scarcely uttered these words,
before so terrible a tempest of thunder, lightning, and hail arose, that the
very dissolution of nature seemed to be close at hand; and the whole assembly,
terrified in the highest degree at this dreadful phenomenon, had immediate
recourse to their prayers; earnestly soliciting the Almighty to pardon not
only
only their present, but also their former transgressions; and requesting the
prophet also to interpose with God in their behalf. Samuel promised to
comply with their request, and gave them hopes of obtaining the object of
their supplications: but, at the same time, he strictly enjoined them to de-
mean themselves temperately and virtuously, and constantly to bear in re-
membrance the miracles which God had so frequently wrought in their be-
half; and to pay an implicit obedience to his laws, communicated to them
by his servant Mofes: warning them, at the same time, that a disregard of
these injunctions would inevitably involve both themselves and their mo-
narch in one universal destruction. After Samuel had thus a second time
confirmed Saul in his sovereignty, he permitted the people to depart to their
own habitations.

C H A P. VII.
The displeasure of the Almighty against Saul. The Philistines are defeated by Jona-
than. The rash vow of Saul. Particulars concerning his offspring.

BEING established in the regal authority, Saul assembled three thousand
men selected from the body of the people: and two thousand of them he
commanded to accompany him to his residence at Bethel, as a guard for his
personal safety; he appointed the other thousand to attend his son Jonathan,
whom he had ordered to repair to Gibeah, near to which place Jonathan,
with these thousand men, attacked and conquered a castle belonging to the
Philistines.

When the Philistines inhabiting the parts adjacent to Gibeah obtained ad-
vantage over the Hebrews, they did not only dispossess them of their arms, but
enjoined them against practicing any handicraft branch, in which iron was a
material, thereby subjecting them to the necessity of employing Philistine
workmen to provide the iron-work even for their domestic utensils and im-
plements of husbandry. The Philistines possessed themselves of the fords and
pales, and having fortified their towns, they came into the field with an
army of three hundred thousand foot, thirty thousand chariots, and six thou-
sand horse, and established their quarters at Michmash. When Saul had
obtained intelligence of these preparations, he repaired to Gilgal, and issued
proclamations for all his people to take up arms against the enemy, whom
he represented to be less formidable than they were in reality; but upon ob-
taining authentic information as to the military prowess of the Philistines,
an universal terror prevailed among the Hebrews, the greatest part of whom
passed the river Jordan, and fled to the tribes of Gad and Reuben for protec-
tion; the rest concealed themselves in caves, vaults, and such other places as
they imagined would shelter them from the vigilance of their adversaries.

At this juncture Saul applied to the prophet Samuel, requesting his ad-
vice for the regulation of his conduct in the present distressful state of affairs.
Samuel instructed him to remain in his present situation, and to prepare of-
ferings to the Lord, saying, that at the expiration of seven days, he would
himself attend the ceremony of oblation, after which he might give battle to
the enemy. The appointed time was now arrived, and being continually abandoned by his soldiers, Saul became exceedingly impatient, and proceeded to offer up his sacrifice; immediately upon the conclusion of which ceremony, the arrival of the prophet was announced. He cenfured Saul for having arrogated to himself the office of performing sacrifice to God. To extenuate the fault allaged against him, Saul urged, that he had waited the appointed time, but that the enemy having quitted Michmash, and directed their march towards Gilgal, had greatly intimidated his men, many of whom had deserted; and that on these considerations he was compelled to offer up the sacrifice lest he should be entirely abandoned by his followers. In reply to this, Samuel reproved him for having neglected a rigid observance of his direction, which he declared to be a message from the Almighty himself; adding that a compliance therewith would have effectually secured the government to him and his posterity; and he then returned home, much displeased with the conduct of Saul. Attended only by six hundred men and his son Jonathan, Saul removed to Gibeah, the Hebrews having been prohibited (as before observed) the manufacturing of iron, and the majority of his followers being destitute of arms.

The Philistine army being divided into three bodies, penetrated into the country of the Hebrews by three different roads, and as they proceeded, ravaged and laid waste the territories of their afflicted adversaries. Saul, Jonathan, and Abiah, the high-priest, beheld the merciless devastation from an eminence, and severely regretted that they were not in a state sufficiently formidable to repel the invaders.

These outrages so exasperated Jonathan, that he determined upon a brave enterprise for the preservation of his country; and questioned his armour-bearer whether he would share with him the danger and glory of the generous attempt. He consented, and bound himself by the solemnity of an oath to put his life on the issue of the plot. Jonathan proposed that they should secretly gain admittance to the camp of the enemy, and endeavour to throw them into confusion by a sudden and unexpected attack. The Philistines were encamped on a spot of ground of a triangular shape, bounded on all sides by rocks, which rendered it nearly inaccessible. Jonathan, to encourage his armour-bearer to behave himself courageously on the occasion, told him that if, in climbing up the rocks, they should be discovered and spoken to by the enemy, he might consider the circumstance as a certain prelude of their success; but, if the contrary should happen, they must abandon the enterprise.

When they had nearly reached the camp, they were espied by some of the Philistines, who observed to each other in derision that there were two of the Israelites who had ventured out of their lurking holes; calling to Jonathan and his companion to draw nearer, to receive the reward of their rashness. This incident afforded Jonathan the greatest satisfaction; and having, with much danger and difficulty, at length attained the top of the rocks, he and his armour-bearer suddenly entered a part of the camp where the enemy were asleep, and flew about twenty before they were sensible of his approach. The boldness of this attempt threw the Philistines into inexpressible confusion;
THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

fusion; some abandoning their arms and endeavouring to save themselves by flight; some part of the army being composed of different nations, fell by the hands of each other, their terror not permitting them to distinguish friend from foe; many rushed upon death merely from the very apprehension of it; and the number of those who perished by these various means was very considerable.

Saul, having by this time received intelligence that an extraordinary commotion prevailed in the camp of the Philistines, ordered instant enquiry to be made whether any of his own people were absent; and, being informed that Jonathan and his armour-bearer had secretly withdrawn themselves, he commanded the high-priest to habit himself in his sacerdotal vestments, and to offer up prayers to God for instructions how to proceed on the occasion. This being done, the high-priest acquainted Saul, that it was God's pleasure that he should immediately attack the enemy, in full confidence of obtaining a compleat victory; which injunction Saul joyfully obeyed. In the intermediate time, such of the Hebrews as had concealed themselves in the hidden-places of the rocks, having learnt what had happened in the camp of the Philistines, assembled to the number of nearly ten thousand men, and, putting themselves under the conduct of their king, attacked the enemy with such impetuosity, that they soon put them to the rout, and pursued them to a considerable distance with great slaughter. But Saul, either through inadvertency, or infatuated, perhaps, with this unexpected and signal success, fell into an error which nearly proved of the most fatal consequence to his repose, and embittered even the sweets of conquest. From a strong desire of taking a compleat revenge on the enemy, he ordered that the pursuit should be continued, without intermission, till night; and vowed to punish with death any person who should allow himself the leisure even to eat or drink, till the chase should be at an end; and this denunciation was ratified by all the people who were with him at the time. Jonathan, however, who was totally unacquainted with the foregoing circumstances, in passing afterwards through a wood, in the district of the tribe of Ephraim, perceived some bees at work, and taking a honey-comb, began to lick it; but, being informed by those who were next him of all the particulars relative to his father's vow, he instantly desisted, and threw the comb to the ground, but not without some reflections on the impropriety of his father's conduct, in interdicting such refreshment to the people as might enable them to pursue the enemy with the greater alacrity.

At the conclusion of the chase, in the course of which a great slaughter was made of the Philistines, the Hebrews returned at night to pillage their camp; in which, exclusive of other plunder, they found a vast quantity of cattle; and many of these they, being hard pressed with hunger, immediately killed, and, in direct violation of the laws of Moses, eat the blood together with the flesh. Complaint being made to Saul of this irregularity, he ordered a stone of a very large size to be placed in the midst of the field, on which the animals were to be flain, and that they should not be eaten till they were thoroughly cleansed from their blood. The people univerally obeyed
obeyed this mandate; and Saul erected an altar, being the first which he had caused to be set up since his accession to the throne, and thereupon offered sacrifices to God.

Saul was very desirous of exterminating the wretched remainder of the Philistines; nor were the troops less anxious to effect this point than their leader. But he determined to consult the will of God, with respect to the matter in question, before he should proceed in his design; and he, therefore, ordered Architob the high-priest to make application to God for his instructions on this head. Architob returned for answer that the oracle was silent. Saul observed that the silence of the Almighty, in this case, certainly proceeded from some secret and important cause, as, at other times, he had been accustomed to intimate his pleasure to them, without any application on their part; adding, with a solemn oath, that he would put to death that person who should be found by his iniquity to have subjected them to this dilemma, even should his own son Jonathan be discovered to be the offender.

This declaration was highly applauded by the people, and Saul ordered the lot to be cast; himself and his son standing, during the time, some little distance from the rest. When it was perceived that the lot had fallen upon Jonathan, his father bid him recollect what secret crime he had lately committed, and to make an open confession thereof before all the people. Jonathan replied, that he had no fault to charge himself with, save that of having tasted, during the pursuit on the day before, a little honey; being totally ignorant, at the time, of the prohibition issued by his father. Saul assured him, with an oath, that his life should pay the forfeiture of his disobedience; as he preferred the religious observance of his vow, before every consideration of parental tenderness and affection.

The generous youth, not at all dismayed at the prospect of death, calmly answered, that he should readily relinquish his life, for the sake of enabling his father to release himself from the obligation of a sacred bond; and that the reflection, that he had been, in some degree, instrumental in revenging the injuries which the Hebrews had so long sustained from the Philistines, would afford him ample consolation under all his sufferings. The noble constancy manifested by Jonathan on this trying occasion, affected the people to that degree, that they forcibly rescued him out of the hands of his enraged father; unanimously declaring, with the most solemn oaths, that they would not permit the least injury to be done to the man to whom they were so largely indebted for the victory of the preceding day; beseeching God to pardon a fault into which he had been misled by ignorance alone.

After this remarkable victory, in which the number slain on the side of the Philistines amounted to nearly sixty thousand men, Saul returned to his capital, where he long enjoyed an uninterrupted series of prosperity, and acquired immortal fame by the repeated advantages which he obtained over the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Philistines, the Edomites, and the people of Zoba. He had three sons, whose names were Jonathan, Joshua, and Melchi-shui; and two daughters, the eldest of whom was named Merab, and the other Michal. His army was commanded by Abner, the son of his uncle
uncle Ner: Kish, the father of Saul, and Ner were the sons of Abiel. He had a numerous army, of infantry, cavalry, and chariots; and from every encounter with his enemies he constantly returned victorious. His guards were remarkable for their martial appearance and deportment. In short, under his reign the Israelites attained to a height of reputation and power, which rendered them at once both the envy and terror of all the neighbouring nations.

CHAP. VIII.

Samuel delivers a message from the Lord, enjoining Saul to destroy the Amalekites.

Saul incurs the displeasure of God for sparing the life of king Agag.

The prophet Samuel represented to Saul, that he had received an express command from the Almighty to remind him of his duty to the Creator of the universe, and the King of kings, who had exalted him to the regal dignity; and that it was the pleasure of God he should prosecute a war against the Amalekites, and utterly extirpate the whole race; that no advantage should be made of the property of the people, and that their cattle, goods, and other possessions should be entirely destroyed, and, according to the prediction of Moses, even the name of Amalek expunged from the history of mankind. These judgments were denounced against the Amalekites, as a just punishment for their iniquities.

Saul engaged to execute the instructions delivered to him by Samuel with all possible dispatch. He now assembled his followers at Gilgal, and upon a review of his forces, they appeared to consist of forty thousand men, exclusive of the tribe of Judah, which mustered thirty thousand. With this army Saul prepared to attack the Amalekites: he stationed ambushes upon the banks of the rivers and woods, so that the enemy could not move from their quarters without danger of being attacked by surprise. After some skirmishes, a general battle took place, and the Amalekites were totally defeated; great part of them being slaughtered during the battle, and, excepting a very inconsiderable number, the rest were effectually cut off in the pursuit.

After this victory, in conformity to the prediction of the Almighty, Saul proceeded to attack the walled and fortified towns and other places of strength. He subdued some of them by siege, and others by stratagem, and the war concluded with a general slaughter, without respect to sex or age: for the most extreme cruelties were not considered as indefensible, provided they were exercised in a just war, or in obedience to the command of God.

King Agag was taken prisoner, and merely from his being of an agreeable and prepossessing person, Saul determined to preserve him from the common ruin: and this act of disobedience was the foundation of the calamities afterwards experienced by the Hebrews. A conduct similar to that of the king was adopted by the people, who converted the cattle and other valuable effects to their own use, and destroyed only what was not worth preservation. Saul ravaged and laid waste the whole country, extending from Pelusium, on the
the confines of Egypt, to the Red-Sea; but he attempted no injury or annoyance to the Sichemites inhabiting the land of Midian, towards whom the Hebrews entertained a particular attachment, on account of their ancient affinity, Raguel, the father-in-law of Moses, being descended from them. Previous to the war, Saul cautioned them against connecting themselves with the Amalekites, representing to them the judicial vengeance denounced against that iniquitous people.

After these great achievements, Saul returned home, apparently reconciled to the idea that in the important work of reducing the Amalekites, he had inviolably observed the directions communicated by the prophet Samuel. But the Lord was incensed against Saul for having disregarded his commission in sparing the life of Agag, and suffering the people to make advantage of the plunder; and he was pleased to inform Samuel, that as Saul had proved himself inclined to pursue the dictates of his own inclination, rather than fulfil the orders entrusted to him, he repented having advanced him to the sovereignty. The prophet was so greatly distressed by this revelation that he employed the following night in fervent supplications in favour of Saul. In answer to these intercessions, the Lord was pleased to say, "that to excute "offences of such magnitude as those committed by Saul, would be an ill- "placed mercy, and an encouragement for the perpetration of additional "crimes."

Finding his prayers for obtaining the pardon of Saul to be ineffectual, he, the next morning, repaired to Gilgal. Upon his arrival, the king embraced him, and after a congratulatory thanksgiving for the late successes, he observed, that he had, in every instance, acted in conformity to his commission. Upon this, Samuel enquired respecting the bleating of sheep which he heard in the camp. The king replied, that the sound proceeded from some beasts which the people had reserved for sacrifice, and said he had so effectually destroyed the Amalekites, that only one man remained alive, and that he kept him prisoner that he might be instructed in what manner to dispose of him. Samuel said, it was not sacrifices, but the rightconfines of mankind which proved acceptable to the Almighty, who accounted the only true sacrifice an observance of his sacred will, without which the fat of beasts, and offerings of gold and silver he considered as ostentations of pretended piety: but that from those who inviolably observed the divine commandments, the most tripping offerings were received by the supreme Being with infinitely greater satisfaction than all the pomp of ceremony unaccompanied by a pious integrity of heart.

"I am now to reveal to you (said Samuel) that you have incurred the dis- "pleasure of the Lord by the contempt which you have shown towards his "commandments. By what means can you attempt to exculpate yourself "when you shall be called to answer for having deferred a part of that fa- "crifice, the whole of which the Lord had commanded you to destroy? As "a punishment for your disobedience to the declared pleasure and expres- "command of God, you are doomed to be deprived of the sovereignty, "and of the authority which you have grossly abused, in violation of the "reverence due to the supreme Being, by whom you were exalted to the"
"regal state." Saul admitted that he had been guilty of an heinous transgression in exceeding the commission delivered to him by the prophet; and in extenuation of his crime, he used no other argument than that the soldiers were so resolutely determined to plunder the enemy, that he dreaded the consequence of an attempt to restrain their violence: and he entreated Samuel to obtain a pardon from the Lord, promising, that the offences of which he had been guilty should be a warning for the better regulation of his future conduct. Having made this declaration of his sincere repentance, he endeavoured to prevail upon Samuel to continue with him some time longer, and to perform sacrifice, in order to avert the vengeance of heaven; but, being sensible that his mediation would prove ineffectual, the prophet departed.

CHAP. IX.

Saul is deposed, and David proclaimed king of Israel.

In order to delay his departure, Saul caught hold of the garment of the prophet, who endeavoured to disengage himself, and in the contest the mantle was rent; which accident Samuel applied by an allusion, telling Saul, that the government of the kingdom would be torn from him, and a man of piety, justice and probity, appointed as the successor to his throne. "This sentence (said he) is passed, and the word of God is irrevocable." Having confessed that the displeasure of the Almighty was due to his iniquities, Saul entreated the prophet to return with him, that he might humble himself before his offended creator: Samuel complied, and they joined in the worship of the Lord. The devotions being concluded, Agag, the king of the Amalekites, was brought forth. He had been heard to make use of some expressions concerning the terrors of death, and these were retorted upon him by the prophet, who said to him: "Many an Hebrew mother hath been overwhelmed with affliction by thy destructive sword; it is therefore, just that thy mother be numbered among those who are childless." Having given orders for putting Agag immediately to death, the prophet returned to Ramah. This was the last interview between Saul and Samuel.

Saul repaired to his palace at Gibeah (or the little-hill), in the full persuasion that his contempt of the divine commands had produced his sad reverse of fortune. Samuel was greatly distressed on account of the separation: but the Lord commanded him to suppress his uneasiness, and, providing himself with a cruse of holy oil, to repair to Bethlehem, and there anoint one of the sons of Jesse, the son of Obed, king of Israel; saying that the party adjudged worthy to support the regal dignity, should be distinguished to him from his brethren. On the arrival of the prophet, the people of Bethlehem anxiously enquired as to the cause of his journey: he gave them a general answer, saying that his business was to perform sacrifice.
The holy ceremony being concluded, the prophet invited Jefle and his sons to dine with him. He was struck with admiration by the graceful form and deportment of the elder son; and concluded that he was the person destined to fill the throne. But upon asking whether he was the man to be anointed, he was answered in the negative, and told that the Almighty judged not from external excellencies, but that the qualifications most acceptable to him, were piety, justice, fortitude, and the other virtues which harmonize and compose the beauty of the human soul. Upon this, Samuel requested the attendance of the other sons, and five more appeared, who, in point of personal advantages, he found in no respect inferior to their elder brother.

The names of these six sons of Jefle were Eliab, Abinadab, Samma, Nathanael, Rael and Asa. Samuel, having consulted the Almighty on which of these brethren he had determined to confer the sovereignty, received for answer, that neither of them was the man on whom he had fixed his choice. The prophet then enquired of Jefle what other sons he had, who replied that he had only one more, who was employed in tending his flocks, and was named David. Samuel desired that he might be sent for; saying it was but right that he should be admitted to partake of the repast. The physiognomy of this youth prepossessed every beholder in his favour; he being of a florid complexion, with something of a martial air, and a countenance highly expressive of modesty and benevolence. Immediately upon his entrance, Samuel whispered Jefle that this was the youth whom God had destined to reign over his people. The prophet seated him next himself; the father and the rest of his children taking their places below him. Samuel then anointed David, and told him in a whisper, it was the pleasure of the Almighty that he should assume the government of the kingdom; enjoining him to a strict administration of justice, and a due reverence to the commands of God; and assuring him that, by such a conduct, he would establish himself in the government, subdue the Philistines, and all his other enemies, and perpetuate his fame to the latest posterity.

Samuel afterwards returned home; and the spirit of God was transferred from Saul to David, who at this time began to prophecy. At the same period Saul was afflicted with an uncommon disorder, attended with swoonings and difficulty of breathing, of which his physicians could not, after the maturest deliberation, discover the cause: the symptoms of this disorder bore a strong resemblance to those exhibited by persons possessed with a demon. The only remedy which the physicians could devise was, to cause a person to sing and play on the harp before the patient, whenever he should be attacked with the symptoms of this disease. Saul gave immediate orders to his attendants to make the strictest search for a person thus qualified; and was informed by one of his domestics, that Jefle, the Bethlemite, had a son named David, who was famed for his skill in singing and playing on the harp, as well as for his bravery, and the comeliness of his person. Saul, hereupon, dispatched messengers to Jefle, requesting that he would, without delay, send this accomplished youth to court. Jefle consented; and David, being furnished by his father with proper presents, repaired to the capital. He was received
received upon his arrival, in the most favourable manner, and Saul admitted him into the number of his guards; and constantly expressed the highest esteem for him; for, exclusive of the great satisfaction which the king found in his conversation, no one but David could afford him an interval of relief in the disorder above-mentioned; and he, therefore, obtained the consent of Jesse that he should retain his son to attend his person.

C H A P. X.

The Philistines advance with a powerful army into the country of the Hebrews. Goliath, the champion of the Philistines, defies the Israelites, and is slain by David.

SOME short time afterwards, the Philistines entered the country of the Hebrews, and encamped with a vast army between the cities of Shecoth and Azekah. Saul obliged them to quit this situation; and they established their quarters on a mountain opposite to that which was occupied by the Israelites. In the army of the Philistines was a man of prodigious stature and strength, named Goliath, a native of Gath. He measured in height six cubits and a span, and the armour which he wore was proportioned to his vast bulk and force; his coat of mail weighing five thousand shekels, and the head of his spear, which was of iron, fix hundred shekels: this spear he bore upon his shoulder, it being too ponderous to be carried in the hand, as lances usually are.

Thus equipped, this prodigy of nature descended into the valley between the above-mentioned mountains, accompanied by a numerous body of armed Philistines, and, with a voice in the highest degree expressive of his extraordinary size and strength, he uttered the following defiance in the ears of the Hebrews: "Prompted by a desire of preventing the effusion of human blood, I come hither, ye men of Israel, to propose to you a decision of the contest between the two nations by single combat. I here offer myself as a champion on the part of the Philistines; and, if you will send some person with a like commission from your nation, the prevailing differences may easily be settled without proceeding to a general battle. If he chance to vanquish me, then will we be your servants, but if I prove victorious, ye shall be subjected to us; for it is better that one man only should be exposed to destruction, than a whole army." At the conclusion of his speech he returned to the camp; and this defiance he regularly repeated during the course of forty days; the Hebrews being highly chagrined to remain thus long inactive in fight of the enemy.

Among the troops of Saul were three of the sons of Jesse; but David had been sent back to his father, at the commencement of the war, to his former employ of tending the sheep. Having been dispatched to the camp by Jesse on a certain day, to carry provisions to his brethren, and to enquire after their welfare, he chanced to hear Goliath reproaching and execrating the Israelites, with more than usual virulence, for their cowardice in declining his repeated challenges. David, who was engaged at the time in conversation with his brethren, could not contain his emotion on the occasion, and
and resolutely declared his willingness to encounter this haughty boaster; but Eliah, the eldest of his brethren, sharply reprehended him for his rashness; bidding him, in derision, return to the care of his flocks, as being far the more suitable employment for one so young and inexperienced.

From respect for his brother, David was silent for the present; but, when he was about to quit the camp, having again mentioned, in the hearing of several of the soldiers, his desire to engage the giant, they immediately carried the intelligence to Saul, who ordered him to be brought before him, and questioned him whether he had made any declaration of the kind related by the soldiers. David replied in the affirmative; and assured the king that, with his permission, he would quickly render this arrogant Philistine as contemptible as he at present appeared to be formidable; adding that the glory redounding to the nation from such a conquest would be the greater, as being obtained by a raw and inexperienced youth. Saul was struck with amazement at the courage of David, but he dared not entrust the decision of so important a cause to one whom he deemed, from his want of years and judgment, to be so inadequate to the task.

David, clearly perceiving in the countenance of the king what passed in his mind, endeavoured to dispel his doubts by the following words: "It is not, Sire, so much the Hebrew army, as the omnipotency of Heaven itself which this wretch dares thus impiously to defy; nor should the combat be considered as a contest between Goliah and David, but between Goliah and the Lord of Hosts, who sometimes deigns to effect the most glorious purposes by the agency of the weakest and meanest instruments. I confide in that Almighty power for the like aid and protection which he has been graciously pleased to afford me on former occasion. It chanced on a time, as I was tending the flocks of my father, that a lion entered the fold, and carried off a lamb: I pursued the furious beast, and, seizing him by the tail, dashed him against the ground with so much force, that he instantly yielded up his life at my feet. In like manner I, some time afterwards, encountered a bear with similar success. I do not consider this Philistine as a more formidable foe than a lion or a bear; but, on the contrary, am firmly persuaded that God will make me the humble instrument of that punishment which he will inflict on this audacious and blaspheming wretch."

Saul was now convinced, from the manner in which these words were uttered, that the youth was actuated by a Divine impulse, and therefore no longer hesitated to grant the requested permission. To prepare him for the combat he equipped him in his own suit of armour; but David found that these arms were likely to prove rather an incumbrance than a defence to him, and therefore desired leave to lay them aside; modestly observing, that they were better adapted to the use of the skilful warrior, than of the inexperienced shepherd. Having resumed his own habit, he took his shepherd's staff, and his sling; and putting five smooth stones, which he had collected from the brook, into his wallet, he advanced towards his antagonist, who ran, as well as he was able under so cumbersome a load of armour, to meet him. When Goliah perceived the diminutive stature of his adversary, and the
the uncommon weapons with which he had provided himself for the encounter, he asked him, with ineffable contempt, whether he imagined that he was come thither to beat a dog, or to engage in combat with one skilled in the use of arms. David replied, that he considered him as far worse than a dog. These words enflamed the Philistine with such violence of rage, that he vented the most bitter execrations against David, and declared that he would give his dead carcass for food to the fowls of the air, and the beasts of the field. "You," said David, "come to the field clad in a coat of mail, and armed with a sword and spear; but my armour is the composition which I have received from the living God, who will this day, by my agency, deliver both yourself and your army into the hands of the Hebrews; and I shall, ere night, separate your head from your body, and throw your carcass upon the dunghill, to be devoured by dogs, of whose nature you so nearly partake. And this event shall convince mankind, that the God of the Hebrews makes the safety of his people his peculiar care; and that neither arms nor numbers can afford any protection to those who incur his resentment."

Goliath was so much prepossessed with a contempt of the youth and inexperience of his antagonist, that these words made not the least impression on him; and he eagerly pressed forward to the combat.

**CHAP. XI.**

The death of Goliath. The Philistines are pursu'd and defeated by the Hebrews:

In consequence of certain incidents attending this event, Saul conceives a mortal envy and hatred against David.

The eagerness which David manifested to proceed to action was not at all inferior to that of his adversary, being incited by his all-powerful and invisible protector; and, when the combatants had advanced within a certain distance of each other, David took one of the stones from his wallet, and, placing it in his sling, hurled it with such force at the giant, that it fractured his skull, and penetrated even into his brain; extending him at his length on the ground in the sleep of death. David instantly ran towards the spot, and, unheathing his enemy's sword, struck off his head therewith.

The army of the Philistines was thrown into a great consternation by this defeat of their champion, that they instantly dispersed, and fled in the utmost confusion; and were pursu'd by the Hebrews as far as the frontiers of Gath, and to the very gates of Ascalon. On this occasion, full thirty thousand of the Philistines were slain, and the wounded amounted to nearly double that number. The Hebrews, upon their return from the pursuit, plundered the enemy's camp, and afterwards set it on fire. The head of Goliath was preferred by David as a trophy, and he offered the sword as an oblation to the Lord.

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When
When Saul was upon his return home with the army, he was met upon the road by the women and maidens of the several cities through which he passed, who came out in troops, to gratulate him on his successes, with music and songs of triumph; the women leading the chorus with the words, "Saul has slain his thousands!" and the virgins replying, "And David his ten thousands!" From this circumstance, Saul conceived the ridiculous notion that he should be no longer safe on his throne, while David continued about his person; and he, therefore, removed him from the post he held in his guards, and advanced him to the command of a thousand men, in hopes that he might fall in some of the enterprizes in which, from the nature of his new dignity, he would be frequently engaged.

But David was so highly favoured by the Almighty, that he escaped all the snares spread for his destruction; and not only acquired the universal esteem of the people for his valour and conduct, but also made a strong impression on the heart of Michal, the king's youngest daughter. Saul soon perceived the growing passion of the maiden, and would sometimes insinuate, in the course of conversation, that he should not be altogether averse to the match on certain conditions; meaning by this conduct to lure David into a snare which might lead to his destruction; to which point all his machinations tended.

Saul, at this time, made a declaration to some of his courtiers, that he was willing to give his daughter in marriage to David, on condition that he should bring him the heads of six hundred Philistines. This proposition he supposed would naturally engage David, who he knew was ever ready to attend the calls of glory, in some dangerous enterprize against the Philistines; preferring that he should be taken off by their hands, rather than by his own immediate command. He also employed some of his emissaries to sound David on the subject of the match in question; who represented to him, that the favour which he had acquired both with the prince and the people was such, that a report was current that Saul intended to confer his daughter on him in marriage; but David rejected their intelligence as improbable.

They were a second time dispatched by Saul on the same business, with instructions to acquaint David, in his name, that the want of riches he should consider as no objection in the person whom he should contend to accept as a son-in-law; being determined to bestow, and not to sell his daughter, whenever he should part with her; and that he required nothing further from him, than to bring him the heads of six hundred of the Philistines; which would be the most acceptable present he could offer both to himself and his daughter, and would, moreover, by the bravery of the action, fully justify her in her choice to the world. David, totally unaware of the sinister design of Saul in this proposal, gave himself no concern with respect to the difficulty and danger of the enterprize, but instantly concerted the proper measures with his companions for carrying it into execution. He, accordingly, gave battle to the enemy, routed them with great slaughter, and delivered to the king the required number of heads.
CHAP. XII.

The evil practices of Saul against the life of David. Jonathan warns the latter of his danger.

ALTHOUGH Saul, to avoid the reproach of a breach of faith, had now given his daughter to David in marriage, yet this close alliance did not in the least alter his disposition towards him. For, remarking that David increased daily in the favour and esteem of God and man, he became violently apprehensive that both his crown and life were in danger from the attempts of the youth, and, to secure both, resolved to put him to death in the most secret manner possible; to the performance of which office he destined his own son Jonathan, and a certain number of his most faithful domestics. Jonathan was greatly amazed to see the late affection which his father bore to David thus suddenly converted into the extreme of hatred; and, struck with horror at the base and treacherous design meditated by Saul, instantly communicated to David the whole matter, and advised him to fly with all speed, as the only means of preserving his life. Jonathan further promised to learn from his father the cause of this extraordinary enmity towards the youth, and to endeavour to influence him in his favour; observing that he knew of no fault committed by David, which could justify the king's indignation and displeasure; and that, should he accidentally have fallen into any trifling errors, the services which he had rendered both to his sovereign and to his country, made ample compensation for them all. He then assured David that he would, from time to time, give him intelligence of his father's proceedings; after which they separated, and David, in conformity to the advice of Jonathan, retired to a place of safety, to avoid the resentment of the king.

CHAP. XIII.

Through the intervention of Jonathan, David is restored to the king's favour, and is re-inflated in his post.

On the following day, Jonathan, observing that his father was in a placid disposition of mind, took the opportunity to speak to him in favour of David. "It appears to me," said he, "very extraordinary, that you should have conceived so violent a hatred against this young man, without the least apparent cause. Our whole nation is highly indebted to him, both for the destruction of the Philistines, and for his victory over the giant, whose repeated challenges, for the term of forty successive days, so deeply affected our national honour; and which no one had courage sufficient to vindicate, save the youth in question. He is doubly entitled to your esteem, both as a man of great personal courage, and also as being your son-in-law; an honour which he purchased on his own terms, by presenting you with the heads of six hundred Philistines. Re-"
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS UPON

"Flee, I pray thee, on the grief which our whole family must feel for the loss of this worthy youth; particularly your own daughter, who, by his death, will be reduced to the pitiable condition of widowhood before she has experienced the happiness of the maternal state. Be pleased to receive, also, the relief which you have received from him in those hours when possessed with that malignant spirit which has so often of late deprived you of your repose; and to entertain sentiments more worthy of yourself, and of the man to whom our family is so highly obligated." Thee arguments made so strong an impression on the mind of Saul, that he declared, with a solemn oath, that he would never, in the slightest degree, be guilty of any violence towards David for the time to come. This welcome intelligence Jonathan immediately communicated to David, who returned with him, thereupon, to court, and resumed his attendance on the person of the king.

CHAP. XIV.

The Philistines are again vanquished by David. He is preferred by Michol from the designs of Saul, who had again determined to put him to death. Jonathan and David contrive a solemn league of friendship. David returns to Nob, and also to Gath, at the former of which places he is kindly received by Abimelech. His circumstance being communicated to Saul, he, in consequence, puts to death not only Abimelech, but also the whole sacerdotal race, save Abigail, who escapes by flight. Particulars of the miraculous deliverances of David; and of the death of Samuel. David takes to wife Abigail, the widow of Nabal. He is received by Achish, who puts him in possession of Zicklag, and retains him in his service; being engaged at the time in a war with the Hebrews.

EARLY about this period the Philistines again commenced hostilities against the Hebrews, and were defeated in a pitched battle by David, to whom Saul had entrusted the command of the army. Upon the arrival of David at court, with the intelligence of this glorious victory, he was received by the king with a full and gloomy air, and in a manner little consonant either to his expectation or his deserts: for Saul was constantly apprehensive of the increasing reputation of David with the people.

On a certain day Saul, being seized with a return of his old disorder, sent for David, to sing and play on the harp, as usual; and, whilst the latter was employed in the above manner, Saul suddenly starting from his couch, with the utmost effort of his strength, threw at him a javelin which he held in his hand; and which must have put a period to his life, had not David providentially avoided the blow, by slipping on one side. He immediately retired, in all haste, to his own house, where he remained for the rest of the day. When night arrived, a guard of soldiers were sent to the house, with orders from the king to prevent his escape, and to seize his person in the morning; in order to his being put to death with all the formalities of a public execution. But Michol, who had received intimation of her father's design, gave David instant warning of his danger; advising him
him to fly before day-light; and, after mutual endearments and lamentations, she let him down from a window at the back part of the house; and thus he escaped the imminent peril to which he was exposed.

When the soldiers whom her father had sent entered the house, and enquired for her husband, Michol answered that he had been very ill during the night, and was just then fallen asleep; and, to confirm her assertion, showed them the bed, under the coverlet of which she had purposely placed the liver of a kid newly killed, which, by its palpitation, they supposed to be the body of the sick person. They, therefore, returned to Saul with an account of these particulars, but were instantly sent back again, with orders to bring David away with them, in whatever condition they might find him; Saul being determined, at all events, to put him to death. Having repaired a second time to the house of David, they discovered the deception which had been put upon them; and, acquainting the king therewith, he severely chid his daughter for thus leaguing against her father with his greatest enemy. But Michol excused herself on the plea that her husband had compelled her to conceal him, and to assist him in his escape, by threats of instant death if she refused; and by this pretence she pacified her father's wrath.

David fled to Ramah, where Samuel then resided, and acquainted the prophet with all the particulars of Saul's conduct towards him; assuring him, at the same time, that he had been guilty of no fault which could afford the slightest pretext for the king's present inveteracy against him.

Samuel, hereupon, in order to shelter David from the danger with which he was menaced, repaired with him to Galbaah, where they remained together for some time. But no sooner was Saul made acquainted with the place of their retreat, than he dispatched thither a number of armed men, with orders to seize the person of David, and to bring him away in chains. When the messengers arrived at Galbaah they found Samuel in company with several other prophets, and, the spirit of God falling upon them at the instant, they also began to prophesy with the rest; and the like happened to those also whom Saul sent afterwards on the same business. Saul, at length, went thither himself; but, as soon as he came within sight of Samuel, he found himself possessed with the same spirit; and, upon a nearer approach, he threw off his garments, and prophesied naked before Samuel and David, for the space of a whole day and a night.

David, conscious of the irreproachableness of his conduct, bitterly complained to Jonathan of the injustice of the king in seeking his life. Jonathan assured him that he had been misled by the reports which he had heard on that subject, as the king his father never formed any resolution of importance without acquainting him therewith, previously to the carrying it into execution. But David persisted, with an oath, that his fears were too well founded; adding that, as Saul was acquainted with the strict friendship which subsisted between them, it was not probable that he should communicate to his son any design of a like tendency to that in question.

Jonathan was at length convinced; and desired his friend to consider in
what manner he might render him the most effectual service. "I am fully "persuaded," said David, "of your affection for me, and shall, therefore, "request of you, that, as to morrow is the feast of the new-moon, when "your father shall enquire the reason of my absence, you will tell him that "I obtained your permission to go to Bethlehem, for the purpose of cele-
"brating the day with my own tribe. If he, thereupon, makes use of any "expression of kindness towards me, either that he wishes me a good jour-
"ney, or the like; you may from thence conclude that he no longer en-
terns any enmity to me; but, if the contrary should happen, it will be "a proof that his resentment against me has not yet subsided; and in ei-
ther case, you will acquaint me with all that passes on the occasion. This "favour I request of you by the solemn and inviolable friendship to which "we have reciprocally bound ourselves, and by your regard to my peace "of mind under my present misfortunes. But, if you should be of opi-
"nion that I have merited the resentment of your father, and, consequent-
ly, have rendered myself unworthy of your affection and support, do not "wait for the orders of the king to put me to death, but plunge your sword "into my bosom without hesitation."

The implied suspicion contained in these last words gave great uneasiness to Jonathan, and he replied to the youth in the following terms: "To that "God who fills and governs the universe, and to whom are known my most "secret thoughts, even at the very moment of their conception; to that "God do I now appeal for the sincerity of my regard for you. Be assured "that I will exert all my endeavours to discover the real sentiments of my "father respecting you; and, whether they be favourable or otherwise, I "will not fail to acquaint you therewith, as early as possible. God will "bear evidence to my desire and intention of rendering you every service "in my power; and you may be confident that he will avenge you of your "enemies; which is my earnest prayer, even though my father and myself "should be found amongst the number. In the mean time, be mindful of "this declaration, and, should you survive me, manifest your regard for "my memory by affording your protection to my children."

Jonathan then directed David to a certain spot without the city, there to remain concealed till his return; promising that, when he should have dis-
covered the disposition of his father towards him, he would come to the spot with his bow and arrows, attended by one page only; that he would let fly three arrows, and, if the intelligence he brought him was favoura-
ble, he would order the page to fetch them again to him; but, if he gave him no such order, David was from thence to conclude that his person was in danger from the king's resentment; he finished his discourse with recom-
-mending his children once more to his protection.

At the festival of the following day, Saul, having first purified himself in the customary forms, took his seat at the table with Jonathan on his right hand, and Abner, the general of his army, on his left; the seat which, in virtue of his office, belonged to David remaining vacant. Saul, observing this circumstance, imagined that David had not regularly purified himself, and therefore passed it over in silence; but, remarking that he still did not attend
attend on the second day of the festival, Saul, with a considerable degree of asperity, questioned Jonathan why David had thus absent from himself for two successive days, on so solemn an occasion. Jonathan replied that he had granted him permission to repair to Bethlehem, to solemnize the festival with his own tribe; adding that, from the sincere affection which he bore to the young man, he should be glad to have his majesty’s leave to repair thither to him. These last words so highly irritated Saul, that he could no longer conceal his hatred for David; and, loading his son with the injurious epithets of traitor, and confederate with the enemy of his family, he ordered him forthwith to send some persons to Bethlehem, to bring David from thence, that he might be punished according to his demerits; observing that it must be apparent to every one who did not wilfully shut his eyes against the truth, that his personal safety could be no otherwise secured than by the death of David. Jonathan, in the most respectful manner, desired his father to inform him by what heinous offence David had thus drawn upon himself his resentment; but the question had nearly cost him his life: for Saul, seizing a javelin which had been defiled, would infallibly have killed him. But for the interference of some of the attendants, who wrested it out of his hand. This action clearly evinced to Jonathan the violence of that hatred which his father had conceived against David; and he immediately retired from the company, deeply affected with the reflection on the danger which threatened both his friend and himself. Having spent the night in sleepless anxiety, he rose at an early hour in the morning, and, taking with him his bow and arrows, he repaired, with one page only, to the spot where David was concealed. He first discharged his arrows, and, in token that the intelligence he brought was unfavourable, instead of sending the page to pick them up, he re-dispatched him to the city, on a feigned errand, that he might be at liberty to converse with his friend with the greater privacy. Immediately upon the departure of the lad, David came forth from his hiding-place, and, prostrated himself at the feet of his benefactor, who raised him up in the most affectionate manner; and they joined in deploring the malignity of their fate, which thus compelled them to a separation, to which death itself was, in the opinion of each, far preferable. After some time spent in these mutual condolences, and in renewing, with the most solemn protestations, the league of friendship they had formerly contracted, they took a final leave of each other, and Jonathan returned back to the city.

In order to avoid the unceasing persecution of Saul, David fled to Nob, the residence of Abimelech the high-priest. As he came without a single attendant, Abimelech could not conceal his surprize at the circumstance; but David informed him that, being charged by the king with the execution of a commissary of a most secret and important nature, he had, for the greater privacy, disdained his suit for the present; and had appointed them a certain place where they should meet him. Under this pretext he obtained from Abimelech a supply of money, and also the sword of Goliath, which, as we
have already observed, had been hung up in the temple, and dedicated to
God; and, being thus provided, he retired to Gath in the land of the Phi-
lelines, where Achish, the king of the country, then kept his court. It
chanced that the whole of the foregoing conversation between David and
Abimelech was overheard by a Syrian, named Doeg, who was employed
by Saul in the capacity of a groom.

Immediately upon the arrival of David at Gath, he was recognized by se-
veral of the king’s servants, who seized him and conducted him before their
master, with loud complaints of the many signal injuries which their nation
had sustained from this man. David, now perceiving himself involved in a
worse dilemma than before, suddenly assumed the behaviour of an idiot;
drivelling at the mouth, and using other actions of a like kind; which ex-
pedient succeeded so well, that Achish, in a violent passion, bid his servants
remove him from his presence, and drive him out of the city: and thus Da-
vid escaped the imminent danger to which he had been exposed.

From Gath he retired into the district of the tribe of Judah, where he
remained concealed for some time, in a cave situated in the field of Adullam.
Hither numbers of his friends, relations, and other persons repaired to him,
some being influenced thereto by an affection for himself, others by their
hatred and fear of Saul, and others again by the hopes of retrieving their
ruined fortunes; and with these, amounting in the whole to about four
hundred persons, he put himself under the protection of the king of Moab,
who entertained him and his followers with the greatest hospitality, during
the whole time that they remained in his dominions, from whence, by the
advice of the prophet Samuel, they removed to Hareth in the land of
Judah.

Saul quickly received the alarming intelligence that David had been seen
at the head of an armed force; and, being well acquainted with the courage
and enterprising genius of the man, he was greatly apprehensive that he
might enter upon some attempt, which might, at least, perplex the peace of
his kingdom, and might probably endanger even the security of his crown
and government. He, therefore, convened an assembly of the people at
Gibeah, and, being attended by all his officers in the various departments of
the state, he delivered the following harangue from his throne, which was
placed on the occasion in the open field: “As I am confident that the wealth
and honors which I have conferred on you must still be recent in your me-
memories, I could wish that you would resolve me this question: whether you
imagine that the son of Jesse will be more liberal of his favours towards
you than I have been. For it is evident that you are all strongly attached
to him, and that you are therein encouraged by the example and authority
of my own son Jonathan, who secretly supports the arch-traitor with all
his interest and power. But these circumstances, by which my crown and
dignity are so much affected, make not the least impression on your minds;
and you wait patiently for the event with all the indifference and uncon-
cern imaginable.”

A general silence succeeded to this speech, till Doeg, the Syrian formerly
mentioned, presented himself before the king, and related to him the par-
ticulars
ticulars of the conversation, to which he had been witness, between David and Abimelech, and of the consequent conduct of the latter thereon.

Saul immediately ordered Abimelech and the rest of the priests to be brought before him, and upon their arrival addressed the high-priest in these words: "What offence had I given you, that you should thus favourably receive the avowed enemy of my person and government; furnishing him with money and arms, and encouraging him in his pernicious designs, by communicating to him the responses of the oracle relative thereto? You cannot be unacquainted that he is at the present time a fugitive, merely from the apprehension of receiving the punishment to which his invertebrate malice against my person and family has justly rendered him obnoxious."

Abimelech did not attempt to disprove the charge, but alleged, in vindication of his conduct, that he had considered David, not as the enemy, but, on the contrary, as the friend and faithful servant, as well as the son-in-law of the king. He added, that it was in consideration of these qualities that he had afforded him the assistance he had requested, on the plea that he had been sent by the king to execute a commission, which required the utmost secrecy and dispatch; that, with respect to the circumstance of his consulting the oracle at the desire of David, it was nothing more than what he had repeatedly done on former occasions: and, finally, that, whatever designs it might appear David had formed against the person or government of the king, he believed his majesty to do him the justice to believe that, either directly, or indirectly, he had not the least share or concern therein.

This justification, tho' highly plausible, Saul, being prepossessed by his fears, totally disregarded, and instantly commanded his guards to seize Abimelech and the rest of the priests, and to put them to death on the spot. But, it being prohibited by the law of Moses to spill the blood of any person invested with the sacred function, the Hebrews unanimously and steadfastly refused to comply with the king's order; and the execution of this barbarous commission was, in consequence, committed to Doeg, the Syrian, and a band of ruffians whom he selected for that purpose: the number of those who were thus inhumanly massacred, amounted to three hundred and eighty-five persons.

The vengeance of Saul not being yet sufficiently glutted, he dispatched his infernal agents to Nob, the residence of the priesthood, with orders to put the inhabitants to the sword, without distinction either of sex or age: this savage commision was executed in its fullest extent; no one escaping the general destruction, save Abiathar, the son of Abimelech, who was preserved by a miraculous interposition of the divine providence. Thus was verified the revelation which God had disclosed to Eli the high-priest, intimating that the guilt of his two sons would, in the course of time, be punished with the utter extirpation of his family.

The detestable cruelty exercised by Saul on this occasion may serve as an example of the excesses to which mankind are liable, from the inherent corruption of their nature. Man in an humble station is compelled to an outward observance of the laws, by the fear of incurring the pains and penalties.
annexed to the breach of them. But no sooner has he shaken off these shackles, and attained to the envied height of supreme power and authority, than, like a stage-player, who changes his character with his deeds, he assumes a conduct diametrically opposite to that which he had formerly exhibited; becomes haughty, proud and insolent; and, in short, conducts himself as if he imagined his late elevation had either endued him with the power of concealing his crimes from the eye of the Omniscient, or that it had placed him above the reach of chastisement, even from the hand of Omnipotence itself, without bestowing one reflection on the nature of his present situation, in which, not only his actions, but even his very sentiments are subjected to the public censure.

When rulers are thus infatuated, of what numerous mischiefs is their government productive? Although the major part of their determinations are influenced by partiality, yet it is expected that we should consider them as being stamped with the approbation of heaven. Those, indeed, who have rendered any signal service to these lords of mankind, are commonly recompensed either with wealth or honors: but it must be remembered, also, that they are constantly liable to be deprived, not only of their riches and titles, but even of their lives, by the base calumnies of every insidious informer; even without being admitted to the privilege of justifying themselves from the accusations preferred against them.

The truth of these observations is strongly exemplified in the foregoing instance of the conduct of Saul, the son of Kish, who was the first king of Israel, after the abolition of the aristocracy, and of that form of government in which the supreme authority was vested in those persons who were distinguished by the title of judges. He caused near four hundred priests and prophets to be put to death, together with their wives, children, and all their relations; and razed their city from its foundation, merely on the bare suspicion which he entertained of the disloyalty of Abimelech; thus at once destroying, to the utmost of his power, the whole race of those whose office it was to attend the service of the altar.

Abiaathar, the son of Abimelech, who was the only person, as we have before observed, that escaped the general massacre, repaired to David, with the afflicting intelligence of all that had passed. David condoled with him on the occasion; expressed great sorrow to have been in any respect the cause of so dreadful a calamity, of which he had from the first been apprehensive, from the circumstance of Doeg's being present at the interview between him and Abimelech; and concluded with recommending it to Abiaathar to continue with him, as the best means of sheltering himself from the pursuits of Saul.

Nearly at this period David received intelligence that the Philistines had invaded the province of Keilah with a numerous army; spreading universal devastation wherever they came. David resolved to oppose them; but previously consulted the oracle; and, having received a favourable answer, advanced with his small force against the enemy, routed them with a considerable slaughter, and acquired a valuable booty. After this victory, he continued some time at Keilah, to protect the inhabitants during the season of harvest.
harvest. When the intelligence of this victory, which was represented much to the advantage of David, and the circumstance of his shutting himself up in the city of Keilah, were communicated to Saul, he instantly dispatched a body of forces to besiege the place, with orders not to abandon the siege till David was delivered into their hands. But David, being forewarned by the oracle, that if he continued at Keilah, the people would surrender him, in order to make their peace with the king, he retired from thence, with his four hundred followers, and encamped upon a hill of great natural strength, named En-gedi, which was situated in the desert.

But, when Saul received information that David had quitted Keilah, he countermanded the orders which he had before given, respecting the siege; and David again changed his quarters, retreating to Caena, in the district of Ziph. At this place he had an interview with Jonathan, who exhorted him to support himself with resolution under his present troubles; assuring him that in a short time he would be invested with the supreme government; and representing to him that such exalted dignities were not attainable without much toil and danger. They then renewed their friendship, denouncing the heaviest curies on either party who should fail in the performance of his engagements; after which Jonathan returned home.

The people of Ziph, with the view of ingratiating themselves with the king, gave him notice of the place whither David had retired; and engaged, if Saul would furnish them with a body of troops, to seize his person; which, they alluded, might easily be effected, by securing certain passes, whereby his retreat would be rendered totally impracticable. Saul expressed his acknowledgments for this intelligence, and immediately dispatched a party to carry the design into execution; promising to follow them at the head of a larger force, with all convenient dispatch. The Ziphites served as guides to the troops sent by Saul, and afforded them every assistance in their power towards executing the commission with which they were charged. Thus did these wretches, merely from interested motives, engage themselves to deliver a religious and innocent man into the hands of his cruel and inveterate foe.

But God would not permit their wicked designs to take effect; for David, having received information of the king's approach, retired in all haste to a large rock in the desert of Maon. Hither he was so closely pursued by Saul, that he appeared to be deprived of every hope of escaping, when intelligence was brought to the king that the Philistines had invaded his dominions, and were ravaging the country without control. This circumstance induced Saul to abandon the pursuit of David, and to turn his arms against the invaders; considering it as highly imprudent to risk the total loss of his kingdom, merely for the sake of gratifying a pique against a particular person. In this manner was David preferred from the apparently inevitable destruction with which he was threatened; and from hence he marched with his troops to the frights of En-gedi.

As soon as Saul had routed the Philistines, and compelled them to return to their own country, he selected three thousand of his choicest troops, and, putting
putting himself at their head, renewed the pursuit of David, of whose retreat to En-gedi he had now obtained the most indisputable information. When he had arrived very near to the spot, he retired, for a short time, without any of his attendants, into a dark and spacious cave, in which it so happened that David and his companions were concealed; one of them re-collecting the person of Saul, instantly acquainted David with his discovery, and advised him to avail himself of the opportunity which God had thus afforded him, of establishing his own safety by the death of his implacable foe. But David rejected this advice with horror, and contented himself with cutting off a piece of the skirt of Saul’s robe; and even this action created a strong compunction in his breast, as he considered it as an unwarrantable violence committed against the person of one whom God had been pleased to set over him in the quality of his sovereign.

Immediately upon the departure of Saul from the cave, David followed him, and, in the most respectful manner, addressed him in these words: "It is the common misfortune, Sire, of all princes to be surrounded with numerous tyrants, whose constant practice it is to fill their minds with injurious suspicion of their sincere and most approved friends. Professions may deceive, but the man who acts in conformity to his duty, gives an incontrovertible testimony of his affection and respect for his sovereign. I have been accused to your majesty of crimes which never entered into my imagination; and you, in consequence, pursue my life with the most unfailing avarice. But I trust, Sire, that the example of my conduct on the present occasion will convince you how totally undeserving I am of the rigour which I have experienced at your hands. For it was equally in my power to have deprived you of your life, as to cut off this piece of your garment, which you now see in my hand: but even all the provocation which I have received could not induce me to be guilty of so vindictive an action. Judge then, Sire, whether you can, without the most palpable injustice, continue to persecute me. I submit my conduct to the judgement of the Almighty, and he will decide by whom the charge of guilt hath been incurred."

Saul reflecting on the imminent peril which he had escaped, and on the great moderation exhibited by David on the occasion, heaved a deep sigh, which being re-echoed by David, Saul observed that it was himself alone who had cause of grief, having repaid all the benefits and services which he had received from him with the basest ingratitude and cruelty. He further acknowledged that David, by his conduct on that day, had proved himself to be possessed, in the highest degree, of the virtue and generous sentiments of their forefathers, who gloriéd in sparing the lives of such of their foes as Providence had delivered into their hands; adding, that he was from hence convinced, that it was the intention of the Almighty to confer on him the supreme government of the Hebrew nation; and conjuring him, when that period should arrive, to shew mercy to his children. After David had bound himself to the king, by a solemn oath, to a strict observance of his request, they separated, and David removed with his troops to the dreights of Mizpeh.
Nearly at this period the Hebrews were deprived of the prophet Samuel; a man whose numerous virtues had justly endeared him to the whole nation. He died at Ramah, his native city, and was interred with a magnificence highly expressive of the affection which the people entertained for him. He held the supreme authority twelve years subsequent to the death of Eli, and died in the nineteenth year after the introduction of the monarchical form of government.

In the city of Emma, situated in the district of Ziphc, and near to the spot on which David had encamped his troops, dwelt a certain person named Nabal, whose flocks were so numerous that they were computed to amount to three thousand sheep and one thousand goats. David strictly prohibited his people from committing the slightest depredation on the possessions of this man, and even permitted them to assist the shepherds of Nabal in tending their flocks; flattering himself that he should thereby confer an obligation on a person who was deserving of his favour. But the disposition of Nabal was naturally churlish and morose, whilst his wife was equally remarkable for the graces of her person and mind.

When the season of sheep-shearing arrived, David sent ten of his men to compliment Nabal, in his name, and to request a small supply of provisions, for which he would, when opportunity offered, make him ample compensation. They were further ordered to represent to him that, during the whole time of their abode in the desert, they had never once injured him in his property, but, on the contrary, had done him some service by the assistance which they had afforded his servants. Nabal enquired from whom they came, and, being informed that they were sent by David, the son of Jesse, he not only peremptorily refused to comply with their request, but accompanied his refusal with many opprobrious expressions respecting David, whom he styled a fugitive, who had left his master from an apprehension of receiving the punishment due to his crimes.

When David was informed of this behaviour of Nabal, he instantly put himself at the head of a party of four hundred of his followers, and, leaving the remaining two hundred to guard the baggage, began his march towards the dwelling of this man, with a full determination utterly to extirpate his whole family, and destroy his habitation: and this he bound himself by an oath to perform before the next day's dawn.

In the intermediate time, some of the servants of Nabal, who had been present at the conversation between their master and the persons sent by David, communicated to Abigail, the wife of Nabal, the particulars of all that had passed; at the same time suggesting to her their fears lest this conduct of their master should be attended with fatal consequences to himself and his family. Upon this intelligence Abigail, without mentioning a syllable of her design to her husband, who was, at the time, in a state of intoxication, ordered a number of satchels to be laden with refreshments of various kinds, and immediately began her journey to meet David on the way.

When she arrived near the foot of the mountain, she perceived David and his men descending into the valley, and, upon a nearer approach, prostrated herself...
herself before him, and earnestly solicited him to pardon the contemptuous expressions uttered by Nabal, whose name (which signifies, in the Hebrew, a fool and a madman), strictly accorded with his disposition. She assured him, that she was not present when his messengers came to her husband; observed that he ought to return thanks to heaven for preserving him, by her agency, from the guilt of blood; and expressed her wishes that he might ever continue free from that pollution, as a means of securing the favour and assistance of God in all his contests with his enemies. She readily admitted the justice of his resentment, but earnestly besought him to let due bounds to his vengeance, and to reflect that nothing gave so great a lustre to the character of a person defined to rule over others, as the virtues of moderation and clemency; concluding with a request that he would condescend to accept from her hands the refreshments which she had brought with her, as a small token of her respect and good will.

David received her in the most favourable manner; accepted her presents; and assured her that God himself had certainly inspired her with the design of atoning for her husband's offence in the manner she had adopted; and that she, otherwise, would never have seen the morning's light, as he had solemnly sworn never to close his eyes till he had utterly destroyed the habitation of Nabal, and had put every individual of his family to the sword. He added, however, that, although he was content, upon her account, to pass over the affront which he had received from her husband, yet Nabal would certainly be punished in due time by the hands of the Almighty.

Abigail, upon her return home, found her husband so much intoxicated, that she perceived it would be in vain to acquaint him that night with what had passed. When Nabal learnt, on the next day, the imminent danger which he had escaped, he was affected so strongly, that he was immediately seized with a numbness which pervaded his whole body; and in this condition he continued to the time of his death, which happened on the tenth day. When David was informed of this event, he observed that Nabal had merited the punishment he had suffered; and returned thanks to God, for his goodness in preserving him from the guilt of blood. This example may serve to convince mankind, that the providence of God superintends and directs all the affairs of this world, and that the virtuous and the wicked will be rewarded or punished according to their works.

David dispatched a messenger to the widow with proposals for taking her in marriage. She replied, that she was unworthy even to wash the feet of David; but in compliance to his desire, she repaired to him, and they were espoused. The virtues of her mind and the beauties of her person obtained her this honourable preferment. Michol, the first wife of David, was disposed of by her father to Phalti, the son of Laith of Gallem; after which he contracted a marriage with a woman of Abisfar, named Ahinoam.

The people of Ziphe informed Saul that David was returned to their quarters, and that he might be repulsed with a moderate force. Hereupon Saul repaired immediately to Zicklag. David dispatched spies to learn the situation of the enemy, and upon receiving intelligence that Saul had pitched his tents at Zicklag, he rose in the night, and attended only by Abishai, the son
son of his sister Zeruiah, and Abimelech the Hittite, privately departed and gained admittance to the royal tent, where he found the king asleep, Abner, his general, and his guards being in the same situation. Abishai was desirous of putting Saul to death, but this design was opposed by David, who said, that however iniquitous, considered as a man, the person of the king was sacred, since he had been exalted to a throne by the appointment and authority of the Almighty; and that for the abuse of power he was accountable only to the Supreme Being by whom that power was delegated. He said, though he would not avail himself of the advantage afforded him, he would take away the lance and pitcher of water from the bed-side, as testimonies to prove how absolutely the king depended upon his mercy.

He now left the camp, and having crossed the river, ascended a mountain, whence he called aloud to Abner and the guards; and the general, surprised to hear himself thus addressed by name, demanded whence the voice proceeded. David acknowledged himself, and ironically asked Abner, whether the general of an army, the favourite of a prince, and the professed guardian of his personal safety, did not greatly exalt his character by indulging himself in sleep at the time his master's life was in danger. He mentioned the circumstance of the lance and pitcher of water being taken from the king's tent, observing that, whether the opportunity of removing them was afforded through neglect or treachery, Abner had merited to be condemned to the loss of his head.

Saul knowing the voice of David, and finding that he had been a second time in the power of this generous friend, whom he considered as an implacable enemy, publickly thanked him for having spared his life, and desired him to return home, in a full assurance that all enmity should subside on his part, for he was convinced that his life and safety were not dearer to himself than they were to David, who, in return for repeated banishments and attempts upon his life, the loss of friends and other injuries, had manifested a steady attachment towards him, by an uninterrupted series of friendly offices. David desired a messenger to be dispatched, by whom he might return the lance and the pitcher, calling God and man to witness, that when he took them from the tent, the king's life was equally in his power.

Saul now returned to his palace; and David, at the head of his six hundred men, marched into the land of the Philistines, from whom he had obtained permission to establish his residence among them. David and his two wives, Ahinoam and Abigail, met with a liberal reception from Achish, the king of Gath. But conceiving himself to be degraded by remaining a burthen on the public, his situation became extremely irksome; and he determined to petition Achish to grant him a portion of land. In consequence of his application, the king assigned Zicklag to himself and his heirs in perpetuity; and for this place he entertained a great partiality, even after his exaltation to the throne.

David remained in Zicklag four months and twenty days, during which space he made frequent incursions upon the Sarites and Amalekites, from whom he obtained great numbers of mules, camels and other spoil; but he avoided taking any prisoners lest they should betray his proceedings to Achish.
He disposed of part of the booty in presents to the king, who often questioned him respecting the manner of his obtaining the gifts. His answer was, that he had made inroads on the southern parts of Judah.

About this time the Philistines were making preparations for commencing a war against the Hebrews, and a day was appointed for a general rendezvous at Rengam, whence Achish was to lead his troops to the encounter. The king requested the assistance of David, with his six hundred men, and to this he readily consented, observing that the period was approaching when he should be afforded an opportunity of making an honourable compensation for the bounties he had received. In return, the king promised, that if he proved victorious in the engagement, he would appoint David to the command of his guards, and invest him with every honourable distinction within the compass of his power.

C H A P. XV.

The ghost of Samuel predicts the defeat of Saul, and the death of himself and his sons. Zizkog pillaged and burnt by the Amalekites, who are pursued and cut off by David.

Saul had already banished from his kingdom the soothsayers, fortunetellers, and all other vain pretenders to a skill in foretelling future events; but the prophets were not included in the proscription. Intelligence being communicated that the Philistines had pitched their tents upon a plain at Sunem, Saul drew up his forces opposite to the camp of the enemy, near the mountain of Gilboa. The armies being within sight of each other, Saul observed that the Philistines had a great superiority both in point of numbers and discipline; and his spirits being greatly depressed by this circumstance, he resolved to consult the prophets in relation to the issue of the expected engagement. The question being proposed, and no answer given, his uneasiness increased to absolute desperation; for he considered the silence of the oracle as a certain indication of approaching calamity. Notwithstanding this, and a consciousness that he had forfeited the favour of the Almighty, he had recourse to wizards and conjurers, in order to obtain the knowledge of future events, and employed agents to find out some woman skilled in the mysteries of divination. Being informed that a woman of this description resided at Endor, he immediately repaired thither, being disguised, and attended by two confidents. Upon his arrival, he requested her to call up the spirit of a person she should name, as a proof of her skill. In consideration of the king's edict which had prohibited this mode of divination, on the penalty of banishment, she declined a compliance, entreating him not to lead her into an act of disobedience, the discovery of which would inevitably prove her destruction. Saul continued his importunities in a more urgent manner, invoking the most bitter imprecations to befall him, if he should divulge any part of the proceeding, and on the credit of his assurances, he at length consented to gratify his desire.
Saul desired her to call up the ghost of Samuel. Being entirely unacquainted with the person of Samuel, she was greatly astonished by the divine figure of the spirit; and turning to Saul, she asked him, if he was not the king (this Samuel had intimated to her): and he replied in the affirmative, desiring to know the cause of the confusion by which she appeared to be affected. She said the apparition caused her disorder, being the resemblance of an aged man, encompassed with a glory, and in the attitude of ascending from the earth. He questioned her as to the age, figure, and habit of the spirit, and was answered that it appeared to be an ancient and venerable man in a sacerdotal garment. Hence Saul concluded it to be the ghost of Samuel, and prostrated himself on the earth. The spirit asked Saul, for what reason he had called him from his peaceful abode; and the king replied, that being threatened with a powerful army, and having no prophets to consult with, or visions imparted for the regulation of his conduct, and being abandoned by the Lord, he was compelled into the present measure by the most urgent necessity, finding his last resource for advice to be in Samuel, whom he had, on various occasions, found to be steadily attached to his interests. The ghost reproved Saul for his unseemly desire of learning what should befall him; but added that, as he had expressed himself anxiously on the subject, he would foretell his fate. The ghost proceeded to inform Saul, that himself and his sons would be slain in battle the next day, and that David would succeed to the government, and effect an happy termination of the war; adding, that he was doomed to the loss of his crown and life for his disobedience to the commands of God, respecting his conduct towards the Amalekites.

Upon hearing this sentence pronounced, the vital powers seemed to desert the king, and he fell to the ground; but whether this was the effect of sudden surprize, or having remained without food for the space of four and twenty hours, may admit of a doubt. However, upon his recovery, the woman urgently pressed him to take the necessary refreshment for the support of nature, that he might be able to return to the camp. Her repeated solicitations, at length, induced him to compliance; and she killed a calf, and, having dressed it, set it before her royal guest and his attendants. After the repast, the king departed, and the same night joined the army.

It remains to be observed that a singular degree of generosity was displayed in the conduct of this woman, who, uninfluenced by motives of interest, and from a principle of affording assistance to a stranger in distress, consented to stake her safety on the exercise of a prohibited art, unconscious, at that time, that the party who urged her to the act was the identical man who had passed the prohibition into a law. She killed a calf, and entertained Saul and his followers, leaving herself entirely destitute, for in that calf consisted her whole property. In return for this, she could expect no reward, knowing the king was to die. Conscionable that he was doomed to death, and that his whole family was to be involved in his ruin, Saul still maintained an unshaken resolution to oppose his fate, and to fall in the defence of his government, rather than expose the dignity of his station to the public scorn. Thus did...
did he afford an exemplary instance that a mediocrity of courage and fortitude is but a reproach upon the character of princes, and others who fill the exalted ranks of life.

The Philistine troops were assembled, according to their several distributions into tribes, kingdoms and governments; Achish, the king of Gath, and his men being drawn up behind the other forces, and David with his party of 6x hundred, in the rear of him. The Hebrews being observed by the Philistine commanders, they demanded whence they came? By whose order? and for what purpose? Achish replied, that the leader of the Hebrews (pointing to David) had been servant to Saul, whose displeasure he had incurred; and (continued he), judging his life to be in danger, he fled into my dominions for sanctuary, attended by the party whom he now commands; in gratitude for the assistance I afforded him, and from a principle of resentment against his late master, he has engaged, on the present occasion to exert his utmost efforts in support of our cause. The Philistines unanimously disapproved of reposing confidence in a declared enemy, urging that in the important cause depending, the most dangerous consequences might arise from the treachery of the party in question; they, therefore, requested that Achish would order him to leave the army, and return to the place appointed for his residence; adding that David was the man by whom many thousands of the Philistines had been slaughtered, and whose exploits were so highly celebrated in the songs sung by the virgins. These objections were so reasonably founded, that they were readily admitted by Achish. He assured David, that experience had convinced him of his bravery and steady attachment, and that on these considerations he had received him as an ally; but he desired him to decline taking a further part in the present expedition, and to return to Zicklag, in order to guard the people against any advantage which might be meditated by the enemy during the absence of the army, observing that by this commission he would be able to render himself as effectually serviceable, as by remaining with the troops. Achish having declared, that the friendship he had conceived had suffered no abatement, David departed for the place of his destination.

The Amalekites availed themselves of David's attendance upon the Philistine army, and attacked Zicklag, which they fired, and entirely destroyed, and committed great devastation in the adjacent country, after which they retired, making booty of all the effects which they were able to remove. David finding his habitation to be laid defolate, and that his wives, those of his fellow-soldiers, and their children had been made prisoners, gave way to the most passionate lamentations, tearing his garments, and by other extravagant actions proving the excess of his sorrow. His companions were so exasperated on this occasion, that they formed a resolution of slaying David to death, as being the cause of their present distress, but they did not carry this design into execution.

When the violence of his grief had subsided, David requested Abiathar the high-priest, to habit himself in his pontifical robes, and consult the Lord, whether, upon pursuing the enemy, it would be granted to the Hebrews to recover their women and children, and to take revenge for the injuries
juries they had sustained. Abiathar directed him to follow the Amalekites, saying success would attend the expedition. Thus encouraged, David put himself at the head of his troops, and closely pursued the enemy as far as the brook of Befor. At this place they perceived a man, who it appeared had lost his road in the desert, and was on the point of starving, having remained three days without sustenance. After taking some refreshment, the man said, in reply to the questions put to him by David, that he was an Egyptian, who had attended his master at the destruction of Zieklag, and that on the return of the troops, his strength failed him, and he was left in the desert. David appointed this Egyptian to be a guide in the pursuit of the Amalekites, whom he, at length, overtook, and found in a state of utter disorder, some being engaged in a vain contemplation of the spoils they had obtained, others in the indulgence of gluttony; some unarmed, and those who were provided with weapons, so much intoxicated as to be unable to use them. In this confused situation, they were vigorously attacked by David and his followers, who committed so terrible a slaughter, that not more than four hundred men escaped, and these were indebted for their safety to the speed of their camels. The pursuit continued from noon till evening, and during the action the women and children belonging to David's party were recovered, as were the effects which had been pillaged from Zieklag.

On this expedition David was attended by only four hundred men, having stationed the other two hundred of his party as a guard to the baggage. The four hundred who were engaged in the action, objected to the other two hundred being admitted to share in what had been recovered from the enemy, inflicting that their wives and children only should be restored. David remonstrated against arrogating to themselves the merit of the victory, which was to be attributed only to the Almighty; urging that the injustice of excluding the party of two hundred men from their proportion of the booty; as, while the others were engaged in pursuit of the enemy, they had guarded the baggage, the preservation of which was essentially necessary to the common cause. This determination was admitted to the authority of a law, which still remains in force, whereby such as guard the baggage are declared to have an equal right to the spoil with those who are more actively engaged in the war. Upon his return to Zieklag, David dispatched messengers with a part of the spoil, as presents to his friends in the tribe of Judah.

The armies of the Philistines and Hebrews joined battle in the neighbourhood of the mountain of Gilboa. Saul and his sons, Jonathan, Aminadab and Melchi fought with astonishing bravery; they foresaw that they must inevitably fall in the contest, but resolutely determined that the enemy should have but little cause to boast of the victory. They were oppressed by a great superiority of numbers; and when they had subdued one party, they were attacked by others in succession, till, at length, they yielded up their lives in the heat of the battle. Upon the death of Jonathan, Aminadab, and Melchi, the army fled, and was pursued by the Philistines with a terrible slaughter. Saul maintained a defence at the head of a small party some time longer; but from the wounds he had received from the darts and arrows of the Philistines,
Philistines, his strength was so much exhausted, that he became incapable of further resistance, and even the power of depriving himself of life. In this extremity of his fate, he commanded his armour-bearer to dispatch him: but the man, from a veneration he entertained for the king, excused himself from the office; in consequence of which, Saul rushed on the point of his own sword; but this not fully answering his purpose, he applied to a young Amalekite, requesting him effectually to prevent his being taken alive by the enemy. The Amalekite immediately killed the king, and taking his crown and golden bracelets, made a precipitate retreat. When the armour-bearer perceived that his royal master was dead, he immediately put an end to his life; and of those who composed the king’s guard, not a man survived his royal master.

The Hebrews inhabiting the valley beyond Jordan and the cities upon the plains, having learnt the event of the battle, and that Saul and his sons had perished in the action, quitte their open towns and strong holds, and the Philistines possessed themselves of the places which the others had evacuated. On the day following that of the battle, the Philistines returned to the field, and finding the bodies of Saul and his sons, they stripped them, cut off the heads, and exposed the trunks under the walls of the city of Bethshan, which at this time bears the name of Scythopolis. The people of Jabeth-Gilead being highly incensed against the Philistines for these violences, formed a party of enterprizing men, who determined to take down the bodies; and after privately travelling all night, they arrived at the spot and effected their purpose. The death of Saul and his sons was feverely regretted by the people of Jabeth, who afforded a testimony of their esteem by a public interment of their remains in the chief part of the country. On this occasion all ranks of people were enjoined to a strict observance of fasting and mourning for the space of seven days. Thus was Saul punished for his disobedience to the command of the Lord, respecting the war against the Amalekites, the massacre of Abimelech and his family, and the destruction of the facerdotal city. Saul continued in the government eighteen years previous to the death of Samuel, and twenty two years after that period.

* This is denied by Gataker, in his dissert. de Stylo N. T. c. XVI.

End of the Sixth Book.
David expresses the deepest sorrow for the death of Saul and Jonathan. He is proclaimed king by the tribe of Judah; but the other tribes, at the instigation of Abner, declare themselves in favour of Ishbosheth. Abner assembles an army and marches against David. The forces of Abner are defeated by those of David, under the command of Joab. In the course of the pursuit, Hazael, the brother of Joab, is slain by Abner. In consequence of a diffident received from Ishbosheth, Abner abandons his interests, and joins the party of David; and is, soon afterwards, treacherously assassinated by Joab. The great affection of David on the occasion, and the distinguished honors which he pays to the memory of the deceased.

This battle, so fatal to the Hebrews, was fought on the same day in which David obtained the aforementioned victory over the Amalekites; and, on the third day after his return to Zicklag, a person arrived there, who had escaped from the encounter in which Saul and his sons were slain. He presented himself before David with his garments rent in various parts, and his head covered with ashes, and acquainted him with the defeat...
defeat of the Hebrews, and the death of the king and his sons; adding that he was an Amalekite by birth, and that Saul, after having received many wounds, attempted to thrust himself through with his own sword, in order to avoid the disgrace of falling alive into the enemy's hands; but, wanting strength to execute his purpose, he had earnestly requested him to perform the above office, with which request he found himself under the necessity of complying; and, in confirmation of the truth of his assertions he, at the same time, delivered into the hands of David the royal bracelets and diadem.

Upon receiving this intelligence, David rent his cloaths, and devoted the whole of that day to lamentation for the loss which both the nation and himself had sustained on the occasion. But his grief arose chiefly from the consideration of the sincere affection and friendship which had subsisted between him and Jonathan, to whom he had more than once been indebted for the preservation of his life. As a proof of the generous disposition of David, he not only thus publicly lamented the catastrophe of Saul; but, uninfluenced by any consideration of the manifold injuries which he had received from him, he also condemned to immediate death the wretch who had confessed himself to be his murderer; and who, by his regicidal principles, clearly evinced from what country he derived his birth. David composed various elegies and epitaphs, in praise of Saul and his son Jonathan, all which are still extant.

When the term of the mourning for Saul and his sons was expired, David consulted the oracle in which of the cities of Judah he should take up his residence, and was directed to fix upon the city of Hebron for that purpose. He accordingly repaired thither, with his two wives and those persons who constituted his body-guard, and was quickly followed by his whole tribe, who, in an assembly held for that purpose, unanimously proclaimed him king of Israel.

David at this time received information of the valorous and grateful conduct above related of the inhabitants of Jabesh, in carrying off the bodies of Saul and his sons, and interring them with the honors due to their rank; and he, in consequence, sent messengers to return them his sincerest acknowledgments for the regard which they had manifested for the memory of those princes; and also to acquaint them that the tribe of Judah had unanimously conferred on him the regal dignity.

Abner, the son of Ner, and the late general of the army of Saul, no sooner heard of the death of that prince and three of his sons, than he instantly repaired to the camp, in search of Ishboseth, another of the children of Saul, whom he conducted to the further side of Jordan, in order to preserve him from danger, and cauased him to be acknowledged and proclaimed king of Israel, by all the tribes save that of Judah; fixing on Meanahaim, which signifies the Camp, for the place of his residence. The conduct of the men of Judah, in electing David for their king, had given such offence to Abner, that, assembling a numerous army, he marched into their country, with the design of punishing them severely for their temerity. The forces of David were commanded by Joab, the son of Suri and Zeruiah, the sister of David;
and Joab was accompanied in the expedition by his two brothers, Abishai and Hazael.

When the two armies arrived in sight of each other, in the neighbourhood of Gibeon, they drew up in order of battle: but, previous to the commencement of a general engagement, Abner proposed that each party should select a certain number, to make trial of their valour in a separate combat. This proposal being accepted by Joab, twelve men on one side were chosen for the purpose; and, in the space between the two armies, they attacked each other first with their darts, and afterwards with their swords, with such fury, that, in the end, they all fell lifeless upon the spot. The two armies then joined battle, and, for a while, the contest was maintained with equal obstinacy; but, at length, the troops of Abner were utterly defeated, and put to flight.

Hazel, the brother of Joab, possessed a swiftness of foot, in which he was surpassed by very few horses. This man, without paying any attention to the rest of the fugitives, confined himself wholly to the pursuit of Abner, who, perceiving that his adversary gained ground on him at a very considerable rate, repeatedly defied him to desist from following him, and offered to compensate him with a full suit of arms; representing to him how unwilling he should be to kill him, even in the defence of his own life, as he was sensible that he should thereby draw upon himself the irreconcilable enmity of his brother Joab. But when Abner observed that all his arguments were lost upon Hazel, he suddenly darted his lance at him, and stretched him breathless on the ground.

Such of the pursuers as were behind Hazel at the time halted when they came to the spot where his body lay, to contemplate the spectacle; but Joab and Abishai, enflamed with a desire of revenging their brother's death, continued the pursuit till near sun-set, as far as a town named Mathon, which, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies the 'squadre.' Here Abner made a halt, with that division of his army which was composed of the tribe of Benjamin, and, addressing himself to Joab from a neighbouring eminence, earnestly expostulated with him on the injustice of pursuing those of his own country with so revengeful a determination; adding that he had been compelled to put Hazael to death merely from the motive of self-preservation.

The justice of the plea urged by Abner was so apparent, that Joab found himself under the necessity of causing a retreat to be founded; and he encamped on the spot that night; but Abner passed over Jordan with his troops, and continued his march till he arrived at Meannahim, where Ichaboth kept his court. On the following day Joab caused the slain to be interred; and their number was found to be three hundred and sixty on the side of Abner, and nineteen only on that of David; exclusive of Hazel, whose body was conveyed by his brethren to Bethlehem, and laid in the family sepulchre; after which they repaired to the court of David, at Hebron.

This contest for the supreme authority, between David and the son of Saul, produced a civil war which was of considerable duration, but terminated, at length, in favour of the former.
In the intermediate time, David had six sons born to him, by as many wives, and in the following order: viz. By Ahinoam he had Ammon; by Abigail, Daniel; by Maachah, the daughter of Tolmai, king of Gedur, he had Abifalom; Adonijah by Haggith; Sphacia by Abital, and Jethrokam by Eglah.

The valour, discretion, and popularity of Abner were, throughout the whole war, the chief support of the pretensions of Ishboieth; but that prince, having received information that a familiar connection subsisted between Abner and Rizpah, the daughter of Sibeth, who had formerly been one of the concubines of his late father Saul, reproached him on the subject with so much acrimony, that Abner, from that hour, determined, in revenge, to quit the party of Ishboieth, and to unite himself with that of David.

In pursuance of this resolution, he dispatched one of his friends secretly to Hebron, with instructions to inform David that he was ready to ensure him the possession of the kingdom with the general consent of the whole people, by bringing over to his interests those tribes which had hitherto adhered to his pretensions, on condition that he should bind himself by an oath to confer upon him the office of his prime minister, as soon as he should have made good his engagements. David eagerly closed with the proposal, and defined that Abner, as a proof of his sincerity, would caufe his wife Michol, whom he had obtained from her father at the imminent hazard of his life, to be immediately restored to him. Michol was, accordingly, taken from Phalti, on whom her father had bestowed her after the disgrace of David, and was again delivered up to her first husband; and this was done with the privity and consent of Ishboieth, who however expressed a strong conviction of the reasonableness of the requisition.

At this period Abner convened an assembly of the principal persons of the several tribes, and addresed them in these words: "Some time ago, when you were inclined to have preferred David to Ishboieth, I opposed your wishes; but I now leave you at full liberty to act as you shall judge most proper in the above respect: for the prophet Samuel, under the influence of the divine inspiration, has given us the strongest assurances that David is the person whom God has destined to rule over the Hebrews, and under whose conduct alone we are to expect deliverance, and conquest over the Philistines." The whole assembly, perceiving clearly from this speech in what manner Abner flood affected, readily coincided in his views, and from that day openly supported the pretensions of David; and the Benjamites, who composed the body-guard of Ishboieth, made not the least scruple to adopt the sentiments of the other tribes.

After these proceedings Abner repaired to David at Hebron, with a band consisting of twenty persons, whom he had selected for the purpose; the intent of his journey being to settle matters with David in person, and to acquaint him with the progress he had made towards the completion of his engagements. Upon his arrival at the court of David, he was received in the most friendly manner by that prince, who entertained him and his attendants with the utmost magnificence for the space of three days, at the expiration of
of which time Abner requested to be dismissed, that he might finish the undertaking in which he had embarked.

It chanced that, during the above three days, Joab, the general of the army of David, was absent from Hebron; but he returned just at this juncture, and entered the city at one gate as Abner quitted it by another. Having been made acquainted with all that had passed during his absence, he instantly conceived a suspicion that Abner, with whole abilities he was well acquainted, would effectually supplant him in the king's favour, even, perhaps, to the depriving him of the honourable office of commander of the forces.

He endeavoured, therefore, at first to impress the mind of David with sentiments disadvantageous to Abner, whom he represented as a person, whose sole intention it was to mislead him by his professions, that he might with greater facility secure to the family of Saul the possession of the throne. When he perceived that all his suggestions were ineffectual, he formed the execrable design of ridding himself of his rival by assassination; and, accordingly, sent messengers after Abner, to desire him, in the name of David, to return immediately; he having omitted to mention a particular matter to him which was of great moment. Abner was overtaken by the messengers at Sihor, about twenty furlongs from Hebron, and, not suspecting any mischief, he readily accompanied them back to the latter city, at the entrance of which he was met by Joab and his brother Abishai, who, the better to conceal their infamous purpose, received him with the most flattering professions of regard and esteem. When, under the pretext of private business, they had drawn him on one side, to a distance from his attendants, Joab suddenly thrust him through with his sword.

Joab pretended to justify this base and treacherous deed on the plea of resentment for the death of his brother Hazael; but his sole motive to the commission of the fact was, the fear left Abner, by his superior merit and services, should prove a dangerous rival to him in the favour of the king. Thus we see that the votaries of ambition and avarice are ever restless, while they perceive any man who is possessed of a larger share of interest or power than themselves; and that they scruple not to be guilty of the most heinous crimes, to enable them to attain, and, more particularly, to preserve those advantages, the possession of which constitutes the whole happiness of their lives.

David expressed the greatest affliction for the untimely fate of Abner, and, in the most solemn manner, declared his utter ignorance of the barbarous design; venting, at the same time, the most bitter execrations on the perpetrators and and abettors of so nefarious an action. He ordered all the honors of a public mourning to be paid to his memory; and attended his funeral in person, as chief mourner, accompanied by all the great officers of state. On this occasion his whole deportment manifested the real esteem he had entertained for Abner whilst living, and the sincere grief he felt for his death. He caused the body of Abner to be interred, with the utmost magnificence, at Hebron; and inscribed on his tomb an epitaph of his own composition,
in which he highly extolled the bravery and other numerous virtues of the deceased. By this conduct David conciliated the affection of the people in general, but especially of the friends of Abner; and they unanimously exculpated him from all imputation of being accœlary, either directly or indirectly, to the barbarous treachery of Joab.

At the conclusion of the ceremony of the interment, David delivered to the spectators a short oration in praise of Abner; representing to them the great loss which both himself and the whole nation had sustained by the death of so experienced and valiant a commander; appealing to heaven for his incapacity to punish the offenders, on account of their great influence over the army; and concluding that, however those persons might escape punishment for a time, they would certainly, sooner or later, experience the vengeance of an incensed Deity.

C H A P. II.

The assassination of Ishbosheth by Baanah and Rechab. They carry his head to David, who causes them to be put to death, with various tortures. The several tribes unanimously concur in electing David for their king. He assembles an army, and makes himself master of Jerusalem. Joab is the first person who mounts the parapet of the citadel.

Ishbosheth was extremely afflicted at the loss of Abner, not only on account of his relationship, but also as by his interest and influence alone he had been advanced to the throne of his father. But that prince did not long survive him, being treacherously murdered by Baanah and Rechab, the sons of Rimmon. These men, who were two of the principal persons of the tribe of Benjamin vainly, imagining that they should thereby recommend themselves to the highest preferment in the service of David, determined to assassinate Ishbosheth whenever an opportunity should offer. Accordingly, at a time when that unfortunate prince had retired to repose himself, on account of the violent heat of the weather, they entered his chamber, his attendants being all asleep, and, after having deprived him of life, they cut off his head, and then retired with the same privacy with which they had entered.

They immediately began their journey to Hebron, at which place, after travelling with the utmost expedition during the whole night, they arrived on the next day. But when they appeared before David, and presented him with the head of Ishbosheth, magnifying the service they had rendered him by thus ridding him of his competitor for the kingdom, he, to their utter astonishment, expressed his abhorrence of their conduct in the following terms: "The atrocious action of which you have been guilty calls aloud for the most exemplary punishment. Can you be ignorant of the manner in which I required the wretch who brought me the tidings of the death of Saul, whom he boasted he had slain with his own hand? Yet it was at the request of Saul himself that he committed this action, to preserve him from the ignominy of falling alive into the hands of his enemies. Do you imagine
imagine that I have at this time adopted sentiments less worthy of me than those by which I was influenced on the above occasion, and that I am capable of countenancing the horrid perfidy of which you have been guilty to the most bountiful and most indulgent of masters? If such are your sentiments, you shall quickly be undeceived. Prepare yourselves, therefore, immediately to receive that death which you have so justly merited." At the conclusion of this speech he ordered them to be taken from his presence, and to be put to death with a variety of tortures: and he caused the head of Ishbotheth to be placed in the tomb of Abner, with such funeral solemnities as were due to the exalted station of the deceased.

Soon after this event, the principal persons of the several tribes, and the officers of the army repaired in a body to Hebron, where they solemnly acknowledged David as their king, vowed allegiance to him, and made him a formal tender of their lives and fortunes; representing to him the predilection they had always manifested for him, even during the reign of Saul; adding that they were convinced, from the declaration of the prophet Samuel, that he and his descendants were definied by the Almighty to rule over them for a succession of ages, and that the important work of subjugating the Philistines, and, consequently, of establishing the kingdom on the firm and solid basis of peace and safety was reserved alone for him. David expressed his acknowledgements, and assured them that he would exert all his endeavours to fulfill their expectations. After having regaled them with the utmost magnificence for the space of three days, he dismissed them, with instructions to select out of each tribe all those who were capable of bearing arms, and to conduct them, properly equipped, to Hebron.

The number of those who assembled at Hebron, in consequence of the above orders, were as follow: of the tribe of Judah, exclusive of those who had declared themselves in favour of David immediately after the death of Saul, 6,800 men, all compleatly armed with shield and spear: of the tribe of Simeon, 7,100: of the tribe of Levi, 4,700: and these were headed by Jehoiada, and the high-priest Zadock, and twenty-two of the chief persons of his family: of the tribe of Benjamin the number was 4,000 only, the remainder being possessed with a notion that the government would finally revert to the family of Saul: of the tribe of Ephraim, 20,800, all men of note for their strength and valour: of the half-tribe of Manasses, 18,000: of the tribe of Issachar, 20,000, exclusive of 200 persons famed for their skill in the art of divination: of the tribe of Zebulon 50,000; which number included the whole tribe: and these were armed in the same manner as the tribe of Gad: viz. with shield, spear, sword, and helmet: of the tribe of Naphtali, there came an almost innumerable multitude, under the command of a thousand persons of eminent bravery: of the tribe of Dan, 27,000: of the tribe of Asher, 40,000: and of the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the remaining half-tribe of Manasses, all of whom refided on the further side of Jordan *, 120,000; and these were all provided with shields, spears, swords and helmets.

* L'Estrange says 22,000; but a French translation published at Amsterdam in 1701, says 120,000, (fix-vingt mille) which we deem far more probable.
mets. It is to be observed also, that the sword was a weapon indiscriminately used by all the other tribes, as well as by those last-mentioned.

These were the troops that repaired to David at Hebron; bringing with them corn, wine, and all other necessaries in the greatest plenty. They unanimously saluted David with the title of king, and, after having spent three days in public rejoicings on the occasion, he put himself at their head, and marched against Jerusalem; which city was then inhabited by the Jebusites, who were descended from the ancient Canaanites. Upon the approach of David, they shut their gates, and, to show their contempt of the force he had brought against them, they placed their blind and their lame on the walls, thereby intimating all their confidence in the natural strength of the place.

David was so highly incensed at this insult, that he determined to attack them in the most vigorous manner, without any further delay; hoping, by the capture of this place, to strike such a terror into the inhabitants of all the other cities, as should induce them to submit upon the very first summons. Having made the necessary dispositions, he advanced to the walls, at the head of a select body of his troops, and, by making a general assault, soon became master of the place: but the garrison retired into the citadel. This fortress was of very considerable strength, and David, considering how much his honor was concerned in the subjection of it, endeavored to animate the courage of his soldiers and their leaders, by promises of pecuniary gratifications to the former, and by engaging to confer on him, among the latter, who should first make good his station on the parapet of the citadel, the post of commander in chief of all his forces. The prospect of these rewards inspired the Hebrews with so strong an emulation, that each man performed miracles of valour on the occasion: but it was the fortune of Joab to reach the top of the battlements, before any of his companions.

C H A P. III.

David repairs and beautifies Jerusalem; establishes his court there, and changes its title to that of the city of David. The king of Tyre sends ambassadors to David, to negotiate an alliance with him. The number and names of the children of David.

After the capture of the citadel, David repaired the fortifications of the place, and gave it the additional title of the city of David; and he removed his court thither, where it continued for the whole subsequent term of his reign. At the time of transferring his court from Hebron to Jerusalem, he had reigned over the tribe of Judah alone seven years and six months; and, by the continual embellishments which he bestowed on the latter place, it became, at length, the seat of the utmost splendor and magnificence.

At this period ambassadors were sent by Hiram, king of Tyre, to solicit an alliance with David; and these persons brought with them a valuable present of cedar-wood, and also a number of ingenious workmen, in different branches, for the purpose of constructing a palace for his residence in Jerusalem.
JEWS. David united the fortresses abovementioned to the city, and encompassed both with a wall.

It was not till after the extirpation of the Jebusites that this city acquired a new name. In the time of Abraham, the founder of our race, it bore the title of Solyma, and many persons are of opinion that Homer alludes to this place, when he makes mention of the people of Solyma; as the word hieron signifies, in the Hebrew language, both a temple, and also security, or a fortress. From the period when Joshua divided amongst the Hebrews the lands which they had conquered from the Canaanites, to that in which David made himself master of Jerusalem, was computed to be 515 years; and during this whole term, the Jebusites maintained themselves in the above city, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Israelites to dispose of them.

I must not omit to mention that David, in the midst of the slaughter and devastation consequent on the capture of the city, preferred the life and effects of Orphan, a Jebusite of great wealth, who had, on various occasions, manifested a peculiar kindness both for him and for the Hebrew nation in general.

David married several wives, exclusive of those already mentioned, by whom he had nine sons, whose names were Amnon, Ellus, Ebas, Nathan, Solomon, Jebat, Eliel, Phalna, Ennaphen; and one daughter, named Tamar, who was sifter, by the same mother, to Absalom; and besides these he had two illegitimate sons, whose names were Jonas and Eliphel.

C H A P. IV.

Various signal victories obtained by David over the Philistines and their allies. The ark is conducted toJerusalem. The presumption of Uzzab, in touching the ark, is punished with instant death. David sings and dances before it; and is reproached therewith by his wife Michal.

When intelligence was communicated to the Philistines that the sovereignty of David had been recognized by all the tribes, they marched into the country of the Israelites, and encamped on a spot, situated at a small distance from Jerusalem, which bears the name of the Valley of the Giants. David, having consulted the Oracle, as was his constant custom before he entered upon any enterprise of importance, and having received a favourable answer, immediately marched against the enemy, whom he surprized in their camp, and routed with a prodigious slaughter.

Although this victory was obtained with great facility, and with a very trifling loss of men on the side of the Israelites, it must not be from thence inferred that the enemy were deficient either in numbers or bravery; they having called to their aid the Syrians, Phœnicians, and several other warlike nations; their frequent losses in former contests with the Hebrews having rendered

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* Mafius, in his commentary on Joshua, Chap. X. fully exposes the futility of this notion; which is, however, as strenuously defended by H. Vossius, in his epistle to Colvius, p. 395, 296.
ordered them incapable of supporting a war without such assistance. Their
martial spirit, however, was not depressed, for they again appeared in the field,
with an army thrice as numerous as that with which they last invaded the
country of the Hebrews, and encamped on the same spot on which they had
been defeated by that people.

David once more consulted the Oracle, and was ordered to post his army
in a certain forest, named the Grove of Mourning, and to lie quiet till he
should perceive a supernatural agitation in the leaves and branches of the
trees, without the slightest breath of air to occasion it; immediately upon
which signal he might attack the enemy, with the most perfect confidence of
success. These orders David closely observed, and the Philistines gave
way on the first onset, and fled in the utmost confusion as soon as the
Israelites advanced so near as to be able to make use of their swords. The
Hebrews continued the pursuit, with great slaughter, as far as Gazer, which
is situated on the frontiers of the country of the Philistines; after which they
returned to plunder the enemy's camp, where they found an immense booty,
and also the idols of the Philistines, which they utterly destroyed.

This war being terminated so speedily and fortunately for the Israelites,
David, with the advice of the elders and chief persons of the several tribes,
determined to march with his whole army, accompanied by the priests and
Levites, to Kiriat-Jearim, for the purpose of conducting the ark of God
from thence to Jerusalem; which city was destined to be the place at which
the people were to assemble in future, to offer up their oblations, and to
perform all the other offices of their religion; a proper observance of which
duties would have preserved Saul from the fatal catastrophe which he ex-
perienced.

When the necessary preparations had been made, the ark was removed
from the house of Aminadab, by the priests and Levites, who placed it on a
carriage constructed for the purpose, and drawn by oxen, and delivered it
into the care of their sons, and the other persons of their families. David
took the lead in the procession, and was followed by a numerous body of the
people, dancing and singing hymns of praise to the Almighty, in which
they were accompanied by various performers on the harp, cymbal, and
other instruments. In this order they proceeded towards Jerusalem; and,
when they arrived at the spot which is distinguished by the title of the Thresh-
ning-floor of Chidon, or Nachon, the oxen which drew the carriage chancing
to stumble, Uzzah, who happened to be close to the ark at the time, put
forth his hand, to save it from falling, and was immediately struck dead by
the judicial vengeance of heaven, in consequence of his presuming to touch
it: a privilege enjoyed solely by the priests and Levites. The unhappy fate
of this man greatly affected both David and the people in general; and the
place was, from that day, entitled Perez-Uzzah, or the Transgression of
Uzzab.

The severity of the punishment inflicted on Uzzah so much alarmed Da-
vic, that he was apprehensive lest a similar fate should attend himself, if he
persuaded in his design of removing the ark to Jerusalem: he, therefore, de-
posited it in the house of Obed-Edom, a Levite of great reputation for the
sanctity
sanctity of his manners, who lived in the open country, at some distance from that city, where it remained for the space of three months. During this period, Obed-Edom, whose circumstances had been hitherto much contracted, acquired a degree of wealth, which rendered him at once the envy and admiration of all who knew him. This incident being communicated to David, he no longer entertained any doubts of the propriety of conducting the ark to Jerusalem; and he, accordingly, gave immediate orders for its removal, which was performed in the following form:

A certain number of the priests went first, carrying the ark on their shoulders, and these were accompanied by a band of singing men, at the head of whom was the king himself, who danced and sung with the rest, to the sound of his harp; and the procession was closed by an infinite multitude of the people. Upon the arrival of the ark at Jerusalem, it was placed in the tabernacle which David had caused to be built purposely for its reception; and so numerous were the oblations offered up in consequence of this event, that each man, woman and child, who were present at the ceremony, received a piece of flesh and a cake of bread.

When David returned to his palace, he was congratulated by his wife Michol, the daughter of Saul; but, at the same time, she could not refrain from reproaching him with an indecency of conduct, in dancing before the ark, in the manner abovementioned, and thus exposing himself to the derision of his servants and handmaids. But David justified the action, as being, he maintained, pleasing to that Almighty Power, who had preferred him before the king her father, and all the rest of his countrymen. Michol had no children by David, but by Phalti, whom Saul had compelled her to elope when David fell under his displeasure, she had five sons, of whom further mention will be made hereafter.

The uninterrupted felicity which David now enjoyed inspired him with the design of building a sumptuous temple, for the public worship of the Deity; deeming it in a high degree criminal any longer to permit the ark of God to remain in so unworthy a building as a tabernacle, at a time when he resided in a palace constructed and ornamented with the utmost profusion of elegance and splendor; and to this he was further incited by an ancient prediction of Moës on that subject. Nathan the prophet also, to whom the king communicated the resolution which he had formed, highly approved of the design; and encouraged him to execute it with all convenient dispatch.

But on the following night, the Lord spake thus to Nathan: "Inform David that I approve his proposal for dedicating a temple to my worship; but that on account of the hollies in which he has been engaged, having rendered him a man of blood, I cannot consent to the design being carried into effect in his days. Instruct him that on the conclusion of a long reign of felicity, he shall charge the execution of this important business to his son Solomon, who shall experience from me the tenderest care of a father towards an only child. You are further commissioned to say, that if Solomon shall degenerate into wickedness, the land shall be visited by sickness or famine, but that the government shall not be translated to another family." Nathan immediately repaired to David, and related this
this message from the Almighty. David prostrated himself before the ark, and worshipped the Lord. "Almighty God (said he) thou hast exalted thy servant from the sheep-fold, to the eminence of regal power and dignity. For all thy benefits and mercies, glorified be thy holy name. I beseech thee, "O God, for thy providences towards myself, thy gracious promise to my posterity, and for the many protections and deliverances of thy people." Having accompanied this benediction with an hymn to the honor of God, he departed.

CHAP. V.

The Philistines, the Moabites, and the Sophenians subdued by David.

BEING naturally averse to a life of inactivity, David determined to commence hostilities against the Philistines; and to prosecute this design he was animated by the prediction that having effectually vanquished all his enemies, he should leave the government to his successor in a state of perfect tranquillity.

In preparation to the conquest he had meditated, he called a general rendezvous of his forces, and when he judged them to be in a proper condition to march, he invaded the country of the enemy, and made seizure of very considerable tracks of land, which he annexed to the jurisdiction of the Israelites. He declared war against the Moabites, upon whom he committed a terrible slaughter. About one third of the enemy escaped the rage of battle, and they were rendered tributaries to David. Near the Euphrates he encountered and obtained a complete victory over Adrazar, the son of Arach, who was king of the Sophenians. In this action he destroyed twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse. He took from the enemy a thousand chariots, one hundred of which he reserved, and the rest he burnt.

CHAP. VI.

David conquers Adad, King of Syria and Damascus. His victory over the Idumeans. He makes a generous provision for Mephibosheth, the son of his deceased friend Jonathan. He declares war against the King of the Ammonites, who had treated his ambassadors with indignity.

ADAD, the king of Syria and Damascus marched a formidable army to the assistance of his friend and ally Adrazar, expecting thereby to remove the fear of war from the country of the Sophenians. After some skirmishes, a general engagement ensued near the Euphrates, wherein twenty thousand of the troops of Adad were destroyed, and the rest were put to flight. In the fourth book of his history, Nicolaus mentions this Adad in the following terms: "Adad, a man of singular bravery, and a native of the place, held the government of Damascus and Syria, but his jurisdiction did not extend over Phoenicia. Several encounters took place between Adad and David the king of the Jews, but, at length, in a battle at Eu..."
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"phrates, the latter obtained a compleat victory over his antagonist, who,
however, displayed a degree of intrepidity worthy the character of a great
prince, and the commander of a numerous army." Respecting the poten-

tivity of Adad, the same author says: "The government was transmitted from
father to son to the tenth generation, and the successor constantly assumed
his father's name, as was the practice with the Ptolomies of Egypt. The
second in the order of succession from this Adad, who was the most con-
spicuous man of the line, being inspired with a generous zeal to remove
the reproach which his family had incurred through the defeat of his
grandfather by David, made a vigorous attack upon the Israelites, and
ravaged and laid waste Samaria, and the adjacent country." This writer
has given a faithful account; for certain it is that Samaria was invaded by
the last mentioned Adad in the reign of Ahab, king of Israel, of whom we
shall speak more particularly hereafter.

David made conquest of Damascus and the other parts of Syria, and
established garrisons in such places as he judged to be convenient; and hav-
ing subjected the whole country to contribution, he returned to Jerusalem,
taking with him the golden quivers and other rich trophies obtained in the
battle with Adad. He dedicated this spoil to the Lord, in gratitude for the
victory obtained through the favour of divine providence. At the siege of
Jerusalem, the above and other precious articles were made prize of by Sylack
king of Egypt, who maintained a war against Rehoboam, son of Solomon.
But the particulars of this matter will be related in the proper place.

David continued to pursue his conquests under the evident favour and pro-
tection of heaven. He besieged two of the most considerable cities in the do-
minions of Adrazar, which were called Bettea and Machon, and acquired
gold and silver to an immense value, exclusive of a considerable quantity of a
kind of brass, held in greater estimation even than gold itself; and this metal
Solomon caused to be used in forming the beautiful basins and the extensive
vessel called the sea, by which the temple was decorated.

Toi, the king of Hamath, having received intelligence that David had
subdued the army of Adrazar, he judged it expedient to provide for his own
safety by connecting himself to the victor in a league of amity. He furnished
his son Joram with a variety of magnificent presents, consisting of antique
vessels in gold, silver, and brass, curiously wrought, and in the highest per-
fecion, and commissioned him to congratulate David on his victory over
Adrazar, and to propose an alliance. David graciously received the ambas-
dador, accepted the presents, and gave an honourable assurance that he ac-
quiesced in the proposed alliance. These gifts, and the remaining part of
the spoil obtained from the enemies he had conquered, he dedicated to the
Lord, to whom he attributed the whole honor of his victories: David's suc-
cess was not confined to those undertakings wherein he was personally en-
gaged; for the Almighty favoured his cause in the enterprizes which were
attempted by the officers he deputed, as will appear in the following instance:
Abishai, the brother of Joab, being commissioned to lead an army against
the Idumeans, encountered and cut off eighteen thousand of the enemy, and
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having secured the entire submission of the rest by the establishment of a number of garrisons, made them tributaries, and imposed a tax upon the whole people by the head.

David was a man of such strict integrity in the execution of his judicial character, that in all the appeals submitted to his decision he never pronounced a sentence that was not strictly consistent with the principles of justice. He appointed Joab, the son of Zeruiah, to be his general, and Joseph, the son of Ahilud, keeper of the records; from the house of Phinehas, he selected his friends Abiathar and Zadok to be his priests; and he nominated Seraiah his secretary; his personal guard, into which his elder sons were incorporated, was commanded by Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada.

Having regulated and established his domestic concerns, the king directed his attention towards his deceased friend Jonathan; enquiring what sons, friends, and relations he had left, with a view to make them the subjects for the exercise of his gratitude; for among his virtues was that of remembering past benefits, which he ever made it a point of conscience to acknowledge and require. A man named Ziba, who had been in the service of Saul, was brought to David as the most likely person to satisfy his enquiries; and from this man he learnt that a son of Jonathan, named Mephibosheth was still living, and that he was lame of one leg, the nurse having let him fall from her arms upon hearing of the terrible engagement wherein his father and grandfather were slain. Upon further enquiry, the king was informed that the son of his friend had been brought up by one Machir, of the city of Lodeba, where he still remained. The king immediately sent for the young man, who being soon brought into his presence, prostrated himself at his feet, and showed him other marks of reverence. David encouraged him with the assurance that he might rely upon a continuance of the favour and protection of his sovereign. He soon after gave him possession of the estates and other effects left by his father and grandfather; receiving him as his particular guest, and appointing him to eat at his own table. Mephibosheth having made grateful acknowledgments to his benefactor, Ziba was called, whom David commissioned to superintend the grounds; and at stated periods, to deliver the profits to the son of Jonathan, who took up his residence with the king, and was on all occasions treated with the respect due to a child of the family. The king further ordered that Ziba, his fifteen sons and twenty others of his family, should be the attendants upon Mephibosheth. His title was a son called Micha.

Nahash the king of the Ammonites, the friend and ally of David, died about this time, and was succeeded by his son Hanum; to whom David dispatched an ambaflaffy to offer condolences in his affliction, and assurances of maintaining the league of amity which had subsisted between him and the deceased. The principal people among the Ammonites falsely intimated to their king that these messengers, under the pretext of being charged with a compliment of state, had been sent by David for the purpose of examining into the strength and defensive state of the country; and they advised him to act with circumspection, lest the opportunity should escape of frustrating the treacherous designs which they pretended to have been meditated by the king.
king of Israel. Hanum being prevailed upon by these unmerited calumnies, dismissed the ambassadors with one half of their beards and one half of their veils cut off. In this condition they returned, and having represented to David the ignominious treatment they had received, he became highly incensed against Hanum for his contempt of the laws of nations, honor, and hospitality, and determined to avenge the gross insult which had been offered to him, in the persons of his ambassadors, by an immediate declaration of war. The Ammonites being convinced that their perfidious conduct would not admit of excuse, prepared to defend themselves against David, who they learnt had formed the resolution of vindicating himself by force of arms. Hanum dispatched ambassadors to Syrus, king of Mesopotamia, with a present of a thousand talents, in order to engage him in an alliance; Syrus consented, and obtained the assistance of the king of Zoba, in support of the cause of the Ammonites. The joint forces of these kings amounted to twenty two thousand foot. The assistance of the king of Maachab, and of king Ishtob was likewise purchased, and they also mustered twenty two thousand men equipped for war.

CHAP. VII.

Joab obtains a victory over Hanum and the confederate powers. David defeats the king of Syria, and commits a terrible slaughter upon his army. David becomes enamoured of Bathsheba, and, having gratified his passion, contrives the death of her husband. Amnon violates Thanar, and her brother Absalom meditates his destruction.

Conscious of the support of an all-powerful God in a just cause, the courage of David suffered no diminution on account of the powerful confederacy which was formed against him. He intrusted the conduct of the army to Joab, who proceeded on his march, and encamped before the principal city of the enemy, which was called Rabbah. The troops marched out of the town, and the auxiliaries were drawn up in order of battle in the open field, while the Ammonites were ranged under the walls of the town, facing the Hebrew army. Joab made a similar disposition of his army, and giving the command of one body to his brother Abihai, with orders to attack the Ammonites, he put himself at the head of the other, which was composed of chosen men, and prepared to engage Syrus. It being agreed that in case of either being hard pressed by the enemy the other should repair to his assistance, and Joab having enjoined his brother to an honourable discharge of the trust reposed in him, they proceeded to their respective declinations. Joab gave battle to Syrus, who for some time maintained a courageous defence, but a considerable number of his men being cut off, the rest declined the contest and made a retreat. This circumstance struck the Ammonites with such terror that they retired into the town before Abihai approached to offer them battle. Joab now led his army in triumph back to Jerusalem.
Notwithstanding this signal defeat, the resolute spirit of the Ammonites still remained unsubdued; and they applied to Chalama, king of the Syrians, who was stationed on the other side the Euphrates, for an auxiliary force, which he undertook to provide on condition of receiving a stipulated price. Chalama appointed Shobac, his lieutenant general, to lead an army of eighty thousand foot and ten thousand horse to the assistance of the Ammonites. In consequence of the formidable reinforcement which the enemy had received, David judged it to be no longer expedient to intrust the conduct of the war to his deputies; and therefore he assumed the command of his whole army, and having passed the Jordan, proceeded to an engagement, in which he killed forty thousand foot and seven thousand horse: Shobac, the general of Chalama, received a wound in the action which caused his death. The presumption of the Medopotamians being effectually humbled by this event, they sent ambassadors with presents to David; and with acknowledgments of submission to his power, they were commissioned to entreat that he would decline a further prosecution of the war. David now returned to Jerusalem.

Joab was again dispatched against the Ammonites, whom he obliged to retire into Rabba, to which place he a second time laid siege, and committed great havoc in that city and several other parts of the enemy's country.

Though David was a man of great piety and justice, he was not exempt from the frailties of human nature; for he was guilty of an heinous crime, whereby he incurred the displeasure of the Almighty. In the cool of the evening as he was walking on the terras of his palace, he perceived a woman of most exquisite beauty who was bathing. He instantly conceived a most violent passion for her, and caused her to be brought to his bed. She became pregnant, and representing to the king that if her fault should be discovered, the laws of her country would condemn her to death, supplicated him to devise some means for keeping the affair profoundly secret. Uriah, Joab's armour bearer, and the husband of this woman, who was named Bathsheba, was ordered into the presence of the king, who questioned him concerning the state of the army and the progress of the siege. He replied that things were in the most favourable train for success. David invited him to supper, and after the repast, bad him repair to his habitation and repose that night with his wife. Uriah remained among the guards in the palace; and when this was known to the king, he asked him on what account he had neglected the opportunity of visiting his wife after so long an absence. Uriah answered, that he judged it not consistent with the honor of a soldier to indulge himself in the embraces of his wife at a time when his general and fellow soldiers lay on the earth in the open country of an enemy. The king commanded him to remain another night, saying he should return to the camp on the following day. He was again called to supper with David, and he plied him with liquors in expectation that in the gaiety of his heart he would go to Bathsheba, but he was disappointed, for Uriah spent this night as he had done the preceding one, among the guards. This proved so highly aggravating to the king, that he wrote to Joab, informing him, that being justly incensed against Uriah, he was determined to punish him according to
his merits: this letter further expressed that to prevent any reproach falling upon David, Joab should appoint Uriah to undertake some desperate enterprise, and that his companions should be instructed to desert him to the mercy of the enemy. David having written this letter, and sealed it with the royal seal, committed it to the care of Uriah, to be delivered to Joab, who having received it, obeyed the royal mandate by ordering Uriah to undertake a most dangerous expedition; but, to put a face of plausibility on the matter, commissioned several men of acknowledged bravery to second him; and told him that, if any difficulty arose as to his entrance into the town, he should be supported by the whole army. Joab likewise recommended it to him, to support the character he already held in the opinion both of the king and the army, by every possible exertion of his military courage. Uriah accepted the commission with great readiness; but Joab gave private orders to those who attended him, to desert him when they found that he was surrounded with the utmost difficulties. As the Hebrews pressed hard upon the wall, the Ammonites were apprehensive that they would enter the town by force; on which they threw open their gates, and rushed out in great numbers; which served as a hint to those who attended Uriah, that this was the precise moment to obey the orders of Joab, by deserting him. Thus, then, they left him at the mercy of his enemies, against whom he fought with astonishing resolution, and did wonders with his single arm against an opposing multitude; but after being wounded in several places, he fell breathless on the ground; and with him fell a small number of his friends, who had not been informed of the plot laid against him.

As soon as the contest was ended Joab sent an express to David, acquainting him that, to put a speedy end to the siege, he had made an assault on the town, but had been compelled to retreat to the camp, with the loss of several of his men. Joab gave private instructions to the person who carried this express, that if David appeared affected with his information, he might add that Uriah was among the slain.

The messenger, on his arrival, told the story to David; who cenured the rashness of Joab in exposing his men against bare walls, rather than having recourse to mines and engines. "The fate (said he) of Abimelech, the son of Gideon, might have been a warning to Joab. Abimelech loft his life at Thebes, by an old woman casting a stone from the battlements on his head. He was, in other respects, a gallant man; but his rashness was the cause of his destruction: in matters of war, prudence is as valuable as courage, and those who recommend caution are the best counsellors. Experience and the knowledge of history are found serviceable in the conduct of war; and leaders ought to determine how to act, by a recollection of what has been successful, or otherwise, in former similar circumstances."

David having thus expressed his disapprobation of the conduct of Joab, the messenger mentioned, as a casual circumstance, the death of Uriah; on which the king observed, that it was but an effect of the common chance of war, and that soldiers must be alike prepared to meet every change of circumstances.
Acquaint Joab (cried he) with what I say; but tell him also that I with him to prefer the use of machines, or the throwing up of works, to any other mode of proceeding: but, upon the whole, inform him it is my pleasure that he should level the city with the ground, and that the sword should destroy all its inhabitants without distinction.—The messenger returned to Joab immediately on receiving these instructions.

The intelligence received of Uriah’s death occasioned Bathsheba to shut herself up for some time, while she paid the tribute of mourning to his memory; but no sooner was the season of sorrow at an end, than David espoused her, and she soon afterwards made him the mother of a son. So contrary was this to the will of heaven, that Nathan the prophet was informed, in a dream, of the displeasure of God on the occasion, and commissioned to reprehend David for his crime. Nathan, who possessed great knowledge of mankind, considering how little regard princes paid to the admonition of reason, particularly while they were under the influence of their passions, instead of directly informing David of what he had learnt in the vision, introduced his instructions by way of narrative, as will be seen in the following recital.

“Two men (said he) dwelt in the same city, one of whom was distinguished by his affluence, having plenty of oxen, sheep, and all other kinds of cattle. The other was a very poor man, possessed of only one single lamb, which he reared and fed with his children, and loved it as tenderly as if it had been his own child. It happened that the rich man had a visitor came to see him, whom he could not do less than entertain in hospitable manner; but rather than furnish his table from his own abundant store, he caused the poor man to be robbed of his only lamb, to furnish a supper for the visitor.”—“Wretch that he is (cried the king) to be guilty of so inhospitable an action; he ought to make fourfold restitution to the injured party, and forfeit his life as a farther atonement!”—On which Nathan immediately said “Thou art the man, and standest condemned from the words of thy own mouth.”—After this declaration the prophet related the particulars of his vision, saying how highly God was offended with the conduct of David: reminded him of his ingratitude to that providence which had advanced him to the throne, subjected the surrounding nations to his command, and repeatedly delivered him from the hands of Saul. “And now (said Nathan) shall you, who have a number of legal wives, compel in defiance of all laws divine and human, the wife of another man to confess her with you, and then betray the husband to certain death from the hands of the enemy! What, after such conduct, can you expect, but that the vengeance of Heaven should overtake you?”—Nathan farther said that David should live to know that one of his sons had committed a rape on his women, and should find that son brought to condign punishment. The prophet moreover added that this child by Bathsheba should die in a short time. The terrors of these words affected David to such a degree that he trembled with apprehension, and confessed his sins with tears expressive of his contrition. In consideration of the good tenor of his life, and that except in this case of Uriah, he had acted as a righteous man, God took compassion
passion upon him, and accepted his repentance, promising, by his prophet, the continued possession of his life and kingdom.

The prophecy of Nathan having been thus delivered, he took his leave of the king; but he had not been long departed, when the child of Bathsheba, by David, was smote with a severe illness, which afflicted David to such a degree, that he retired to his chamber, and remained there seven days, refusing all kinds of food, laying on the ground wrapped in sackcloth, and praying incessantly for the life of that child to whose mother he was so much attached. The child died on the seventh day; but still the family avoided acquainting the king with it, as they conceived that his grief was so excessive, as to induce him to refuse the common necessities of life only on account of the child's illness, would not bear with any kind of patience the news of his death.

The looks of the domestics sufficiently apprized David that something unusual had happened, of which they were afraid to give him intelligence; and attributing the matter to its true cause, he acquainted one of the servants with his suspicions, who owned that the child was dead. Hereupon David arose from the ground, washed himself, put on clean garments, and having ordered his servants to provide supper against his return, went to the tabernacle to worship God. A conduct so extraordinary and unexpected filled the relations and domestics of David with astonishment: they thought it strange that he should so calmly resign to the death of the child, when his dangerous illness only had given rise to so extravagant and ungovernable a degree of grief. Curiosity prompting them to know the real cause of this alteration in David's conduct, they hinted their wishes to him, and he replied, that "While the child was living, and there were yet hopes of his recovery, he was unmarried in prayer to God to spare his life; but when he was absolutely dead, it would have been equally foolish and presumptuous to weary heaven any longer with his prayers; or to grieve for an irrevocable event." These sentiments of David were generally approved by all who heard them. Some time after this Bathsheba had a son by David, to whom he gave the name of Solomon, in consequence of the advice of the prophet Nathan.

The Ammonites were by this time extremely distressed by Joab, who had prevented their receiving supplies of provisions, and cut off all their water except one small spring, which they were obliged to use very sparingly, lest that also should fail them; so that they were on the verge of perishing through hunger and thirst. At this juncture Joab dispatched to David a minute account of the situation of affairs, requesting his personal attendance at the destruction of the city, as at an event that would be worthy to be recorded among the other distinguished actions of the king's life. No sooner had David received Joab's dispatches, than, convinced of his zeal and loyalty, he assembled his army, and marched at the head thereof to the assault of Rabbah, which being taken by storm, the king allowed his troops all the plunder, which was of immense value, excepting a crown of gold weighing a talent, on which was a sardonyx stone, which was afterwards constantly worn by David. The inhabitants of Rabbah were put to death with circumstances of
of great torture; and all the other rebellious Ammonite cities shared the same fate.

Soon after the issue of this distinguished victory, its glory was tarnished by a most unfortunate circumstance. David had a maiden daughter, named Thamar, who was deemed, beyond all comparison, the greatest beauty of the age in which she lived; and she was born of the same mother as Abafalom. With this daughter, Amnon, the eldest son of David, fell violently in love; but as she was strictly guarded, and was possessed of an innate modesty, he saw no prospect of success in addressing her, and pined away through excess of grief. This change in Amnon, which daily increased to an alarming degree, being observed by Jonathan who was his friend and relation, and a person of uncommon sagacity and penetration, he asked him the cause of his indisposition, and particularly questioned him if love was not at the bottom of it; which Jonathan really imagined to be the case. To this Amnon replied, that he was enamoured of his own sister; on which, Jonathan gave him a hint how he might gratify his wishes. "Feign your self sick (said he) and when David pays you a visit, tell him that you with "for the company of your sister, whose kind attendance you think will "tend greatly to the restoration of your health." This advice was followed by Amnon, who, on seeing David, requested his sister's company. This being granted, he begged her to make him some cakes; which she made, and baked in his presence, and presented them to him; but he refused to touch them, and directed the servants to leave the apartment, saying that he wished to compose himself. They were no sooner gone than he begged his sister to carry the cakes into a private room, which she complied with; and he following her, made use of every possible argument to induce her to gratify his unnatural passion. The harmless maiden expostulated with him, called out for assistance, and entreated him not to think of sacrificing the honour of his family of such an extravagant lust. "Let me be gone, (cried she) for God's "fake, and learn to regulate your desires by the dictates of honour, reli- "gion and law: or think how you may obtain your father's content, nor "seek to gratify your passion by violent means." All her entreaties, how- ever, were in vain; his passion made him deaf to the voice of reason, and notwithstanding all her endeavours to the contrary, he forcibly violated her perion.

The passion of Amnon was no sooner gratified, than the violent love he appeared to have had for his sister was changed into as violent a degree of hatred, and in a most imperious tone, he commanded her to quit his apartments. Shocked at this treatment, she asked if, after having been thus injured, she was to be exposed to the public, and dismissed, by day-light, to tell the world how she had been insulted. "This treatment (said she) even "aggravates, if any thing can aggravate the horror of the crime of which "you have been guilty; for in the former instance at least, the prevalence "of an ungovernable passion might be pleaded." All her remonstrances, and even her struggles were fruitless; for Amnon ordered his servants to turn her out of the house; and they complied. As she went through the streets, with her veil torn, and ashes on her head, lamenting the ill usage she had received,
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eceived, she was met by her brother Absalom, who, surprized at the singularity of her appearance, demanded what had happened to her; on which she related the particulars of the shocking ill usage she had received. By way of consolation, Absalom said that she was not so blamable, as the crime was perpetrated by her own brother; and Thamar becoming thereon somewhat pacified, went with Absalom to his house, and refused with him a considerable time.

When David was acquainted with this affair, he was afflicted beyond expression; but as Amnon was his eldest and most beloved son, he declined to punish him as the crime deserved. In the mean time Absalom waited for a proper opportunity to be revenged on Amnon; and after the expiration of two years from the rape of Thamar, he invited his father and brothers to attend at a sheep-shearing at Baal-Hazor, a city in the tribe of Benjamin. David urged the trouble and extraordinary expense, as a reason for his non-attendance; on which Absalom requested that his brothers only might come; to which David consenting, Absalom illuded orders to his servants to attack and kill Amnon when he was in liquor, on a signal to be given by their master.

CHAP. VIII.

The brothers are terrified at the death of Amnon. Absalom retreats to Geßur, Joab obtains permission for his return; and, after a while, to wait on David, whose leave he procures to go and pay a vow at Hebron, where he gets himself proclaimed king, and is joined by Achitophel. David retires from Jerusalem. Absalom, by the advice of Achitophel, is guilty of a heinous offence.

The servants of Absalom, watching the proper opportunity, executed the orders of their master. This outrage on the life of Amnon affected the rest of the brothers to such a degree, that, conceiving the plot to be intended equally against them all, they mounted their horses, and hastened away to their father. In the interim a messenger arrived, and informed David that Absalom had caused all his brothers to be slain. This afflicting news had such an influence on the mind of David, that, without waiting for a confirmation of it, or reflecting on its incredibility, he abandoned himself to the extremity of grief, tore his garments, and prostrating himself on the ground, lamented equally the horrid crime of the murderer, and the unhappy fate of the deceased. When this news arrived, Jonathan the son of Shimei, the brother of David, being with him, advised him to have patience, till he had considered the improbability of the circumstance, and received farther information: 'For (said he) as there is not the shadow of reason why all your sons should be slain, I cannot give credit to the story; with regard to Amnon, indeed it is not improbable but Absalom may have taken this opportunity to wreak his vengeance on him, for the insult offered to his sister.' During their conversation they heard the feet of horses, and the noise of people as just come off a journey; and, on enquiry, they found that the sons of

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David
David, who had escaped from the house of Absalom, were just then arrived.

This meeting between David and his children was very affecting, and mutual tears flowed in abundance. The father wept at once with joy at the sight of those sons whom he supposed to be no longer living, and through grief at the recollection of him whom he knew to be dead: while the sons lamented the murder of their brother, but were comforted at the thought of returning safe to their father; so that the whole scene was wonderfully pathetic. In the interim Absalom departed to Geshur, where he remained about three years with his grandfather by the mother's side, who was a man of considerable rank and influence.

By the expiration of this time the anger of David towards his son Absalom was in great measure subsided, and he became disposed to recall him to his favour and friendship; and this disposition of the king being observed by Joab, the friend of Absalom, who was continually with David, he considered how to improve it to the advantage of his friend. To effect his purpose he had recourse to an ancient and venerable woman, whom he caused to be clothed in deep mourning, and instructed her to lay her case before the king, which she represented, by way of petition, in the following manner; viz. That two of her sons, who resided in the country, having had an unfortunate quarrel, which grew to that height that they came to blows, one of them was unhappily killed in the contest: whereupon some of the friends of the deceased demanded justice to be done on the murderer. Wherefore she solicited the king to spare the life of her son, who, notwithstanding his offence, was the only comfort of her old age. She added, that her son's enemies were so determined in their malice, that nothing could protect him but the interference of the royal authority; and that she had no hope of relief but in the mercy of her sovereign. Having acted her part with great skill, the king was induced to comply with her request: upon which, having made many acknowledgements of his considerate goodness to a mother who solicited the life of an only child, she yet besought his majesty to grant one farther favour, as a proof that she should not fail to reap the benefit of the royal promise; and this was, that he would let the pardon of her child be preceded by that of his own son Absalom: for by extending his compassion to him, there could remain no doubt but the intended mercy would be ratified in the case of her own child. She added, that as his majesty had already the misfortune to have lost one son, it would be very inhuman for himself to be the destruction of another.

David now began to conjecture that this application of the woman's was in consequence of the advice of Joab, and interrogating her on the subject, he found it to be as he suspected; wherefore calling Joab to him, he acquainted him that his device had succeeded, that his anger against Absalom had subsided, that he freely pardoned him, and that Joab might recall him whenever he thought proper. This was joyful news to Joab, who having made the most grateful acknowledgments to his sovereign, repaired instantly to Geshur, and brought back his friend Absalom to Jerusalem. When the king was informed of the return of his son, he sent a message to him, import
porting that he must abstain from appearing before him for the present, for
that he could not yet be reconciled to the sight of him; whereupon Absalom
remained within the walls of his own house, that he might by no means come
into the presence of the king. The trouble and anxiety he had for some
time past encountered, together with the manner of his living, had been
rather incompatible with his rank as the son of David; yet the singular man-
liness and grace of his person was not in the least diminished, so that he was
deemed the wonder of his age. Once in eight months he used to cut his
hair, and in that short space of time it would grow to the weight of two hun-
dred shekels, which are equal to five pounds.

He lived in Jerusalem, in the private manner abovementioned, about
two years, and by this time had become father of four children, viz. three
sons, and a daughter, the latter of whom was remarkably distinguished by
her beauty, and was afterwards the wife of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon,
by whom she had a son called Abia. As Absalom grew uneasy from his
mode of living, he sent to his friend Joab, to obtain permission for him to
wait on his father, in hopes that a perfect reconciliation might be the conse-
quence of an interview. Having in vain expected an answer for some time,
he dispatched some of his servants into a field belonging to Joab, to burn
his corn on the ground, as it was growing. This coming to the knowledge
of Joab, he went to Absalom, complained of the injury, and demanded the
reason of such proceeding; to which the latter replied, that he had no other
way of obtaining sight of him; that he had written to request his intercession
with his father, but that he had done nothing in the business; and added a
wish that he would endeavour to pacify the king; "for (said he) if he still
continues inflexible, banishment itself would be preferable to my present
condition." This address affected Joab so much, that he made imme-
diate application to David, and was so successful in his suit, that the king
gave orders for his son to be admitted to his presence. This favour being
obtained, Absalom threw himself at the feet of his father, and humbly sued
for pardon of all his past offences; on which David extended his right hand,
raised him up, and gave him the most solemn assurance that all former crim-
ese should be buried in everlasting oblivion.

Within a short time Absalom became so much ingratiated in the favour
and affection of the king, that he was permitted to keep a splendid equip-
page, to retain fifty men as his body guard, and to have a great number of
servants and dependants, besides chariots and horses in proportion. He was
constantly one of the most officious in personal attendance on the king, yet
at the same time ever ready to bespeak, by the most plausible behaviour, the
affections of the people. When any person who had a cause in litigation
came to sue for justice, he would treat him in the most familiar manner, de-
manding his name, country, business, &c. and ask if he could be personally
serviceable. On the application of such as appeared discontented at the pal-
fing of a hard sentence, or when verdicts had gone against them, he used to
observe that "bad men were about the king; that his majesty was some
times mistaken as well as other people; and hinted that if himself had been
in the place of others, things would not have happened as they had done;" he
he would then with the persons who applied great success, and, in the most artful way imaginable, endeavour to ripen their sentiments to the promotion of the scheme he had in view.

By these insidious methods he soon gained over a large party to his interest, and, in the fourth year from the reconciliation to his father, thinking his plan then ripe for execution, he asked permission to repair to Hebron, there to fulfil a vow which he had made during his banishment. David readily granting his request, he invited a great number of people to attend him, and was followed by many others; among whom was Achitophel, the Gilonite, the king's principal minister, who was attended by two hundred inhabitants of Jerusalem: but neither these nor Achitophel knew of the intended design, which was to proclaim Absalom king, which was soon afterwards done, by the common consent of the people.

Information of this atrocious act being brought to David, he stood astonished at the insolence and ingratitude of his son, who after having obtained the royal pardon and being taken into favour, could so soon embark in so rebellious a plot; for it seems that the scheme was, not only to seize on the kingdom, which was the gift of God to David, but to attempt his life also. In this perplexing situation the king deliberated with his friends on the steps most proper to be taken; and it was agreed that he should go over the river Jordan, to some place of greater security, committing to ten of his concubines the care of the royal palace. Having resolved, then, to leave the event of this affair to the Almighty, he set out on his journey, attended by immense numbers of people, who voluntarily embarked in the cause of their sovereign, particularly his six hundred friends, who had heretofore so faithfully attached themselves to him when he was persecuted by Saul. Abiathar and Zadock the high-priests, together with the Levites, would gladly have taken the ark with them, and attended David; but he advised them not to think of removing, and enforced his request by observing that the presence of the holy ark would not be necessary for his protection, as he should be immediately under that of heaven. His last advice was that they would devise some private method of informing him, from time to time, of such news as it might import him to be acquainted with; and these instructions were afterwards admirably obeyed by the good conduct of Jonathan the son of Abiathar, and Ahimaaz the son of Zadock. With regard to Ittai the Gittite, though advised to the contrary, he insisted on a personal attendance on his sovereign, whom he accordingly attended.

As David, surrounded by the weeping multitude, was walking barefooted up mount Olivet, a person arrived express with information that Achitophel had deferred his duty, and taken part with the rebellious Absalom: which new shocked the king, that he besought the Almighty to deprive him of his fates. Achitophel was a man of so great penetration and subtility, that there was nothing David dreaded so much as the pernicious effects of his counsels.

David had no sooner reached the summit of the mountain, than he cast his eyes on the city, and wept while he lamented the loss of his government: on this spot he met with the loyal and friendly Hushai, who, with his clothes torn,
torn, and strewing ashes on his head, was regretting the uncertainty of all sublunary enjoyments. David encouraged him to bear up under the misfortune with resolution; and earnestly advised him to return to Jerusalem, where he might be of essential service, by pretending to side with the friends of Abfalom, which would give him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the counsels, and perplexing the schemes of Achitophel. Hushai, convinced by these reasons, went back to Jerusalem, to which place Abfalom likewise soon after repaired.

In the interim David continuing his journey, was met by Ziba, a servant to Mephibosheth, to whom the king had committed the management of an estate which he had given to the son of his friend Jonathan. Ziba, who was driving a couple of asses, complimented David and his attendants with their choice of any part of the burden of his beasts. Ziba being asked where his master was, replied, that he was at Jerusalem, entertaining hopes that, in honor of the memory of Saul, the people might be induced to take advantage of the present disturbances, to elect him their sovereign. David was so enraged at this instance of ingratitude, that he refused the estate above-mentioned, which he committed to the care of Ziba, who deemed himself highly gratified by the tract.

When David, in the course of his journey, arrived near Bahurim, Shimei, the son of Gera (a relation of Saul) advancing towards him, threw stones at and cursed him; and abused him the more violently, the more his friends took the part of their sovereign. Shimei attributed all the public calamities to David, whom, with most opprobrious language, he directed to quit the country; thanking God that his own son had retaliated upon him the insults which David had heretofore offered to his father. All the company present were shocked at this behaviour, and he would certainly have fallen a sacrifice to the resentment of Abiathai, but for the interposition of David, who advised him to restrain his passion, and not seek to encrease the present calamities. "Things are already (said he) bad enough, do not make them worse. The insults of this wretch I regard but as the noise of a mad dog, which God has permitted to attack me; and I submit to the Divine Will. The insults of Shimei ought not to surprize you, when you see in how ungrateful a manner I am treated by my own son. But God is all-gracious, and I trust in his mercy for conquest over all our enemies, and final deliverance from every oppression: let us therefore put our confidence in him, and pursue our journey in full reliance on his protection." Having said this, David proceeded slowly on one side of the mountain, while Shimei went on the other side, cursing him as he advanced. At length David and his followers arrived on the bank of the river, where they halted to take refreshment after their tedious march, the troops being much tired on the occasion.

About this time Abfalom and Achitophel arrived at Jerusalem, where prodigious crowds of people received them with every demonstration of joy; nor did Hushai fail to make one of the number, to cry "God save the king," and to wish that his reign might be long and prosperous. Abfalom, struck by this circumstance, demanded how it happened that the zealous Hushai...
should desert his king, and attach himself to the interest of another; to which Hushai artfully replied, that the will of God, and the approbation of the people were not to be refilled: "While these are on your side (said he) my attachment may be depended on: your kingdom is the gift of heaven; and if I may be deemed worthy of your confidence, I will convince you that my zeal for your service is not less ardent than it formerly was for that of your father. It would be unreasonable for a man to complain of his situation, while we are governed by the son of our former king, and the line of royalty is unbroken." This speech lulled all suspicion that Absalom might have entertained of Hushai.

Achitophel was now consulted what was proper to be done in the present posture of affairs; and his advice was that Absalom should lay with all David’s concubines; and he enforced his advice by saying that when matters were thus advanced beyond a possibility of reconciliation, the people would infer that the state was more secure. "In the present state of things (added he) they may think a reconciliation may be effected, in which case their safety would be endangered by declaring in your favour." His advice was followed; and a tent being erected in the palace for the occasion, Absalom in the view of the people, lay with the king’s concubines. Thus the prophecy of Nathan, respecting what would befall David, was fulfilled.

CHAP. IX.

Achitophel advises the destruction of David; but this advice is opposed, and overruled by Hushai. Achitophel hangs himself in his own house. Amasa being created general by Absalom, engages David in battle, and is routed. Absalom found hanging on the bough of a tree, by the hair of his head. Joab strikes Absalom, with his javelin, through the heart.

ACHITOPHEL’s late advice had no sooner been carried into execution, than consultations were held how to prosecute a war; when he said that if he might be entrusted with the command of ten thousand select men, he would bring the head of David, or be content to forfeit his own: adding, that the loss of David’s life would secure the government to Absalom, and safety to the public. This proposal appeared highly agreeable to Absalom; but before he came to a resolution he thought it prudent to take the advice of Hushai, whose opinion being demanded, he gave it to the following purport: "It is unnecessary for me to remind you, Sir, of the acknowledged valour of your father, and of the numbers of brave men in his service, in conjunction with whom he hath always been victorious. You are equally well acquainted with his courage and his skill. Our advances will undoubtedly be announced to him; and 'tis probable that his troops will wait to engage us, in some wood, valley, or behind a rock; or should we advance to attack them, they would probably retreat by degrees till we are surrounded, and the whole body fall upon us at once. I would wish you, Sir, to consider, that in an emergency, such as I speak of, whether the encouragement given to the enemy, joined to the confeder-
nation into which we should be thrown, would not create a confusion very
disfavourable to your army. You will now, Sir, please to consider whe-
ther my advice or that of Achitophel is most proper to be pursued. But
having proceeded thus far, let me inform you what I think, in our present
situation, would be the most rational mode of acting. Give orders that the
whole body of the Hebrews assemble, at a fixed time and place, to wage
war with David; and when they are come together do you assume the com-
mand of them all, without delegating your authority to any other per-
son. This being done, David must either retire to the walled towns,
strong holds, or other secure places, or take the open field: in the latter
case, your numbers will be sufficient to destroy him, and among them will
be a multitude whose pride and ambition will stimulate them to appear
foremost in the service of their prince and country. Thus the ruin of
David, will be certain: but, if he should act only the defensive part, and
seek security by secreting himself: there are many ways of reducing him
to submission, such as fasting, mining, or battering.” Hushai had no
sooner delivered his opinion, than it was determined to follow his advice, in
preference to that of Achitophel; and even Absalom voted in favour of this
resolution; but it ought to be remembered that the hand of Providence
guided this event.

This determination was no sooner made than Hushai hastened to Abiathar
and Zadock, the high-priests, with an account of the result of the confer-
ence; entreating them to send away instantly an express to David, conjuring
him to pass over the river Jordan that night; for that his enemies might at-
tack him in his present situation, if they should learn where he was, or if any
alteration should happen in their sentiments.

To forward any intelligence of this kind, the high-priests had procured
lodgings for their sons without the city, and had a truthfully maid-servant to
carry the dispatches to them; and no sooner was the information received,
than the young men hastened to obey their orders: but they had not pro-
ceeded a quarter of a mile on their journey, before they were discovered by
some horsemen; and Absalom, being soon apprized of the circumstance, gave
orders for apprehending them. The young men having learnt the danger they
were in, quitted the high-road, and went towards Bahurim, a little village
not far from Jerusalem, where a woman undertook to hide them, which she
effected by putting them down into a well, over which she threw the skins of
some beasts. They were, however, just got safe into this retreat, when some men
came after them, and enquired if she had not seen such people. She con-
fessed that two men answer ing the description had drank at her gate, and were
gone forward; nor could there be any doubt of overtaking them in a short
time. This did not satisfy the pursuers, who fought for them a long time in
vain, and then returned to Jerusalem. When the woman was certain they
were at a proper distance, she released the young men from the well, who
immediately pursued their journey, and informed David of the proceedings of
Absalom. Though their arrival was late, David managed so as to get his peo-
ple across the river before morning.

Achitophel
Achitophel was so much chagrined that Hushai’s advice had been preferred to his, that he got upon his ass, and retired to his house at Galmon, and, assembling his family, acquainted them what counsel he had given to Absalom, who had rejected it; adding, that the rejection of this advice would soon prove ruinous to him, for that David would conquer him, and recover the sovereign authority: “And now (said he) it is left disgraceful for me to meet death while I can boast my freedom, than to wait the re-establishment of the king, when I shall be sacrificed by the father for the services I have done the son.” He had no sooner thus expressed himself, than he retired to a private room, and hanged himself, from a consciousness of his own demerits; and he was buried by his relations.

David had now passed the river Jordan, and arrived at Mahanaim, one of the most capital cities in that part of the country; when Siphar, a prince of Ammon, Barzillai and Machir, two of the chief inhabitants of Gilead, treated him with the utmost liberality and affection, as did also all the principal persons of that district; not only in his present distressful circumstances, but from the recollection of his former rank and dignity. Such was the kind affection of these people, that David and his retinue were amply supplied with meat, bread, wine, lodging, and every other article that could contribute either to their support or accommodation.

During these transactions, Absalom having assembled a large army to oppose David, crossed the river Jordan, and encamped near Mahanaim, a town of Gilead. Of this army Amasa was appointed general, in the room of Joab: now Zeruiah, the mother of Joab, and Abigail, the mother of Amasa, were both the sisters of David.

On a review of the army, David found himself able to muster only four thousand men; yet with this small number he determined rather to act offensively, than to wait till he should be attacked by Absalom: he therefore separated his army into three divisions, and appointed proper officers to each; giving the first division to Joab, the second to Abishai, and the third to Ittai, the Gittite. The king would willingly have been present with the army; but in this he was opposed by his adherents, who urged, that if they should be vanquished while he was in the field, their whole plan would be frustrated, and the contest at an end; whereas, on the contrary, if one of the divisions should be routed, the rest might retreat to him, and some mode might be adopted to recruit the army: and, exclusive of this consideration, the king’s absence from the field might induce the enemy to think that he had another army which had not made its appearance. By these arguments David was influenced to remain at Mahanaim: but he bound his adherents, by every sacred tie, to discharge their duty manfully; requesting that if Providence should decree the victory in their favour, they would spare the life of his son Absalom; for, in case of his death, his own life would become of no value. Having expressed himself to this purpose, he disdained his friends, with all good wishes and prayers for their successes.

Absalom no sooner remarked the disposition of Joab’s division, which was on a plain, with a wood behind them, than he opposed his own troops to them in a similar situation. As soon as the two armies engaged, equal va-
our appeared to inspire either party; the one anxious to recover David’s laws, the other no less so to support Absalom in his unjustly usurped authority: the adherents of David were determined to do and suffer every thing, to punish the guilty son for his rebellion against his father. For a considerable time Absalom’s people fought most courageously, ashamed of being vanquished by the few forces of David; while, on the other hand, the royal party had in view the honour of putting so many superior thousands to the rout. At length, however, the veterans of David, with a bravery that daunted all opposition, broke the enemy’s ranks, totally routed them, and pursued the flying divisions through woods, over mountains and precipices, or wherever they fought for safety. Great numbers were lost in the pursuit, many taken prisoners; and the number killed on the field of battle was estimated at twenty thousand.

The person of Absalom was so distinguishable, both for his height and comeliness, that he was the universal mark at which they wished to aim: in order, therefore, to avoid being taken prisoner, he mounted his swiftest mule, and rode off at the full speed; but the wind blowing his long hair above his head, it caught hold of a bow of a tree, and the mule continuing her speed, left Absalom hanging in this situation. This being observed by one of David’s troops, he informed Joab of the circumstance, who ordered him to go and stab Absalom, and his reward should be fifty shekels of silver. This the soldier refused, saying that two thousand should not bribe him to such an act, especially as David had given orders that the young man’s life should be spared. Joab now enquired where Absalom was hanging, and having at length found him, struck his javelin through his heart. Joab’s armour-bearers being present at this scene, lifted the body from the tree, and buried it in a pit, over which they erected a kind of rude sepulchre, by piling a number of stones upon it. This ceremony being ended, Joab ordered a retreat to be sound, to stop the pursuit, and save the unnecessary effusion of blood. Some time before this, in a place denominated the king’s valley, adjacent to Jerusalem, Absalom had caused a marble column to be erected, to which he gave the name of the “Hand of Absalom,” and intended it as a lasting memorial of himself, in case (as he himself expressed it) he should die childless; but he left three sons and a daughter, which last became the wife of Rehoboam the son of Solomon, and the mother of Abia; but of this we shall see farther in the sequel.

The immediate dispersion of Absalom’s troops was the consequence of his death: and now a kind of counsel arose who should carry the news of the victory to David. Ahimaaz, the son of Zadock the high priest, besought Joab that he might be the messenger, as the victory appeared to be the immediate consequence of an interfering providence; but Joab replied, that as he had hitherto carried the king only good news, he would be an improper messenger of the death of his son; he therefore ordered Cushi to be the bearer of this intelligence, as he had been witness to the event; but Ahimaaz again applied, urging that David’s concern for the loss of his son would yield to his joy on the general import of the message. Hereupon Joab permitted him to go; and as he was acquainted with the nearest road, he arrived before Cushi.

While David was sitting at the gate of his palace, anxious to learn the event of the contest, a servant brought him intelligence that he could discern a person advancing hastily toward them, but that he was not near enough to ascertain his person. David began to console himself with the hope of good news, when the servant told him that he saw a second person running, which still increased his expectations. By this time the first messenger was come very near, and proved to be Ahimaaz, the son of the high priest Zadock, who travelled in a chariot. “This man (said David) certainly brings me acceptable intelligence;” and scarcely had he pronounced these words, when Ahimaaz prostrated himself before the king, who instantly demanded what news from the army. To this Ahimaaz replied “success and victory.” The king then eagerly enquired the fate of Absalom, to which the messenger answered, that he had no sooner been a witness of the victory by the routing of the enemy, than he hurried away with the news; that his orders from Joab were given in haste, and related solely to the advantage gained over the enemy, without regard to Absalom, of whom, however, he knew the troops were in pursuit, from the noise and clamour that he had heard. He had scarcely done speaking when Cushi arrived with intelligence of the victory, and throwing himself at David’s feet, was interrogated with regard to the fate of Absalom: to which he replied “May all the enemies of my lord the king be no more successful than Absalom has been!” Intelligence thus fatal to the hopes of David turned a day of joy into sorrow and lamentation. The king was inconsolable for the loss of his son; and the people were equally astonished and grieved that their sovereign could thus afflict himself for the death of a rebel, by which his life and crown were secured. David, however
however withdrew himself from public business, and, on the top of one of the highest towers of the city, lamented his fate with many tears; and, while he smote his breast, and tore his hair, exclaimed, “Oh Absalom, my son, my son! Al! that I could have died with thee my son Absalom!” By this time Joab and the army were entering the city in triumph; and were not a little shocked that the grief to which the king had abandoned himself, spread an air of gloom over the joyous solemnity, and made them appear rather as the vanquished than the conquerors.

On this occasion David gave himself up so entirely to grief, that Joab thought it requisite to throw off all restraint, and speak his sentiments with freedom, which he did as follows. “Consider, Sir, (said he) the tendency of your conduct: consider how inglorious it is for you thus to waste your time in fruitless repinings: this behaviour carries with it the appearance of despifing the good offices of those friends who have risked their own lives to preserve yours; nay it looks like a degree of contempt for yourself and your own family, and a partiality for those enemies which the just vengeance of heaven hath doomed to destruction, as an instance of mercy to you. Can you conceive that if Absalom had been successful, and established himself in that power which he had usurped, he would thus have commiserated either your fate or ours? So far from it that he would have doomed us to destruction, and you and your family would have been the first victims to his wrath. Your enemies would have triumphed in your overthrow, nor would it have been safe for any one to have commiserated your case. Reflect, Sir, that honour and conscience equally militate against this superabundant sorrow for the loss of so inveterate and unprovoked a foe as Absalom. It must be confessed that he was your son, but a son so ungracious, that you cannot be sufficiently thankful to heaven that he is your son no longer. Arouse then, I beseech you; appear before your subjects, and acknowledge that, next to the immediate interference of Providence, you owe the victory you have obtained to their courage and fidelity: for if you continue in this desponding way, your army will desert you, your kingdom will be lost; and then you will find real and substantial caufe for lamentation.”

Such was the effect of this honest address to David, that he began to recollect himself, and resolved to pay more attention to the interests of his people, and the dignity of his government; and therefore appeared at the gate of his palace with unusual complacency in his look and behaviour. This alteration in his conduct had such an influence on the people, that they crowded in from all parts, to make submission to their sovereign.

During this situation of affairs, the late adherents of Absalom, who had fled on the day of battle, and were now got to their own habitations, dispatched express across the country, desiring their friends to recollect what a variety of obligations they lay under to David, for the numerous hazards and toils he had undergone in assertion of their common rights and liberties; how ungenerous they had all behaved in rebelling against him; and recommending an immediate submission to him, when they should entreat his forgiveness, and solicit him once more to take them under his royal protection: and their
these arguments were enforced by the consideration that the usurper they had set up in the place of David was now no more.

In consequence hereof David received addresses in great number, which he regularly dispatched to Zadock and Abiathar, the high priests, instructing them how to treat with the heads of the tribe of Judah, to confirm his restoration. Hereupon the high priests represented to them how scandalous it would be for them to remain indifferent, while others were taking the lead in an act of common justice to so benevolent a prince, who was more-over of their own tribe. This mode of address inspired a spirit of emulation who should be most zealous in the service of the king. The high priests were also instructed to enquire of Amasa how it happened that he, the king's nephew by his own litter, had failed to model the army to a disposition fit for the restoration of the true government: and it was hinted to Amasa, that David would give him the same post he held under Absalom, and likewise grant him his free pardon.

In this mode the high priests treated with the heads of the tribe; and with Amasa, who by the promise abovementioned, was easily reconciled to the king's interest. The first tribe that sent deputies to David, to invite him to re-assume the regal government, was that of Judah; and partly by the influence of this example, and partly through that of Amasa, all the tribes agreed to receive the king at Jerusalem. Among the very foremost to pay the tribute of submission was the said tribe of Judah, who advanced to meet him even to the banks of Jordan. There likewise went Ziba, a freed-man of Saul's, with fifteen children, and twenty servants; and a thousand Benjamites, preceded by Shimei the son of Gera. These all combined with the tribe of Judah, to throw a bridge across the river, that David and his troops might pass with greater convenience.

When the king had reached the river side, the tribe of Judah first paid their obedience: then Shimei, approaching to the bridge, humbled himself at the feet of David, implored his pardon for all that was passed, and hoped it would not be remembered to his disadvantage when David should be re-inflated in his government: requesting farther, that his ready submission, and unfeigned repentance, might be accepted in extenuation of his former crimes. In answer to this, Absiha, the brother to Josiah, exclaimed, "Think you thus easily to compensate for all the insults that you have offered to the king whom God hath appointed to rule over you?" David, in reply, said, "Be at peace, no farther try to foment old divisions, by seeking out new cause of disquietude. Consider this as the first day on which I begin to reign, and observe what I most solemnly swear. Every one is now absolutely forgiven by me; and I hereby engage that not any person, of what rank or condition ever, shall suffer on account of any insult offered to myself, or to any other on my account: and you, Shimei, may now ret in case, for your life shall not be endangered." Hereupon Shimei arose from his suppliant posture, paid his humble respects, and retired.

Mephibosheth, the grandson of Saul, now approached the king, in a disguise which was the consequence of a vow by which he had bound himself when
when David was expelled, that he would neither cut off his hair, nor change his cloaths, till his sovereign should be restored. Ziba had endeavoured to traduce Mephibosheth to David; for on the latter enquiring how he could defect him in the day of distress, he attributed the fault to Ziba, who had disobeyed his commands, and treated him with the utmost insolence, notwithstanding he had given express directions to have every thing prepared for his journey: "But Sir," said he, "even this should not have detained me, if I had been able to have walked: but this is not all: I learn that this man has not only prevented my paying you my personal respects, but has like-wile endeavoured to alienate your good opinion from me. But your justice, Sir, your wisdom and benevolence, your regard to God and his truth, will prevent your being prejudiced by malicious insinuations. My family has had full experience of your piety, modesty, and the forgiving good-nets of your disposition, in the remitting all the offences of my grand-father, by whom you were involved in numberless difficulties and perjuries. At that time our forfeited lives were all at your disposal, and you forgave us: but, after this, your accepting me as a guest at your table, and entertaining me as your friend, notwithstanding the obnoxiousness of my relations, is an obligation that can neither be sufficiently acknowledged, nor will be ever forgotten." This speech was heard by David, who neither made any comment on it, nor hinted the least discredit of what Ziba had heretofore said; but told Mephibosheth that he would order Ziba to restore half the estate that had been entrusted to his care: to which Mephibosheth answered, that Ziba was welcome to the whole, since he had the happiness of seeing his sovereign restored to his throne and kingdom.

Barzillai, the Gileadite, a man renowned for acts of honour and virtue, had been long the steady friend of David, whom he had assisted in deeds of heroism; nor, on this occasion, could Barzillai deny himself the pleasure of attending the king on his way to the river Jordan. David entreated him to accompany him to Jerusalem, assuring him that he would treat him with the tenderness of a parent, and that every convenience should be supplied to render his old age comfortable to him. To this invitation Barzillai replied, that a retired and private life was now more eligible to him, than all the gaiety and splendor of a palace: for that he was eighty years of age, and had outlived all taste for the pleasures of a court; his chief care now being to give directions for his funeral, and prepare for another world. For these reasons he requested his majesty's permission to return and dwell at his own house, where he might live in the way most agreeable to himself: he said farther, that he could no longer receive pleasure from luxurious living; and with regard to dancing, singing, and the concert arising from the accordance of voice and instrument, he had no longer any pleasure in them; for that he was almost deprived of his hearing. In consideration of these reasons, David was induced to part with Barzillai, on condition that his son Chimham should go with him, and accept of such favours as his majesty could with propriety bestow on him. Barzillai committed his son to the king's care, with every acknowledgment of the honor done them, and retired to his own house, after
offering up his warmest wishes and prayers for the long and prosperous reign of David.

On David's arrival at Gilgal he found that his followers consisted of the whole tribe of Judah, and one half of the whole nation. At this time there came to David many of the chief men of the country, (followed by vast multitudes of people) and reflected on the tribe of Judah for their presumption in waiting upon the king without the concurrence of their brethren; as in reason they ought to have gone all in a body. To this the tribe of Judah, replied, that they hoped their brethren would not be offended that they had made the first offer of their services, as they considered it as a duty to which they were bound by their affinity to the king; which had made them more zealous on the occasion than otherwise, they should have been: they averred that they had not a view to any private advantage, in what they had done, and thought that, in reason, this testimony of their zeal ought not to give any offence to those who were later in their professions of loyalty and attachment. This mode of arguing was not in the least pleasing to the other tribes, who demanded, "Wherefore should you, in particular, seek the face of the king, as if he was not equally the governor of us all; for such, the providence of God has appointed him? We, who are eleven tribes out of the twelve, while you are only one, claim to be considered in that proportion; and we are of opinion that you have treated us very ill, in going by yourselves to the king, before you had given us any intimation of your intentions."

During this debate among the principal men, Sheba the son of Bichri, of the tribe of Benjamin, (a man of a violent and litigious disposition) standing up, in the midst of the assembly, exclaimed in a loud voice, "Wherefore do they talk to us of a part in David? What connection can we have with the son of Jefle?" Hereupon he ordered a trumpet to be sounded, and proclamation to be made, that "the people might depart to their tents;" from which moment it was considered that a war was declared against David: the majority appearing to adhere to the party of Sheba; but the tribe of Judah still held their allegiance to David, whom they escorted to Jerusalem.

As soon as the king arrived at the city, his first care was to remove from his palace all his concubines whom Absalom had heretofore publicly prostituted: but he gave orders for their being properly attended, and accommodated, in lodgings prepared for them; though from this time he never held any correspondence with them. His next step was to promote Amafa to the rank of general, in the room of Joab, and to him he gave orders to assemble all the troops he could of the tribe of Judah, and prepare to march, within three days, against Sheba, the son of Bichri. This commission Amafa endeavoured to execute with all possible expedition; but not being able to assemble them so soon as he wished, David grew impatient, and on the third day, spoke to Joab to the following purport: "There is no time to be lost in counteracting the designs of Sheba; do you, therefore, instantly assemble such troops as are in readiness, together with the six hundred veterans, and, taking your brother Abishai as your assistant, proceed directly in search of him, and the moment you get sight of him encounter him, before he has
“a possibility of arranging his forces: for, if there be any delay on our part, his numbers will encrease like the gathering of a snow-ball, and, when he is sufficiently strong, he may secure himself in some fortified town, and it may be a work of more time and labour to dislodge him, than it was to conquer Abishalom.”

No sooner had Joab received his orders, than he and his brother collected their troops, and marched in pursuit of Sheba. When Joab came to Gibron, a village about five miles from Jerusalem, Amasa met him at the head of a numerous army. While Amasa was approaching to salute him, Joab, who wore a breast-plate, and had his sword by his side, let fall the sword from the scabbard, but immediately took it up again, and advancing towards Amasa, took him by the beard under pretence of saluting him, but instantly ran him through the body, so that he died on the spot. No possible reason can be given for so atrocious a behaviour towards a worthy young man who was his relation, other than that he was jealous of his advancement, and apprehensive that he might obtain too great a share of favour from the king. On not much better foundation did Joab heretofore murder Abner, nor was the mode of doing it much less treacherous. Indeed, in the former case, the revenging his brother Hazael might afford some kind of pretence for the perpetration of the deed; but nothing can be said in mitigation of this last horrid murder.

Amasa was no sooner dead than Joab and his brother Abishai proceeded on their march in search of Sheba, leaving a person in care of Amasa’s body, with orders to proclaim that he was a bad man, and had only been punished according to his demerits: proclamation was also made that the friends of David should follow Joab and his brother. During the time the body lay exposed, great numbers assembled to view it; on which the person in whose care it was, removed it to a neighbouring village, where he put it in a house, and covered it with a coat; and the soldiers now followed their leaders. Joab and his army had nearly traversed the whole country before they knew that Sheba had taken refuge in a fortified town named Abel-Maacha. The gates of this place being shut against Joab and his troops, he was resolved to besiege it, and accordingly gave orders for throwing up a trench round it, and that the walls should be undermined, and the place attacked by means of batteries.

While the necessary steps were taking for the attack of the city, a public spirited woman, zealous for the service of her country, ascended the battlements of the wall, whence she called aloud to Joab, desiring to speak to him apart from his troops. Joab complying with her request, he addressed him in the following manner: “Although providence hath appointed kings and governors to rule over us, to induce us to live at peace one among another, and to defend us from the assaults of our foes, yet have you advanced against us, to destroy one of the most capital cities in all the land of Israel; and this without any provocation or insult on our parts.” To this Joab replied, that she was mistaken in her judgment; for that he had no wish either to destroy the city, or to injure any one of its inhabitants: all he wished and demanded was that the rebel Sheba, the son of Bichri, should be delivered
delivering up as a victim to public justice, and his army should be immediately withdrawn from before the walls. The woman having heard this declaration of Joab, requested him to suspend his operations but for a short time, and the head of Sheba should be thrown over the wall to him. Joab, consenting to this, he descended from the wall, and addressed the citizens in the following manner. “Can you, O fellow citizens, be so abandoned as, for the sake of affording protection to one bad man who is moreover a stranger among you, to content to the loss of your wives and children, and to be driven from your habitations in so disgraceful a manner? What obligations have you to Sheba, to counterbalance those you owe to David? Or if this was not the case, is it possible to hold the city in despight of the besiegers?” This short address had the intended effect: it was agreed to purchase peace at the expense of Sheba, whose head was immediately cut off, and thrown over the wall; on which the troops returned to Jerusalem, where Joab was appointed general; the command of the guards, and the six hundred veterans, was given to Benaiah; Adoram was appointed treasurer; the recorders were Achilaus and Sabathes; Sufa was made secretary; while the office of high priest remained with Abiathar and Zadok.

Matters had not been long thus adjusted, when a famine raged so violently, that David entreated God to acquaint him of the cause and cure of the calamity. To this the prophets returned an answer, intimating that Saul having treacherously shed the blood of the Gibeonites, it appealed to heaven for vengeance: for that this blood had been shed, not only in opposition to the rights of natural equity, but to Joshua’s promise and oath, which the elders had ratified. The prophets therefore instructed the king to redress the injury sustained by the Gibeonites, in the murder of their citizens, in such manner as they should require; on which the Almighty would avert the present judgment. As soon as David heard this, he sent for the Gibeonites, and demanded what recompense they would wish: to which they answered, “Let seven of the sons or relations of Saul be given up to our disposal.” Hereupon David gave orders that seven of them should be fought for; but with an exception in favour of Mephiboseth, on account of his father Jonathan. These being given to the Gibeonites, they were appeased; and inflicted such punishments on them as they thought proper: immediately after which rain fell in great abundance; the earth recovered its former verdure, and produced the accustomed plenty.

Soon after this event, David marched his forces against the Philistines, whom he attacked and routed: but being too eager in the pursuit, he was observed, when alone and fatigued, by Achmon, the son of Araph, a man of the gigantic race, (armed with a sword, a coat of mail, and a lance which weighed three hundred shekels) who turning quick on the king, beat him down, and would infallibly have killed him, but that on the instant came up Abiathai, the brother of Joab, who standing across the king, attacked and slew Achmon. The great danger David had been in, and his providential deliverance, so much affected the army, that the officers insisted on his swearing never again personally to engage in war: for that the blessings derived to the nation by his government, were in the utmost danger of being lost
loft, from that natural bravery which led him to expose himself in situations of the most imminent danger.

It was not long after this battle before the Philistines re-assembled their troops at Gaza; on which David sent an army to attack them. Soabach, the Hittite, obtained a great character on this occasion, by killing, with his own hands, several of the race of the giants; who were equally remarkable for strength and size. In a word, the victory was, principally owing to his courage. The Philistines once more took the field, against whom the king sent fresh detachments; and in this attack, Nathan, a relation of David, performed miracles of valour; among the rest, killing one of the bravest of the Philistines in single combat; whereon the remainder fled, with the loss of great numbers of their troops.

The Philistines took possession of a town near where the Hebrews lay; and among them was a man defenced from the race of the giants, whose height was six cubits, and who had on each foot six toes, and on each hand six fingers. This enormous giant, while fighting at the head of his soldiers, was attacked by Jonathan, the son of Shimei, and slain, fighting hand to hand, which circumstance went far in the decision of the victory, and established Jonathan's character as a man of great courage. This might be called a decisive victory, for the Philistines wanting courage to engage the Israelites any more, the war was at an end.

The fatigues and hazards of war being now over, and the blessings of peace restored, David devoted almost all his time to the composition of psalms and hymns to the honor of God. These being in various measures, and adapted to different tunes, he gave orders that the Levites should sing them on the sabbath, and other solemn festivals. This singing was accompanied by musical instruments, among which were the psaltery, which had twelve strings, on which the fingers of the musician moved; an instrument of ten strings, which was founded by touching it with a quill; and cymbals of a great size, made of brass.

David was now surrounded by many men of distinguished courage and honor, among whom were thirty-eight who had become super-eminently remarkable for their valour: these men seemed born for glorious achievements, and adapted to give laws to empires. Five of these I shall take particular notice of, by which a judgment may be formed of the characters of the rest.

Ishem, the son of Achem, is first on the list. In one single battle he broke several times amidst the ranks of the enemy, of whom he killed nine hundred, without the aid of any other person.

Next follows Eleazar, the son of Dodo, who reigned in Arafam. This hero being in an engagement, when superior numbers obliged the Israelites to fly, finding that he was left alone to oppose the whole army, behaved with such invincible courage, that he killed and wounded great numbers of the enemy, fighting till his right hand was fastened to his sword by the congealed blood. Those who had fled, being animated by his example, returned to the charge; and putting the enemy with unusual vigour, changed...
the fortune of the day, and gained a compleat conquest: the soldiers stripping the vanquished as fast as Eleazar defeated them.

Sebas, the son of Hus, the third of these heroes, being engaged with the Philistines at a place which bore the name of the Jem, observing the Israelites retreating, made his way alone against all the opposing troops, on whom he dealt destruction at every blow, breaking their ranks, putting them to flight, and finally obtaining a complete victory. The above instances prove with what ardour of heroic these men were capable of fronting the enemy in the field.

They likewise distinguished themselves on another singular occasion. David being at Jerusalem, the Philistines were encamped in a valley which extends from the city to Bethlehem, about two miles and a half. The king ascended a tower, to beg the advice of the Almighty respecting the conduct and issue of the war. Being very thirsty, he said to some friends who surrounded him, "How happy should I be to have a draught of that water, in the well adjoining to the gate of Bethlehem." The three men above-mentioned, hearing these words, immediately departed, and forcing their way through the camp of the Philistines, got to the well, drew the water, and returned in the same manner. The boldness of this enterprise so astonished the Philistines, that scarce any of them had resolution to oppose their progress. When they gave the water to David, he offered up his thanks to heaven for the safe return of those who had procured it; but said that he could not in conscience drink it, as it had been purchased at such imminent hazard; wherefore he poured it on the ground, as an oblation to the Deity.

Abishai, the brother of Joab, claims the fourth place among these distinguished men, in right of his having slain five hundred of the enemy in one day.

Benaiah, one of the line of the priesthood, is the last I shall mention of these gallant heroes. This man being challenged by two brothers, both distinguished among the Moabites for their valour, engaged and vanquished both of them. After this he encountered an Egyptian, a man of amazing bulk and strength, and though he was himself unarmed, and his opponent well provided in all respects, yet he closed with him, wrenched his spear out of his hand, and killed him with it. Another feat which he performed, may, for its singularity, be possibly deemed superior to the former. A lion having fallen into a pit, a large quantity of snow was driven into it, and covered up the mouth of it; on which the beast roared incessantly to be released from his confinement. Benaiah hearing the noise, advanced towards the pit, into which he descended, and, after several strokes, killed the lion with a club. The above five may be justly ranked as eminent warriors, and the other thirty-three were allowed to be their equals.

The king had now come to a resolution to number the people of Israel, to see what forces could be raised on an emergency; but he did not recollect an ordinance of Moses, which decreed that, on every such occasion, half a shekel for each man should be offered to God by way of oblation. David dispatched orders to Joab to take the account, which he declined as an unnecessary business; but the king would not be refused, saying that he would have it
it done immediately. Hereupon Joab took the advice of the Scribes, and the heads of the tribes, and a computation was immediately made through the whole country. Joab went at the end of nine months and twenty days, to the king at Jerusalem, and informed him that the number of the Israelites fit to engage in war, was nine hundred thousand, exclusive of the tribes of Benjamin and Levi, an account of whom had not as yet been taken. Four hundred thousand men, he said, might be mustered in the tribe of Judah only.

During the progress of the above business, David regretted the orders he had given; and was told by the prophets of the anger of God: on which he humbled himself in unfeigned repentance, and obtained his pardon in consequence of his prayers. Soon afterwards the prophet Gad came to him, and said that God gave him his choice of the three following things, viz. "A famine of seven years; a flight of three months before his enemies; "or a pestilence of three days." To chuse either of these David thought very diitrefful: "If (said he) I fix on famine, I shall seem to regard my people's "interest less than my own; for it is not likely that I can be deprived of "bread: If my choice be to fly before the enemy, the appearance will be "the same; as my personal safety may be provided for in castles and for- "tresses: but the third calamity is equally threatening to subjects, and to "their rulers." While he was thus deliberating on the matter, the prophet urged a speedy answer; on which the king said "I should expect greater "mercy from the hands of God, than man, and therefore chose rather to "submit to the pestilence, if agreeable to the Divine will." This answer being given to the prophet, he made a report of it; soon after which the Israelites were attacked with disorders equally new and violent, which were attended with almost sudden death, and bid defiance to all the skill of the physicians. Some were afflicted with suffocations, some with swimmings in the head, others with dimness of sight; others again either with violent gripes languors, or faintings, and various diseases, so that they expired at an amazing rate, some even died in lamenting the death of others: in a word, the disease spread so fast, that 70,000 persons fell a sacrifice to it between day-break and dinner-time. The disorder was now making hafty strides towards Jerusalem, when David cloathed himself in sackcloth, and deprecated the vengeance of heaven by prayers and tears of unfeigned humiliation. While he was thus engaged he looked upwards, and beheld an angel advancing to Jerusalem, with a drawn sword in his hand. Struck with this appearance, he exclaimed, "Let thy punishments, O Lord, fall on the shepherd; but in what hath the "flock offended? On me, and on my family, be thy wrath poured forth, "but have mercy, I beseech thee, on my people!"

It pleased the Almighty to put an end to the raging of the pestilence on the intercession of David, who was directed by the prophet Gad to repair instantly to the threshing-floor of Araunah, and there to offer sacrifice, on an altar to be erected on the occasion. David repaired thither, when Araunah, who was threshing his corn, observing the king and his sons advancing, went out to pay his obedience. Araunah was a Jebusite, and so warm an adherent.
adherent to David, that he had preserved him at the time of taking the city, as hath been heretofore noticed.

Araunah now enquired if he could any way serve David; to which the king replied, "I come to purchase your threshing-floor, on which I build an altar, and sacrifice to God." "Not the threshing-floor only (said Araunah) but my ploughs, my oxen, and my burnt-offerings, are all at the service of my king, without expense; and I pray that your sacrifice may be acceptable to God." This behaviour charmed David, who said it would be wrong to offer a sacrifice which cost him nothing; wherefore he must purchase the floor; for which he gave fifty shekels of silver. This being done, David was restored to the favour of the Almighty, after sacrificing burnt-offerings, and peace-offerings on the place. This was the very spot on which Abraham would have offered up his son Isaac, but for the appearance of the ram in his place; of which we have already written.

The prayers of David being heard, and his sacrifice become acceptable, he determined to give the name of the "Altar of the people," or "the Israelites altar," to the whole place, and thereon to caufe a temple to be erected: and this resolution was strengthened by one of God's prophets, who predicted to David that the temple should be erected by his successor. Hereupon David gave orders for numbering the strangers in his dominions, who appeared to be about 180,000, of whom 100,000 were employed to carry materials for building, and 80,000 to do the stone work: besides which 35,000 were directed to act as overseers of the workmen. Vast numbers of cedar trees, the largest and best that could be got, were procured from Tyre and Sidon, and an immense quantity of iron and brass was brought together on the occasion. To his particular friends David used to say, that these things were only procured in readiness, against the time his son might want them; which would forward the work, and save much time and labour: but that his son was not yet of an age to engage in such an arduous task.

C H A P. XI.

Solomon receives directions from his father concerning the building of a temple. Adonijah, David's fourth son, claims the government in right of succession. David's speech to the general assembly, respecting the building the temple; and his advice to his son Solomon.

MATTERS were thus situated, when David commanding the presence of his son Solomon, enjoined him strictly, on his advancement to the throne, instantly to set about the building of a temple for the adoration of the Divine Being. "This (said David) I would myself have done, but that my frequent wars having marked me as a man of blood, the particular command of God prevented my proceeding in it, and destined it for you." Now of Solomon it was foretold that he should be a prince of peace; that he should be taken under the peculiar protection of the Almighty; that under his government the subjects should not only be free from foreign wars, but live without private quarrels and animosities. Then David addressing his
his son, spoke to the following purport: "As it was predicted before your birth that you should wear a crown, act worthy of that distinction; let piety, fortitude, and justice govern your actions; let the laws, traditions, and commandments of Moses be revered by you: neither violate them yourself, nor permit others to do so. With regard to the building God's temple, let no difficulties prevent your proceeding in it. I will take care that at the time you ascend the throne, all materials shall be ready for the beginning of it. Ten thousand talents of gold, one hundred thousand of silver, besides an incredible quantity of iron, timber, and stone, are already provided. You will find no want in supplies, and thousands of men and carpenters shall wait your commands. Let the whole work be conducted with care and expedition: for, on its being compleated, you need not doubt but God will continue to you his protection and blessing."

Having thus spoken, the king gave it in charge to the princes to aid Solomon in the advancement of this work; and, in preference to every other concern, to attend the duties of religion; since that would infallibly secure peace and prosperity to the community. David, likewise ordered that when the temple was compleated, the ark, with all the holy vessels and utensils therunto belonging, should be placed therein, which, agreeable to the commands of God delivered to their forefathers, ought to be done; since they had been enjoined to raise a temple immediately on their arriving in the Land of Promise. David laid their injunctions equally on his son, and on the princes who attended him.

The king had but just compleated his seventieth year; but was so debilitated by a complication of disorders, that his blood was almost stagnated, so that he could not get any warmth by all the cloaths that could be laid upon his bed. On this occasion a consultation of physicians was held, who were unanimously of opinion, that nothing was so proper in his disorder, as the sleeping with a healthy young person, the genial heat of whose body being communicated to the king, might relieve nature, without doing it any violence. Hereupon a maiden, named Abifhag, famed for her health and delicacy, was put to bed to David, to lie by him, and keep him warm; which the might do with perfect innocence, as the king was past the age of temptation. Of this Abifhag we shall speak farther in the sequel.

The next son that David had, after Absalom, was Adonijah, whose mother was named Haggith. This youth was not much unlike Absalom, either in height, comeliness, or ambition. Soon after the death of Absalom, Adonijah, seemed to have an eye to the succession, and took great pains, by himself and friends, to make a popular interest. He furnished himself with horses, chariots, and guards, keeping a superb equipage; nor did his father restrain him in this mode of proceeding, or even enquire the reason why he lived in such pomp. Joab, the general, and Abiahar, the high-priest, were the principal adherents to Adonijah, while Nathan the prophet, Benaiah, the captain of the guards, Zadock the high-priest, Shimei, and the officers in general, took the part of the king.

In the suburbs of Jerusalem, not far from the fountain in the royal gardens, Adonijah prepared a sumptuous entertainment, which he invited all his brothers
brothers to partake of, except Solomon. Joab, Abiathar, and the principal men of the tribe of Judah, were also present; but neither Zadock, Nathan, Benaiah, nor a man of their party, received the invitation. This affair being reflected on by Nathan, he said to Bathsheba, Solomon's mother, "Observe how Adonijah is already assuming the trappings of royalty, while David is ignorant of his proceedings: it becomes you, therefore, equally for your own sake, and your son's, to interest yourself in this business. Go then to David, and, when alone, remind him that he has sworn that Solomon should be his successor; adding that Adonijah behaves as if he was already king. During this discourse, I will come into the room, and confirm what you say." This advice pleased Bathsheba, who sought the king, paid her respects, and obtaining permission to deliver her business, did it as Nathan had directed; recounting the story of the entertainment, who were invited, and who omitted; adding, that the public were anxious to know whom he would appoint to succeed him; and that the life of herself and son rested on the event. At this moment Nathan's attendance was announced to David, and orders being given for his immediate admission, he said to the king, with an air of astonishment, "Have you this day transferred the sovereign rule to Adonijah, and appointed him to succeed you?" The prophet then told him of the feast; who were invited, and who left unasked: "And there are they (said he) feasting and carousing, and drinking healths to Adonijah, their new sovereign: But for me, and the high-priest, Zadock, and your captain of the guards, Benaiah, we were utterly unacquainted with the affair. Now I would advise your majesty to signify to the public whether these proceedings have the sanction of your approbation." When the prophet came in, Bathsheba had retired; and being now summoned to appear, the king said, "The oath I formerly made to you, Bathsheba, I now repeat in the presence of Almighty God. Solomon, your son shall succeed to the governorship; and this day shall the business be accomplished." Hereupon Bathsheba wished the king long life, and departed.

The king instantly sending for Zadock and Benaiah, desired them to accompany Nathan, and, being conducted by the guards, place Solomon on the king's mule, and attending him to the fountain called Gihon, without the city, anoint him with holy oil, and proclaim him king. David likewise farther ordered, that he should be carried through the city, escorted by troops, and attended by crowds, crying, "Long live king Solomon!" that his having been appointed to succeed to the throne, might become a matter of the most public notoriety. Finally, David commanded Solomon to rule over all his people with the utmost regard to the principles of equity and religion.

A prayer to God, for a blessing on Solomon, being now pronounced by Benaiah, they all departed to execute the king's commands. Solomon being placed on the king's mule, was attended to the fountain, anointed, and accompanied back again, amidst the shouts of the people, who prayed that his reign might be long and prosperous. He was now conducted to the palace, and seated on the throne of David, which being done, the whole city joined in festivity, and nothing was to be seen or heard but feasting, dancing, music.
music, and every possible demonstration of joy. At this time Adonijah, with Joab and his other guests, who were at their feasting, were so alarmed at the sound of the trumpets, and the acclamations of the people, that they quitted their dinner; and while they were wondering what had happened, Jonathan, the son of Abiathar, the high-priest, came in, whom Adonijah rejoiced to see, on the presumption that he was the messenger of good news: but Jonathan had no sooner acquainted them with the orders issued by the king, and what honor had been done to Solomon, than the company left the entertainment, and privately retreated to their own houses. Adonijah alone, conscious that the nature of his crime scarcely left hope for mercy, fled to the horns of the altar for sanctuary, and there solicited forgiveness. As soon as Solomon was told how Adonijah had disposed of himself, and that he expected some security that his pardon should be granted; he, with an equal degree of mercy and prudence, sent him a pardon for all past transgressions, attended with a hint to him, to be extremely cautious in his future conduct; for that in case of similar behaviour hereafter, he must certainly abide the fatal consequence. Adonijah being brought from the place of his retreat to the palace, made his submission to the new king, who told him to return in peace to his own habitation, and hereafter to behave like a good subject, which he would find greatly to his advantage.

As David proposed that Solomon should be declared and acknowledged king over all Israel, he gave orders for summoning all the princes, priests, and Levites to Jerusalem; when their numbers appeared to be as follows: thirty-eight thousand men who were more than thirty years old; of whom twenty-three thousand were appointed to attend the building of the temple; there were six thousand judges and clerks; porters belonging to the house of God, four thousand; players on instruments, singers, and musicians, four thousand; but some mention has been made of these matters before. These were divided into families; and the priests being separated from the rest of the tribe, were four and twenty, eight of whom were descended from Ithamar, and sixteen from Eleazar, every family being appointed to do duty from sabbath to sabbath, in successive order. The high-priests Abiathar and Zadok, with the chief men of the several tribes, attended David while lots were cast of all these. The first drawn lot was entered on a roll, "the first family," in like manner the second, third, and so on regularly to the four and twentieth: which mode of distribution is yet in use. The tribe of Levi were likewise, by order of David, separated into twenty-four divisions, which were to follow each other, like the priests, as the determination by lot might fall. But the posterity of Moses were always preferred; and to them was committed the care of the sacred treasure, and such gifts as arose from the bounty of princes and other benefactors. David likewise commanded that all the tribe of Levi, together with the priests, should alternately attend the service of God, by night and day, as Moses had originally ordained.

His next care was to new model the army, by separating it into twelve equal divisions, each of which had its respective commander in chief, tribunes, and centurions, with their inferiors. These divisions, which consisted each of twenty-four thousand men, were appointed to do monthly duty.
in rotation, at the palace of Solomon, with their tribunes and centurions. Each division was to be judged by its own proper officer, who was a person renowned for his uprightness and honor. It was his business to appoint the overseers of the royal revenue, and of the flocks, herds, lands, vineyards, &c. which were the peculiar property of the king. David having adjusted all the great concerns abovementioned, ordered all the princes of tribes, officers of the army, conductors of the revenue, and the magistrates in general, to attend him; when his throne being placed on an eminence, he addressed them as follows:

"Countrymen and brethren, it now becomes me to inform you that I have long had an intention of building a temple sacred to God, towards the expense of which I have amased an immense treasure in gold, and one hundred thousand talents of silver: but my design hath been foopped by the will of God, signified by his prophet Nathan: and the reason assigned is, that God will not have the foundation of his house laid by hands which have been dipped in blood, as mine undoubtedly have been, though the blood I shed was that of your enemies, in wars that I was compelled to undertake, in afferction of the just rights and liberties of my people. The prophet likewise farther informed me, that the commencement and completion of this great work should be left to my successor. You are not unacquainted that our father Jacob were born twelve sons; yet, by the consent of them all, was Judah chosen to rule over them. You also know that I had five brothers; yet when the providence of God designed me to the government, no complaint was heard on the part of my brethren; in like manner I now demand of you all to become the faithful subjects of my son Solomon; and I entreat that you will obey without complaint, difsention, or hesitation; since the sovereign authority with which he is invested, is delegated to him immediately from heaven. Suppose, now, that the Providence of God had decreed that a stranger should rule over you, would you have been base and foolish enough to have repined at the dispensation? How thankful then ought you to be that this distinguished honor is conferred on one who may be deemed your brother, being beloved on so near a relation? The first with of my heart is, that the merciful promises of Almighty God may soon be ratified: and all my subjects become partakers of, and long enjoy, those blessings which it has been designed for the reign of Solomon to bestow on them. My beloved son, all I have promised will be made good, and your utmost wishes will be gratified, while you rule over your people according to the precepts of justice and religion, paying the obedience due both to God and man, and maintaining a proper respect for the laws, and copying the example of your forefathers. But if you depart from this line of conduct, you may expect the most dreadful consequences."

On the conclusion of this address, David presented Solomon a drawing exhibiting the model of the intended structure, with directions for the divisions of the different apartments, private cells, the formation and precise weight of the vessels of gold and silver, and other holy utensils; and enjoined him to apply himself with all possible diligence in completing the temple.
temple. Considering the early time of life and inexperience of his son, and that he had been appointed to this province by the Almighty, he called the princes and the tribe of Levi to assist in the important undertaking, which he said would be prosecuted without so much difficulty as might be apprehended; for that many talents of gold, more of silver, emeralds, and other precious stones to an immense value, timber, stone, and other materials, besides carpenters, masons, and artificers in various different branches, were already provided; and that as an additional supply, he had appointed three thousand talents of the finest gold to be taken from his own store, for the purpose of decorating the holy place, the chariot of the Lord, and the cherubins which were to be placed over the holy ark.

The princes, priests, and levites, expressed the highest satisfaction at what David had said; and towards accomplishing the grand design, they proposed to furnish five thousand talents of gold, one hundred thousand talents of silver, and an immense quantity of iron. Jahu, of the line of Moses, was appointed receiver of all the contributions, which consisted of precious stones, as well as the other valuable articles, which he deposited in the public treasury.

The public were perfectly satisfied with these proceedings; and the unanimity and confidence of the people proved the source of great happiness to David. He addressed himself to the Almighty as the father and creator of heaven and earth, the protector of the Israelites, and the beneficent author of happiness to the people committed to his government; and with a zealous supplication for continued blessings to the Hebrews, and the purity of innocence, and integrity of conduct to his son Solomon, he concluded his devotions. He then addressed himself to the people, requesting them to join him in thanksgivings for all the blessings which had been conferred upon them, when prostrating themselves on the earth, they worshipped the Almighty. After this, they acknowledged to David the great advantages which they had enjoyed under his government. On the ensuing day a great sacrifice was performed; an oblation was made consisting of a thousand calves, a thousand rams, and a thousand lambs as a burnt-offering; after which many other victims were sacrificed as a peace-offering. This day was dedicated to feasting and merriment among all ranks of the people. Solomon was again anointed, and the multitude a second time acknowledged him as their lawful sovereign; and by the public voice Zadock was nominated to be invested with the office of high-priest. After this Solomon was conducted to the palace, and seated on the throne of his father.
HEAVILY oppressed by the infirmities of age, David judged himself to be on the point of his dissolution; and having called Solomon into his presence, he addressed him to the following effect. "I am now preparing to depart to a world, where, in due time, you must follow. To die is to pay the common debt of nature, and that debt once paid, puts a final period to all our concerns with this life. While I have power, I must not omit to remind you of the doctrines which I have so frequently inculcated: in the government of the people, fail not to observe a strict regard to the administration of public justice; zealously adore that eternal Being to whom you are indebted for the regal dignity, as well as for your existence; pay a rigid regard to his commands, as they are transmitted to us by Mofes; for, if through fear, vanity, interest, or any other human infirmity, you shall violate his laws, you must no longer expect a continuance of the protection of divine providence. But if you religiously conform yourself to the pleasure of the Lord, the government will be established to yourself and your successors in perpetuity. I must now mention the iniquity of Joab, in the assassinations of those brave warriors, and dutiful subjects, Abner, the son of Ner, and Amasa, the son of Ithra, whom he cruelly massacred from motives of malevolence and envy. I had myself inflicted upon him the punishment due to his crimes, but was restrained by a consideration of his great popularity. But you may act towards him as your judgment shall direct. It is my request that you will exert yourself in offices of friendship towards the sons of Barzillai, the Gileadite; and this I mean you should do, as a requital of the obligations I received from Barzillai during the period of my banishment; and these services I consider as a debt which my whole family are bound to acknowledge. With Shimai, the Benjamite, the son of Gera, you may find some proper occasion to account for those opprobrious and unmerited censures during my persecution at Bahurim. On our interview at the river Jordan, he obtained my pardon; but in case of future transgressions, you will determine as to the propriety of punishing these injuries."

Having concluded this discourse, David expired, in the seventieth year of his age, after a reign of seven years and six months over the tribe of Judah, at Hebron, and thirty-three years over the whole people of Israel at Jerusalem. David was a man possessed of every qualification necessary to the exalted station which he filled. No man was more remarkable for bravery and fortitude; and he took the lead in all dangerous expeditions, either for the defence or protection of his people. The value of his soldiers was more animated by his example than by the authority of his command. He was judicious in the appointment of his counsel; and possessed a singular degree of penetration,
penetration, whereby he was enabled to improve present advantages, and obviate future difficulties. He was of a temperate, humane, and affable disposition; an impartial judge, and a righteous man. His life was irreproachable, excepting in the case of Bathsheba and her husband Uriah.

The wealth he left greatly exceeded the possessions of any former prince. His remains were interred at Jerusalem with a magnificence of pomp exceeding the powers of description. Solomon, his son and successor, deposited an immense treasure in his sepulchre, of the value of which some judgment may be formed by what will be said hereafter.

About thirteen hundred years after this period, in the time of Hyrcanus the high-priest, Jerusalem was besieged by Antiochus, the son of Demetrius, and surnamed the Pious. Antiochus made an offer to abandon the siege in consideration of being paid three thousand talents. Hyrcanus had no resource but in David's tomb, which he broke open, and thence took the sum demanded for the composition. Many years having elapsed, king Herod discovered a cell, from which he took riches to an immense amount; but so deeply sunk in the earth, and so ingeniously concealed was the place where the remains of David were deposited, that both Hyrcanus and Herod were unable to effect a discovery.

End of the Seventh Book.
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK VIII.

Transactions from the year of the World 2931, to 3048.

CHAPTER I.

Solomon succeeds to the throne, and causes Adonijah, Joab, and Shimei to be put to death, and he transfers the sacerdotal dignity from the house of Ithamar to that of Phinehas.

SOLOMON, the son of David, succeeded to the government at an early period of life, being invested with the regal authority by the appointment of the Almighty, and the avowed consent of his father. Upon his advancement to the throne, he was congratulated by the people, who expressed the most sanguine wishes that he might enjoy a long life, and a reign of uninterrupted felicity.

Adonijah, who, during the life of David, had made an attempt to possess himself of the government, adopted an insinuating address in order to obtain an interest with Bathsheba, the king’s mother, through whose mediation he had conceived a design of promoting his own interest. She assured him that she would exert her utmost power to render him service; and on this encouragement, he expressed himself to the following effect: “It is scarcely ne-

“cellary
Flavius Josephus, &c. 329

"Effary to observe, most gracious princes, that, if my inclination was to oppose the present system of government, a priority of claim and the fu- frages of the people would favour my cause: but since it is the pleasure of the Lord, that Solomon, your son, should reign, I shall be perfectly satisfied to remain within the limits prescribed to a faithful subject. I am to entreat that you will be pleased to exert your interest in my behalf, by endeavouring to prevail upon your son to grant his consent to my nuptials with Abiathar, who was taken to the bed of David when he was so far advanced in life that no doubt can remain of his having left her in the possession of unblemished virginity?" Bathsheba assured him that she was disposed to promote his suit, and encouraged him to hope that the king would not reject the joint interest of his mother and brother, even on a subject of greater consequence than that in question.

Bathsheba went to Solomon, who received her with open arms, and having led her to his bed-chamber, and seated her in a chair of state on the right hand of his own, she informed her son that she had a request to make, and that his refusal would give her extreme concern. Solomon defied her to proceed, and to depend upon his ready compliance. She then informed him that her purpose was to obtain his countenance to a matrimonial alliance between Abiathar and Adonijah. Alarmed at this proposal, the king bad his mother retire. He then deliberated on the case, and concluded, that to facilitate his advancement to the government was his motive in asking Abiathar in marriage, and that for forwarding this design he had attached Joab, the general, and Abiathar, the high-priest, to his interest. He commanded Benaiah, the captain of the guards, immediately to destroy his brother. He ordered the high-priest into his presence, and told him he had merited death, but that in consideration of the services he had rendered David, and of the assistance he had afforded towards the recovery of the holy ark, instead of the punishment he deserved, he should be sentenced to banishment for life.

According to the prediction of God to Eli, the grand-father of Abiathar, the pontifical dignity was transferred from the house of Ithamar to Zadok, of the family of Phinehas. Eli was the first of the house of Ithamar invested with the pontifical function; and from his time, the following persons of the family of Phinehas led private lives; Boccias, son of Joseph; Jonathan, of Boccias; Amaroth, of Jonathan; Arapha, of Maroeth; Architob, of Arapha; and Zadok, of Architob.

Intelligence of the death of Adonijah being communicated to Joab, he reasonably conceived himself to be in danger of a similar fate, being conscious that he had equally deserved it, for having engaged in the conspiracy against Solomon; and judging that the veneration of the king towards God, and all things appertaining to the religious ceremonies, would protect him, he fled to the altar for sanctuary. The king being informed of this circumstance, commissioned Benaiah to cite him to answer for his conduct in a judicial court; but Joab persisted in a determination not to quit the chapel, saying that if he was doomed to death, he would yield up his life in that place. Benaiah represented the behaviour of Joab to the king, who commanded him to return to the chapel, and there to cut off his head, as a
punishment for the execrable murders of Abner and Amasa; further charg-
ing him to exculpate both his father and himself from the charge of un-
justifiable severity towards Joab. Benaiiah having discharged the king’s or-
der, was appointed to succeed Joab as generalissimo.

At this period Solomon commanded Shimei to erect a house at Jerusalem,
and not to pass the river Hebron on the penalty of forfeiting his life; and
to the strict observance of this injunction he was bound under the solemnity
of an oath. Shimei readily acquiesced, and repaired to Jerusalem. About
three years had elapsed, when two of his domestics quitit his service, and
hearing that they were at Gath, he went thither in order to induce their
return. This circumstance was reported to the king, who being highly in-
cen
circumstances, ordered him into his presence, and addressed him to

THOUGHT he had falsely violated a sacred engagement, whereby thou

were bound to confine thyself to the limits of this town; and for this per-

jury thou art sentenced to die. Be informed that the iniquities of man-

kind will, at an early or later period, infallibly meet a due retribution; and

that the impending judgment is directed by the Almighty, as a punishment

for your late offence, and for the injuries to my revered father, at the time

of his greatest calamities.” Solomon commanded Benaiiah to put Shimei
to death; and he was obeyed.

C H A P. II.

Solomon takes the daughter of the king of Egypt to wife. The gift of wisdom be-
followed upon him by the Almighty. The wonderful structure of the temple. He
builds a superb palace, and for the defence of Jerusalem erects fortifications of great
strength. He vanquishes the Canaanites. His immense riches. He degenerates
into Idolatry. An insurrection is fomented against him by Adad. The predition
to Jeroboam that ten of the twelve tribes should declare allegiance to him.

THE regal authority of Solomon was at this time perfectly established;
his people were reconciled to the government; and his enemies ac-

knowledged the superiority of his power. During this state of uninterrupted
tranquillity, Solomon contracted a marriage with the daughter of the king of
Egypt, enlarged and considerably strengthened the walls of Jerusalem, and
applied himself to the distribution of public justice. His early time of life
was no obstrucion to an unremitting observance of the duties of his exalted
station, and a religious conformity to the instructions of his dying father.
In short, his judgment and penetration were arrived to such a state of ma-
rurity at this early period, that they would have done honor to the gra-

uity of age and extensive experience.

Solomon now determined to humble himself in prayer, and perform sacri-
fice to the Lord, in gratitude for the blessings he enjoyed; and having re-
paired to Hebron, he made an oblation, consisting of a thousand victims, upon
the brazen altar erected by Moses. This instance of piety proved so agree-
able to the Almighty, that on the following night he visited Solomon in a
dream, and assured him that he would grant whatever he should request. He

determined.
determined that the object of his choice should be what the bountiful donor would bestow with the greatest satisfaction, and, at the same time, an acquisition of singular advantage to himself; and he petitioned the Lord to the following effect: "Grant me, O God! a just comprehension of things, and a perfect judgment, that in the government of the people I may invariably regulate my conduct by the rules of truth and justice!" This proved so agreeable to the Lord that, in addition to the blessing of greater wisdom than ever man possessed, he promised wealth and glory to Solomon; and, on condition of his conforming in all things to the divine will, and following the virtuous example of his father, the sovereignty should be continued in his family for many generations. Solomon awaked upon hearing these assurances, and having worshipped the Lord, and offered thanksgivings, he returned to Jerusalem, where he performed sacrifice, and gave a general feast to his people.

Two prostitutes appealed to the king on the following occasion: the complainant related, that she had dwelt in the same lodging with the other woman; that while she was asleep, the defendant took her infant from her arms, and in the place substituted the body of her own child which she had overlaid and smothered; that early in the morning she discovered the fraud, and earnestly pleaded to have the child returned, which she inallibly knew to be her own from certain marks, but that her opponent perjured in a refusal. She said she had no witnesses to support her cause, but supplicated the king for justice. Solomon asked the defendant what plea she had to offer in extenuation of the charge. She rested her defence on the affirmation that the complaint was groundless, and that the living child was the issue of her body. The firmness with which each party supported her deposition induced the auditors to suspend their judgment on the issue of the cause, which at length was determined by the following happy expedient. Solomon commanded the living and the dead child to be produced, and that with his sword one of his guards should cut the bodies exactly in halves, one half of each to be given to each woman. Hereupon, the mother of the living child wept most bitterly, earnestly supplicating that this sentence might be reversed, and declaring that rather than the infant's life should be sacrificed, she would relinquish all claim in favour of the other woman. The pretended mother appeared to be satisfied with the judgment, and even to enjoy a cruel pleasure in the distress of her adversary. On this evidence of maternal affection and natural tenderness, Solomon assigned the child to the real mother; and he severely reproved the iniquity of the other woman in having endeavoured, after the loss of her own child, to effect the destruction of that of her friend. The conduct of Solomon on this occasion was considered as so singular an instance of his sagacity and penetration that from this time he was honoured as a king acting under the immediate direction of the supreme Being.

Solomon appointed the following governors, and a lieutenant-general to superintend them. Uri, the son of Heer, commanded Bethlehem, and the whole country inhabited by the Ephraimites. The government of Dora and the sea-coast was given to Aminadab, son-in-law to Solomon. The great plain and the country extending to the river Jordan were under the direction of Baanah.
Baanah, the son of Achil. The son of Geber was appointed to the government of the Gileadites and the Gaulonites; and under his jurisdiction, which extended as far as mount Libanus, were sixty strongly fortified and large cities. The government of Galilee was given to Ahinadab, who had espoused Basima, another daughter of Solomon, his command extending to Sidon. The sea-coast in the neighbourhood of Asher was under the jurisdiction of Baanah. Jehosaphat was appointed to the government of the mountains of Itabyr and Carmel, and all the lower Galilee, reaching as far as the river Jordan. Shimei was invested with the command of the country of the Benjaminites. And Taber was appointed governor of the land on the other side the river Jordan.

The public tranquillity being perfectly established, the several tribes affidavitably applied themselves to the cultivation of the earth, whereby they acquired immense riches in a short time. The additions and improvements which the tribe of Judah made to their possessions exceeded those of the other tribes. Exclusive of the officers above-mentioned, the king nominated others to superintend the Syrians and other barbarous nations between Egypt and the Euphrates, and to receive their tribute. The provisions furnished daily for the king's tables, consisted of thirty measures of fine flour, sixty measures of meal, ten fat oxen, twenty oxen from the pastures, and an hundred fat lambs, exclusive of fowl, birds, deer, and other rarities. His chariots were exceedingly numerous, and for the horses belonging to them forty thousand stalls were provided. His guard was composed of twelve thousand horsemen, six thousand of whom were quartered in Jerusalem, and the others in villages adjacent to that city. It was part of the business of the commissariat for conducting the expences of the household, to provide nourishment for the horses of the king's guards and other attendants.

The Egyptians, who were accounted the wisest people, as well as the most celebrated of his own nation, as Athan, Heman, Calcol, and Dodan, the sons of Hemahon, were greatly inferior to Solomon in knowledge, which was communicated to him by the inspiration of the Almighty. The writings of this singularly accomplished prince comprised fifteen hundred books of odes and poems, three thousand books of parables and families, the history of plants, from the cedar to the hyssop, the fishes of the sea, the beasts of the field, and the birds of the air. He had a perfect knowledge of these subjects, on which he studied and philosophized with unwearied attention. These extraordinary gifts were not bestowed upon him in vain; for he composed charms and incantations for expelling the diseases of the human body; he left several manuscript forms of conjuration, by means of which people obtained an effectual relief from evil spirits, which never returned; and his directions for removing complaints of this nature are to this time much practised by the people of our nation. I was present when a countryman of mine, named Eleazar, diposited divers persons before Vespasian, his sons and several officers and soldiers. A ring, under the seal of which a certain root was conveyed, was applied to the nostrils, and it being smelt by to the demoniac, the evil spirit was instantly drawn out by the nose. In this operation the man was thrown down by the spirit. Eleazar repeated charms and in...
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cantations invented by Solomon, whose name he frequently introduced, and
adjured the devil to trouble the party no more. After this, Eleazar placed a
vessel of water near a man who was possessed, and adjured the devil, upon
quitting the person, to overturn it, which was accordingly done. This was
an incontrovertible testimony of the wisdom of Solomon.

Upon the accession of Solomon to the throne, Hiram, the king of Tyre,
sent an embassy to congratulate him on the occasion, and to express the satis-
faction he enjoyed upon the government being continued in the family of
David, for whom he had entertained a great friendship. Solomon sent the
following letter by these ambassadors.

"King Solomon to king Hiram, greeting."

"MY father David, be it known to thee, O king, long entertained the
"design of constructing a temple, and dedicating the same to the honor of
"God: but the wars of his time compelled him to decline this holy work,
"which he left to be completed by me, during a state of peace, according
"to the prediction of the Lord. Praised and blessed be his holy name for
"the present tranquillity of my reign. By the divine assistance, I shall avail
"myself of the opportunity that is afforded to prosecute this important
"work. I therefore request that you will permit some of your people to ac-
"company my servants to mount Libanus, and there assist in cutting down
"materials for the intended structure; the Sydionians having more judge-
"ment in that business than we have. Such rewards as you may judge to
"be reasonable shall be given to the workmen."

Solomon's letter proved highly satisfactory to Hiram, who sent the follow-
ing reply.

"King Hiram to king Solomon."

"NO circumstance could have afforded me greater pleasure than that I
"experience in consequence of the government of your blessed father being
"transferred to a successor of such eminent virtue and wisdom. Praised be
"the name of the Almighty for the gracious providence manifested in this
"happy event. Your request shall be cheerfully granted. Such numbers
"of the finest cedar and cypress trees as you may have occasion for, I will
"order to be cut down, and they shall be transported to such ports as you
"may appoint, whence they may be conveyed to Jerusalem by your own
"people. In exchange for this, if you will supply us with such a propor-
"tion of corn as may be convenient, it will be considered as a particular
"obligation; that being an article most wanted in this island."

The duplicates of these letters are still to be seen in our own and the Ty-
rian records. I do not, for the sake of embellishing my narrative, mention
any matters which are not found on the authority of truth; and nothing
will be found in my writings which will not bear the strictest scrutiny. To
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prevaricate
prevaricate on a subject of this nature would indeed argue an extreme degree of impiety.

Hiram's letter proved so agreeable to Solomon that he ordered him an annual present consisting of two thousand measures of wheat, two thousand vessels of oil, and two thousand vessels of wine, each vessel containing seventy-two quarts. The friendship thus commenced between the kings daily increased, and was manifested by a constant interchange of offices of kindreds.

Solomon commanded thirty thousand workmen to be selected, ten thousand of whom he ordered to cut wood upon mount Libanus for the space of one month, at the expiration of which time they were to be relieved by a second ten thousand, who were to do duty for a like period, and then to be succeeded by the third ten thousand. Thus they were at liberty to remain at their respective habitations for two months, and, according to the rotation, every fourth month they were to return to labour. Adoniram was appointed superintendent or inspector-general of these workmen. There were besides, seventy thousand foreigners, whom David had intended for conveying stones and other materials, eighty thousand masons and stone-hewers, and thirty two thousand overseers. They were ordered to search for the largest stones for the foundation, and to prepare them for use on the mountains where they were procured, and then to convey them to Jerusalem; and in this part of the business Hiram's men were commanded to assist.

Solomon began this important undertaking in the fourth year of his reign, and in that month which is called Artemisius by the Macedonians, and Jar by the Hebrews; five hundred ninety-two years after the Israelites had come out of Egypt; one thousand and twenty years from the period when Abraham removed from Mesopotamia into the land of Canaan; fourteen hundred and forty years after the flood, and three thousand one hundred and two years from the creation of the world. It was two hundred years after building the city of Tyre, and in the eleventh year of the reign of king Hiram.

The foundation was sunk to an astonishing depth, and composed of stones of singular magnitude, and so hard a quality as to resist the worm and the inclemency of the weather; and being closely mortified into the rock with great ingenuity, they formed a basis adequate to the support of the intended structure. The temple was sixty cubits high, and sixty cubits also in length, and the breadth was twenty cubits; above this, was another stage, of equal dimensions, so that the height of the whole structure was one hundred and twenty cubits. The walls were composed entirely of white stone: and the front of the building was towards the east. The porch was twenty cubits in length, ten in the breadth, and one hundred and twenty in height. Round the outward walls were erected thirty cells, or small houses, communicating with each other, and forming galleries, and at the same time answering the purposes of buttresses, by supporting the walls. These cells were each five cubits broad and of the same length, and twenty cubits high. Over these were two other floors of the same proportion, and the uppermost of the cells were on a level with the lower story of the fabric. They were fastened together by large beams, so disposed as to make them appear of one piece, and as if they gave additional strength to the walls. Under the beams was a variety
riety of carving, gilding, fret-work and other curious ornaments. The walls and ceilings were lined with cedar, and the wainscots were embellished with a profusion of splendid ornaments of the purest gold. The fabric was composed of stones polished to the utmost degree of excellence, and put together with such ingenuity that the smallest interstice was not to be perceived. The whole, in short, was so wonderfully executed that it appeared to be the effect of divine providence, rather than of human art.

The second story had not, like the lower part, a large door towards the east, but several small doors were made to enter from the sides. The king caused winding stairs to be cut in the wall, which stairs led to the upper part. The temple was entirely lined with cedar; and the timbers were joined by iron cramps, whereby great strength and solidity were given to the building. Solomon caused the temple to be divided into two parts, the more inward of which was a space of twenty cubits square, called the holy of holies, and declared to be inaccessible, being particularly consecrated to the Almighty. The other space of forty cubits was called the holy temple, and defined to the use of the priests. In the wall dividing the temple a large cedar door was made, and it was richly gilt and carved, and before it hung a veil of the finest silk and linen, curiously embroidered with historical and other representations in purple, scarlet, and a variety of other colours in the highest perfection.

The king caused two golden cherubims to be made, and he placed them in the holy of holies, and dedicated them to the Lord. They were each five cubits in height, and their wings, which were five cubits long, being stretched out, touched the walls on the north and south sides, and the other wings joining each other formed a covering for the holy ark. The superb and curious workmanship of these cherubims is beyond the power of description. The doors were twenty cubits broad, and of a proportionable height, and overlaid with beaten gold; with which precious metal even the floor of the temple was entirely covered. Before the entrance of this place was hung a rich curtain. In short, nothing was omitted which could add splendor and magnificence to this astonishing structure.

Solomon being informed that a man in Tyre, named Chiram, was highly celebrated for his skill in the manufacture of metals, sent thither to engage him. This man was also an ingenious architect. The father of Chiram was an Israelite by extraction, and his mother was of the tribe of Naphtali. The most difficult and curious work was assigned to this artificer, who cast two hollow pillars, the baxes of which was four fingers thick; they were eighteen cubits high and twelve in circumference. Upon the top of each of these pillars was formed a chapiter of baxes five cubits high. These were overspread with a kind of brass net-work; below them were lilies of the same device, and under these, two rows of pomegranates depended, an hundred in each row. The pillars were fixed in the entrance of the porch of the temple, and that on the right hand side was called Jachin, and the other Boaz.

Chiram made a vessel of molten brass, bearing some resemblance to a globe, Several in the middle, and from its extraordinary magnitude it was called the sea.
It measured ten cubits from side to side, and the metal was four fingers thick. It was supported by a twilled pillar, measuring one cubit in circumference. At the base of this pillar were placed the figures of twelve bulls and oxen, so disposed that three faced the east, three the west, three north, and three south. The vessel called the sea would contain three thousand baths; and each bath is estimated to be nearly equal to ten English pottles. He made ten brazen bases, of equal dimensions, with square sides: the length of them was five cubits each, the breadth four, and the height fix. To each base were made four pillars or supports, and the parts, which were separately cast, were so nicely compacted and incorporated, that each base and its pillars appeared to be one entire piece of work. The figures of a bull, a lion, an eagle, and other representations, were wrought upon the bases; the pillars, and the plates of the borders were adorned with corresponding images. The whole was mounted on a carriage with four wheels, each a cubit and a half over, the wheels, spokes, nave, and every other part being cast, and put together with surprizing ingenuity. Embossed work was introduced, in representation of hands, shoulders, the paws of lions, talons of eagles, and branches of palm trees, for the purpose of making good the angles; and reliefs were formed for receiving the lavers. To each of these bases was made a layer of the same metal, being four cubits high, and of an equal measure in diameter. The lavers, each of which would contain forty baths, being placed on the bases, were deposited in the temple, five being deposited on the north and five on the south side, facing the cast. The brazen sea was also deposited in the building; and it was assigned to the use of the priests, who were to wash their hands and feet therein, previous to their approaching the altar. The lavers were made use of for cleansing the entrails and other parts of the victims destined for the holocausts.

He constructed a brazen altar, measuring twenty cubits long, twenty broad and ten in depth, on which the burnt-offerings were made; and provided water pots, flesh-hooks, and boilers, of the same metal; and, in short, all the utensils appertaining to the religious ceremony. Solomon caused an immense number of tables to be made of various forms and sizes, and of inestimable value; and one, which was larger than the rest, was entirely composed of pure gold, and on this was placed the shew-bread; on the other tables were placed twenty thousand vessels and cups of gold, and forty thousand of silver.

In conformity to the injunction given by Moses, Solomon provided twelve thousand candlesticks, one of them, according to the direction of the law, held lights which were kept constantly burning. This candlestick was placed on the south side, opposite the table for the shew-bread, which was on the north; and in the middle was the golden altar. The ark of the covenant was kept in the holy of holies, which was divided from the fore-part of the temple.

Solomon also caused eighty thousand wine cups, ten thousand goblets, and other vessels of various forms to be made in gold, and twenty thousand in silver. He also provided twenty thousand of the golden measures, called the mosaical Hin and Assarán, and forty thousand of the same in silver; eighty thousand golden dishes and plates for steeping flour in upon the altar, and
and double that number in silver; twenty thousand golden centers for incense, and fifty thousand other centers for conveying fire from the great to the smaller altar.

This great king further provided one thousand pontifical robes, with ephods, suits of precious fomes and other appendages, but there was no crown except that on which Moses had inscribed the name of the Almighty, and which may be seen at this time: ten thousand filken veils, and a like number of purple girdles for the priests; two hundred thousand trumpets, agreeable to the directions of Moses, and the same number of silver flores, for the use of the Levites, whose office was to chant hymns sacred to the honor and praise of God; and four hundred thousand harps, psalteries and other musical instruments for accompanying the voice, which were formed of a composition of gold and silver.

Nothing was omitted which wealth and industry could add to this glorious work, to manifest the zeal of the founder towards the Almighty, and inspire others with correspondent affections. That part of the temple wherein the priests only were to be admitted was guarded by a fence three feet high: the space which was for the reception of such of the public as came with the purity and qualification required by the law, was a quadrangular court, with spacious galleries, and four superb gates opening to the east, west, north, and south; and these gates were plated with gold.

For the purpose of erecting this temple the most astonishing hollows were filled up; for the earth was raised four hundred cubits in order to form it on a level with the surface of the rock on which the building was raised. The edifice was environed with a double cloister, supported by two ranges of pillars, each of which was hewn, in an entire piece, from the rock. These cloisters were wainscotted with cedar, the doors were composed of silver, and the roof was fret-work. This stupendous undertaking was completed in seven years; and, considering the magnificence and ingenuity so astonishingly displayed, it may justly be said to have been the work of ages comprised within that period.

The temple being brought to a state of perfection, Solomon dispatched letters to the elders of Israel and the principals of the different tribes, requesting them to summon the people to Jerusalem in order to view the temple, and to assist in removing the ark of alliance thither. In the seventh month, which the Hebrews call Thuri, and the Macedonians Hyperberetaeus, the populace assembled; and this was the time for celebrating the feast of the tabernacles, which was the most solemn festival observed by the Israelites. The holy ark, the tabernacle of Moses, and the sacred vessels belonging to the altar, were conveyed into the temple by the priests, proceeded by the king, the people and the Levites, who sprinkled the way with the blood of the victims for sacrifice, and perfumed the air with incense, the fragrancy of which extended to a great distance, and it was of so grateful and reviving a quality, that though the populace had danced and sung all the way, they reached the temple without any sensation of fatigue; and they concluded
concluded that the Almighty had descended to consecrate the temple, which
was dedicated to his worship.

Having reached the holy of holies, the place destined for the reception of
the ark, the people drew back, and left the priests to convey it into the oracle,
where they fixed it under the two cherubims, which had been made with the
points of their wings extending each to the other, so that the ark, which flood
jut beneath, appeared to be covered and protected thereby. In the ark
were deposited the two stone tables, which had the ten commandments en-
graven on them, as they had been delivered by God on mount Sinai. In
the sanctuary were also placed the candlesticks, table, and golden altar, dis-
posed in the same manner as they heretofore had been in the tabernacle, when
daily sacrifices were offered up. Directly opposite to the door was placed the
brazen altar, that the grandeur of the worship on the other side might be the
better seen. In the temple were likewise deposited, all together, the re-
mainder of the holy utensils and vessels.

The most respectful care having been taken to place the ark in a proper
manner, and the priests being retired, a cloud descended which so obscured
the view, that they scarcely saw each other; but its effects were so benign,
that they appeared not as proceeding from a common cause, but an in-
timation of the Divine pleasure, and of the descent of God to dwell in the
temple.

As the people were deliberating on this event, Solomon arose, and with
equal dignity and devotion, prayed as follows: “O God who dwellst in
eternity, thou who hast created this world, the heavens, earth, air, and
the sea, from nothing; who fillest all nature with thine unbounded and
incomprehensible greatness; look with compassion on us who have built
a temple to the glory of thy name. May our prayers be heard, O God,
and our sacrifices accepted: though thou art omnipresent, be particu-
larly with thy servants. Nothing is hid from thee: from thine heavens,
thou, attend to our petitions. Have mercy, upon us, O God, who
hearest those that constantly worship thee, and reverently love and serve
thee.”

This prayer being ended, Solomon addressed the people on the providence
and power of the Almighty, informing them how, in visions and dreams,
strange things had been made known to David his father, respecting things
past and to come, regarding himself, the name given him, his succeeding to
the government, the raising the temple, his family being established, and
the welfare of the people at large: “And now (said he) as many of the pro-
phecies are fulfilled, be you thankful to the Lord, not only for present
enjoyments, but for future promises, and consider the blessings bestowed
as a prelude to greater yet to come.”

Thus saying, Solomon lifted up his hand, and looking towards the tem-
ple, exclaimed “What, O God! are the most splendid works of man, com-
pared with the least of thy bounties! How shalt thou, who wast not our
services, be requited by those who have nothing to bestow! All we can
offer is the tribute of our thanks and gratitude, a distinction by which men
are honoured above thy other creatures; which thanks I now render, for

“myself
The Jews celebrating the Feast of Tabernacles.
myself, my family, and my people, for thy blessings heaped upon us.

Accept, then, the words of our mouths, as the only present method of expressing our duty, for thy mercy to my deceased father, who was raised by thee from the sheeptold to the throne, and for thy bounty to myself, in the ratification of thy most gracious promises and predictions. Continue to us, as to a chosen race, thy blessing; may the government remain uninterrupted in our family, for a succession of ages, agreeable to thy promise to my father David. Grant this, O God; and may my people possess those virtues that may make them acceptable to thee. Condescend, O God, to make this temple the place of thy peculiar residence. I am sensible that the heavens and earth are too confined for thy majesty: much less can a building of wood and stone, the work of mortal hands, be worthy of it: yet I cannot refrain from imploring thy protection of it. Preserve it, O God, from the attacks of our enemies, and let thy possession of it be its peculiar defence: and if, in future time, the sins of this people shall call aloud for thy judgments, let their humble supplications, and unfeigned repentance, in this, thy house, be accepted as an atonement for their crimes. And I implore this mercy, O God, not only for the Hebrews, but for all people who shall worship thee in this place. Thus shall the world know that we are thy chosen people, and that this is thine habitation; and it will be seen that the Hebrews are devoutly anxious for a general distribution of thy mercies.

Solomon having said this, bowed to the ground, and having worshipped God, arose and offered a variety of sacrifices, of the acceptance of which proof was given, by a flash of fire which descended to the altar, and consumed the sacrifices. The multitudes who saw this, considered it as a token that God acknowledged the temple, and approved the worship; which so transported them, that they joined in one general adoration of the Deity. Solomon now returned thanks for so perfect a testimony of God's favour, in which he entreated the people to join him. He then recommended constant prayer to God, that they might still experience his grace, by living righteous and holy lives, according to the laws of Moses; which would certainly render them the most happy of all people. He reminded them that their happiness could be only secured by what had acquired it, the practice of justice and religion. He farther said, it was not so easy to keep what they had obtained, as to procure what they wanted; and urged them not to forfeit, by misconduct, what their virtue had acquired.

Solomon having finished his exhortations, dismissed the people, after an offering of 12,000 calves, and 120,000 lambs, on which all the Israelites, with their wives and children, were entertained, being the first blood shed in the temple. Exclusive hereof, the feast of tabernacles was celebrated, at Solomon's expense, before the temple; which was very splendid and magnificent, and continued for a fortnight.

The hurry of public business being ended, every one thought of returning home, after acknowledging the benevolence, good conduct, and wisdom of the king, and offering prayers for his continued life, and the happiness of his people. They returned rejoicing, singing, and praising God: and the tediousness
Flavious Josephus upon

Redioursness of their journey was alleviated by the joy of their hearts, and the mutual good humour of the company.

Soon after this, God appeared again to Solomon in his sleep, when he heard a voice intimating, that his prayers and sacrifices were accepted; and that God would preserve him, and dwell in his temple, while himself, his subjects, and their posterity continued faithful in worship, as his father David had done. On this condition it was promised that he should reach the utmost sublunary Happines; that the possession of the throne should remain in his family; and that the sceptre should for ever be swayed by a prince of the tribe of Judah: on the contrary, that if they should depart from their present worship, and seek strange gods, they should be cut off from the face of the earth, and be no more a distinct people; but being harassed by war, and other calamities, should wander as exiles and vagabonds through the world. Solomon learnt from the voice of God, that, if his people apostatized, the new building should be destroyed, and burnt by Barbarians, and Jerusalem laid in ashes by an unrelenting foe; so that amazement should arise from the extremity of the distress, that a people lately so favoured of heaven, and so distinguished by their riches and splendor, should at once sink to such utter contempt: to which themselves would answer, that the forsaking their God, and abandoning the religion of their forefathers, and their country, had brought that judgment upon them.

The temple being compleated, Solomon began to build a royal palace, which was thirteen years in compleating. He was not so anxious respecting the latter, as the former, which (as we have heretofore said) was finished in seven years, owing to the particular aid and blessing of God. The court of Solomon was greatly inferior to the temple, as the latter was designed for the immediate worship of God, the other for the residence of an earthly monarch: but it was adapted to its design, and a credit to the prince and people who built it.

The following is a description of this sumptuous edifice. On several rows of pillars an extensive building was erected, resembling a common hall in which trials are heard. Its length was one hundred, its breadth fifty, and its depth thirty cubits; a space but proportioned to receive the numbers continually thronging to it. For security and ornament it had double doors, and was supported by sixteen square columns, enclosed with corinthian work in cedar wood. A building was erected in the midst of this hall, which was thirty cubits square, and was supported by flout pillars: and here a throne was placed, where the king used to give judgment in person. Next to the hall were the queen's apartments, with drawing-rooms, which were adorned with cedar, and built on floors of ten cubits square, which were in part plain, and partly adorned with marble, after the mode customary in temples and palaces.

Three depths of elegant hangings adorned the room, in which were carved images of trees, plants, &c. so finely executed as to appear constantly moving. Figures of various colours, on a white ground, filled up the space to the ceiling. There were rooms for retirement, rooms of state, and long galleries, all gilt and furnished in the most superb style. The services of plate for
for the king's table were of pure gold. To describe this whole mass of building, the courts, chambers, vaults, turrets, and other offices, would be an endless task. In fact, the edifice was a composition of gold, silver, marble, cedar, with valuable stones dispersed on the walls and ceilings, as the temple had been adorned. A large throne was erected, and most superbly carved and decorated. It was ascended by six steps, at both ends of each of which was a lion, and two at the top. On this throne were two arms, as if to support the king when he sat on it; and beneath him was the figure of a bullock; and the whole was a composition of pure gold.

The temple and palace took near twenty years in completing, towards the construction of which Hiram king of Tyre sent vast treasures of gold and silver, and large quantities of cedar and cyprus wood; in return for which Solomon remitted him, annually, great plenty of corn, wine, and oil. He likewise offered to his acceptance twenty cities situated near Tyre, on the borders of Galilee: but Hiram having taken a view of them, did not like them, and therefore declined the present, with many acknowledgments of Solomon's polite offer: wherefore that district of country was named Chabalon, which, in the Phœnician language, signifies "It doth not please me."

So great was the opinion that Hiram had of Solomon's wisdom, that he constantly consulted him on every difficulty, and always received a satisfactory answer. Menander, the historian, who translated the annals of Tyre from the Phœnician language into Greek, speaking of these two princes, says, "Hiram succeeded his father Abibale, as king of Tyre, over which he reigned thirty four years, and lived fifty three. A piece of made ground, called the great field, he annexed to the island, and, in the temple of Jupiter, erected a golden pillar to his honor. He destroyed the old temples, and erected new ones to Hercules and Astarte, and caused many materials to be cut from mount Libanus, to cover the holy places. In the month called Peritius, he set up the statue of Hercules. The Cyecans having neglected to pay him a tribute, he made an expedition against them, conquered, and returned. During his reign, a young man, named Abdemonus, undertook to resolve all intricate questions that should be proposed to him by Solomon king of Jerusalem." Respecting Hiram, Dius writes as follows. "On the death of Abibale, he was succeeded by his son Hiram, who enlarged the borders by filling up the vacant places on the east quarter of the city. The temple of Olympian Jupiter, which heretofore flood at a distance, was by him removed into the city, and enriched with gold to a vast amount. He gave orders for felling cedar from mount Libanus, with which to erect holy places." Dius farther says, "That Solomon would frequently send difficult questions to Hiram, to be explained on the forfeiture of a large sum of money: that Abdemonus interpreted them, and sent other questions to Solomon, which he also was to answer, or incur a large penalty."

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Solomon now repaired the walls of Jerusalem, to which he added towers and other securities. He likewise built, in the land of the Philistines, the cities of Afar, Magedon, and Gazara. This last city, Pharaoh, king of Egypt, had heretofore taken, razed it to the ground, and destroyed all the inhabitants; but afterwards gave it to his daughter, on her marriage with Solomon, who caused it to be rebuilt as a city of strength. He also built Betachora, Balez, and other places of pleasing retirement, distinguished for good water, and pure air. Having taken possession of the entrance of the defile towards Syria, he there erected the fortified city of Thamadora, by which name the Syrians still call it; but the Greeks call it Palmyra. This city having several springs and fountains, was intended for a watering place to those who passed through the defile. It was six days journey from Babylon, two from Upper Syria, and one from the Euphrates.

As many people have wondered how it should happen that all the kings of Egypt, from Minæas, the founder of Memphis (long before our father Abraham's time) to Solomon, above 1300 years, should be called Pharaoh, I answer, that in the language of Egypt, Pharaoh signifies king. I conceive that they are educated with other names, but, assuming the rank, they take that of the king. Thus it was with the kings of Alexandria, who were all called Ptolemy, after the first monarch. Thus, likewise, with the Roman emperors, whose family name was funk in that of Caesar. Herodotus of Halicarnassius reckons three hundred and thirty kings of Egypt, without naming them, as they were all called Pharaoh. A woman afterwards succeeding to the throne, he distinguishes her by her proper name of Nicaulis, as Pharaoh was the name common to the men only. I do not find that there was any king of Egypt called Pharaoh, after Solomon's father-in-law; nor have I any doubt but Nicaulis was that queen of Egypt and Ethiopia who went to visit Solomon.

Between mount Libanus and the city Amathe, there yet dwelt a number of Canaanites, who refused submission to the king of Israel; but at length Solomon compelled them to pay an annual tribute of a fixed number of slaves, who were to till the land, and do other laborious exercise; for the Hebrews engaged in no servile offices; it being thought dishonourable for those who had subdued so many nations to do the work of captives. The disposition of the Israelites was turned to arms, military exercises, the use of horses, chariots, &c. The Canaanites were kept to constant work, and six hundred persons appointed to superintend them, and to see they did their duty.

At Ezon-Geber, a bay of Egypt, on the Red-Sea, the king constructed a number of ships. This port is now named Berenice, and is near the city of Elan, formerly deemed to be in the Hebrew jurisdiction. King Hiram greatly assisted king Solomon in preparing his navy; sending him mariners and pilots, who conducted Solomon's officers to Ophir, called the Land of Gold, where they collected four hundred talents of gold, which they carried to Solomon.

So great a character had Solomon now obtained for his virtue and knowledge, that Nicaulis, queen of Egypt and Ethiopia, who was also distinguished
guished for her wisdom, was desirous of visiting him, doubtful if the reports concerning him had not exceeded the fact. When she had deliberated some time on the matter, she came to a resolution, and despaired the inconvenience and danger of a long voyage, that her judgment might be convinced of the truth of what she had heard. Thus resolved, she proceeded towards Jerusalem with a most sumptuous equipage, having in her train many camels laden with precious stones, gold, and perfumes. When she arrived, Solomon received her with all the distinction due to her high rank, and so easily resolved the difficult questions she put to him, that she was lost in wonder to find the reality so much exceed the report. The splendor of the royal palace, the order and regularity of the edifice, and the king's flagious management in the building of it, were all matter of astonishment to her. The Grove of Lebanon, which was deemed the matter-piece of the building, charmed her highly; nor was the least pleased with the economy of the household, the regularity of the entertainments, and the singular grace which accompanied all that Solomon did. The sight of the daily sacrifices, and the devotion with which the priests and Levites performed their worship, afforded her great pleasure. This matter was constantly in her thoughts; and when she had pondered on the subject a long time, she addressed the king to the following purport:

"Illustrious sovereign! There is so much of doubt and uncertainty in common report, that when this report verges on the extreme of good or evil, we are constrained to withhold our assent to it; but in respect to your intellectual faculties and distinguished glory, common fame, so far from having exceeded the fact, hath fallen far short of it; and I am this day a witness of that real dignity which I thought had been heretofore exceeded in description. The Hebrews are blessed, the friends and subjects of Solomon are blessed, who are continual witnesses of his wisdom; and all praise be rendered to God for ordaining so worthy a prince to rule over this nation."

This speech being delivered, the queen presented to Solomon twenty talents of gold, besides precious stones, spices and perfumes to a great amount. Tradition likewise reports that she gave him a root of balsam, the first of the kind that had ever been brought into Judæa, where it has so greatly thrived since that time. Solomon was not deficient in making proper returns to the queen of such presents as he thought might please her, and he even prevented her wishes in every thing that he conceived would yield her satisfaction. The queen returned to her own country soon after this mutual exchange of presents.

At this period Solomon's ships returned from Ophir, (named the Land of Gold) bringing rich stones, and great quantities of pine-wood, which last was used, partly to support the palace and temple, and partly in the construction of pilasters, harps, and cymbals, on which the Levites sung and played to the glory of God. For size and beauty, Solomon had never seen such wood before; but it should be remembered that this is not what is usually called pine, being more glossy and white, and having some resemblance in the grain to that of a fig-tree.

Solomon
Solomon received by this fleet six hundred and sixty-six talents of gold, exclusive of presents from the kings and governors of Arabia; and the merchants had their usual adventures. The king ordered two hundred targets to be cast of this gold, which weighed each six hundred shekels, and were hung up in the principal hall in the grove of Lebanon. Even the cups that Solomon drank out of were made of beaten gold, adorned with stones of value; and of this rich metal his common utensils were made. In the above traffic no money pulled, Solomon sending his own ships from the sea of Tarshish, and receiving in exchange negroes, gold, silver, ivory, apes, &c. This voyage, the going and returning, usually took up three years.

The fame of Solomon's wisdom and grandeur was now so extended that the sovereigns of many kingdoms wished to see him, and lost no opportunity of testing their regard by the presents they sent him, which consisted of gold, silver, purple robes, perfumes, and spices, with chariots, horses, and mules, the last of uncommon strength and beauty. The king had now a thousand chariots, and twelve thousand horses, which were rode by young men admirably skilled to manage them. These youths were all dressed in purple, and when the sun shone on their hair, which was intermixed with threads of gold, it had a most beautiful effect. Solomon used to ride, dressed in white, in a chariot, attended by these men, having arms and quivers, to a pleasant house he had near the city, in which he much delighted, for the beauty of its gardens, walks, and fountains.

Solomon was so quick a penetration that it may be said he scarcely suffered the most minute improvement, either for use or ornament, to escape him. He caused all the public roads leading to the palace at Jerusalem, to be regularly paved with a black stone; and to this he was induced by the double consideration of displaying his own magnificence, and contributing to the convenience of the public. He kept but few chariots at Jerusalem, but dispersed great numbers at different towns, which were called the Chariot-Towns, and at these places they were kept free of expense. The profusion of silver which was at Jerusalem is not to be described; and cedars, which had before been known only in Judaea, were now to be met with as frequently as mulberry-trees. He commissioned certain Egyptian merchants to purchase a number of chariots, with two horses to each, at the rate of sixty silver drachmas for every carriage and pair of horses: and these he sent as presents to the king of Syria, and other sovereigns beyond the Euphrates.

It is indisputable that Solomon was greatly superior to any monarch who had graced a throne, in piety, wisdom, justice, power, and other eminent qualities: but it is equally certain that by acting contrary to the law of Moses, and the religious and legal institutions of his ancestors, he blasted the hopes which his exemplary conduct in the early part of life had inspired. His ungovernable attachment to women was such that, not contented with those of his own country, he took the Tyrians, Sidonians, Ammonites, and others, in direct violation of the law of Moses. The prohibition of the Hebrews intermarrying with foreign women, was made on the wife consideration that women professing an idolatrous religion might seduce men from the true and eternal God. Solomon contracted marriage with no less than seven
seven hundred women, who were descended of the most exalted families, and one of them was daughter to the king of Ægypt; and he had three hundred concubines. So infatuated was he by these women, that, to prove his tenderness and affection, he yielded to their impious examples. As his age increased, the powers of his mind were impaired in proportion to those of his body; and as he became indifferent in his duty to Almighty God, he was induced with the less difficulty to adopt the abominable mode of worship which was exercised and recommended by his women.

His conduct, in regard to the other sex, was not his first breach of duty; for he transgressed the law by causing the figures of the twelve bulls to be placed round the pedestal of the brazen sea, and afterwards causing the lions to be fixed on the steps of his throne. In his own family he had an instance of the most eminent piety, honor, and virtue, in the person of his father, whose distinguished qualities were recommended as an example, by a divine visitation during his sleep, to which he was instructed to adhere on the penalty of incurring the divine vengeance. He disregarded these instructions, and the consequence was an ignominious death.

After this, the Almighty, by the agency of a prophet, communicated to Solomon that he should meet a retribution for his iniquities: but that, in consideration of the promise given to his father, by the Almighty, he should not be deprived of the government, which should be transmitted to his son, who should however, be punished for the crimes of his father: the prophet farther said that ten of the tribes should revolt from his successor, but that from a regard to his grandfather, and the temple at Jerusalem, the other two should preserve their allegiance. The king became exceedingly distressed in the idea of being removed from the eminence of temporal grandeur and felicity, to the extremity of misery.

Not long after this message had been pronounced by the prophet, the Almighty was pleased to create a powerful and vindictive enemy to Solomon in the person of Adad, who was a native of Idumæa, and a descendant of the royal line. When the Israelites conquered Idumæa, Joab, whom David had appointed to the command of the army, caused all the males capable of bearing arms, who could be found within the space of six months, to be put to death. Adad, who was at this time very young, escaped to the dominions of Pharaoh, king of Ægypt, who gave him a gracious reception, and, besides houses and lands, appointed him a revenue; and he conceived so high an esteem for him, that, in the course of time, he gave him in marriage to his sister Taphines, who bore to him a son, whom Pharaoh caused to be brought up with his own children. Upon intelligence being brought into Ægypt that David and Joab were deceased, Adad requested the permission of the king to return to his native country; where he intended to foment an insurrection, in revenge for the cruel massacres perpetrated in the early part of his life. Pharaoh repeatedly urged him to relate the motive of his desire to relinquish the protection of his best friend, but was not able to obtain a satisfactory reply.

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The iniquities of Solomon calling now aloud for vengeance, the Almighty inclined Pharaoh to yield to the solicitation of Adad, who repaired to Idumea with a resolution to raise a rebellion against Solomon: but, observing the garrisons to be exceedingly strong, and the whole country in an excellent state of defence, he judged that he could not effect his purpose by surprize, and adjourned to Syria, where he united with a man named Rezonz, the leader of a desperate banditti, who was a fugitive from his master Adadæzer, king of Zobah. In conjunction with this man, he subdued that part of Syria, and having procured himself to be proclaimed king, he committed great slaughter upon the Israelites, and obtained immense booty, during the reign of Solomon.

Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, was left at an early age to the direction of his mother: and as he advanced towards manhood, being observed by Solomon as a youth of a generous disposition, he appointed him superintendent of the improvements making to the walls of Jerusalem; and as a reward for the punctual discharge of his duty in this office the king invested him with the military command of the tribe of Joseph. As he was departing on some occasion from the city, he was met by the prophet Ahijah, the Shilonite, who having called him to a retired spot, took hold of his garment, and rent it in twelve parts: he ordered him to take ten of the pieces, according to the will of the Lord, who, as a punishment for having attached himself to prohibited women and idol gods, had determined to take the government from Solomon; adding, that in consideration of the promise to David, two of the tribes would continue their allegiance to the Son of Solomon. The prophet exhorted Jeroboam to the rigid observance of the laws and the pious example of David, and carefully to avoid those iniquities which had produced the reprobation of Solomon, as the certain means of escaping a similar fate.

This prediction of the prophet much elated the spirits of Jeroboam, who, being naturally of a turbulent and ambitious temper, immediately declared his intentions, and endeavoured to spirit up the army to an insurrection; but Solomon being early apprized of these practices, gave orders for apprehending him, whereupon Jeroboam judged it prudent to decamp, and he took refuge in the dominions of Shishack, king of Egypt.

C H A P. III.

The decease of king Solomon, and the succession of Rehoboam to the government.

Ten of the tribes espouse the cause of Jeroboam, by whom they are seduced to the worship of idols. He assumes the character of high-priest, and is reproved by the prophet Jaden. Rehoboam becomes an apostate from the Almighty.

It is indisputable that Solomon was the richest, and, excepting with respect to the crimes which he was led into in the decline of life, by his violent passion for women, the wisest sovereign upon earth. Having reigned eighty years, he expired at the age of ninety-four, and was interred at Jerusalem.

Rehoboam,
Rehoboam, the son of Solomon by Naama, an Ammonitish woman, succeeded to the government. Upon the decease of the king, some of the principal people strongly urged the return of Jeroboam, who speedily repaired to Sichem, to which place Rehoboam had also adjourned for the purpose of declaring himself the successor to the throne, under the sanction of the unanimous suffrages of the people. Jeroboam joined divers of the princes and leading people in an application to Rehoboam, whom they advised to adopt a mild government, observing that, in some instances, Solomon had been rather oppressive; and that instead of rendering himself an object of terror to his subjects, his safety and happiness required him to regulate his conduct in such a manner as to obtain an acquiescence to the measures of his government from an unfeigned affection to his person, rather than a dread of his power. Rehoboam delayed making a reply for three days: and this circumstance was the foundation of a jealousy among the people, who considered that an immediate compliance with so reasonable a request would not have been refused by a prince disposed to promote the happiness of his subjects. They reflected, however, that the suspension did not imply an absolute denial, and waited the event with favourable expectations.

Rehoboam summoned the counsellors and friends of his late father, and requested their advice as to the reply he should make. They recommended him to behave with a gracious humility on this occasion; observing that such conduct would have a more favourable influence than a rigid observance of the formalities of state. But so infatuated was this young prince by the charms of his new station, that, rejecting the wholesome counsel he had received, he applied for the sentiments of some persons of his own age and disposition. They advised him to answer, "That they should feel more weight from his little finger, than they had done from the loins of his father; that if they had been oppressed before, the oppression should be increased; and that if whips were the instruments of chastisement made use of by his predecessor, he should himself inflict a more painful discipline by chastisesing them with scorpions." In the utmost anxiety of hope and fear, the people assembled on the third day; when the king delivered the answer, precisely in the words which the young men had recommended. Thus, by the providence of the Lord, was the prediction of the prophet Ahijah fulfilled. The people unanimously cried out, "We renounce all allegiance to the house of David. If it is his desire, let the king possess the temple which was constructed by his father, but we are no longer the subjects of Rehoboam." This was the prelude of a general sedition, which became so violent, that upon an officer of the king's treasury being sent forth to appease the multitude, by attributing the cause of the revolt to the rash advice of some inconsiderate young men, without permitting him to urge any exculpatory arguments, they stoned him to death. The king apprehending, that his life was in danger, mounted his chariot, and made all possible expedition to Jerusalem. The tribes of Judah and Benjamin continued in allegiance to him, but the others revolted to Jeroboam, and declared that they would never again acknowledge the sovereignty of a descendant of David. Rehoboam mustered one hundred and eighty thousand men, and with this force.
he proposed to prosecute a war against the ten tribes who had deserted his cause, till he should compel them to obedience. During the preparations for this intended enterprise, a prophet of God exhorted him not to engage in a civil war, urging that the defection of the tribes was an event, which for just ends had been produced by the providence of the Almighty.

Jehoabon constructed a palace at Sichem, where he established his residence, and he afterwards built another at Penuel. On the approach of the feast of the tabernacles, he reflected that if his people should repair to Jerusalem to celebrate that festival, the ceremonies of religion might so far operate on their minds as to induce them to acknowledge allegiance to their late sovereign, whereby both his life and government would be in imminent danger. On these considerations he determined to erect two temples, one at Bethel, and the other at Dan, which is situated near the head of the lesser Jordan. Having consecrated the golden image of a calf in each of these buildings, he assembled the ten tribes under his command, and addressed them to the following effect.

"It is unnecessary, my friends and countrymen, to mention the omniprescence of the Diety: in whatever place we are, he hears and accepts the prayers we offer to him: I, therefore, conceive that for the exercise of your religion it will be totally needless to undertake a tedious journey to Jerusalem. The builder of the temple was but a mortal, like ourselves: the golden calves which are placed in the temples at Bethel and Dan, have been consecrated as well as the temple at Jerusalem. You will be at no loss for the want either of priests or Levites: let such as are inclined to execute the facerdal function, qualify themselves by sacrificing a calf and a ram, by which ceremony alone, Aaron, the first of the order, was initiated to the priesthood." By thus leading the Hebrews from obedience to the laws of God and their country, Jehoabon was the primary cause of the civil wars, bondage and other calamities, which, in the progress of our work, it will be found they experienced.

On the approach of the festival of the seventh month, Jehoabon came to a resolution of performing worship at Bethel, according to the manner practiced by the two tribes at Jerusalem. He caused an altar to be erected before the golden calf, and himself assuming the character of high-priest, and being attended by the priests whom he had appointed, he proceeded to the ceremony of the holo-caust, but at the time he was preparing to put the fire to the offering, a prophet named Jadan arrived from Jerusalem. Having reached the middle of the multitude, he addressed himself to the following purpose.

"Altar, altar, thus speaketh the Almighty! From the house of Judah shall arise a man named Josiah, who upon thee shall take away the life of the false prophets, impostors and seducers of his time; and on thee shall their bones be consumed by fire. That no doubt be entertained respecting the truth of this prediction, I will confirm the authority of it by a miracle. The altar shall fall in ruins, and the fire of the victims shall be spilt on the ground." Jehoabon was so enraged by this speech of the prophet, that extending his arm, he ordered some persons immediately to seize him; and on the instant his arm was blasted and so benumbed, that he was unable to
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to restore it to its former position; and the preface respecting the falling of the altar and the fat of the sacrifices was fulfilled. Being convinced that the prophet had been actuated by a spirit of inspiration, the king requested him to supplicate the Almighty for the restoration of his withered arm; to this he consented, and Jeroboam having recovered the perfect use of his limb, made grateful acknowledgments for the miraculous cure he had received, and pledged the prophet to dine with him; but he declined this invitation, saying the Lord had commanded him to fast neither bread nor wine during his stay in the city; and on his departure not to pursue the road by which he came. The abstinence and reserve of the prophet induced the king to be more attentive to what he had predicted than he would otherwise have been; and his anxiety encreased as he continued to reflect upon the event.

A false prophet who had obtained a high place in the favour of Jeroboam, by the flattering events which he pretended would come to pass, being informed by his sons of the miracles which Jadon had wrought, became so jealous of being supplanted in his interest with the king, that, notwithstanding he was oppressed with the infirmities of age and sickness, he rose from his bed, and, being mounted on his ass, rode in quest of the stranger, whom he overtook while he was resting under the shade of an oak tree. The usual salutations being exchanged, the false prophet complained of the unkindness of the stranger in not calling at his habitation for refreshment. To this he answered that the Lord had enjoined him against eating and drinking in the city. The other said that the prohibition did not extend to him, for that he was himself a prophet, and sent by the express direction of God to give him an invitation to dinner. Not suspecting the treachery of the man, Jadon returned with him; and while they were seated at table and engaged in the freedom of conversation, the Lord appeared to Jadon, and informed him that, as a punishment for his disobedience, he should be torn in pieces by a lion, and that his remains should not be deposited in the sepulchre of his ancestors. On his road to Jerusalem he was seized and destroyed by a furious lion, which offered no injury to the beast he rode, but continued couching near the body of Jadon, seemingly as if to watch it. The fate of Jadon being communicated to the false prophet by some travellers, he dispatched his sons to remove the body to the city, and he caused it to be interred with a splendid solemnity. He enjoined his sons to deposit his remains in the same monument: and acknowledged the truth of what had been predicted respecting the city, the altar, and the priests, saying, that if his bones were mingled with those of Jadon, they could not be distinguished, and would therefore escape being burnt, and other indignities usual towards the remains of the false prophets.

Immediately after the funeral of Jadon, the false prophet went to Jeroboam, and finding him in an uneasy state of mind, he upbraided him with weaknesses in giving credit to the extravagancies of a enthusiast. Jeroboam related the falling of the altar and the recovery of his arm, and asked, if Jadon was not a man favoured of God, how such miracles could be accounted for.
The other pretended that the labour of conveying sacrificies to the altar might have occasioned the numbness, and that a short interval of rest might have effected the cure; respecting the altar he said, that, being newly erected, and the materials not properly settled, the great weight of the sacrificies might reasonably be attributed as the only cause of its fall. He then mentioned that Judah had been destroyed by a lion, and observed that neither in the matters he had related, his life or death he could discover the least circumstance to justify the supposition of his possessing the gift of prophecy. These infinuations had such an effect upon the king that he relinquished all farther consideration of obedience to the Almighty; and in short, so entirely did he abandon himself to the practice of vice, that every act of his life appeared to proceed from a desire of surpassing the enormity of his former crimes.

The cities of Bethlehem, Etan, Tekoa, Bethzar, Shoca, Adullam, Ipa, Marepha, Ziph, Adorain, Lachish, Azekah, Zorah, Ajalon and Hebron, were built in the tribe of Judah by Rehoboam, besides many other towns of equal consideration within the tribe of Benjamin. He appointed governors and established garrisons in these places, which he amply supplied with corn, wine, oil, and every other necessary for defence and maintenance. The intolerable oppression of Jeroboam occasioned great numbers of the priests, Levites, and the laity, to repair to Jerusalem, for the advantage of paying adoration to the true God, instead of the golden calves which their king had compelled them to worship: and in the course of three years the power of Rehoboam was augmented in a very considerable degree. The first wife of Rehoboam was his kinswoman, and by her he had three children. He married another relation named Maachab, who was daughter to Thamar, and Thamar was daughter to Abiaah; she bore to him Abiah. He had eighteen wives, and thirty concubines; and these women bore to him twenty eight sons and sixty daughters. He intended that Abiah should succeed him in the government; and to his care he entrusted his treasure, and appointed him to superintend his several places of strength. It generally happens that prosperity produces a corruption of manners; and this was the case with Rehoboam; for as his power increased, he gave additional latitude to the practice of vice. As it is usual for the multitude to be influenced by the conduct of their superiors, the licentious example of Rehoboam seduced his subjects into a profanation of the commandments of God.
Jerusalem is besieged by Shishak, king of Egypt; and basely surrendered by Rehoboam.

The temple plundered. The death of Rehoboam, after whom his son Abijah ascends the throne. A prediction of the prophet Abijah to Jeroboam, that he and all his family would be totally destroyed.

Shishak, king of Egypt, was chosen by the Almighty as an instrument of vengeance upon Rehoboam, and not Sesostris, as Herodotus afferts. When Rehoboam was in the fifth year of his reign, Shishak marched against him with a numerous army, chiefly composed of Ethiopians and Africans, and supposed to contain twelve hundred chariots, fix thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, with which he attacked and subdued the Israelites, and having established garrisons in several fortified towns, which had surrendered to him, he laid siege to Jerusalem, where Rehoboam and his people were blocked up.

In this exigency Rehoboam earnestly supplicated the Almighty to grant him victory over his enemies, but his prayers were rejected: and to encrease his terror, the prophet Semeas informed him, that the Lord had determined to withdraw his protection from such as were degenerated into a state of apostacy. The prophet's words had such an effect on the king and the people, that they acknowledged their sins, and that their punishment was justly inflicted. Thus reduced to the most desponding situation, the king was assured by the prophet that their penitence would be so far regarded by God, that he would not suffer them to be totally ruined, but that the Egyptians should hold them in bondage, in order that they might be convinced whether serving God or man, was attended with the greater advantage. Terrified by this declaration, Rehoboam surrendered the city upon certain conditions: but, disregarding the articles of the stipulation, Shishak plundered the temple, and made prize of all the plate and other treasure which was dedicated to God, as well as that which belonged to the king; he likewise seized the golden shields and bucklers of Solomon; the golden quivers which had been taken from the king of Sophena by David, besides gold and silver to an immense value. Herodotus of Halicarnassus has mistaken the name of the king of Egypt, who conquered Palestine Syria. We can only suppose he means the conquest of our country by the people of Egypt; for he says, that many pillars were fixed up and remained there, on which were carved the figures of men, except the secret parts, which represented those of women. This was meant to convey a disgraceful idea of the men for yielding up their country without resistance. Herodotus also afferts, that circumcision was adopted by the Ethiopians from the Egyptians; but it is universally allowed that the Philistines and Palestinian Syrians received that custom from them; and it is equally evident that we are the only people in Palestine Syria, by whom circumcision is practiced.

When.
When Shishak had returned into the land of Egypt, Rehoboam caused a number of shields and bucklers to be made in brails, and sullituted them in the place of the golden ones which had been taken away. The succeeding part of the reign of Rehoboam was not interrupted by any remarkable event: and he died at the age of fifty-seven years, seventeen of which he held the sovereign rule. He was a man of weak intellects and a haughty disposition, and suffered his kingdom and himself to be ruined by not following the good advice he received. He was interred among the kings at Jerusalem, and succeeded by his son Abijah, in the eighteenth year after the ten tribes had submitted to his government.

Let us return to Jeroboam, whose wickedness exceeded all bounds. He daily fixed up altars in the high places, and from the lowest classes of the people caused priests to be ordained, for which infults, God caused a merited judgment to fall heavily upon him and his family. At this period his son Obadiah was afflicted with sickness, and he ordered his wife to dress herself as a person in a private station, and go to the prophet Ahijah, who had formerly predicted that he should himself obtain the royal dignity. Go to the prophet (said he) and enquire whether the boy will be freed from his illness. She followed her husband's directions and departed for Shiloh, where the prophet dwelt. During the time she was upon her journey, Ahijah, whose sight was much impaired by age, was addressed by a voice from heaven, informing him that the woman was coming to his house and upon what occasion; what questions she would put to him, and what answers she should return. When she approached the door, he spake to her as the wife of Jeroboam, and told her not to attempt to conceal who she was, for that the power who had given him previous information of her arrival, and inspired him with what he was about to say, could not be deceived. Return (said he) to your husband, and assure him that the Almighty hath thus spoken: "As I deprived the house of David of the regal authority, and from a mean station in life, exalted thee to the dignity of a throne; and as thou hast, with the greatest ingratitude, deserted me, and impiously put up gods of thy own invention, made by the hands of men, and preferred them before the Creator of the universe, I will, therefore, immediately extirpate thee and thy house from the face of the earth, and give your carcases to be eaten by the dogs and the birds of the air; and another king shall be in thy stead, who shall not suffer one man of thy family to remain alive, nor shall the people themselves avoid my punishment, for they shall be driven out of the happy land they inhabit, and be scattered beyond the Euphrates, for imitating thy wickedness, and worshipping thy Gods in scorn of me and what I have commanded. Hallow to your husband, and inform him what I have now related: and as to the child it shall expire the instant you enter the city. He shall be interred with a public solemnity, and lamented as the only part of Jeroboam's family who had not merited reprobation."

Terrorised at what Ahijah had said, she departed with the utmost speed, and on her arrival, she was exceedingly afflicted to find the words of the prophet verified in regard to the child. She related to her husband a circumstantial account of what Ahijah had communicated.
Jeroboam king of Israel, is subdued by Abiah king of Judah. The death of Abiah; who is succeeded by Asa. Jeroboam dies; and after him his son Nadab reigns. Nadab is killed by Baasha, who exterminates the family of Jeroboam.

Notwithstanding all these punishments Jeroboam still continued to raise great forces, and offered battle to Abiah, who, in his father's right, then reigned over the two tribes. As this prince was but little practiced either in civil or military affairs, Jeroboam entertained the utmost confidence of victory. But far from being dismayed, Abiah manifested a conduct which scarcely could be expected at his early time of life, and immediately collected a body of soldiers from the two tribes, and marched towards mount Samaron, where he established his quarters, and prepared for battle. His army contained four hundred thousand men; and double that force formed the army of Jeroboam. When the forces of each party were drawn up in the order of battle, Abiah repaired to an eminence, and waving his hand as a signal for silence, he thus addressed the followers of Jeroboam.

"It is impossible you can have forgot that God has promised that David and his seed shall for several ages rule this kingdom: I am therefore surprised to find my father forsaken, and his subject Jeroboam put in his stead, as well as to see that you have taken up arms against a government which God has established; and that you cannot be satisfied without driving the legal possessor from what small portion is still remaining under his jurisdiction: for Jeroboam has already usurped authority over the greatest part of the kingdom. The Almighty however will not suffer him long to possess what he has so wickedly obtained, but will severely punish him for his crimes, and cause those rapacious and oppressive measures to cease, which, instead of endeavouring to terminate, he employs his constant attention to aggravate. What cause can be assigned for this falling off?

"You never received any injurious treatment from my father: once indeed, incited by evil council (of which Jeroboam was the principal cause), he unhappily made use of an improper expression, on which every one of you departed in a rage, not only relinquishing allegiance to your sovereign, but your duty to God. You ought to have proceeded with deliberation, and have judged more favourably of that weakness which is incident to all mankind; you should also have reflected upon my father's youth, and that he did not affect to be endowed with any excellent gift of speech; you should have considered him also as the son of Solomon, from whom you had received such signal obligations. I should have supposed that all these considerations might have induced you to excuse an hasty expression; and on the father's account, it would barely have been an act of justice to have made some allowance for the son. But it is evident you never considered these things, nor is it probable you will, if I may form my judgment from the forces now approaching us. In what is your ultimate
"ultimate resource fixed? It cannot surely be in your golden figures of calves, your altars, and high places! you confide in your evil deeds, and not in your religious practices. You act in opposition to every law both divine and human: but in the end justice and piety will gain the victory; but against both of these you militate in taking up arms against us, who have always worshipped the true God, not an idol carved from stone or wood, and imposed upon a weak and silly multitude, by the impiety of their prince; but God the creator of heaven and earth, who is the primary and ultimate cause of all things. Repent therefore of the wickedness you have committed, and follow better courses hereafter; or if you are determined to contend, let it be for the protection of those laws from which you derive your present greatness and felicity."

Before the conclusion of this speech, a detachment from the army of Jeroboam privately marched in the rear of Abijah's troops, who were greatly alarmed by the event: but their leader encouraged them to preserve their fortitude, exhorting them to depend on the protection of the Almighty, who would render abortive the most consummated treachery levelled against the righteous cause which they were engaged to support. This revived their courage, and they addressed themselves to prayer, till the signal was given; when with loud shouts, they attacked the enemy whom they totally defeated, committing a more dreadful carnage than is recorded either in the Greek or Barbarian annals. Five hundred thousand soldiers fell upon the field of battle. Bethel and Ithen, and all their best fortified towns were conquered and pillaged.

This stroke so weakened Jeroboam, that he was not in a condition to renew his attempts during the life of Abijah; who not long afterwards died, after having reigned three years; and he was interred in the sepulchre of his forefathers at Jerusalem. He had by fourteen women, two and twenty sons, and sixteen daughters, all of whom survived him. He was succeeded by his son Asa, whom he begot upon Maachah, and under his government the Israelites continued in a state of tranquillity for ten years.

Jeroboam died in the twenty-second year after being invested with the sovereignty of the ten tribes, and in the second year of the reign of Asa. He was succeeded by his son Nadab, who possessed the kingdom for two years only, during which time he endeavoured to exceed his father in every kind of wickedness. He levied forces, and marched against Gabathion, a city belonging to the Philistines, imagining that he could conquer the place by siege. While this intended enterprise was in agitation, he was treacherously murdered by Baasha, the son of Machel. Baasha assumed the government, and extirpated the whole house of Nadab, agreeable to the prediction of the prophet, that such of the race of Jeroboam as should die in the city the dogs should devour, and the fowls of the air those who should perish in the fields. These punishments justly fell upon Jeroboam and his house, for defering the Lord, and for their other impieties.
C H A P. VI.

An exalted character of Asa king of Judæa. Zaraæus king of Ethiopia conquered by him. The king of Damascus enters into a confederacy against Baasha, the king of Israel, whom Ozen kills, and Zimri murders his son and successor Elah.

The most rigid observance was paid by Asa, king of Judæa, to every institution both divine and moral. He introduced the most wholesome laws for the better regulating his government, and directed his attention towards correcting the abominable vices which had been introduced among the people. He had three hundred thousand chosen men of the tribe of Judah, whose arms were lances and shields; and from the tribe of Benjamin two hundred and fifty thousand provided with bows and bucklers. In the tenth year of the government of Asa, Zaræus king of Ethiopia, led against him a body of forces consisting of one hundred thousand horse, nine hundred thousand foot, and three hundred chariots. On his arrival at Marea, a city of Judah, Asa encamped his army in the valley of Saphatha, at a small distance from the city, and prepared for battle. Upon observing the formidable power of the enemy, he invoked the aid of the Almighty, declaring that he had taken up arms only through the confidence he repose in him, and that his assistance would more than compensate for the inferiority of numbers, and every disadvantage. God attended to the entreaties of Asa, and by a sign gave him to understand that he should prove victorious.

With this assurance Asa proceeded to the encounter. He gained an absolute victory, and pursued the enemy with great slaughter to the plain of Gezer. Having obtained immense booty from the plunder of the town of Gezer and the camp of his adversary, he directed his march towards Jerusalem, near which place, the prophet Azariah, having ordered him to halt, spoke to the following effect:

"It hath pleased the Almighty, on account of your virtues, to give you this signal victory, and if you proceed in a similar discharge of your duty, you may be assured that success will attend all your future undertakings; but if otherwise, you will suffer the most dreadful calamities; and a period will arrive when there will not be a priest qualified for the holy office, or a true prophet to be found amongst you. Your cities will be razed, and your people dispersed through the earth, without any fixed place of residence. Exercize yourselves, therefore, in acts of piety, before it is too late, and unanimously offer up your thanks to God for the happiness you at present enjoy." Asa and all his army received great comfort from these words; and they continued particularly careful in paying the strictest attention to their religion and laws. To enforce the latter, Asa appointed proper officers throughout the kingdom.

Baasha, who is already mentioned to have murdered Jeroboam's son, and to have usurped the kingdom, reigned four years. His palace was at Tarsis, and he far exceeded both Jeroboam and his son in every kind of wickedness. He was guilty of the greatest tyranny and oppression, and set even the
the Almighty at defiance. Jehu, the prophet, therefore, by the command of God, informed him that he was resolved to extirpate him and his whole race, as he had the family of Jeroboam; for as he followed the wicked example of Jeroboam, it was proper he should equal him in his sufferings. Notwithstanding these threats Baasha still persisted in his iniquitous courses, as if he had expected a reward for his sins, rather than a punishment: at length he advanced with some forces to Ramath, which is about forty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, and a place of some consequence. This city he fortified, considering it as an advantageous situation for making incursions into the kingdom of Afa; who was rather apprehensive of his intentions, and reflecting on what ill consequences might attend his people by suffering so numerous an army near them, he immediately sent an ambas- sador with large gifts to the king of Damascus, entitling him to become his ally from a regard to that affection which their families had always entertained for each other. The presents of Afa, and the requested alliance were accepted by the king of Damascus, who detached himself from Baasha, attacked his towns, and burnt and plundered several of them, among which were Achion, Dan, and Abelmaen. As soon as Baasha was informed of these proceedings, he left Ramath, and returned to the care of affairs in his own kingdom. From the materials left at the departure of Baasha, two strong towns were built by Afa, who called one of them Gaba, and the other Maapha. After this, Baasha never more entered the field, for he was murdered by Creon, and interred in the city of Arfanes. He was succeeded by his son Elah, who after he had reigned two years, was, while he was drinking with Ofa, his household steward, killed by Zimri, one of his matters of horse, during the absence of his guards, who were then laying siege to Gabatha, a city belonging to the Philistines.

C H A P. VII.

Elah the king of Israel being murdered by Zimri, Omri is chosen king by the army.
Zimri destroys himself and the palace by fire. Omri is succeeded by Ahab, whose ruin is predicted by Elias. Jehu ancents the throne of Israel, and Hazael becomes king of Aflria. Jezebel causes Naboth to be stone.

AFTER the murder of Elah, Zimri became king of Israel, and totally exterminated the family of Baasha, according to Jehu's prophecy. As soon as the kings death was known to the army, which was then before Gabathon, and that Zimri had usurped the kingdom, they immediately elected Omri the captain of the guards, to reign over them. After raising the siege, he marched directly to Tirzah, which he took by storm. Zimri perceiving there was no guard in the city, retired into one of the apartments of the palace, to which he set fire, and consumed the whole building, himself perishing in the flames, after a reign of only seven days. Every thing was now in a most embarrassed state; and the nation formed itself into two parties, the one faction supporting the interest of Omri, and the other that of Thaman: but the former succeeded, for Thaman was killed, and Omri enjoyed the whole kingdom.
kingdom. Afa had now reigned thirty years. Omri filled the throne twelve years, half of which time he reigned at Tirzah, and the remainder at Marcon, which is called Samaria by the Greeks. The mountain on which it was erected, was purchased of a man whose name was Samar, from whom Omri called it Samareon. He excelled all his predecessors in wickedness, and like them, by daily acts of impiety, turned the affections of his subjects from the duty they owed their Creator. God therefore made all these kings the instruments of destroying each other, till at length they were totally extirpated. Omri died at Samaria, and was succeeded by his son Ahab. We have here an excellent proof of God's goodness in directing the affairs of men, of his making the good happy, and totally destroying those who disobey him; for Afa who reigned over Jerusalem, and the two tribes, was the only one who enjoyed felicity: and in consequence of his uniform integrity, he possessed the esteem of his Creator to a very advanced time of life. He died after he had reigned forty-one years, and was succeeded by his son Jeohashphat, whom he begat upon Abidah, and who inherited his father's virtues, and regulated his conduct by the example of David, his intrepid and pious ancestor.

Twenty-two years did Ahab, king of the Israelites, reside in Samaria, where every alteration he made in the government was an injury thereto. He copied the vices of his predecessors, particularly Jeroboam, whose golden calves he worshipped, and committed other enormities. Having married Jezebel, daughter of Eth-baal king of Tyre and Sidon, he seduced him to worship the Gods of her country. This woman was rath, violent, and ungovernable. She caused a temple to be built in honor of Baal; and had groves of trees planted, in which priests and false prophets performed services of idolatry. These proceedings gratified Ahab, who took delight in the priests, and their extravagant worship. At this time a prophet, named Elias, a native of Gilead, waited on the king, and said that, "on his leaving him, neither rain nor dew should fall in the province, till his return." Having thus said, he departed, and travelled towards the south, till arriving at a river, he there remained for the convenience of water, and was supplied with meat by ravens. The drought encroached till the river was dried up, when Elias was directed by the Almighty to go to a town between Tyre and Sidon, called Sarephtha, where he would meet with a widow woman who would supply his necessities. Hereupon he set forward, and when near the place, beheld the woman picking up flocks, whom he asked for water; and, as she was going for it, bid her bring bread also. She said a handful of meal, and a little oil was all she had to keep herself and son from starving, and she was now gathering flocks to bake it into a cake. The prophet encouraged her to let him partake of it, on the assurance that, when they were all satisfied, her barrel should be constantly supplied with meal, and her cruse with oil, till the earth should be replenished with rain by the goodness of God. She obeyed the prophet, and, though they constantly fed, found her flock as constantly replenished, till the dry season ended. Of this remarkable drought Menander speaks, saying that in the
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS UPON

reign of Eth-baal, king of the Tyrians, it continued from the month of Hyperberetaeus, to the same month in the year following. He adds, that prayers being offered for a change of weather, violent burfits of thunder constantly succeeded. It was during the reign of Ahab that Eth-baal was king of Tyre; so that the above drought is undoubtedly that referred to by Menander.

The son of the woman who had entertained Elias, falling very ill, she attributed the misfortune to him; saying, "This man whom I have fed has brought this judgment upon me, on a discovery of my sins." At length, when the child was thought to be dead, the prophet said "Give him to me, and I will recover him to life;" and taking him to his chamber, he placed him on the bed, and prayed that God would restore him; for that the death of the son, while he remained in the family, would appear to be a severe requital of the mother's goodness to him. The prayers of Elias were heard; God restored the child; and the mother was all gratitude; and confessed that the spirit of God directed the actions of the prophet.

Soon after this Elias was commissioned to acquaint Ahab that rain would speedily fall. By this time the famine raged so that the people were on the point of starving; nor was there food for the cattle. Obadiah, who superintended the royal stables and fields, was now sent for by the king, who ordered him to seek near the rivers and ditches, for grazfs for the horses and other cattle, and also to find the prophet, who had been long sought for in vain. Now Obadiah was a righteous man, who had heretofore hid in caves, and supported one hundred prophets, during Jezebel's persecution of them.

Obadiah had no sooner left the king than he met Elias, who bid him go tell his master that he was coming to him. "Wherefore (said Obadiah) should you dispatch me with such a message, who am sent in search of you, that the king may inflict a tormenting death on you. When I am gone, the spirit by which you are governed may lead you another way, and then my life will pay the forfeit. Have more concern for my safety. You know my zeal for your fraternity, by my preservation of the hun- dred prophets, whom I still support in the caves." The prophet, however, insisted on his going, and solemnly swore to attend Ahab. When the king found he was coming, he hastened to meet him, and in a rage exclaimed, "Is it not you that are the plague of the Israelites? Is it not you to whom this drought and famine are owing?" The prophet replied that Ahab and his household occasioned their own difficulties, by the introduction of false gods, and departing from the true religion. Elias now demanded an assembly of the people on mount Carmel, and that Jezebel's prophets, and the prophets of the groves might be present. Ahab assembled them; and Elias standing in the midst, said, "Wherefore hesitate you betwixt two opinions? If you think ours the true God, worship him, and keep his commands: or if you prefer the worship of false gods, the choice is yours." No reply being made, Elias proceeded thus, "Here am I, a single prophet, against three hun-
dred: if you would ascertain which is the true religion, I will place an ox on a pile of wood, but not let it on fire: let the other prophets do the same, and implore their gods to inflame the pile; by which the true wor-
"ship will be distinguished from the false." This mode of determination being acceptable to the multitude, Ahab's prophets laid their ox on the pile; and when they had offered their incantations a long while, Elias ridiculed them, bidding them speak louder, for their gods might be asleep, or on a journey. From morning till noon they continued their exorcisms, cutting and slashing their bodies; but the effect was not produced. Elias being now to sacrifice, bid the people draw near, and observe that no fire was secretly conveyed to his pile. Having taken twelve stones, that is one for each tribe, he made an altar of them, round which a deep ditch was cut: then placed his wood on the altar, and on it the sacrifice, throwing four vellies of clear water on the altar, which filled the surrounding ditch. All being prepared, the prophet called on God to convince the unbelievers; and, while he was yet speaking, fire descended from heaven, burnt up the sacrifice, and dried the water. This miracle astonished the Israelites, who bowed to the ground in adoration of the only living and true God. Elias then ordered all the false prophets to be put to death, which being done, the people departed.

The prophet now ascended mount Carmel, and sitting on the ground, with his head on his knees, commanded his servant to climb a rock near the sea, and look out for a cloud. After six fruitless attempts, he said he saw something about the size of a man's hand in the air, of a blackish colour. Elias hearing this, sent to bid Ahab hasten to the city, or a violent storm of rain would overtake him; and indeed a great rain fell, and the whole atmosphere was clouded, by the time that he reached Jezreel, to which city Elias, by God's immediate support, ran before his chariot.

Jezebel hearing of the deeds of Elias, and how he had caused the death of her prophets, sent and threatened his destruction. Hereupon he fled to Beeraheba, where leaving his servant, he departed into the wilderness, and laying down on the ground, wished for death. "I am no more worthy, O God, (said he) than those who have preceded me; nor have I any desire to live!" Having slept under a tree, he found himself awakened by an invisible agent, when rising and looking round him, he saw meat and drink, with which he refreshed himself, and then repaired to mount Sinai, where he found a cave, into which he went, with an intention of residing in it. In this place he heard a voice, demanding why he left the city, and wandered thus in the desert; to which he replied, that the queen had threatened his life, for having occasioned the death of the false prophets, and declared the only true God to whom worship was due. The voice now instructed him to leave the cave on the following day, and act as he should be directed. On his quitting the place next day, there was an earthquake, and then a blazing fire in the air, which was succeeded by a short silence, and that by a still voice, which had him be of good courage, for his enemies should not triumph over him; it likewise directed him to return by the way of Damascus, where Hazael should be anointed king of Aram, and Jehu, the son of Nimshi, king over Israel, by his hands: he was also to anoint Elisha, of Abel, prophet in his stead; for the divine wrath would cut off the wicked from the land, and Hazael should destroy those that escaped the sword
of Jehu. Hereupon the prophet departed; and finding Elisha, the son of Shaphat, with other people, plowing with twelve yoke of oxen, he threw his cloak over him: on which Elisha immediately prophesied, and prepared to follow Elias; but first requested permission to bid farewell to his parents, which being done, he attached himself to Elias as his disciple and companion.

Adjacent to the gardens of Ahab, king of Samaria, lay a vineyard, belonging to Naboth, of Jezreel, which vineyard Ahab willing to add to his gardens, frequently asked Naboth to sell him, or accept other land in exchange for it; but this Naboth refused, as it was a possession which had been the particular gift of providence. Ahab was so chagrined at the refusal, that he became melancholy, abstained from his food, and neglected to bathe according to custom, and fell sick. On this alteration, Jezebel became anxious to know the cause of it; and, on her repeated urgency, Ahab recited the story of Naboth, and expatiated on the rudeness of his behaviour. "I entreated him (said he) with fair words; and descended below the dignity of a king in my address to him; and all I could gain by this conduct was an absolute refusal." The queen gave him all possible encouragement to recover his spirits, and to be no longer anxious on the subject, for she would take care that Naboth should be punished for the insult. Having said this, she wrote letters to the elders and principal men of Jezreel, in the name of Ahab, importing that a fact should be proclaimed, and an assembly convened, in which a place among the chiefs of the people should be given to Naboth. That three witnesses should be provided, who should swear that he had blasphemed God, and spoken evil of the king: and that on this evidence Naboth should be convicted, and his sentence be that the people should stone him to death. The queen's orders being obeyed in every particular, Naboth was convicted, and received sentence, which was speedily executed on him. Intelligence of these transactions being carried to Jezebel, the reprieved the king, and informing him that Naboth was dispatched, said he might take possession of the vineyard without farther ceremony. This news gave Ahab so much satisfaction, that he immediately set forward on a journey towards the spot thus dearly purchased: but the prophet Elias was sent by God, to represent the sin of his taking possession of the vineyard, which was acquired by the murder of the right owner. Ahab seeing the prophet advancing, went to him, confessed what had been done, and offered to make reparation. By the order, and in the name of the Almighty, Elias, acquainted him, that "where the blood of Naboth had been licked by the dogs, they should likewise lick the blood of Ahab and Jezebel; and that the crime of taking away the life of an innocent man by perjury should be punished by the extirpation of their whole race." Ahab was so affected by the denunciation of this judgment, that he became deeply penitent for his sins; clothed himself in sack-cloth, fasted, went barefoot, and gave every other testimony of unfeigned sorrow. Hereupon the prophet was commissioned by God to acquaint him, that, in consideration of his contrition, the judgment which had been threatened should be postponed during his life, though it should certainly take place in that of his son; and hereupon the prophet departed.

CHAP.
Abdab, place may phet In would pretence but fall delivery power, prepare widen That third fliould fortified The confented immense the multitude war that they am They arm, herald the thirty-two '* cf 41x87 the through 'c 41x99 my 41x113 *' 41x146 cf 41x194 then by " 41x134 by " 41x171 'c 41x183 '" 41x220 'c 41x206 'c council " 41x231 '" 41x244 '" 41x255 '" 41x279 '" 44x302 '" 44x314 '" 44x325 addreffed: 45x348 and lowing ambalfadors, withdraV 46x384 and leave were the rcipiire Ahab, THUS situated were the affairs of Ahab, when Adad king of Syria and Damascus, raising a large army, and thirty-two kings from beyond the river Euphrates uniting with him, they jointly marched against Ahab, who fearing to encounter so immense a multitude in the plains, retired to fortified places, to defend himself. Samaria, a place strong by nature, and being defended by a garrison, walls, and other works, was the particular retreat of Ahab. Against this place Adad brought his army, and made preparations for the attack; but first sent a herald to Ahab, to require leave to fend ambaffadors with his demands. This being agreed to, the ambaffadors reprefented that the wives, children, and riches of Ahab were at the disposal of his enemy, who however, would raise the fiege, and withdraw his army, if Ahab would acknowledge his power, and give him leave to take what he thought proper. To this Ahab replied, that himself and his poifessions were all at the service of Adad: but the latter sent other ambaffadors, demanding, that his fervants and officers might, on the following day, search the houses, lodgings, &c. of the king and his dometics, and carry off whatever they thought proper.

On this Ahab determined to call a council of his friends, whom he thus addreffed: " Adad has sent me two propofals, by the firft of which he agreed " to rafe the fiege, on my acknowledging myself, my wives, and my chil- dren, to be at his disposal; which I contented to, because I would not let " any intereft of my own fupercede the public good: but his second propo- falf is, that they be permitted to make a general fearch, and carry off what " they pleafe, which is only a pretence to widen the breach between us. " They thought; doubtlefs, that I should remain firm to the firft contract: " but now they demand a delivery of my people and country, which they " may be affured I shall not comply with; and that a war will be the con- " currence: but I am determined to abide by your advice." On this all the council reprobated the inolence of Adad, and voted for war. The answer then given the ambaffadors was, " That the firft demand would yet be com- " plicated with the king; but the honor and safety of the citizens required " that he should refufe the second." This answer fo mortified Adad, that he sent a third message, importing that Ahab should not truft in the strength of his fortres, for he would rafe works above his walls, which he could do by each of his soldiers contributing a handful of earth. To this Ahab sent answer, " I hat not with their tongues, but with their swords, men of courage " should debate." When this message arrived, Adad was at supper with the thirty-two kings, and he gave infant orders to prepare for the fiege. In the interim Ahab and his people were in the utmost defpondency; but a pro-

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The prophet going to him, assured him that God would grant his people a victory over their numerous enemies. Ahab was anxious to know the immediate instruments of the victory, who the prophet said should be himself at the head of the sons of the nobles. These being summoned, and Ahab having learnt that his enemy was indulging in the height of luxurious revelry, the city gates were thrown open, and they fell out. Adad hearing thereof, sent a party, with directions to conduct them, bound, into his presence. At this time the army of Ahab was ready within the walls, to issue forth when necessary. The valiant young nobles having attacked the guards, many of whom they killed, and pursued the rest to their tents; Ahab and his army rushed out, attacked, and routed the enemy, who were most of them drunk and unarmed. Those who could, escaped by flight, among whom was Adad, who was favored by the speed of his horse. The Syrians being pursued, such as were overtaken were killed. The plunder, in gold, silver, equipages, and Adad’s own chariot and horses, was very great, and was conducted to the city by the conquerors.

Notwithstanding this victory, the prophet told Ahab that his enemy would be ready to attack him in the spring, and bid him prepare for it; which he did with vigour. Adad having collected his shattered army, his friends adviced him not to engage again in the mountains, saying that the God of the Israelites was the God of the mountains; but they would have lost the battle in the plains. They also advised the dismissing of the thirty-two kings, but to keep their troops, over whom experienced officers might be appointed; and that recruits of horse and foot should supply the place of the slain. This advice pleased the king, who complied with it; and, on the approach of spring, encamped in a large plain near the city of Aphea. Ahab advanced with his forces, and pitched opposite the Syrians, though greatly inferior in number. During this posture of affairs, the prophet, in the name of God, assured the Israelites of victory, for the God of the mountains was likewise God of the valleys. During six days the armies lay thus encamped, and on the seventh, advanced to battle. The contest was at first vigorous; but the Syrians, unable to stand the shock, turned, and fled, the enemy pursuing them closely. Many were slain in the pursuit; some killed in the flight by their own chariots and fellow-soldiers; some trod to death, and some torn in pieces. A few only, their numbers considered, reached Aphea, their only place of refuge. Under the walls of that city it was calculated that twenty-seven thousand were buried; and those killed in battle were estimated at one hundred thousand.

Ahab having secreted himself in a cave, with several of his faithful adherents, some of them extolled the natural generosity of the Israelites, and adviced the king to submit to the mercy of Ahab, which they were confident would be extended to him. Adad agreeing hereto, a number of people were chosen to supplicate mercy, for which purpose they were dressed in sackcloth, with halters round their necks; and in this guise went to Ahab, to solicit the life of Adad, who acknowledged himself his prisoner, engaging that he would always think himself such. To this Ahab said, "I rejoice..."
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"at his safety; and you may assure him, in my name, that my own brother
"could not be more welcome to me than he shall be."

An oath being sworn that the person of Adad should be safe, the suppli-
cants departed to the cave, and brought him to Ahab, who was sitting in
his carriage. When he saw the royal captive he extended his right hand,
faluted him, seated him by his side, and pledged his honor for his safety.
Adad acknowledged this goodness, which he said should be gratefully re-
membered: that the lands which had been taken from the Israelites should
be restored; and that Ahab should be as welcome a guest at Damascus, as
the father of Adad had been at Samaria. A league was now made betwixt
the parties, and Adad being loaded with presents, took his leave.

Soon after this event a prophet named Micaiah, requested an Hebrew to
strike him on the head, as an act of obedience to the will of God. The
party refused; on which the prophet said he should be torn by a lion, which
happened accordingly; and the prophet applied to another man, who struck
him so that his head streamed with blood. Micaiah, binding up the wound,
repaired to the king, and told him that he was a soldier, to whom an officer
had committed the care of a prisoner, who having escaped, he himself was
obliged to fly for fear of punishment. Ahab approving the supposed officer's
feverity, the prophet uncovered his head, and made himself known. This
device was intended to impress on the mind of Ahab the impropriety of
letting so vile a wretch as Adad go at large: "And (added the prophet)
the time advances when yourself and your army shall be destroyed by this
Adad whom you have permitted to escape." The prophet's freedom so
affronted Ahab, that he ordered him into prison; but the reflection on the
prophecy flat heavy on his mind.

CHAPTER IX.

The exemplary virtues of Jehoshaphat: his great power, reputation, and happiness.
Jehoram espouses the daughter of Ahab, king of Israel, whom Jehoshaphat sup-
ports in the war against Adad.

Jehoshaphat greatly extended his territories, and established
garrisons and governors in the several cities within his dominions, as
well as in those which had been obtained from Jeroboam by his grandfather
Abia. His life was a continued series of piety and justice, and he was re-
warded by the blessing and protection of the Almighty. His riches and fame
were considerably augmented by the gifts of neighbouring monarchs, whose munificence bore testimony to their approbation of the irreproachable in-
tegrity of his life.

Jehoshaphat assembled the priests and elders, in the third year of his so-
vereignty, and directed them to nominate commissioners for the purpose of
preferving a strict adherence to the duties of religion, and the legal institutions
delivered by Moses. This attention to the important articles of religion and
law proved so satisfactory to the people, that they became emulous to exceed each
each other in executing the king's commands. Besides the advantage of a perfect state of domestic tranquillity, he enjoyed the satisfaction of living upon terms of amity with the neighbouring princes. The usual tribute was regularly paid by the Philistines, as was the annual spend of six hundred and thirty lambs, and an equal number of kids by the Arabians. As a security against invasions, he kept his places of strength in a state of defence, and a well disciplined body of troops in constant pay. Edra was appointed to the command of three hundred thousand shield-bearers, selected from the tribe of Judah: and Johanan had the command of two hundred thousand. The same officers also commanded two hundred thousand archers belonging to the tribe of Benjamin. Under another leader named Ochobat, were one hundred and eighty thousand men, armed with bucklers.

A marriage was celebrated between Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, and Gotholia, daughter of Ahab, who reigned over the ten tribes. Ahab provided a magnificent entertainment at Samaria for Jehoshaphat and the troops by whom he was attended. Having meditated the recovery of Ramoth-Gilead, which had been conquered by the king of Syria, Ahab requested the assistance of Jehoshaphat, who consented to unite his endeavours towards effecting the intended enterprise, and summoned his troops from Jerusalem to Samaria. These kings proceeded to a certain distance from the town, and, each being seated on a throne, they reviewed and paid their forces. A peace having subsisted for the space of three years between Ahab, king of Israel, and Adad, king of Syria, Jehoshaphat recommended that, if any prophets could be found, their advice should be taken as to the expediency of commencing hostilities.

**CHAP. X.**

Zedekiah pretends that Ahab shall conquer. Micaiah predicts that he shall fall in battle. The armies engage, and Ahab is the only man slain. He is succeeded by his son Ahaziah.

The king of Israel called an assembly of his false prophets, the number of whom amounted to about four hundred, and he directed them to make enquiry whether an attempt to recover the city of Ramoth would be attended with success. They unanimously persuaded him to prosecute the war, saying, Adad would be vanquished, and a second time made prisoner. A suspicion being conceived by Jehoshaphat that these men were not favoured of God, he enquired of Ahab, whether he had not other prophets to whom he could apply. He was answered by Ahab, that there was one other, named Micaiah, who was the son of Imla, but that he detested the man for having predicted only unhappy events, and had ordered him to prison for having attempted to persuade him that he would forfeit his life in the approaching war. Jehoshaphat advised that Michaiah might be called into the presence of Ahab; and an eunuch, who was an attendant of the bed-chamber, was dispatched to conduct him from the jail. During the progress of their journey, the messenger related that the prophets had declared the event
event of the war would prove favourable to Ahab. Micaiah said, that
whatever the inspiration of the Almighty should dictate, he would, without
prevarication or reserve, report to Ahab. The king put the question to him,
enjoying him neither to extenuate or aggravate the truth. He said that he had
seen the people of Israel, like sheep without a shepherd, dispersed and pursued
by the Syrians; and that by this representation the Lord had intimated that
only the king should fall in the engagement. Ahab, having heard this pro-
phecy, asked Jehoshaphat whether he was not now convinced that he had
not wrongfully accused the man. Upon which Micaiah said, "I have no
enmity towards you: the prediction was the effect of an inspiration from
the Almighty, by whose express command it was faithfully delivered to
you:—but by the flattering impositions of the false prophets you are per-
fused to engage in a war which will prove your destruction." The king
became much disturbed by the firmness with which Micaiah persisted to sup-
port this prediction.

Zedekiah disfaced the king from paying the least regard to what Mi-
caiah had said, declaring the whole to be a palpable fiction; and in confir-
mation of this, he said, that he had spoken in direct contradiction to a pro-
phesy of Elias, who had asserted that the king's blood should be licked by
the dogs, in the field where they had licked the blood of Naboth. "I will
now," said he, "strike this man on the face, and if he be a prophet of
God, may my arm wither as did that of Jeroboam, when he lifted it
against the prophet Jadon." He struck Micaiah, and as no judgment en-
fused, Ahab was confirmed in the design of engaging in a war with the king
of Syria. Zedekiah now presented the king with horns of iron, saying, that
under the semblance of those horns, it was intimated by the Lord that he
should push the Syrians to extremity and finally destroy them. Micaiah
told Zedekiah that he would be shortly called to a severe account for the im-
positions he had been guilty of, and driven to seek his safety in hiding places.
The king being highly incensed against Micaiah, commanded Apion, the
governor of the city, to confine him in prison, and allow him no other satis-
face than bread and water, till his return from the war.

The confederate kings led their forces towards Ramoth, whence Adad
came forth to meet them. In order to avoid the event which had been fore-
told by Micaiah, the king wore the dress of a private man, and he was per-
sonated by a native of Jerusalem, habited in the royal robes. Adad charged
his officers to direct their arms against the king of Israel, without regard to
his subjects. Observing Jehoshaphat at the head of the troops, the Syrians
preyed upon him, but discovering their mistake, they retired. A domestic
of Adad, named Aman, shot a random arrow, which passing through the
joints of Ahab's armour, penetrated his lungs. Apprehending that this un-
fortunate circumstance might depress the spirits of his troops, the wounded
monarch ordered his charioteer to remove to a small distance from the army;
and having remained in his chariot nearly till sun-setting, he expired. The
armies took the field in the morning, and continued harrying each other the
whole day, but Ahab was the only man slain. On the approach of night,
the Syrians retired to their tents: and when an herald had proclaimed the death of Ahab, the people dispersed.

The remains of the king were interred at Samaria, and upon washing the blood from the chariot, at a neighbouring fountain, the dogs licked it up, according to the prophecy of Elias. This fountain was afterwards used as a bath for common women. It may not, on this occasion, be improper to reflect, that notwithstanding a previous information of our fate, we must submit to the insuperable decree. We are too apt to entertain flattering expectations, and to be led by them into the most dangerous undertakings, while we utterly reject disagreeable truths. Ahab was succeeded by his son Ahaziah.

End of the Eighth Book.
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK IX.

Containing the history of the transactions from the year of
the World 3048, to 3224.

CHAPTER I.

The Moabites, Ammonites, and Arabians, conquered in battle by Jehoshaphat. The
death of Abaziab, agreeable to the prediction of Elias. He is succeeded by Jeho-
ram, who being joined by Jehoshaphat and the king of Idumea, they conquer the
Moabites. Jehoshaphat dies at Jerusalem.

JEHU, the prophet, meeting Jehoshaphat on his return to Jerusalem,
after his junction with Ahab, against Adad, told him how much the
Almighty was offended at the alliance; but said that, for his former virtues,
he would find pardon, and deliverance from his foes. Hereupon the king
fought his peace with God by prayer, offering sacrifice, and ordering that
the people throughout his dominions should be instructed in the laws of
Moses, and in the antique religion. He likewise appointed magistrates of the
cities and large towns, who were ordered to distribute justice to all ranks of
people without favour or partiality. Good order being settled among the
two tribes, the king repaired to Jerusalem, where, from among the priests and levites, he selected judges who were instructed to act uprightly; and directed that when matters of consequence were brought before them from the adjacent cities, they should not determine but on the coolest deliberation; since a deficiency of justice in the city where the temple of God and the palace of the king were erected, would be highly dishonourable. Ahaziah the priest was appointed to preside in holy matters, and Zebediah in civil.

About this period the Moabites, Ammonites, and Aramites, having hired great numbers of troops, advanced to the city of Engedi, near the lake of Asphaltites, about thirty-eight miles from Jerusalem, with a view of giving battle to Jehoshaphat; who no sooner learnt that they had palled the lake, than he convened an assembly, and standing before the temple, implored the protection of heaven against the enemy. This was agreeable to the custom of our ancestors from the first erection of that building: for, on all appearances of danger from an enemy, the people used to assemble there, and offer up their united prayers that God would maintain the inheritance which he had bestowed on them. The tears of Jehoshaphat accompanied his prayers, in which he was joined by the whole assembly, including even the women and children.

During their devotions Jahaziel, a prophet, stood up and said that their prayers were heard, and God would grant them victory in defence of their religion. He advised him to march the next day, and they should find their enemies encamped on a hill called Sis (signifying an eminence) between Jerusalem and Engedi; where God would fight the battle for them, while they might only look on, as spectators of the action. When the prophet had ended, Jehoshaphat and his people fell on the ground in adoration, while the hymns and musical instruments of the Levites accompanied their devotions.

On the following day the king rose early, and going into the desert near the city of Tekoa, told the people to rely on God by believing his prophet, and not to form in battle array. He directed the priests with their trumpets to advance, followed by the Levites and singers, as on a day of victory and triumph. This advice being obeyed, the Almighty struck such a terror into the enemy, that they attacked each other, and fought with such incredible fury, that they all fell sacrifices to their mutual rage. On a view of the valley, Jehoshaphat found it covered with dead bodies, and triumphantly rejoicing in a victory obtained without bloodshed, permitted the soldiers to make booty of all the spoils, which were so considerable as to take three days to carry them off.

At the end of four days the people assembled in the valley of Beracha, where they offered thanks to God for the merciful exertion of his power. From this circumstance the place was called the Valley of Blessings, which name it still retains. Hence the army proceeded to Jerusalem, where feasts and sacrifices employed several days. This signal victory impressed all foreign princes and nations with a high opinion of the piety of Jehoshaphat, as a person peculiarly favoured of heaven; and this sentiment attended him through
through life. In the mean time Jehoshaphat was in friendship with Ahaziah, son of Ahab, in conjunction with whom he fitted out ships for the gold trade; but the whole project failed, all the ships being lost, partly through tempestuous weather, and partly from the vessels being ill adapted to the seas they were to navigate.

In Samaria was a palace belonging to Ahaziah, son of Ahab king of Israel, a man who possessed the hereditary vices of his parents, and even sought to exceed those of Jeroboam. In the second year of Ahaziah's reign the king of the Moabites refused the tribute he had heretofore paid his father. About this time Ahaziah fell down stairs, and was so bruised that his life was despaired of; on which he sent to the God of the Accaronites to know his fate. Hereupon Elias, being commanded by the Almighty, met the messengers, told them the Hebrews had a God of their own, and bid them tell the king that he should die of his bruises. The messengers went back, and the king being surprised at their sudden return, asked the reason of it. They said they had met a man who bid them report, in the name of the God of the Israelites, that the king should not survive his disorder. The king demanding a description, they said he was a hairy man, wearing a leathern girdle; on which, presuming it could be no one but Elias, he sent an officer to apprehend him. He was discovered on the top of a mountain; and the officer bidding him descend, and attend the king, the prophet said, "To convince you that I am not an impostor, I will perform a miracle. If "I am a faithful servant of God, let fire descend from heaven, and "destroy thee and thy fifty men!" On this a fire came down, and devoured them. News of this awful circumstance being conveyed to the king, he dispatched fifty more men, on a like business, under the command of another officer, who addressing the prophet in the same manner, they were destroyed as the former had been. Hereupon a third party was sent, the commander of whom, being a person of benevolence and candour, advancing respectfully towards the prophet, said, "It is unnecessary to say that I acted but by "order; that this business is ungrateful to me, as it was also to those who "preceded me; on which account I beg you will readily attend us to the "king, in compassion to me and my companions." The humble and civil deportment of the man so struck Elias, that he immediately descended and followed him. Being introduced to the king, he was animated by the Spirit of God, and said, "Thus, faith the Lord, as you think I am no God, nor "can foresee the event of your illness; and as you have placed your con- "fidence in the false god Accaron, be forewarned your death will be the con- "sequence."

This prophecy was soon accomplished; and Jehoram, the brother of Ahaziah, succeeded him; this man's life was not less vicious than that of Ahab; for though he was blessed with good abilities, and the requisite qualifications for government, yet he followed strange gods, to the disgrace of religion, and the memory of his progenitors.

During this king's time Elias was translated, and no account was ever afterwards heard of him; but he left behind him his disciple Elisha, of whom

Vol. I. 5 A mention
mention has been already made. In like manner Enoch was translated, before the flood, as it is recorded in holy writ.

Jehoram succeeding his brother in the government, determined to go to war with Mecha, king of the Moabites, on his refusal to pay an annual tribute of two hundred thousand unshorn sheep, in consideration of what had been heretofore paid to Ahab his father. For this purpose he first raised an army, and then begged the assistance of Jehoshaphat, who promised not only for himself, but for the king of Idumæa. Jehoram, ascertained of this support, marched to Jerusalem, where the king received and entertained him in a sumptuous manner. A council being held by the kings of Jerusalem, Israel and Idumæa, they resolved to direct their course through the deserts of Idumæa, as a way least likely to give alarm to the enemy. Thus determined, they set forwards; but at the end of seven days were so distrest for water, both for men and cattle, that they sunk into the utmost destitution. Jehoram was so distressed, that he impatiently exclaimed, "What have we three kings done, that we should become captives to the king of the Moabites without a contest?" Jehoshaphat advised Jehoram to enquire if there was not a prophet in the army of whom advice might be asked. This being heard by a servant, he said that Elijah, the disciple of Elias, was at hand; and of him the three kings went in search. Having found his tent, which was on the borders of the camp, Jehoram enquired the fate of the army; to which Elijah answered, "You should have applied to the prophets of your parents, without troubling me." Jehoram being still anxious for an answer, for the sake of saving the lives of so many people; the prophet declared that if it was not for the piety of Jehoshaphat, he would not give any answer: but thus saying, he directed a musician to be called; and while he was singing, the prophet, being inspired by the Spirit of God, told the kings to cut ditches, which should be supplied with water sufficient for themselves and their cattle; and that there should be no drought henceforward. "Nor is this all," (said the prophet), God will enable you to overcome your enemies; to destroy their plantations, choke up their rivers and fountains, and lay waste their country." Early in the morning, after this prophecy, a violent torrent came down from Idumæa, so that men and horses were abundantly supplied with water.

The king of Moab being apprized that the three kings were on the march to attack him, collected all the forces he could, to meet them on the borders, whither either army was just arrived, when the beams of the rising sun playing on the waters of the torrent, the Moabites thought it was blood, and concluded that the invaders had quarrelled with and destroyed each other, which had produced this consequence. Hereupon they went to their king, and asked permission to rifle the enemy's camp; which being granted, they rushed forward in the utmost disorder, as certain of the consequence of a victory without having obtained it: but being immediately attacked on every side, many of them were slain, and the rest so routed that it was with difficulty they retreated home. In the interim the three kings entered the land of the Moabites, razed their cities and towns; drove off their cattle, and covered the pasture-grounds with gravel and sand from the torrent; cut down their trees and
and woods, pulled their walls to the ground, andchoaked up their fountains 
and springs. On this incursion, the king was compelled to seek refuge in a 
town, which being afterwards besieged, he made a desperate sally, to break 
through the enemy's troops with seven hundred horse; but being obliged to 
retreat, he adopted a measure that is altogether shocking to humanity. He 
facrificed his eldest son, the heir apparent, on the walls of the city, in full 
fight of the enemy. This circumstance being considered as the effect of the 
most wretched despair, the kings commiserated his fate, raised the siege, 
and every one departed to his own habitation. Some little time after this, 
Jehojahaphat lived in an easy retirement, and then died in Jerusalem in the 
twenty-fifth year of his reign, and the sixtieth of his age; and was interred 
in a most pompous manner.

CHAP. II.

Jehojahaphat is succeeded by his son Jehoram. Miracles wrought by Elisba. 
Jehoram besieged in Samaria by Adad. The siege miraculously raised. Adad strangled by 
Hazael, who takes possession of his government. The extreme wickedness of Jeho-
ram, and the judgments with which he is threatened by Elisba.

Jehoram, the eldest of several sons of Jehojahaphat, succeeded his fa-
ther in the government. He was named after his mother's brother, who 
was lately returned from the war against the Moabites, and had brought with 
him Elisba the prophet, of whom many things are mentioned in holy writ, 
which are well-worthy of regard. Elisba was applied to by the wife of Obad-
diah, steward to Ahab, who hinted that he was acquainted with the rage of 
Jezebel against the prophets; and of her husband having supported an hun-
dred of them in the cave, by which he had so greatly involved himself in 
debt, that herself and children were likely to become slaves to the creditors: 
on which she begged the prophet's assistance, in consideration of her husband's 
merit. Hereupon Elisba demanded what her house afforded; and on her 
saying only a little oil in a cruse, he directed her to borrow a number of 
empty vessels and pots of her neighbours, and making fast her chamber-
door, to pour a little oil into each, and they would be filled by the power of 
God. She did so; and having returned to the prophet with an account of 
hers proceedings, he bid her sell the oil, and discharge her debts; and she 
would have something left for her family. Thus she got rid of a very disa-
greeable incumbrance.

Elisba being informed of a conspiracy against Jehoram, and that Adad 
meant to attack him in a particular place when he went to hunt, advised the 
king not to go; by which his life was preserved. Adad was so enraged hereat 
that he charged his servants with insidelity, in discovering what themselves 
only could know. One of them replied, that he ought not to suspect them, 
while his enemy had so faithful a spy as Elisba, who was able to divine his 
most secret thoughts. Hereupon the king sent a party to enquire after E-
isha, who learnt that he was at Dothan; on which chariots and horsemen were
sent to take him into custody. They surrounded the town in the evening so that no person could go in or out; and the prophet's servant hastened to him in the morning, to acquaint him with what had happened. The prophet had him be of good courage, and rely on the Providence of God; and instantly prayed for some token of his protection, to confirm the faith of the servant. In consequence hereof a number of chariots and horses appeared about Elifha, as a guard, and were visible to the servant; upon which all his fears were dissipated.

Elifha now implored the Almighty to blind his enemies to such a degree that they should not know him from any other person; which petition being complied with, he went among the troops, and demanded who and what they were searching for. "For the prophet Elifha," (said they), on which he bid them follow him, and he would direct them to the place where he was. Now their intellects being as much clouded as their eyes, they followed him to Samaria, and were no sooner within the city, than he desired Jehoram to make the ports fast, and confine them. The prophet now prayed once more, that the Syrians might be restored to fight; and his prayers being heard, they were astonished to find that they were within the walls of the enemies city, and wholly at their mercy.

The affrighted Syrians were doubting how to act in this situation, when the king advised that they might be put to death; but to this the prophet objected, as a dishonourable proceeding, except towards persons conquered in war: "These men (said he) had no hostile intentions against this country, and appear to be mere agents in the hand of Providence." The prophet, therefore, advised that they should be treated hospitably, and left to their own liberty, after they had been properly entertained. Hereupon Jehoram, in pursuance of the prophet's advice, entertained them liberally, and dismissed them. On their return, they gave the king their master a minute account of what had happened, which greatly affected him, and convinced him that this miracle was wrought by the immediate hand of Heaven, and that the prophet was divinely inspired when he delivered the prediction in the name of God. Adad resolved that, henceforth, he would never seek to injure the king of Israel in a treacherous manner: but, confiding in his numbers and strength, would engage him in open war.

Thus resolved, Adad collected a numerous army, with which he marched against Jehoram; who thinking his forces inadequate to the risk of a battle in the plains, remained within the walls of Samaria; which, being strongly fortified, Adad hesitated whether he should attack him in form, or endeavour to reduce it by famine. At length the place was besieged, and the garrison was so reduced for want of provisions, that the head of an ass was sold for eighty pieces of silver, and five pieces was the price of a pint of pigeon's dung, as the sauce for it. In this distress Jehoram was apprehensive that some person might inform the enemy how greatly the famine had reduced them; for which reason he daily walked round the fortifications, had an eye upon the guards, and was very attentive that no spy should enter the city in a private manner.

While
While the king was thus employed, a woman demanded his assistance. He supposed she came to beg of him, and said, "How can I assist you, who have neither barns nor wine-presses?" Hereupon the woman said, the asked not for food but for justice, and wished he would determine a debate between another woman and herself. The king asking her meaning, she told him that her neighbour and herself being both ready to perish for food, having each a male infant, agreed to kill their children in turn, to prevent themselves from starving. She said her child was killed and dressed on the preceding day, and the other woman had a share of it; but now that the ought to partake of the other child, the woman had departed from her promise, and concealed it. This narrative almost distracted Jehoram, who tore his garments, and exclaimed, that he was never completely wretched till that moment: "And this, (said he) would not have happened, if the prophet had applied to God in my favour;—but his life shall pay the forfeit:" and, in the first impulse of his rage, he sent an officer to cut off the head of the prophet. Elisha was not unacquainted with this resolution of the king; and while he was in company with his disciples, he told them that Jehoram had commissioned an officer to head a party who were to destroy him. "Therefore, (said he), keep an eye on them, and when they approach, shut the door till the king comes; for he has altered his intention, and is now on the way to counteract what he ordered." These directions were obeyed, and the party was shut out till the arrival of Jehoram, who had made all possible haste to prevent his commands respecting the life of the prophet being executed.

The king had no sooner arrived than he began to revile the prophet, who could suffer them to endure such extreme distress, without offering one prayer to God on their behalf. In answer to the prophet said, that by the same hour on the day following, provisions should be so cheap in Samaria, that the market price of a measure of fine flour should be only a shekel, and the same for two measures of barley. This prediction was credited by the king and his attendants, who had heretofore had sufficient proofs of the prophet's veracity. Hereupon they had as much faith in the prophecy, as if it had been already accomplished: but one of the king's favourite officers who commanded a third of the army, and was then in familiar conversation, leaning on the king, said, "What you have now declared is as credible as that it should rain flour and barley from Heaven; and I should as readily af-" sent to it." To this the prophet replied, that what had been foretold should infallibly happen, and that he should be a witness of it, without partaking of the benefit: which accordingly came to pass.

At this time four leprous persons lived without the gates of Samaria, and it was not customary to admit any such within the walls. The famine raged so violently in the city that no provision could be hoped for from that quarter, and to remain where they were, threatened equal destruction: on which they resolved to submit to the mercy of the enemy, who would either spare their lives, or destroy them in a more eligible way than starving. Being all of the same sentiment, they departed by night to the camp of the Syrians.

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who, on the instant, were struck with an imagination that they heard the trampling of horses, and the noise of armed men invading them; on which they repaired in haste to Adad, and acquainted him that Jehoram and his allies were on the march within hearing. This story was the more readily believed by Adad, because his own imagination had painted the same scene; wherefore every man began to shift for himself, and the whole army retired in confusion, each anxious to save his own life, and leaving horses, carriages and treasure, behind them. The lepers arriving at the tents of the Syrians, and finding all quiet, refreshed themselves with eating and drinking, and then carried away gold and other rich effects, which they buried in a hole they had dug for that purpose. Having four times loaded themselves in this manner, and finding the enemy quite retreated, they considered that they ought, on the first discovery, to have acquainted Jehoram, and the people in the city, with this event: on which they hastened back to Samaria, and arriving at the walls of the city, called aloud to the watch that the camp was abandoned by the enemy. They likewise, at the same time, sent notice here-of by the king's guards: on which a council was summoned, to whom Jehoram delivered his sentiments, that it was an artifice of the enemy to draw his subjects into an ambush. "Probably, (said he), they despaired of starving us, and have therefore had recourse to this stratagem. Now, for this reason, I would be guarded against this treachery, and not embark in an adventure that may totally ruin our cause." Hereupon one of the council, perceiving that his majesty had formed a right judgment, hinted that it would be proper to send two horsemen as far as Jordan to learn the truth: that if they should be made prisoners, the loss would not be great, and it might serve as a caution to others. The king acceded to this proposal, and dispatched the messengers, who soon returned with an account that not an enemy was to be seen; but that there was plenty of corn and arms, and abundance of things which the Syrians appeared to have left in their hurry. This intelligence induced the king to send out people to pillage the camp of Adad, where they obtained an immense booty in gold, silver, horses, and other cattle, and an amazing quantity of corn; so great, indeed, that the former scarcity was forgotten in the present plenty, and, agreeable to Elisha's prophecy, a measure of flour, and two of barley, were sold each for a shekel; containing a bushel and a half, Italian measure: but the officer before-named, who commanded a third of the army, received no benefit thereby, for, being stationed at the gate, by the king's command, he was crushed to death by the crowd.

By this time Adad had retired in safety to Damascus; and having learnt that the hastily retreat from the camp was the consequence only of their own fears, he considered it as the immediate judgment of Heaven, and fell ill through the anxiety of his mind. Elisha now advanced towards Damascus, which Adad being informed of, sent Hazael with rich presents to the prophet, and bad him enquire whether the king would survive his disease. Forty camels being loaded with valuable effects, Hazael proceeded on his commission, and meeting the prophet, saluted him with the most profound respect, produced his presents, and asked him, in the king's name, what would be the issue of his
his disorder. Elifha said the king would not live; but bad him conceal the intelligence from him. Hazael was shocked at this news; and Elifha wept extremely, in consideration of the future distresses of the people. Hazael demanding of the prophet the cause of his grief, he replied, 'I weep to think ' what misery you will occasion to the Israelites. Their principal men shall ' be put to the sword by you, who shall likewise destroy their cities by fire, ' kill their children by dashing them against the stones, and rip others from ' the mother's wombs.' Hazael asked how he could be the author of such distress; to which the prophet said, 'God has declared to me that you are to reign ' in Syria.' Hereupon Hazael departed, and told Adad he should recover of his disorder: but visiting him on the following day, he took a wet cloth, with which he strangled him, and usurped the government. The Syrians had the highest opinion of Adad; and to this day they celebrate the memory of him, and his successor Hazael, with divine honours, for the general great-ness of their characters, and for their adorning the city of Damascus, and erecting pompous temples in it. In triumph of their antiquity (though but of eleven hundred years standing) they carry their images in daily proceed- ion about the streets.

Jehoram, king of Israel, was happy to hear of the death of Adad, as it restored peace to his dominions. In the mean time the other Jehoram (king of Judah) commenced his reign by murdering his own brothers, and his father's best friends, and committing every enormity that could mark him for the world of characters. His wife Gotholiah, daughter of Ahab, encouraged him in his proceedings, and was a principal inducement to his worshipping false gods. Though, agreeable to the promise made to David, it was certain that God would not extirpate his family, yet Jehoram's course of impiety was such as seemed to solicit such extirpation. At this period the Idumæans revolted from Jehoram; who collecting an army of horse and charioteers, invaded them in the night; but was not able to do any considerable execution, and retreated after ravaging and burning their borders. This attack did not terrify the revolters, but rather encouraged others to follow their example; for about this time the people of Libna likewise rebelled. Je-horam was now so profligate in his impiety, that he compelled the Israelites to worship false gods, in the groves and high places of the mountains. Thus did he proceed, in defiance of Heaven; till at length Elifha the prophet sent him a letter, importing that "his practice and example having been " diametrically opposite to that of his ancestors; his having seduced " the tribe of Judah, and the citizens of Jerusalem, to the worship " of false gods, and other idolatrous practices, in contempt of the reli-" gion of their country, after the evil example of Ahab; his causing the " death of his own brothers, and other pious men: for all these offences a " remorseless enemy should destroy his family and subjects, sparing neither " women nor children: and that, for himself, he should be tortured with " the most excruciating pains in the belly, till his bowels should become " rotten, and fall out by degrees."
NOT long after the above prophecy, the Arabians on the confines of Ethiopia, in company with other barbarians, assembled and forced their way into Jehoram's kingdom. Having laid waste the country as they went, they entered the royal palace, and stripped it, and flabb'd all the wives and children of the king, except only his son Ahaziah, who with great difficulty escaped from their rage. This misfortune was succeeded by Jehoram being seized with the disorder which the prophet had predicted, which was so piteous, that it was justly deemed the consequence of the immediate wrath of God; his bowels daily falling from him in his own view. His subjects even triumphed in his distress, and considered it as due to his execrable wickedness. When he died, his corpse was denied the honour of a royal funeral, for they would not place it in the tomb of his father. His reign was eight years, and his age forty; and Ahaziah his son succeeded him in the government of the people of Judah.

C H A P. IV.

Ramoth besieged by Jehoram, king of Israel, who, being wounded, retreats to Jezreel. The siege conducted by Jehu, who is anointed king, and ordered to root out the house of Ahab. He proceeds to Jezreel.

THE death of Adad afforded a prospect to Jehoram, king of Israel, of the recovery of Ramoth-Gilead, for which purpose he raised a large army, and marched towards that city. An arrow shot by a Syrian wounding him, on the first attack, he was obliged to retire to Jezreel, to obtain a cure; leaving his army under the command of Jehu, who soon compelled the town to yield. It was Jehoram's intention to wage war against the Syrians as soon as he should be recovered. In the interim Elifha dispatched one of his disciples to Ramoth, to anoint Jehu with holy oil, and pronounce him king, by the Divine Authority. This messenger was likewise ordered to leave the place with expedition, and to keep his business a secret from every one. Finding Jehu with his officers, he begged to speak to him in private; and Jehu retiring with him to his closet, was anointed king, with directions to destroy the house of Ahab, and revenge the death of the prophets whom Jezebel had caused to be inhumanly murdered. The messenger said farther, that as Jehoram the son of Nebat, and all the family of Baasha had fallen sacrifices to their vices, so the whole race of Ahab should be utterly demolished. Having delivered his commission, he retired as privately as possible, and Jehu returned to his officers. These were anxious to know the business of the messenger, whom they thought was not in his senses. "No " (said Jehu) he spoke like a madman." This only excited their curiosity
to know the particulars; on which Jehu told them he had declared him king, by the command of God. Hereupon the officers taking each his cloak, piled them one on another, to form a kind of temporary throne, on which Jehu being seated, they founded horns and trumpets, congratulated him on his succession, and saluted him as king. At this time Jehoram was at Jezreel, to be cured of the wound he had received at Ramoth; and Ahaziah, his sister's son, was likewise there on a visit to him. Hereupon Jehu marched his army to Jezreel, where he proposed to surprise them both; but he gave strict orders to his soldiers, not to send the least intelligence to Jehoram, as the test of their loyalty to himself.

CHAP. V.

Jehoram and Ahaziah killed by Jehu.

With the greatest alacrity the army obeyed the orders of Jehu, stationing themselves upon the paffles towards Jezreel, and effectually preventing any intelligence being communicated to the enemy. In the mean time, Jehu mounted his chariot, and, being attended by a party of chosen troops, proceeded towards the city. This party being observed by a spy, related his discovery to Jehoram, who immediately ordered a horfeman to go up to the party and learn of whom it was composed. The man obeyed, and upon his making enquiry relative to the state of the army, Jehu ordered him, without concerning himself about the troops, to fall into the rear and join the march. The spy having given notice that the messenger had joined the party which was advancing towards the town, another courier was dispatched, and he was also detained by Jehu: upon which the king mounted his chariot, and being accompanied by his kinsman Ahaziah, the king of Judah, went forth towards Jehu, who continued his march at a regular and moderate pace. Upon his arrival in the field of Naboth, Jehoram questioned Jehu concerning the situation of his troops. Instead of giving an answer, Jehu said he might boast of an abandoned profiteer, and a witch in the person of his mother. Upon this, Jehoram observed to the king of Judah, that it was evident his destruction had been conspired; and as he was providing for his safety by flight, Jehu let fly an arrow, which penetrating his heart, he fell from his chariot; and Jehu recollecting that he had heard Elijah pronounce that Ahab and his whole race should perish in the field which he had usurped from Naboth, ordered Bidkar, who commanded a third part of his forces, to cast the body of Jehoram into that field. Ahaziah apprehending himself to be in danger, turned into a private road, but being pursued and wounded by an arrow which was pointed at him by Jehu, he dismounted from his chariot, took horfe, and fled to the city of Megiddo, where he soon fell a victim to the wound he had received. His remains were interred at Jerusalem. He reigned one year, during which period he proved himself to be a man of more iniquitous principles than his predecessor.
WHEN Jehu made his entry into the city of Jezreel, queen Jezebel, being sumptuously appareled, placed herself at a turret window, in order to view the procession; and as he was passing, she said, "A faithful subject that, who kills his sovereign." This being noticed by Jehu, he demanded who the woman was, and ordered her to descend: but, as she did not comply, he commanded the eunuchs by whom she was attended, to cast her down. They obeyed: and the walls of the tower, against which she fell in falling, were stained with her blood. Jehu and his followers proceeding to the palace, rode over the body and trampled it with the earth.

After having remained a short time in the palace, Jehu gave orders that, from a respect to the exalted station of Jezebel, her domestics should cause her remains to be buried with the honors due to her rank: but only a part of the skull, the palms of her hands, and soles of her feet could be found, the rest having been devoured by the dogs. This circumstance gave the new king additional veneration towards the prophecies of Elijah, who had foretold that in Jezreel, the flesh of Jezebel should be eaten by dogs.

The seventy sons of Ahab resided at this time in Samaria. In order to be convinced of the disposition of the people towards him, Jehu wrote letters to the governors of the young princes, and the principal magistrates of the town, expressing that as they possessed numerous fortified towns, and other places of strength, and were abundantly provided with troops, chariots, and every implement of war; it would be acting a commendable part to select from the youths one who should be most worthy to assume the regal dignity, and under his command to avenge the death of their late sovereign. These letters being taken under consideration, the result was, that it would be a highly impolitic, and dangerous procedure to dispute the power of a man who had already vanquished two powerful kings: they therefore informed Jehu that they would acknowledge the sovereignty of no other man than himself, and declared that they would implicitly submit to his commands. Jehu wrote again, requiring them, as a testimony of their obedience, to send him the heads and hands of the sons of Ahab. Hereupon a conference was held between the magistrates and the governors of the princes, and they came to a resolution of complying with the requisition of Jehu. He was at supper when intelligence was delivered that the heads and hands of the princes were arrived: he ordered them to be placed in heaps, one on each side of the palace gate. Going forth the following morning to view them, he said to the multitude, "It is true that I killed the king my master, but by whom have his sons been slain?" He applied himself to convince the people that the sacrifice of the house of Ahab was agreeable to the will of the Almighty, and the prediction which he had dictated to his prophet. Having
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put to death all the persons he could discover of the family of Ahab, he departed for Samaria. On his way he joined company with forty-two of the relations of Ahaziah, king of Jerusalem, who informed him that the purpose of their journey was to acknowledge allegiance to Jehoram and Ahaziah: for they were ignorant that those princes had been slain by Jehu. He caused all these persons to be put to death. He afterwards met with Jehonadah, a man of strict integrity, who applauded his zealous endeavours for exterminating the race of Ahab. Inviting him to take a place in his chariot, and to accompany him to Samaria; Jehu said he should bear witnesses that he would put all the apostates to the only true God to the sword; and that men of virtue derived satisfaction from inflicting a just punishment upon the wicked. They repaired to the city, where Jehu caused the relations of Ahab to be put to death as fast as they could be discovered. To prevent the escape of the false prophets and idolatrous priests, he suggested the following stratagem; he declared himself determined to observe a more scrupulous attention to the worship of Baal than had been paid by Ahab, and that he meant to offer a great sacrifice to the idol, on which occasion he required the attendance of the priests and prophets on the penalty of forfeiting their lives. On the appointed day they assembled at Samaria, and were presented with vestments, in which they habited themselves preparatory to their religious ceremonies. Jehu, accompanied by Jehonadah, repaired to the temple of Baal, and caused all persons to evacuate the building who were not servants to the idol, under the pretext of not suffering the ceremony to be profaned by the presence of unqualified persons. When the apostates were on the point of commencing their abominable worship, Jehu gave a signal to a party of fourscore men, who were stationed near the entrance, upon which they rushed in upon the priests and prophets, and put them all to death. They were enjoined not to spare the lives of either prophets or priests, on pain of being themselves put to death. Further to purify the city from the most abominable sacrilege, Jehu's men set fire to the royal palace, which was entirely consumed. Baal was the idol of the Syrians, to which Ahab had dedicated an altar, in compliment to his father-in-law Ithobal, king of Tyre and Sidon, and besides appointing priests and prophets, provided every requisite for their religious ceremonies. Though Jehu still permitted the adoration of the Israelites towards the golden calves, the Almighty, in consideration of the severities he had inflicted upon the apostates, was pleased to intimate, by the agency of a prophet, that his posterity, till the fourth generation, should reign over the people of Israel.

CHAP..
A T H A L I A H daughter of Ahab, king of Israel, and widow of Je-
horam, king of Judah, being informed of the devastation which Jehu
had made in the iniquitous family of her father, formed a determination of
revenging the deaths of her brother Jehoram, Ahaziah, her son, and other
kindred, by so effectually exterminating the line of David, as not to suffer
a man to escape her vengeance who should boast an hereditary claim to the
throne of Judah.

Athaliah gave orders that the sons of Ahaziah should be slain: the nurse
of Joash, who was then a year old, concealed the infant among the bodies
of his deceased brethren; and upon Jehoihabeth, sister of Ahaziah, and wife
of Jehoiada, the high-priest, entering the palace, she perceived the child,
and secretly conveyed him to her dwelling, and thence into the temple,
where, without the circumstance being known to any person except her hus-
band, she carefully nourished him during the six years of Athaliah's reign
over the two tribes in Jerusalem.

Jehoiada, in the seventh year, produced the child to five captains, and
prevailed upon them to unite their endeavours towards investing him with
the regal dignity. Having bound themselves by an oath of fidelity and
secrecy, the captains departed, in order to summon the priests, Levites, and
the principal men of the tribes, in the name of the high-priest, to assemble
at Jerusalem. Being arrived, Jehoiada informed them that, on condition
of engaging in an oath of secrecy, he would communicate to them a matter
of the highest importance to the public weal, wherein he should have oc-
casion to request their assistance. He administered the oath, and then point-
ing to Joash, said, "Behold your king: he is the only surviving branch of
the house of David, whose posterity it was the pleasure of the Almighty
promised should continue to reign over us. It is my advice that you
form yourself into three parties; one to guard the king in the temple;
another to protect themselves of the several avenues to the buildings; and
the third to guard the open gate leading to the palace. Such as
are unprovided with arms may follow their inclinations, as to remaining
in the temple, or otherwise: but no persons bearing weapons must be
admitted to the building, excepting they be priests." He appointed cer-
tain priests and Levites to remain near the king, as the guard of his person,
keeping their swords constantly unheathed, and to slay any man who should
attempt to force into the temple with arms; and to employ the utmost vi-
gilance towards the personal safety of the new sovereign. The persons as-
templed on the occasion unanimously approved the conduct of the high-
priest; whose next business was to open a magazine and deliver to the cen-
turions, priests, and Levites, arrows, lances, and other implements of war,
which had been deposited in the temple by David. The arms being distributed, the Centurions, priests, and Levites stationed themselves without the temple, which they entirely surrounded: and as they stood so near as to be able to take each other by the hand, none could obtain admission whom it was judged expedient to exclude. Joash, wearing a royal crown, was now produced; and being appointed with the holy oil, the high-priest, with the usual formalities, proclaimed him king. The ceremony was accompanied with reiterated acclamations; and the persons who attended on the occasion joined in wishes that Joash might enjoy a long and happy reign, and prove victorious over his enemies.

The shouts of the people reached the palace, and proved terribly alarming to Athaliah, who summoned her guards, and repaired to the temple, where she gained a ready admittance, but her attendants were not suffered to accompany her. Perceiving Joash seated on the throne, and wearing a crown of royalty, she vehemently called for the usurper to be destroyed. Jehoiada ordered her to be taken into custody; and to be put to death at the brook of Kidron, saying that the temple was not to be polluted by the blood of a person so abandoned to wickedness. The officers appointed to execute this commission were directed to put any man to death who should attempt a rescue.

The sentence pronounced by Jehoiada being executed upon Athaliah, he assembled the populace in the temple, and administered to them the oath of allegiance to the new king. Joash now bound himself under the solemnity of an oath, to a faithful discharge of the religious duties, and a rigid observance of the commandments of God, which had been transmitted to us by Moses. These ceremonies being concluded, the people hasted to the temple, which, with a view to ingratiate themselves in the favour of Ahab, Athaliah, and her husband Jehoram, had built and dedicated to the idol Baal: this building they entirely laid in ruins, and put to death a priest of Baal, named Mattan.

Agreeable to the institution of David, the holy temple of Jerusalem was committed to the care of the priests and Levites; and, according to the law of Moses, Jehoiada appointed a solemn sacrifice and incense to be offered each day: and he selected a number of the Levites to prevent the temple being polluted by unpurified persons gaining admittance. Joash was now conducted from the royal palace to the temple; and being seated on the throne, was again declared king, amidst the universal shouts and acclamations of the people. The death of Athaliah, and the succession of Joash to the sovereignty, were events so agreeable to the multitude, that they employed several days in feasting and merriment. The mother of Joash was a woman of Beersheba, named Zibiah. During the life of Jehoiada, Joash strictly adhered to the duties of religion and the laws of his country. On his arrival to a state of manhood, he obtained the approbation of the high-priest to endow two women, by each of whom he had issue.
CHAPTER VIII.

Jehu dies, and is succeeded in the government of Israel by his son Jehoahaz. Joash, king of Jerusalem, repairs the holy temple. The degeneracy of Joash, who causes Zadok to be stoned to death. The siege of Jerusalem by Hazael. Joash dies.

A desperate war was prosecuted by Hazael, king of Syria, against Jehu, king of the Israelites, in the course of which an immense tract of land, eastward of the Jordan, was laid waste, great havoc was committed upon the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasses, and the cities of Gilead and Batanaea were vanquished and plundered. These places were entirely consumed by fire, and the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, were put to the sword: and these enterprizes were accomplished with very little opposition on the part of Jehu, who held the religion and laws of God in contempt. In the twenty-seventh year of his reign over Israel, Jehu died; and his remains were buried at Samaria. Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, succeeded to the throne of Israel.

Joash, the king of Jerusalem, formed the resolution of repairing the temple, which had suffered great injury in the days of Jehoram, Athaliah and their sons. He directed Jehoiada, the high-priest, to send certain priests and Levites to the several parts of his dominions, for the purpose of raising a supply for repairing the temple, by imposing a tax upon the people, at the rate of a silver shekel by the head. Jehoiada being apprised that the public were not in a disposition to apply their money towards the proposed contribution, omitted to put the king's commands in force. In the twenty-third year of his sovereignty, Joash repeated his order to the high-priests and the Levites, and cenured them for their former neglect. Jehoiada suggested a variety of expedients for raising the money; and, at length, adopted the following, as promising to be the least burthenome to the people. A chest made of wood was placed near the altar, and through the cover of this repository a slit was made for the purpose of admitting donations. It was recommended to the people to contribute towards the intended work, in proportion to their zeal for the holy religion. The public being perfectly satisfied with this mode of collecting the necessary sum, brought contributions of gold and silver in great abundance. The priest was entrusted with the key of the chest, which, in the presence of the king, was opened every day; and after the money was counted, it was registered by the clerk of the treasury.

When it was found that sufficient treasure was accumulated for beginning the work, masons, carpenters, and other artificers were engaged, and the choicest timbers and other materials were provided. The reparations being compleated, a considerable overplus of gold and silver remained; which was expended in flaggons, goblets, cups, and other holy vessels and utensils. During the life of Jehoiada, a daily oblation of sacrifice was made. He died in his hundred and thirtieth year; and in consideration of his steady attachment.
attachment to the house of David, and his exemplary virtues, his remains were deposited in the sepulchre of the kings.

After the decease of Jehoiada, Joash, and the principal people of his dominions degenerated into an utter contempt of the holy religion. The Almighty sent prophets to expostulate with them on their abominable apostacy: but the vengeance denounced against them, and the example afforded them in the fate of their predecessors and families, upon whom the judgment of heaven had been inflicted, as a punishment for the enormity of their crimes, were not sufficient to effect a reformation. Zachariah, the son of Jehoiada, exhorted the king and the people to repentance, as the means of avoiding the dreadful judgments which would inevitably be the consequence of persisting in their iniquity. The king, regardless of all the services which had been rendered him by his father, caused Zachariah to be smote to death in the temple. With his dying breath, he appealed to the Almighty, as his judge and witnesses, that he suffered for having administered good counsel, and for being son of a man who had effectually laboured in the service of the king. Soon after this, Hazael subdued and plundered the city of Gath, and then led his troops towards Jerusalem. Terrified by the approach of the Syrian army, Joash entered into a composition with Hazael, to whom he surrendered the immense treasure contained in the temple, as a consideration of his raising the siege. A short time having elapsed, Joash, fell sick; and this circumstance was taken advantage of by the friends of Zachariah, who attacked him by surpise, and took away his life. He lived forty-seven years. He was interred at Jerusalem: but his impious courses had rendered him so obnoxious that his body was denied a place in the royal sepulchre.

CHAP. IX.

Joash succeeded by his son Amaziah. Jeboabaz obtains the Divine assistance against Hazael. Joash, the son of Jeboabaz, becomes king. The destruction of the Assyrians foretold by Elifaz. Hazael dying, the kingdom of Syria descends to Adad his son.

The government of Judah descended to Joash, from his father Amaziah; and when Joash had reigned near twenty-one years, Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, began a reign, which lasted seventeen years, over the people of Israel, in Samaria. His conduct was very different from that of his father, since, by his disregard to every thing that was praiseworthy, he imitated the worst of his ancestors. In the interim, the great force of the king of Syria, who had over-run many of his cities, and destroyed numbers of the inhabitants, was reduced to ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse. Elifaz had predicted this misfortune to the Israelites, in informing Hazael that he should destroy his lord, and take on himself the government of Damascus and Syria. At this unhappy period, Jehoiada humbled himself before the Lord, entreating relief from the oppressions of Hazael; and God being pleased to hear his prayers, peace and happiness was restored to his dominions.

Joash,
Joash, the son of Jehoahaz, succeeded to the government of Israel and Samaria, in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of his name-fake Joash, king of Judah. He reigned sixteen years, and was in all respects the reverse of his father, being a man of most exemplary character. At this time Elisha the prophet was very old; and being on his death-bed, Joash made him a visit, wept over him, and treated him as the father and friend of his country. He said, that while the prophet lived, his prayers and predictions would defend them against their enemies, to whose mercy he should be left when he was departed: "Wherefore (said he) I would rather die with you, than live without you."

The prophet was much affected with this generous sorrow, and ordering a bow and arrows, bid the king shoot them. After shooting three times, he left off; on which the prophet said, if more shafts had been discharged, he should have over-run the whole kingdom of Syria; but as he had shot only thrice, he should gain three victories over them, in which the lands they had taken from his father, should be recovered. Hereupon the king left Elisha, who soon afterwards died. This prophet was highly celebrated for the uprightness of his character, and the many miracles he wrought, an account of which is still preserved on the records of the Hebrews. He was buried in a most magnificent manner, agreeable to the merit of so illustrious a man. A little time afterwards some thieves having murdered a traveller, threw the body into the tomb of the prophet; but it had no sooner touched him, than the man came to life. Thus his miracles lasted even after his death.

The death of Hazael soon happening, the son of Adad succeeded of course to the government of Syria; and Joash now obtained three victories over him; by which the Israelites recovered the country of Syria, as Elisha had foretold. Jeroboam succeeded to the government, on the death of Joash his father.

CHAP. X.

The Amalekites, Edomites, and Gabilites, defeated by Amaziah. He turns idolater. He is conquered and taken prisoner by Joash. He saves his life by giving up Jerusalem. He is murdered by his subjects, and succeeded by his son Uzziah.

Amaziah was advanced to rule over the tribe of Judah, in Jerusalem, in the reign of Joash, king of Israel. Jehoanan, a native of Jerusalem, was his mother. From his youth he was remarkable for his love of integrity; and the first thing he did was to punish the murderers of his father, who were all brought to justice; but he punished not their children; following herein the sentiments of Moses, who held it wrong to chastise children for the crimes of their parents. Amaziah now enlisted, and appointed centurions over each of the men of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, as were about twenty years of age. Having determined to wage war against the Amalekites, Edomites, and Gabilites, he agreed to pay one hundred talents of silver to the king of the Israelites, for twenty thousand of his forces.

When
When he was ready to march against his enemies, a prophet advised him to discharge the Israelites, for they were an abandoned people, whose destruction would attend that of those who were concerned with them; besides, with God's help, his own army was sufficient to destroy his enemies. As the king had already paid for his forces, he did not much like this advice; but being resolved to submit to the will of God, as expressed by the prophet, he dismissed them, saying "he would freely give that as a bounty, which had been received as wages." When these troops were gone, he advanced with his own forces, and conquered his enemies, ten thousand of whom he killed, in one battle, and drove the other ten thousand to the extremity of a mountain which overlooks Arabia, down which they were thrown, and killed; after which Amaziah returned with immense treasure. In the interim the twenty thousand discharged troops were so enraged at the rejection of their services, that they invaded the king's dominions, walked the country quite to Bethsemere, killed three thousand of the inhabitants, and drove off great numbers of cattle.

This victory exalted Amaziah, that he forgot the God of battle, and departed to the worship of the idols of the Amalekites. Hereupon the prophet went to him, and exprested his astonishment at his worshipping those gods, who so far from protecting others, were unable to defend themselves, but were carried, with the rest of the booty, by the Hebrews to Jerusalem. The king bad him stay no more, at his peril; to which the prophet only replied, that he would desist; but that the vengeance of heaven would be the certain consequence of such a horrid superstition.

Notwithstanding this, the late success exalted Amaziah, that, regardless of the intervention of Providence, he wrote to Joash, king of the Israelites, a letter requiring such submission from him and his people, as had been heretofore paid to David and Solomon, his ancestors; and threatened that the sword should decide the difference, in case of refusal. To this haughty letter Joash sent an answer to the following purport:

"A thistle that grew on mount Lebanon sent, on a certain time, to a "cyprus-tree growing on the same spot, saying, give thy daughter in mar-
"riage to my son: on which a wild beast trod the thistle to the ground. 
"Learn hence to lower your ambition, nor aim at things so much above "you. Be cautious left your pride, on having conquered the Amalekites, "should lead you to such actions as may produce the loss of your kingdom 
"and life."

Amaziah was now much more enraged than before, and Providence leaving him to the influence of his own passions, he prepared for battle: the forces were drawn up on each side; but the troops of Amaziah no sooner saw the enemy, than they precipitately fled, and left the king to be taken prisoner. The opponents refused him quarter, but on the condition that the gates of Jerusalem should be thrown open to them. Necessity and the fear of death prevailed; and a breach of three hundred cubits wide being made in the wall, Joash entered the city in a triumphal chariot, with Amaziah his prisoner preceding him. Joash having made prize of the gold, silver, holy 

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utensils, and other treasure found in the palace and temple, gave the king his liberty, and retired with his booty to Samaria. It was in the fourteenth year of the reign of Amaziah, that this misfortune happened to Jerusalem, the people of which conspiring against him, he fled to Lachish; but thither they pursued, and destroyed him. His body being carried to Jerusalem, was interred with regal honours. Thus ended the life of a king who owed his misfortunes to his departure from the true religion. He died at the age of fifty-one, having governed twenty-nine years; and Uzziah, his son, succeeded to the throne.

Chapter XI.

The history of Jonah. Jeroboam dies, and is succeeded by his son Zachariah. Uzziah's victories, and his great care of Jerusalem: his departure from God, and punishment. He is succeeded by his son Jotham. Zachariah killed by Shallum, who seizes the government. Shallum killed by Menahem, who reigns ten years, and is succeeded by his son Pekahiah. He is murdered by Pekah, who reigned in his stead, and is invaded by Tiglath-Pileser. Jotham, king of Judah, a pious prince, in whose reign the destruction of Nineveh, and the Assyrian empire, is foretold by Nahum.

Jeroboam, the son of Joash, became king of Israel in the fifteenth year of the reign of Amaziah. He reigned forty years, and held his court in the palace of his forefathers, at Samaria. He was addicted to idolatry, and was of a mind utterly depraved; and many were the judgments against the Israelites in consequence of his wicked course of life. The prophet Jonah had predicted of him, that he should conquer the Syrians, and extend his dominions to the city of Hamath northwards, and southerly to the lake Asphaltites, which had been formerly allotted by Joshua as the bounds of the land of Canaan. This prophecy so elated Jeroboam, that he seized from the Syrians the lands thus deférèd, and annexed them to his own dominions; thereby verifying the prophet's prediction. Having engaged to write a genuine history of the Hebrews, it will be proper that I recite what is found in holy writ, respecting this matter.

Jonah was instructed by God to go to Nineveh; and there to preach destruction to that wicked city, and the kingdom: but, unwilling to be the author of such bad news, he took his passage at Joppa, on board a ship that was bound to Tarshish in Cilicia. During the voyage the wind blew so tempestuously that the commander, seamen, and even the pilot, despair'd of ever making land. While some of the crew were at prayers, and others labouring to save the ship, it was observed that Jonah lay on his face, without lending any assistance. The storm becoming more violent, it was conceived that this judgment arose from the guilt of some person on board, and they agreed to cast lots to discover the offender. This being done, the lot fell on Jonah; upon which they enquired who, and what he was; to which he answered, "I am an Hebrew, and a prophet of God; but I have occasioned this storm, and you must throw me overboard, if you mean to save your-
"selves and the ship." At first they thought it extremely inhuman thus to devote to certain destruction a man who had put himself under their care; but at length his authority, their own fears, and the urgent necessity of the case, (for the ship was just sinking) determined them to call him overboard; and in that moment the storm subsided. We are farther told that he was swallowed by a whale, which threw him up three days afterwards, alive, and unhurt, on the coast of the Euxine sea. The prophet having besought and procured God's pardon for disobeying his commands, proceeded to Nineveh, where having exalted himself so as to be properly heard, he foretold that the empire of Asia was nearly at a period; and departed when he had thus fulfilled his commission.

Let us now return to Jeroboam, who was buried at Samaria, after a reign of forty years, and succeeded by his son Zachariah. Amaziah was succeeded by Uzziah, in the government of the two tribes at Jerusalem, in the fourteenth year of Jeroboam's reign. The mother of Uzziah was born at Jerusalem, and named Achia. This prince was careful, active, valiant, courteous, and just. He fought against the Philistines, demolished the walls of Gath, and Jamnia, and took the places by assault. After a successful expedition against the Arabians, on the confines of Egypt, he erected a town near the Red Sea, and placed a strong garrison in it. He then conquered the Ammonites, subdued to his power all the country as far as Egypt, and laid the inhabitants under contribution. His next care was for Jerusalem; he rebuilt the ruined walls, and repaired that breach which had been made for the entry of the king of the Israelites, when Amaziah was his prisoner. He built one tower of one hundred and fifty cubits high, likewise several others, and erected castles and forts for the protection of the country. He also constructed aqueducts, cisterns and basins, for his cattle to drink at, of which he had immense numbers, the lands being chiefly pasturage. Husbandry, gardening, planting, tillage, and nurseries, were much promoted by him. His military force consisted of three hundred and seventy thousand men, commanded by two thousand officers, all furnished with swords, bucklers, corselets of brass, flings and bows, and well experienced in the art of war. He possessed battering machines, and others for throwing darts and stones; with hooks, and other offensive weapons. These matters engaged his attention, and fired his ambition for sublimary glory; that he neglected the more important duties of his worship to God; herein following the example of his father, who was unable to enjoy a course of prosperity with moderation.

Uzziah, on the day of a solemn festival, having cloathed himself in the dress of a priest, went to the temple, to offer incense on the golden altar; on which the high-priest Azariah, and eighty other priests, hastily repairing to the temple, protested against such an assumption of the sacerdotal rights, which had ever been the peculiar privilege of the priests of the house of Aaron. Azariah enjoined him to desist from such profanity; but the king bidding them depart, at their peril, an earthquake shook the temple, and opened the roof of it; through which a fun-beam darting, struck the impious prince with leprosy. Another miracle succeeded this: not far to the west of the city,

* Josephus was mistaken as to the place, as is proved by Bochart, in his Hieroz. Part. zd. Book 18. Chap. 19th.
city, at a place called Eroge, the same earthquake divided a mountain in the middle, and part of it rolling half a mile, flapped on the east side of an opposite mountain, closed up the highway, and covered the royal gardens with part of its contents. The king being a leper, the priests advised him to depart the city, as one unfit for society; and his spirit was so broken by his illnesses that he obeyed them. His son Jotham assumed the government, and the king having languished awhile in retirement, died, and was buried in his gardens, in a tomb erected on the occasion. He reigned near fifty-two years, and was near sixty-eight years of age.

About this time, Shallum, son of Jabez, a domestic of Zachariah, king of the Israelites, murdered his master, before he had reigned seven months, and assumed the government; but news thereof reaching Menahem, who commanded an army at Tirzah, he marched to Samaria, when Shallum had governed only thirty days, routed him in battle, put him to the sword, and appropriated to himself the ensigns of royalty. Menahem returned with his army to Tirzah, but the citizens refusing him admittance, he ravaged the adjacent country, and, with unheard of cruelty, caused all the men, women, and children, to be destroyed; and his reign of ten years over Israel was of a piece with this commencement. Soon after the above matter, Pul, king of Assyria, threatened to invade him; but he compounded the matter by paying a thousand talents of silver at the rate of fifty shekels a head. This prince was buried at Samaria, and succeeded by his son Pekahiah, whose inhuman disposition equalled that of his father. When Pekahiah had reigned two years, he was murdered at a public feast by Pekah, son of Ramaliah, who reigned about twenty years, and died with a character equally distinguished by his impiety to God, and his want of common justice to his fellow creatures.

Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, made incursions on the Israelites during the reign of the abovementioned Pekah, and having conquered the land of Gilead, the country beyond Jordan, and the adjacent part of Galilee, with Affora, and Cydida, made captives of the inhabitants, whom he conveyed to his own country.

The true of Judah, in Jerusalem, was now governed by Jotham, the son of Uzziah, by Jerufiah, a native of the city. This prince was distinguished by his devotion, justice, and public spirit. He rectified all abuses, and kept everything in proper order. The galleries and porches of the temple were repaired by him, and the city walls prevented from going to decay. He built large and strong towers; subjected the Ammonites to the payment of one hundred talents, and thirty thousand measures of wheat and barley annually. He raised his kingdom to a state of splendor; and while his people were dreaded abroad, they were happy at home.

The prophet Nahum, who lived in this king's reign, predicted the destruction of Nineveh, and the Assyrian empire, in words to this purpose: "Nineveh shall resemble a fish-pool, the waters of which are agitated by a violent wind. The storm shall occasion the people to fly, and cry one to another, take with you your gold and silver; but this will be disregarded, as life shall be held more valuable than riches. Divided in sentiments, they shall run weeping and lamenting among each other, their knees trembling..."
"trembling under them, and despair in their countenances. They shall ask what will become of the habitations of the lions, and the dams of the lions whelps; and the Lord shall reply, that Nineveh shall be cut off from the face of the earth, and the devastations of the wild beasts she has sent into the world shall cease." This prophecy was fulfilled at the end of one hundred and fifteen years.

CHAP. XII.

Jotham dies, and is succeeded by his son Ahaz. Jerusalem besieged by Rezin and Pekah. The Israelites reproved by the prophet Oseel.

Ahaz succeeded to the throne of his father Jotham, who died in the sixteenth year of his reign, and the fortieth of his age. Ahaz was distinguished by his imitating the kings of Israel in their idolatry, and by his violation of the laws of his country, beyond any prince who had preceded him. He raised altars in Jerusalem, on which he sacrificed to idols, and even offered his son, as a burnt offering, according to the custom of the Canaanites; and committed other acts equally atrocious. During this conduct, Rezin, king of Damascus, and Pekah, king of the Israelites, uniting their armies, marched and besieged Jerusalem, which, however, was so fortified, that they were compelled to desist from the attack. In the interim, the king of Syria took possession of the city of Elath, near the red sea, destroyed all the inhabitants, and supplied their places by a colony of Syrians. Soon afterwards he seized on several castles and fortresses, slaughtered the Hebrews in a dreadful manner, acquired great plunder; and then retreated to Damascus, with his victorious army.

The king of Jerusalem having learnt that the Syrians were departed, advanced his army against the king of Israel: but such was the displeasure of God against him for his iniquity, that he left one hundred and twenty thousand men in the battle, in which Amian, the son of Ahaz, fell in personal contest with Zachariah, general of the Israelites, who likewise killed Aziza, captain of the guards, and took prisoner Elkanah, general of the Hebrew forces. He also made many captives, of both sexes, of the Benjaminites, and retreated towards Samaria in triumph. On their return to Samaria, they were met by a prophet of that place, named Obel, who told them they ought not to consider this victory as the reward of their own courage and virtue, but as an instance of the vengeance of heaven against king Ahaz. Wherefore the prophet said they were wrong not to be content with their success, without enslaving their brethren of the two tribes, to whom he recommended that immediate liberty might be granted, and denounced the vengeance of Heaven on the refusals. A council was now assembled on the business, and Berachiah, a man of great influence, and three others, protested against bringing the prisoners into the town, left the judgment of heaven should await the conquerors, who, as the prophet had said, had already sins enough of their own to answer for. The warriors, convinced by these arguments, agreed
agreed to give liberty to the captives, and permission to carry back their effects: whereupon Berachiah and his three friends discharged them, ordered care to be taken of them, supplied necessaries for their journey, and accompanied them a considerable way towards Jerusalem.

C H A P. XIII.

Ahaz is joined by Tiglath-Pileser. Syria laid waste; Rezin, king of Damascus, killed, and the place taken. Ahaz dies, and is succeeded by his son Hezekiah. Pekah killed, and the kingdom seized by Hosea; who is made tributary to Salma-nczer. The worship of God restored by Hezekiah, by whom the Philistines are conquered.

Ahaz being now reduced to demand help towards carrying on the war, sent messengers to Tiglath-Pileser, king of the Assyrians, with sumptuous gifts and offers of large sums of money, on the condition of his aiding him against the Israelites, and the people of Damascus and Syria. The prince immediately marched to the assistance of Ahaz, and in conjunction with him ravaged Syria, possessed himself of Damascus, and stabbed Rezin, the king thereof. He sent the inhabitants of Damascus to Upper Media, and filled the place with his own subjects. The land of the Israelites was in great measure depopulated, and immense numbers of prisoners taken. This being done, Ahaz feized the gold and silver in the royal treasury, and in the temple, together with the rich presents, and carried the whole to Damascus, where he delivered it to the king of Assyria, in gratitude for his assistance, and returned to Jerusalem.

Ahaz was so destitute of all sense of true religion, that he worshipped the gods of the Syrians, in the hope of their favouring his arms; on the contrary, when he had been overcome, he paid adoration to the Assyrian's gods; so that any kind of idolatry was equal to him; but he despised the worship of the true God, according to the religion of his forefathers; which brought on him the vengeance of Heaven. Such was his contempt for the worship of the true God, that having robbed the temple of all it's most valuable effects, he ordered the doors to be kept fast, to prevent others offering up their devotions there. After a continued course of impiety he died in the sixteenth year of his reign, aged thirty-six years, and was succeeded by his son Hezekiah. At this period, by the treachery of Hosea, a favourite at court, Pekah, king of Israel, was deprived of his government and life; Hosea continuing nine years in possession of his usurped authority. His life and conduct proved that he believed not in God, and was one of the most abandoned of men. Being attacked by Salmanezer, king of the Assyrians, he was conquered, and obliged to become a tributary, being rejected by that God whom he had despised.

Hezekiah became king of Jerusalem in the fourth year of Hosea's reign. He was a prince of superior abilities, and celebrated for his regard to equity and piety. On his first advancement to the throne, he determined to adjust the great business of religion; and thereupon summoning his priests and levites,
levites, he addressed them to the following purport. "It is unnecessary for me to remind you of the misfortunes consequent on my father's sins, in your refusing the worship due to God, and uniting with him in the adoration of his idols: but as experience hath now taught you how dreadful a thing it is to trifle with Heaven; I recommend that all past failings may be buried in oblivion; that you, and the priests, and the levites, cleanse yourselves from former pollutions; then opening the doors of the holy place, purify it by sacrifices and confectations; on which you may hope for future prosperity as well as present pardon." The royal advice was so acceptable, that the priests immediately repaired to the temple, which they stripped of its impurities, prepared their holy vessels, and placed sacrifices on the altar, agreeable to the custom of the Jews. In the interim the king dispatched messengers throughout his territories, to demand the attendance of the people to the feast of the unleavened bread, which, through the impiety of former kings, had been long neglected. The messengers also warned the Israelites to cease all superstitious worship, and return to that of the God of Truth, promising, in the king's name, that they should be equally free as his own people, to pass to and from this feast: they were also told that their interest, rather than that of the king, gave rise to this invitation, and it was hoped they would find their advantage in it. The Israelites, however, treated the messengers with contempt, and insulted the prophets, who recommended a return to their duty, and told them what misery would result from their disobedience: nay, they even seized and put to death several of the prophets, and proceeded from one impiety to another, till the vengeance of God yielded them a prey to their enemies; as will be hereafter seen. Of the tribes of Zabulon, Manasseh and Issachar, however, multitudes attended to the words of the prophets, and repaired to Hezekiah, at Jerusalem, to offer up their devotions.

The concourse being assembled, the king, accompanied by the princes and people, proceeded to the temple, where Hezekiah offered, of bulls, rams, and goats, seven each, on his own account. Having first placed his hands on the heads of the beasts, the priests cut their throats, and then burnt without dividing them, while the Levites made a circle, and sang divine hymns to musical instruments, the other priests forming the chorus. This ended, both king and people worshipped God with their faces bowed to the ground. Exclusive hereof, the king sacrificed seventy bullocks, a hundred rams, and two hundred lambs, and likewise gave, as a feast for the multitude, six hundred bullocks, and three thousand other cattle. The priests having ended their ceremonies, the king and people feasted together, and combined in the praise of God.

Now approached the feast of unleavened bread, and during the preparations for it, sacrifices were made for seven days, and Hezekiah gave the multitude two thousand bulls and seven thousand cattle of various kinds. The king's example was followed by the princes, who gave a thousand bulls, and fourteen hundred other cattle; so that so sumptuous a treat had not been known since the days of Solomon.
This festival being ended, and Jerusalem being purified from the idols which had disgraced its worship, a general purification took place throughout all the country. Hezekiah now ordered daily sacrifices to be offered out of his own possessions, and directed the people to present tenth s and first fruits to the priests and Levites; so that their attendance on the altar was not interrupted by other affairs. He likewise built granaries and store-houses, in which corn and fruit were kept for the use of them and their families; so that all things began now to run in the ancient channel.

After this restoration of good order, Hezekiah waged war against the Philistines, and united to his own dominions all their cities from Gaza to Gath. In the interim the king of Assyria, required a tribute of him which had been heretofore paid to his father, and threatened an invasion in case of refusal; but Hezekiah paid no regard to these threats; relying on the mercy of Heaven, the consciousness of his own integrity, and the assistance of the prophet Isaiah, whom he knew would inform him of such things as were to come to pass.

C H A P. XIV.

Samaria taken by Salmanezer, who ravages the kingdom of Israel, takes king Hoshea prisoner, and transplants the people. A colony of Chuthites placed in the kingdom of Israel.

In the seventh year of Hoshea, king of Israel, Salmanezer, king of Assyria, having learnt that Hoshea was combined against him with So, king of Egypt, he advanced his army against the city of Samaria, which, having resisted his attacks for more than two years, was taken by assault, in the seventh year of the reign of Hezekiah, king of Jerusalem. The kingdom of Israel was destroyed by the capture of this place, Hoshea being taken prisoner; and the inhabitants removed into Media and Persia: Salmanezer bringing people from the borders of Chuthah, a river of Persia, to supply the place of the Israelites in the land of Samaria.

It was about nine hundred and forty-seven years from the departure from Egypt, eight hundred from the time of Joshua, and two hundred and forty from Rehoboam's revolts, that the ten tribes were thus transplanted. Such was the wretched fate of a people, who disdained submission to the laws, and despised the admonitions of the prophets, who forewarned them that a continued course of impiety would certainly end in their ruin. These misfortunes arose from the revolt of Rehoboam, who advancing a servitor above his master, in defiance of the laws of God, and inducing his people to follow such a bad example, justly provoked the wrath of the Almighty.

The abovenamed Salmanezer ransacked and triumphed over all Syria and Phœnicia. He is mentioned by Menander, in his history of the Tyrrians, in the following manner. "Elulæus reigned thirty-six years, and the Gittites revolting against him, he sent a fleet to reduce them. The king of the Assyrians likewise dispatched an army against him, and penetrated into Phœnicia, but retired with his troops on a peace being concluded. Not
"Not long after this, the cities of Sidon, Arce, Palæ-Tyrus, and many other places, abandoned their countrymen, and submitted to the king of Affyria, who sent a fleet of sixty sail against the rest of the Tyrians, as the only people that submitted not to his authority. This fleet was conducted by the Phœnicians, and had eight hundred rowers; but with only twelve vessels, the Tyrians attacked them, threw them all into confusion, and made captives of five hundred of the rowers; a victory which elevated their naval skill to the highest degree of reputation." Thus vanquished, the king of Affyria returned, and posted guards on the banks of the river, to prevent the Tyrians getting water, for which they were distressed about five years, during which they had none but what they procured by the digging of pits.

The people newly planted in Samaria were called Chuthites, from the river Chuthah in Perœa, whence they were brought by Salmanazar. They consisted of five nations, each worshipping their own gods, which they brought with them: on which the wrath of Heaven descended on them for their idolatry, and afflicted them with a pestilence that nearly destroyed them. All human methods of relief being fruitless, the Oracle advised them to pay adoration to the true God, as the only means of having their evils redressed. Hereupon they dispatched messengers to the king of Affyria, entreating him that some of the priests, who had been made prisoners with the Israelites, might be sent to them. This was complied with; and on the arrival of the priests, the Chuthites desired them to read the Law of Moses, which they did, and likewise expounded it, shewing the reasonableness of the worship: whereupon the Chuthites began the study and practice of the true religion, and the plague ceased in a short time. The Hebrews still call these people Chuthites, but Samaritans is the name they bear among the Greeks. They are a most unprincipled people, still adapting their conduct to the change of circumstances. When the Jews are in a prosperous situation, they claim a kindred to them; but when misfortunes surround them, they say "We are strangers, who came from a distant country, and have no connections with you."

End of the Ninth Book.
Sennacherib leads a powerful army towards Jerusalem, and receives a sum of money from Hezekiah on condition of drawing off his forces: he violates the treaty, and leaving the siege of Jerusalem to the conduct of Rabhaketh, marches against the Egyptians and Ethiopians. The prophet Isaiah affures Hezekiah of the assistance of the Almighty.

Sennacherib, the king of Assyria, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah, having subdued all the cities of Judah and Benjamin, led his army towards Jerusalem, whence an ambassador was dispatched to propose terms of accommodation, and to offer him tribute. He accepted the proposals, and bound himself with the solemnity of an oath to decline hostilities, on condition of being paid thirty talents of gold and three hundred of silver. Hezekiah paid the stipulated sum, in confidence that the enemy would evacuate his dominions: but, regardless of the treaty which he had sworn to observe, he appointed his lieutenant-general Rabhaketh, with Tharata and Anacharis, to direct the war against Jerusalem, himself taking the lead of an army against the Egyptians and Ethiopians. The commissioners who
had been deputed by Sennacherib having caused the camp to be removed within sight of the walls of Jerusalem, dispatched a courier to demand a par-
ley with Hezekiah. Judging it unsafe to go in person, he ordered Elea-
kim, his deputy-governor, and Shebnah and Joah, the keepers of the re-
cords, to repair to the Assyrian army. Rabshakeh, in a peremptory voice, 
bad them enquire of their master, wherefore he had presumed to dispute ad-
mitting the army into the city, and hesitated to acknowledge submission to 
the great and powerful Sennacherib. He said that Egypt was not in a con-
tion to withstand the Assyrian army, and therefore if Hezekiah flattered 
himself in the hope of assistance from that quarter, he would be deceived; 
for he would be trusting to a broken reed, which would wound the hand 
that pressed it. He desired them to inform Hezekiah that the present expedi-
tion was undertaken by the direction of the Lord, who had already granted 
Sennacherib a compleat victory over the Israelites, and would certainly re-
der him equally successful in the war against Jerusalem. Rabshakeh spoke 
in Hebrew, in which language he was well versed; and Eleakim, appre-
hending that his address being generally understood might have an unfa-
vourable effect upon the multitude, requested him to proceed in the Syriac 
tongue: but being apprized of the motive on which a change of language 
was advised, he exalted his voice, and continued his harangue in Hebrew. 
"It is necessary (said he) that your people should understand the commands of 
the king my master. I am aware that it is your purpose to amuse the 
people with the vain hopes of subduing our army: if you have courage to 
attempt this enterprise, I will supply you with two thousand horses:—but, 
alas! you are not able to provide them riders. Being thus reduced, why 
will you longer deliberate? Your compliance will ensure your safety, 
while a further opposition will involve you in the most imminent danger: 
for necessity will, at length, compel the weak to yield to the strong."

The purport of the above discourse being communicated to Hezekiah, he 
clothed himself in sack-cloth, according to the custom of the country, to 
denote his humiliation, and falling prostrate on the ground, fervently prayed 
for the assistance and protection of the Lord. He charged a number of 
his select friends to accompany some of the priests to the prophet Isaiah, whom 
they were to entreat to exert his endeavours, by prayers and sacrifices for ob-
taining the assistance and protection of the Almighty, and for humbling the power 
and pride of the enemy. Isaiah yielded to the request made to him on the 
part of Hezekiah; and was authorized by the Oracle to declare to him that, 
without proceeding to an engagement, the Assyrians should be compelled to 
make a shameful retreat, with the loss of a considerable part of the army; 
that Sennacherib should not succeed in the war against the Egyptians; 
and that, on returning to his kingdom, he should die by the hands of his 
own sons.

At this time Hezekiah received letters from the king of Assyria, expostu-
lating on the dangerous policy of attempting to maintain a defence against a 
monarch who had reduced so many warlike nations to subjection, and men-
acing a general slaughter of men, women and children if the gates of the 
city were not thrown open to his army. Hezekiah having reproved an abso-
lute confidence in the truth and power of the Almighty, paid no regard to
these letters; which he folded up, and laid in the temple. He continued
to offer up supplications in favour of the people, till the return of Isaiah,
who reported to him the following answer. "That his petition having pre-
"valled, no injury was to be apprehended from the enemy; and that the
"period was approaching when the people would be restored to the peaceful
"enjoyment of their possessions."

Sennacherib employed a considerable portion of time in laying siege to the
city of Pelusium: but when he had raised his platforms nearly to a level with
the tops of the walls, and had completed every other material preparation
for making the assault, he received intelligence that Tirhakah, king of
Æthiopin, with a formidable reinforcement was marching to the assistance
of the Egyptians, and that he had directed his course through the desert,
in order to attack the Assyrian army by surprise. Alarmed by this informa-
tion, the Assyrian abandoned a further prosecution of the siege, and re-
turned to his dominions, after the several enterprizes which he had medi-
tated had been rendered abortive. This war by Sennacherib against the
king of Ægypt, is called by Herodotus, the war against the priest of Vul-
can; the Egyptian king being a priest of that idol. This historian says,
"Sennacherib raised the siege of Pelusium on the following occasion: the
"king of Ægypt supplicated the assistance of his God, which being granted;
"proved fatal to the Arabian." He had been guilty of an error in writing
Arabian instead of Assyrian. He adds that, "Immense swarms of rats came
"into the camp, and in one night destroyed all the bow-strings, and ren-
"dered useless a great part of the other implements of war belonging to
"the Assyrians, in consequence of which Sennacherib drew off his forces
"from the town." Berosus, an historian of Chaldee, says, "Sennacherib;
"king of the Assyrians, waged war against all Asia and Ægypt." He
writes to the precise meaning of what is contained in the following chapter.

CHAP. II.

On his return from the war in Ægypt, the king of the Assyrians
found that the night after the siege had been commenced against Jeru-
salem, his army had sustained a dreadful havoc; general officers, tribunes,
and private soldiers, amounting to one hundred and eighty thousand, having
fallen a sacrifice to the judicial vengeance of heaven. Sennacherib considered
the pestilence as an effect of the divine wrath; and dreading that the mor-
tality would prevail among his remaining people, he led them with the ut-
moft expedition to the city of Nineveh, at which place he held his court.
Some time after his return, he was murdered in the temple dedicated to the
idol Aralcus, by Adramelek, and Sharezar, his two eldest sons, who took
refuge in Armenia, Esarhaddon, the third son of Sennacherib succeeded
to the throne.
C H A P. III.

The life of Hezekiah prolonged for fifteen years. A treaty of alliance concluded between Balak, king of Babylon, and Hezekiah. Isaiah predicts the captivity of the Israelites, and the calamities to be inflicted upon Hezekiah and his posterity. Hezekiah dies.

Conscious that his preservation had been effected by the intervention of Divine Providence, in causing a judicial plague to prevail in the Assyrian army. Hezekiah now humbled himself in prayer and thanksgivings to God. While he was occupied in this holy business, he was afflicted with so grievous a distemper, that his physicians entertained no expectation of his recovery; and, in this extremity, he fervently prayed to the Lord to prolong his life till he should become the father of a son, to whom the sovereignty might be transmitted. On the consideration that being destitute of an heir to the government, proved the source of greater affliction than he experienced from being deprived of the grandeur and other advantages of a throne, the Almighty accepted his supplications, and commissioned the prophet Isaiah to assure him that his afflictions should be removed in three days, that fifteen years should be added to his life, and that he should become a son who should succeed him in the government. The message from the Lord was of so extraordinary a nature, that Hezekiah could not avoid entertaining a doubt of its authenticity; and he therefore desired the prophet to afford a proof of the Divine commission by the performance of some miracle. Being asked what evidence he required, the king said, that the moving of the shadow on his dial ten degrees backwards, would give him perfect satisfaction. This prodigy was wrought, and Hezekiah being soon afterwards restored to perfect health, repaired to the temple, where he devoutly prayed to, and worshipped God.

About this period the Medes obtained a conquest over the Assyrian empire. Balad, the king of Babylon, dispatched ambassadors charged with presents for Hezekiah, to whom they were authorized to propose terms of alliance. These ambassadors were graciously received, and after Hezekiah had magnificently entertained them, shewn them his armoury, and the immense treasures which he possessed in gold and silver, he dismissed them with gifts of value for king Balad. Isaiah questioned Hezekiah respecting the ambassadors; and he answered, that they had been sent to him by the king of Babylon, and that he had shewn them the treasures of his palace, that they might be enabled to make a just report of his wealth and power to their master. Upon this, the prophet said, "I am commissioned to inform you that, in a short time, your treasures shall be conveyed to Babylon; and that many of your posterity are destined, after being deprived of virility, to serve as eunuchs in the court of Babylon. These events will inevitably transpire; for they have been predicted by the Lord." This information deeply afflicted Hezekiah, both on his own account and on that of his family.
mily: and he said that since the judgment of heaven could not be averted, he had only to supplicate that he might pass the remainder of his life in a state of tranquility. Isaiah and twelve other prophets faithfully committed their predictions to writing, that posterity might be convinced of their acting under the sanction of the Divine commission. Hezekiah died in the five and fiftieth year of his age, and in the twenty-ninth year of his sovereignty.

C H A P. IV.

The iniquity of Manasseh, the son and successor of Hezekiah. The king of Babylon conquers Judea, and takes Manasseh prisoner, but upon his repentance, he restores him to his government. The death of Manasseh, who is succeeded by his son Amon. In the second year of his reign, Amon is murdered, and his son Josiah is proclaimed king.

H E Z E K I A H was succeeded in the government by Manasseh, whom he had by Hepzibah, a woman of Jerusalem. This prince acted on principles directly opposite to those of his father. The most abominable practices, which had called down the vengeance of heaven upon the Israelites, were the examples by which his conduct was regulated. He even dared to profane the holy temple. He barbarously persecuted men of the most exemplary piety; and the very prophets were sacrificed to his insatiable lust of blood; scarcely a day passing whereon some of these pious men were not made victims to his cruelty. The Almighty sent prophets to exhort the king and the people to repent of their crimes, on the penalty of suffering punishments equal to what had been inflicted upon their brethren, the Israelites. These admonitions were treated with contempt; and the king and people of Judæa continuing to pursue their usual course of iniquity, the Almighty was pleased to create a powerful enemy in the king of Babylon and Chaldea, whose forces obtained a compleat victory over Manasseh, who was surprised and made a prisoner of war. His dominions were ravaged, and himself at the mercy of the conqueror, this unhappy prince fervently supplicated the Almighty to caufe his enemy to treat him with clemency and tenderness. The Lord, in commiseration of his sufferings, listened to his prayers, and, after some time had elapsed, the king of Babylon restored him to his throne.

Manasseh now exerted his utmost abilities to make every possible atonement for his former crimes. He purified the city, consecrated the holy temple anew, and made it the business of his life to manifest a due reverence and gratitude towards his creator. Conscions that his former guilt had, in a great measure, been the cause of the miseries which his people had endured, he endeavoured to effect a reformation among them, both by his example and authority. He caused an altar to be erected agreeable to the directions of Moses, upon which daily oblations were made: and having restored the religious ceremonies to their original purity, he directed his attention towards improving the fortifications of the city. He made the necessary reparations in the old walls, and, as a further security, encompassed them
them with new ones. He erected divers strong and lofty towers, and provided the out-works with all necessary provisions, and stores. During the remainder of his reign, his veneration to God suffered no abatement; and he was considered as one of the most happy sovereigns. At the age of sixty-seven, and in the fifty-fifth year of his reign, he died, and was interred in the royal garden. His son Amon, by Elmalekh, a native of the city of Jabat, succeeded to the throne. He followed the profligate examples which his father afforded in the early time of his life: and his mal-administration, induced some of his intimate friends and domestics to conspire his death, which they effected in the twentieth year of his life, and in the second of his government. The public punished the murderers by death. The remains of this prince were deposited in the sepulchre of his father. Upon the decease of Amon, Josiah, his son, who was at that time about eight years old, ascended the throne.

CHAP. V.

Josiah abolishes the worship of Idols, and establishes excellent regulations, both in religious and civil affairs.

The mother of Josiah was a native of Bozath, and her name was Jehida. The new king was of a gracious disposition, and naturally attached to virtue. He proposed the truly excellent example of David as the rule of his conduct through life. Before he had completed his twelfth year, he gave a signal instance of piety, by extirpating the abominable worship of idols, and restoring the people to the religion of the true God. Such of the ordinances of his predecessors as he found productive of ill consequences, he abolished: such institutions as were expedient he retained; and to those which required alterations, he made amendments which would have conferred honor upon the most consummate wisdom, and the experience of advanced years. He caused all the groves and altars which his apostate predecessors had dedicated to the idolatrous worship, to be destroyed, and attached the people to a due reverence towards the worship of the living God. He appointed commissioners to superintend the manners of the people, and determine on the merits of causes depending between individuals; and he rigidly adhered to the administration of public justice. He deputed commissioners to receive contributions of gold and silver for the purpose of repairing the temple; but, averse to give cause of complaint, his subjects were at liberty either to promote or decline the subscription. The contributions being deposited in the treasury, Amasiah, governor of the city; Shephane, the Scribe; Josiah, the recorder, and Hilkiah, the high-priest, were nominated to engage artificers, provide materials, and regulate the expenses of the intended reparation. The rebuilding the temple proved a lasting monument of the exemplary piety of Josiah.

In the eighteenth year of his reign, Josiah directed Hilkiah to apply what gold and silver should remain, after defraying the expences incidental to the edifice, in the formation of cups, chalices; and other vessels and utensils
FILAVIUS JOSEPHUS UPON

...his the difperfed king, upon the regard of the supplications of Aaron the reconciliation that the of... deprives banilied vilen; man requifting that the silver of the contents, containing... an agony of grief, tore his cloaths, and called for certain particular friends. On their arrival he desired them to accompany the high-priest to the prophetess Huldah, the wife of Shallum, who was a man of distinguished reputation; requesting that they would unite their endeavours to prevail upon her to make intercession with the Almighty for pardon towards himself and his subjects; saying there was great reason to apprehend that the vengeance of heaven would be directed towards the present generation, as a punishment for the iniquities of their progenitors; and that without obtaining a reconciliation with the Lord, they should be dispersed over the face of the earth, and terminate their lives in misery. Upon the king's order being communicated to the prophetesses, she directed them to report this answer: "I hat the impious superstition of the people, and their contempt of the menacing predictions of the prophets had incurred the wrath of Heaven; that the people would be banished from their native land, and be deprived of the blessings of life; and that no supplications could prevail to avert the judgment which the Lord had irrevocably pronounced. However (continued the prophetesses) report to Josiah that, from a regard to his piety, the Almighty will not inflict these punishments during the period of his life, but that immediately after his decease the divine vengeance will be executed upon the people."

Hereupon Josiah dispatched messengers to the several cities within his dominions, commanding the priests, Levites, and his subjects in general to repair to Jerusalem: and upon their being assembled, the books of Moses were read to them; after which, the king advanced to an eminence in the midst of the multitude, and administered the oath of obedience to the laws of Moses, and the holy worship and religion of God: and the people bound themselves under this engagement with unanimous approbation. After the sacrifices had been made, prayers were put forth for obtaining the blessing of the Almighty. The king enjoined the high-priest to take a particular survey of the vessels and other plate contained in the temple, and effectually to destroy such articles as had been dedicated by his predecessors to the service of the idolatrous religion. The king's commands was punctually obeyed, and the remnants of the utensils were cast away. In obedience to the command of Josiah, all the priests who were not of the line of Aaron were put to death.

The reformation of the city of Jerusalem being effected, Josiah made a journey through his kingdom, and destroyed every evidence which remained of Jeroboam's superstition and idolatry: and the bones of the false prophets he caused to be burnt upon the altar which Jeroboam had erected. Thus, after the extirpation of three hundred and sixty-one years, was the prediction...
of the prophet verified; for he declared that these events should be accomplished by a man of the race of David, named Josiah.

The king, in person, and by the agency of messengers, applied to the Israelites who had escaped from the captivity of the Assyrians, with a view to reclaim them from the abominable adoration of idols, and to inspire them with a just sense of their duty towards the eternal God. The figures of horses dedicated to the sun, and placed over the porch of the temple, he caused to be destroyed; and he appointed officers to make strict enquiry within the towns and villages of his dominions, for the relics of idolatry, which he commanded them utterly to destroy.

After this purification of his realm, he assembled the people at Jerusalem for the purpose of celebrating the feast of unleavened-bread, or the passover; and on this occasion he gave from his own store thirty goats, one thousand lambs, and three thousand oxen: the principal priest presented to the others of the sacerdotal order, two thousand six hundred lambs; and the chiefs of the Levites gave to their tribe five thousand lambs, and five hundred oxen. A solemn sacrifice was made of these victims, according to the precepts of Moses: and the ceremony was performed under the direction of the priests. An exact conformity to the law and ancient usage was observed on the celebration of this festival, which was the most solemn that had been known since the time of the prophet Samuel.

**CHAP. VI.**

Pharaoh-Necho is opposed by Josiah, who is slain by an arrow shot by an Egyptian.

Josiah succeeded by his son Jehoahaz, who is made captive, and dies in Egypt.

Eliakim takes the name of Jehoiakim, and is made king by Pharaoh.

The army of Pharaoh-Necho proceeded under his command towards the Euphrates, to attack the Medes and Babylonians, (who had overrun the empire of Assyria) and subdue Asia to his dominion. Having proceeded to Megiddo, a place subject to Josiah, the latter refused to let Pharaoh pass; on which he dispatched a messenger to tell Josiah that his designs were not hostile to him, but he wished to march towards Euphrates, and hoped the king would not compel him to force his way. Josiah, however, perished to deny him a passage, as if hereby predestined to his own ruin; for while he was riding to and fro, giving orders to his army, an Egyptian shot him with an arrow, by which he was so dreadfully wounded, that he gave orders for his army to retreat, and went himself to Jerusalem, where he expired, in the thirty-first year of his reign, and at the age of thirty-nine. He was interred with great solemnity, in the burial-place of his ancestors, and several days were devoted to public mourning for his death. Jeremiah the prophet wrote an elegy on this occasion, in which he foretold the advancement of the Babylonish captivity, and the misfortunes consequent thereon. This elegy is still in being. Ezekiel the prophet like-wise left two books of predictions on this subject, in which he foretells the calamities
calamities which should follow this revolution. Both these prophets were of the line of the priest-hood: Jeremiah dwelt at Jerusalem from the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign, till the city and temple were destroyed.

Jehoahaz, who was twenty-three years old at the death of Josiah, now assumed the sovereign authority, and held his court at Jerusalem. His mother was named Hamutal; and he was a prince of a profane and irreverential disposition. When the king of Egypt returned from the wars, he dispatched a messenger to Jehoahaz to attend him at Hamath in Syria, when he deposed him, put him in chains, and transferred the government to his elder brother by the father's side, who was named Eliakim, but, on this occasion, assumed the name of Jehoiakim. The Egyptian made this prince his tributary, by taxing his country to the amount of one talent of gold, and one hundred of silver. Jehoahaz he took with him into Egypt, where he died, having reigned only three months and ten days. Zabida, of Raman, was the mother of Jehoiakim, who bore the character of a malicious, revengeful man, who neglected the worship of God, and had no compassion for his fellow-creatures.

CHAP. VII.

Pharaoh defeated by Nebuchadnezzar, to whom Jehoiakim becomes tributary. Jeremiah foretells the misfortunes that are to befall Jehoiakim.

Nebuchadnezzar proceeded with a large army to Chabesba, near the Euphrates, in the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim; with a view to make war on Pharaoh-Necho, and reduce all Syria. Pharaoh raised a large army, and took the field to oppose him, and the armies engaging, on the banks of the Euphrates, Pharaoh was compelled to retire, with the loss of several thousands of his troops. After this, in the eighth year of Jehoiakim's reign, and the fourth of Nebuchadnezzar's, the Babylonians invaded Judaea, and threatened destruction to its inhabitants, unless they paid a tribute, like the rest of the Syrians. Jehoiakim, terrified by these threats, purchased his peace, and paid contribution for three years; but in the fourth, hearing that the king of Egypt was advancing against the Babylonians, he refused to pay tribute. He was, however, misinformed; for the Egyptians were afraid to attack the Babylonians; which agreed with Jeremiah's prediction, that the Egyptians would be no better than a broken reed to depend on. This prophet likewise foretold, that the Babylonians should soon destroy Jerusalem, and take Jehoiakim captive. These predictions were generally dispersed; and there were a few persons who advised the exhibiting articles against the prophet, as a promoter of sedition. This being done, the majority of the council would have punished him with death; but others were for dismissing him; alleging that other persons, among

* From this place to the end of this book, Vorstius, in his ed. exercit. de LXX cautions us not to pay too implicit a regard to Josephus.
CHAP. VIII.

Nebuchadnezzar received into Jerusalem by Jeboiakim. Nebuchadnezzar's perfidies. Barbarity: Jeboiakim put to the sword by him, and succeeded by his son Jeboiakin.

Jehoiakim, soon after the above events, being terrified by the predictions of Jeremiah, admitted Nebuchadnezzar and all his army into the city, on friendly terms, without having taken any measures for his own security, or even thought of excluding the Babylonian, who had no sooner got footing in the city, than he violated the rights of friendship, by putting the king to the sword, with all the principal young men of Jerusalem. He then ordered the body of the king to be thrown into the fields without the walls of the city, and advanced his son Jehoiakim, to the government of the city and country. He made prisoners of about three thousand persons of distinction and eminence, whom he carried to Babylon in captivity; among whom was Ezekiel the prophet, then a very young man. Thus ended the life of Jehoiakim, at the age of thirty-six years, after a reign of eleven years. The mother of his successor, Jehoiakim, was named Nehushta, who was a native of Jerusalem.

CHAP. IX.

Jerusalem besieged by the army of Nebuchadnezzar; whose officers make prisoners of Jehoiakim, his mother, and friends.

Nebuchadnezzar having revolved the former proceedings in his mind, repeated his having placed Jehoiakim on the throne; considering that the young king would not easily forget the murder of his father, but would seek for the most favourable opportunity to revenge his death. These reflections produced a resolution to lend an army to attack Jerusalem; and Jehoiakim, who was a prince of a mild disposition, and a lover of equity, agreed with Nebuchadnezzar's officers to surrender the place, on
the condition that both it, and the inhabitants, should remain uninjured: and for the ratification of this treaty, the king's mother and relations were given up as hostages. At the end of one year, however, Nebuchadnezzar broke his agreement, and ordered his officers to seize the young men of the city, with artificers of all kinds, and convey them to him in letters. This being done, ten thousand, eight hundred, and thirty-two persons were made captives, and confined in prison, among whom were Jehoiakim, his mother, and relations.

CHAP. X.

Zedekiah advanced to the government, but restricted not to affright the Egyptians. Zedekiah breaking his covenant, Jerusalem is besieged by Nebuchadnezzar. Pharaoh, king of Egypt, attempting to raise the siege, is routed by Nebuchadnezzar, who returns to the attack. The prophecies and advice of Jeremiah rejected by Zedekiah.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR having imprisoned Jehoiakim, elevated his uncle Zedekiah to the government, binding him, by a solemn oath, neither to make innovations, or take part with the Egyptians. When Zedekiah began to rule, he was twenty-one years old; and he had a brother, by the same mother, named Jehoiakim. The above prince was deficient in all virtues, and associated with young men as abandoned as himself: so that Jeremiah the prophet frequently conjured him to the practice of religion; advised him not to listen to flatterers and false prophets, who filled his imagination with ideas that the Babylonians would not again attack Jerusalem: and that whenever the Egyptians fought, they should conquer them; which the prophet said would not happen. Zedekiah would listen to, and appeared convinced by the arguments of Jeremiah; but no sooner did he mix with his old companions; than all the good advice was forgotten.

At this time Ezekiel, who residing at Babylon, predicted the destruction of the temple, and sent his prophecy to Jerusalem. The two prophets agreed that the city should be taken by force, and Zedekiah carried into captivity: Jeremiah said that the king should convey him prisoner to Babylon; while Ezekiel predicted that he should not see that city. This apparent inconsistency in the prophecies, led Zedekiah to doubt the truth of the whole: but it will hereafter be seen that he was mistaken in his conjecture.

At the end of eight years, Zedekiah violated his oath to Nebuchadnezzar, by taking part with the Egyptians; thinking that, jointly, they could subdue the king of Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar immediately marched, ravaged Zedekiah's country, seized his cattle and fortresses, and proceeded to the siege of Jerusalem. Pharaoh learning how Zedekiah was pressed, advanced to his relief, with a view to raise the siege. Nebuchadnezzar having intimation hereof, would not wait his approach, but proceeded to give him battle, and, in one contest, drove him out of Syria. This circumstance sup-
The Antiquities of the Jews.

Pending the siege, the false prophets represented to Zedekiah how absurd it was to fear that the Hebrews would be carried captive to Babylon: whereas it was more probable that the prisoners already taken would be brought back, and the plate and treasure, which had been carried from the temple, restored. In contradiction hereto, Jeremiah charged the false prophets with being impostors; said that no good was to be hoped from the Egyptians; but that they should be first conquered, and then the army of Babylon return to the siege: that those who escaped death by sword and famine, should have their houses ransacked, their goods stolen, and the city and temple plundered, while themselves should be carried into captivity. "We are doomed (said the prophet) to seventy years slavery to these people and their posterity; at the end of which period the Medes and Persians shall free us from that slavery, by utterly destroying the empire of Babylon: We shall then return hither, build the temple anew, and restore the city to its former splendor."

The people in general paid great attention to what the prophet said; but the most eminent people, and the unprincipled in general, considered and treated him as a mad-man. Jeremiah having proceeded twenty furlongs from Jerusalem, in the way to Anathoth, (his birth-place) he was met by a magistrate, who confined him, on pretence that he was defecting to the king of Babylon. It was in vain that he urged his being going home only: he was hurried before a tribunal of justice, examined, tortured, and condemned to death; and remained some time in this situation.

In the tenth month of the ninth year of Zedekiah's reign, the king of Babylon again besieged Jerusalem with a large army, and, for a year and a half, exerted all his art and strength to conquer it; but the city, though enfeebled by famine and pestilence, did not yield. At this time Jeremiah, who was in prison, called to the people to open the gates, and admit the Babylonians, as the only means to prevent their destruction: he said those who remained in the city would be destroyed by famine or sword; but the enemy would spare such as fled out to them. Hereupon the princes went to the king, and represented the prophet as one whole idle tales would delude the multitude; fining that the people appeared resolute to defend the city to the uttermost, till their courage was abated by his predictions. The disposition of the king would not have led him to extremities; but urged as he was, and unwilling to disoblige persons of their rank, he permitted them to dispose of the prophet as they pleased. Hereupon they repaired to the prison, and taking out Jeremiah, lowered him with a rope into a pit, where they left him up to the neck in mud, that he might be suffocated. An Ethiopian, one of the king's favourite servants, informing his majesty of his situation, he ordered him to select thirty men who could be depended on, who should take ropes, and instantly release him. This being done, the prophet was privately introduced to the king, who asked him if he could relieve his distress by the interposition of heaven. Jeremiah replied in the affirmative; "but (said he) your people will neither credit me, nor take my advice. Those who call themselves your friends, are my foes: they con-
"sider me as a hypocrite, and are now combining my destruction: but
"where are now those deceivers that persuaded the people no danger could
"aife from the Babylonians? However, Sir, my life may pay the forfeit
"if I tell you the truth." On this the king swore to the prophet that his life
should be safe; whereupon the latter said, "Deliver up the city to the king
of Babylon. This is the only method to be safe from personal harm,
avoid the dangers which threaten you, save the temple from being burnt,
and the city from being razed to the ground. If you neglect this advice,
I declare in the name, and by the order of God, that all kinds of misfor-
tunes will surround you; and to you will be attributed the destruction of
yourself, family, and people." Zedekiah told him he inclined to pursue
his advice, for the public good: but he was apprehensive that some of his
people, who had abscended to the Babylonians, would advise the king to
destroy him. The prophet told him to be easy on this head; for on giving up
the city, himself, his wives, and children, should be safe, and the temple should
 sustain no injury. Hereupon he bad the prophet depart, enjoining him not
to divulge a single syllable of what had passed, even to the princes: and if
any one should enquire respecting the visit, he should say he had been to solicit
his liberty of the king. The prophet complied in all respects with these
injunctions.

C H A P. XI.

The taking of Jerusalem. The ransacking and burning of the city, palace and temple.
Zedekiah's children and friends slain; his eyes put out, and himself carried captive
Ishmael's treachery. The conquest of the Egyptians, who are carried
prisoners to Babylon. Account of Daniel, Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego.
Daniel interprets dreams. Nebuchadnezzar's death.

The siege of Jerusalem went on vigorously. The Babylonians com-
pleted their works, having raised towers all round the city, so as to
drive the invaded parties from its walls. The place, though a prey to the
plague and famine, was obstinately defended; every scheme of protection
being opposed to that of attack, during the space of a year and a half: but
at length, want of provisions and forces compelled its surrender, when Zede-
kiah had reigned eleven years, three months and nine days. It was delivered
at midnight to Neriglases, Aremantus, Euegar, Nabarsies, and Echarram-
faris, officers of Nebuchadnezzar. Zedekiah seeing the troops enter the
temple, abscended, by a narrow pass, to the desert, with his wives, children,
officers, and friends: but advice of this being given to the Babylonians, they
pursued them early in the morning, and surrounded them near Jericho. The
friends of Zedekiah flying to secure themselves, he and his wives and chil-
dren, with a few adherents, were easily made prisoners, and conducted to
the king, who no sooner saw, than he reproached Zedekiah, saying, "Had
"I not your promise to conduct, for my advantage, the power I invested
"you
"you with? I made you a king in the stead of your brother Jehoiakin, and "you have endeavoured to repay me, by using your interest to my ruin. "But you are now become my prisoner, through the justice of God, for "the punishment of your ingratitude." The king having thus said, ordered his wives and children to be put to death in the sight of himself and the other prisoners; and then directed Zedekiah's eyes to be put out, and him- self conducted to Babylon in chains. Thus were the prophecies of Jerem- miah and Ezekiel verified; the former saying he should be made prisoner, speak with, and fee the king, and be carried to Babylon: the latter, that he should be carried to Babylon, and not fee the king there; which he could not do; since his eyes were first put out.

By this we may see the wisdom and power of God, and the regularity of the operations of his counsels. We may learn to reverence the pre- cence of the Deity, and to know that all events are ordered by his providence. It is likewise a lection against that incredulity which prevents our knowledge of threatened evils.

The race of David was now extinct, after a successive reign of twenty-one kings, in a period of five hundred and fifteen years, six months and ten days; but this includes the reign of Saul for twenty years, who was of a different tribe.

After the above signal victory, Nebuchadnezzar dispatched his principal officer, Nebuzar-Adan, to Jerusalem, to ransack and burn both palace and temple, to raze the city to the ground, and conduct the captive inhabitants to Babylon. Nebuzar-Adan executed his orders in the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah, taking all the gold and silver vesseis from the temple, the brazen pillars, the tables and candlesticks of gold, and Solomon's large laver; after which he burnt the city, palace, and temple, to the ground. This happened in the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. The temple had been built four hundred and seventy years, six months and ten days. It was one thousand and sixty-two years, six months and ten days, from the Israelites leaving Egypt, and three thousand, five hundred and thirty years, six months, and ten days, after the creation of the world.

Nebuzar-Adan carried prisoners, Seraiia the high-priest; Sefheniah, next in rank; three principal keepers of the temple; seven of the king's friends; the chief eunuch of the bed-chamber; the secretary to the king, and other persons of distinction, in all about three-score, who were conducted to the king, at the city of Reblathis in Syria. The king ordered the high-priest, and others of the first rank, to be beheaded there: but the majority of the prisoners were carried to Babylon with Zedekiah, among whom was Jehoza- daack the high-priest, who was son to the above-named Seraiah.

The royal line having been regularly mentioned from father to son, it may be proper to recite the succession of high-priests, in whole families that dignity continued from one generation to another. These are Zadock, Ahimaaaz, Azariah, Joram, Ifus*, Axioramus*, Phideas, Sudeas, Julius, Jotham, Urias, Nerias, Odeas, Saldumus, Elcias, Sarceas, and Jehoza- daack; which last was carried captive to Babylon.

* Bishop Mountague, in his Apparatus, says that Ifus and Axioramus, are fictitious names.
On the king's return to Babylon, Zedekiah was thrown into prison, where he expired; and he was buried with regal honours. The king gave Jehozadak his liberty, assigned dwellings for the prisoners in Babylon, and dedicated to his idols the holy vessels which had been taken from the temple. The general Nebuzar-Adan had committed the majority of the captives to the command of Gedaliah, a man distinguished by his justice and benevolence, who allowed to each man a certain portion of land for his subsistence, on paying the king a tribute. Jeremiah was released from prison; and the governor having received the king's orders to treat him well, Gedaliah offered him either to go to Babylon, or if he chose another place of residence, he would write to the king respecting the matter. Jeremiah answered that he would rather live among the ruins of his native land. This being told to Nebuzar-Adan, he directed Gedaliah to provide properly for him, and sent the prophet some valuable presents. Jeremiah having obtained the liberty of his servant Baruch, chose him for his companion, and fixed on Mizpah for his residence. Baruch was the son of Neriah, nobly descended, and a great master of his native language.

Those who had fled the city during the siege, being by this time acquainted with its destruction, repaired, in great numbers, to Gedaliah at Mizpah; among whom were Johanan, the son of Careah, Jaazaniah and Seraiah, with Ishmael, a person of royal blood, but of most abandoned character, who had been protected by Bathal, king of the Ammonites, while the siege lasted. These people had applied to Gedaliah, who invited them to remain in that country, and cultivate the earth, and promised, under the sanction of an oath, that they should be undisturbed in their possessions. He advised them to fix on their places of residence, and gave them the assistance of his own people to fit up their dwellings; but cautioned them to be assiduous in providing for the vintage and harvest, that there might be plenty of corn, wine, and oil, for the winter. Having thus encouraged them, he left them to their own disposal.

Gedaliah's benevolence to the fugitives so raised his credit among the surrounding nations, that numbers came to him, and formed a large settlement, having lands assigned them, for which they paid the king of Babylon a fixed tribute. Gedaliah's goodness to the settlers so engaged the esteem of Johanan and the other principal men, that having intelligence of a conspiracy forming against him, by Ishmael and the king of the Ammonites, they informed him that the former was to destroy him, and reign over the Israelites. To counteract this plan, they requested his permission to destroy Ishmael; for they thought the Israelites would be ruined by the continuance of the plot. Gedaliah said he deemed it impossible that any man could so far deviate from all sense of moral obligation as to seek the destruction of his preserver: but if this was the case, he would not so far violate the laws of hospitality as to take the life of the man who had sheltered himself under his protection. On this declaration, Johanan and his friends departed.

A visit being made, about a month after this, to Gedaliah, by Ishmael and ten of his friends, they were most hospitably treated. The glass having gone round, till Gedaliah and his party were somewhat elevated, the others trea-
cherously murdered them all. This happening at midnight, they fell on the streets, destroying Jews and Babylonians, indifferent ly. The following day a party of eighty men came from the country, with presents for Gedaliah, but were unacquainted with the preceding murders. Ishmael invited them in, as to Gedaliah; but closing the doors, caused them to be murdered, and thrown into a pit: but some of them were spared, on a promise of discovering where corn, cloaths, and other effects, were hid in the earth: but the men in general of Mizpah, with the women and children, were carried off; among whom were Zedekiah's daughters, who had been left under Gedaliah's protection, by Nebuzar-Adan.

This being done, Ishmael repaired to the king of the Ammonites with the news; but Johanan, and the other principal people, having heard of the death of Gedaliah, and the cruelties at Mizpah, combined their forces, and pursued Ishmael, whom they came up with near the fountain of Hebron. The captives, seeing the pursuers, ran to them in rapture; while Ishmael and eight of his followers, hastened to the king of the Ammonites. In the interim, Johanan, with the eunuchs, women, children, and others, who had fled from Ishmael, proceeded to Mandrâ, where they rested one day, doubting if they should depart to Egypt, lest the Babylonians should attack them, in revenge of the murder of Gedaliah. But resolving to consult Jeremiah, they bound themselves by an oath to follow his directions. The prophet promised them an answer; and at the end of ten days he was visited by the Almighty, who directed him to tell Johanan and the other chiefs, that either they remained in their present situation, they should be secure against the Babylonians; but if they went into Egypt they must expect judgments similar to those which had befallen their brethren. Instead of giving credit to this message, they thought it was an invention of Jeremiah, in favour of his servant Baruch, and calculated to leave them a prey to the Babylonians: on which Johanan and his adherents seized on Jeremiah and Baruch, and departed into Egypt; where being arrived, the prophet had a vision from Heaven, which informed him that an army should be brought into Egypt by the king of Babylon, the country conquered, part of the people slain, and the rest carried captives to Babylon: and this the prophet was to declare to the people. This prediction was verified in the twenty third year of Nebuchadnezzar, who making an incursion into Cœle-Syria, subjected that country, then went against the Ammonites and Moabites, whom having subdued, he penetrated into Egypt, killed the reigning king, advanced another in his stead, and carried prisoners to Babylon. Such of the Jews as he found in the country.

Thus the Hebrews were twice carried prisoners beyond the Euphrates, the Assyrians, in the reign of Hofca, first carried the ten tribes; and Nebuchadnezzar, on the conquest of Jerusalem, made captives of the other two. Salmanazar removed the Chuthites from Media and Persia into the land of the Israelites, where they took the name of Samaritans: but the king of Babylon left no settlers in the room of the two tribes he carried away. Hence it happened, that, for the space of seventy years, Judea, Jerusalem, and the temple were totally abandoned. One hundred and thirty years, six months,
months and ten days, elapsed between the captivity of the ten tribes, and the departure of the other two.

Some of the finest young men among the Jews being selected for Nebuchadnezzar's particular service, had tutors appointed to instruct them in the learning of Chaldaea: and some of them were castrated, agreeable to the custom of the country. Among them were four relations of Zedekiah, viz. Daniel, Ananias, Michael, and Azariah; but their names were changed to Belteshazzar, Shadrack, Meshach, and Abednego. The king was equally pleased with the goodness of their tempers and strength of their judgments, and directed provisions to be sent them from his own table: but Daniel, considering that such elegant viands suited not their situation, applied to Achanes, the eunuch, and begged that, instead of the king's provisions, they might eat pulse or dates, or any homely food. The eunuch expressed a readiness to gratify them; but said, that if they should grow lean on such food, and decline in health and complexion, the king might suspect what had happened, especially if their companions looked better than they did, which might endanger his life. However, they urged the eunuch to make the experiment, saying they could return to their former food, if this was found not to agree with them. The trial being made, the eunuch found they increased in health of body, and vigour of mind; on which he kept to himself the king's allowance. A course of this temperance so strengthened their faculties, that they rapidly increased in Hebrew and Chaldaean learning; particularly Daniel, who became a proficient in their arts, undertook to expound dreams, and had sometimes visions of his own.

Nebuchadnezzar, two years after the conquest of Egypt, had a dream, and its interpretation, which he forgot in the morning; on which he sent for the Chaldeans, magi, and prophets, and told them what had happened; but demanded their interpretation. They told him this was impossible; but if he would recite the dream, they would explain it. Hereupon the king demanded their compliance, which they said was out of their power; on which he ordered them to be put to death. Daniel hearing of the intended execution, went to Arioch, the captain of the guards, to enquire the cause; on which the captain informed him they were to die because they could not explain a dream which the king had forgotten. On this Daniel requested they might be respited for one night, and he hoped God would enable him to interpret the dream. The captain acquainting the king with this circumstance, the execution was suspended. The friends of Daniel retired with him to his chamber, where they spent the night in prayer that God would be pleased to reveal to Daniel the dream which the king had forgotten. Their prayers were heard, and God made known to Daniel both the dream and its interpretation. He arose early in the morning, and repairing to the men under sentence of death, had them be of good courage, for he was certain of delivering them. They returned their joint thanks to Heaven, and then Daniel went to Arioch, desiring to be introduced to the king, whose dream he could now interpret.

Daniel no sooner saw the king, than he said he did not approach him from motives of vanity, or a pretence of possessing more wisdom than the Chaldeans:
daens and Magi; but that God, in pity to the unfortunate, had permitted him to explain the king's dream. "I consult (said he) your honour, in the "endeavour to save the lives of those worthy men, whom you would de- "stroy, for not being able to reveal a secret which it was not in the power of "human wisdom to discover. Your dream was to the following purport: "having reflected on the fate of your dominions after your decease, you "dreamt that you saw a statue standing upright, the head of which was "gold, the arms and shoulders silver, the belly and thighs of brass, and the "legs and feet of iron. To your sight a stone then broke from a mountain, "and falling on this statue, overthrew it, and crushed it so that the dust of "the gold, silver, brass, and iron, was blown by the wind to the uttermost "part of the earth; while the stone encircled to the size of a mountain. The "interpretation of your dream is, that yourself and the preceding kings of "Babylon are meant by the golden head: the hands and shoulders signify "that your empire shall be destroyed by two kings: the brass imports that a "king from the west, clad in brazen armour, shall overturn their empire: "and a man clad in iron, which is stronger than gold, silver, or brass, is "to subdue this last king." Daniel likewise explained the meaning of the "stone, which I omit, as I write of past, not of future events. The curious, "however, may refer to the Book of Daniel in the Holy Scriptures.

Struck with astonishment, Nebuchadnezzar owned the above to be his dream; and, bowing to the ground, worshipped Daniel, bestowing on him "the name of his god, Belteshazzar. He likewise commissioned Daniel, in "conjunction with some of his relations, to rule over the whole province. "Daniel and his friends were much envied for this promotion, which seemed "to threaten their lives, as appears by the following narrative.

Nebuchadnezzar fixed up, in the plain of Babylon, a golden image, sixty "cubits high, and six broad. On the dedication of this image he summoned "a meeting of the princes, officers, &c. throughout his dominions, and "caused proclamation to be made by the sound of trumpet, that all should "prostrate themselves, and worship the image, on pain of being thrown into "the fiery furnace. The trumpet being sounded, all the people fell down in "adoration, except Daniel and his kinsmen, who refusing thus to violate the "laws of their country, information was laid against them, and they were "thrown into the fire. The Providence of God now so interposed on their "behalf, that they remained unhurt amidst the flames, which had not even the "power to scorched them. This circumstance struck the king with such an idea of the goodness of God in the preservation of his servants, that he ever afterwards held them in great honour and esteem.

Soon after this event Nebuchadnezzar had a second dream, which was "that, "after being driven out from his kingdom, and living seven years "among the beasts of the field, he should be restored to his former rank "and splendor." On this dream also the king consulted his wise men; but "Daniel alone could interpret it; and agreeable to his explanation it hap- "pened, that after Nebuchadnezzar had spent seven years in abysmal solitude, "during which no person attempted to seize his government, it pleased God to "restore him to the regal power.

Nebuchad
Nebuchadnezzar died in the forty-third year of his age, having been distinguished for his vigilance, and a better fortune than attended any of his predecessors. The Chaldean history, written by Berosus, recites the following particulars: "Nabuchodonozor the elder, learning that an officer to whom he had entrusted the government of Egypt, Cœle-Syria, and Phœnicia, had departed from his fidelity; and illness preventing his engaging in war, he sent Nebuchodonozor his son, with part of his army, to chastise him. He fought him, gained the victory, and reduced the provinces to obedience. In the interim the father died at Babylon, in the twenty-first year of his reign. The young king, hearing of his father's death, adjusted the affairs of Egypt and the other provinces, and charged some friends to conduct to Babylon the army, with the Jews, Syrians, Phœnicians, and Egyptians, who were his prisoners; and then travelled over the desert, with a few attendants. In the interim, the Chaldeans took care of his government, so that, on his coming home, he was fully established. His first business was to divide his captives into colonies; and he next adorned with the spoils of war, the temple of Belus, and other places of worship. He enlarged and repaired the old city buildings, and erected fortifications on the banks of the river. Within the city he built three entrenchments of brick-work, and the same number without it. The place being thus fortified, he adorned the gates in a curious manner, and built a most magnificent palace near that of his father. This building was wonderfully grand; and it is remarkable that it was completed in fifteen days. There were arches in this edifice supporting huge stones that had the appearance of mountains hanging in the air; and on these were planted several kinds of trees, to gratify the queen (a Median by birth) who wished to see the curiosities of her country represented." These gardens are celebrated by Magasthenes, in the fourth volume of his History of India. This author speaks of the king as superior even to Hercules, as he had reduced almost all Lybia and Ibenia. This monarch is also mentioned by Dioecles, in the second part of his history of Persia; and by Philostratus, in his account of the Phœnicians and Indians, who records that in the reign of Ithobal, king of Tyre, he laid siege to that city for thirteen years.

C H A P. XII.


Evil-Merodach succeeding his father Nebuchadnezzar, gave liberty to Jeboiaakin, king of Jerusalem, made him various presents, repose great confidence in him, and committed the government of the palace at Babylon to his care.

Evil-Merodach reigned eighteen years, and was succeeded by his son Niglifar, who, having reigned forty years, the kingdom devolved to his son Labolar
Labosardochus, who died at the end of nine months, when the sovereign rule descended to Belshazzar, who was called Naboniel by the Babylonians.

Against this prince, Cyrus, king of Persia, and Darius, king of the Medes, waged war; and when they were besieging Babylon, an alarming vision appeared to Belshazzar. While he was surrounded by his courtiers and concubines at supper, the table being decorated with vessels of silver, he profanely called for the sacred vessels, which Nebuchadnezzar, after the rampage of Jerusalem, had deposited in the temple; though he never applied them to vulgar uses. Belshazzar being elevated with liquor, was talking profanely of the true God, when looking towards the wall, he beheld a hand, writing some words theron, which terrified him to such a degree, that he instantly assembled his wife men and Chaldeans, to discover the meaning of the words. Having consulted together, they declared their total ignorance of the whole. Hereupon the king, utterly disfretted in mind, ordered proclamation to be made throughout his dominions, that whoever could interpret the writing, should receive as a reward a royal purple robe, and a gold chain, and should rank as third man in the kingdom; on which the wife men once more assembled, each anxious to develop the secret; but their labours proved altogether fruitless.

This second disappointment made the king perfectly miserable; on which his grandmother informed him, that among the prisoners whom Nebuchadnezzar had brought from Jerusalem, there was a man of great wisdom and penetration, who appeared to be actuated by a divine spirit in the resolving abstruse questions; and she, therefore, advised him to send for Daniel, question him respecting the writing, and offer him every encouragement to speak the truth, however disagreeable that truth might be. Belshazzar confessed he had heard of Daniel's wisdom, and took her advice in sending for him. When he approached the royal presence, the king assured him that all which he had promised in his proclamation should be made good, if he could resolve the question; which would extend his fame wherever the affair should be heard of.

Daniel declined accepting either presents or honourable distinctions; saying, "Wisdom is the gift of heaven, not to be purchased, but ever disposed to assist those who want her advice. The writing predicts that your death is near. You ought to have been warned by the fate of your great predecessor, for his contempt of heaven, and regulated your conduct by the principles of religion. Nebuchadnezzar, as you well know, was driven from the society of men, and obliged to herd with beasts; till, on his humble penitence, God was pleased to re-instate him in his government; a blessing he ever afterwards acknowledged with the most devout gratitude. But so little are you influenced by his example, that you openly blaspheme God, and, in the company of your harlots, profane the vessels of his holy altar. This impious conduct hath brought on you the vengeance of God; and this writing is predictive of your fate. By me is implied number, which portends that the days of your life and reign shall be..."
be few. Tekel signifies weight; and intimates that your concluding "reign is weighed in the balance. Peres imports a fragment, and declares "that the Medes and Persians shall divide your kingdom." Dejected as the king was at this interpretation, which foretold his destruction, yet he ratified to Daniel all that had been promised; for he considered that, however fatal the news might be to him, the prophet had acted the part of a conscientious man, in telling him the real truth.

Soon after this, the city of Babylon fell into the hands of Cyrus, who took it in the seventeenth year of the reign of Belshazzar, who is deemed the last king of the family of Nebuchadnezzar. Darius was sixty-two years old when Babylon was taken, by the aid of his kinsman, Cyrus, the son of Attyages. Cyrus took Daniel with him to Media, where he promoted him to the rank of one of the three chief governors, under whom were three hundred and sixty others, as Darius had originally modelled the government. Darius had such veneration for Daniel, that he seldom engaged in any business of consequence without his advice, which drew on him the envy of the other favourites at court: but Daniel was particularly cautious not to fall into their snares. He was wholly above receiving a bribe, and took only a legal acknowledgement for a favour conferred: yet this did not deter his enemies from combining his destruction, which they attempted in the following manner.

As Daniel regularly prayed to God three times every day, his opponents fought to entrap him from this circumstance: on which they made application to Darius, in the name, and by order of the officers of state, to issue an order, that whoever should solicit any thing, from God or man, for thirty days, should be thrown into the lions den. Darius, unaware of their intentions, passed the decree. This circumstance shocked all the people except Daniel, who continued to worship God publickly, as if the order to the contrary had never issued. His enemies had now a pretence for their proceedings, and immediately waiting on the king, informed him that Daniel was the only person who defied the royal proclamation, by continuing his worship, which, they said, was not done from a motive of religion, but in mere contradiction to the king's authority. Their malice was the more violent, from an apprehension they entertained, that the king's partiality for Daniel might induce him to pardon the supposed offence: on which they prevailed him for immediate justice on the delinquent, whom they inferred should be cast into the lions den. Darius, compelled to yield to their importunities, told Daniel he had no doubt but the life of so good a man would be protected by the immediate interference of Divine Providence. Daniel being put into the den, the mouth of it was made close by a large stone; and Darius having sealed the door with the royal signet, returned to his palace. The king was so troubled that he could neither eat nor sleep during the night; and in the morning early, he repaired to the den, where he found the seal unbroken, and every thing as he had left it. Darius looking through a grate, called Daniel by his name, to enquire if he was safe and well; which the prophet answered in the affirmative: on which the king ordered him to be let free; but the enemies of Daniel denied that this was a Providential deliverance; insisting that the reason why Daniel remained unhurt was, that the lions had then
then no appetite. Darius was so enraged at this palpable malice, that he ordered the lions to be fed till they were perfectly satisfied, and then that the accusers of Daniel should be put among them: saying, "If the lions touch them not, it is because they are filled; but if they destroy them the preservation of Daniel must be ascribed to Providence." They were no sooner thrown in, than the Providence of God was manifested by their being torn to pieces.

Soon after this wonderful destruction of Daniel's enemies, Darius caused proclamation to be made throughout all his dominions, that his subjects should acknowledge the God of Daniel as the only true God. He likewise made the prophet his most particular favourite, and advanced him to the highest honours. Daniel having now acquired universal esteem, built a magnificent edifice at Ecbatane, the capital of Media, which is equally wonderful for its beauty and strength. This building still remains entire, as when first erected, being no way impaired, like other buildings, by the injuries of time. It is kept as a monument of the kings of the Medes, Persians, and Parthians, and a Jewish priest has, to this day, the care of it.

The life of Daniel is pregnant with many remarkable circumstances worthy notice. Exclusive of the gift of prophecy, he was happy in the enjoyment of the highest reputation both with prince and people; and his writings still extant, prove that he was admitted to the immediate conversation of God, who revealed to him not only future events, but the particular time when those events should happen. Other prophets generally foretold misfortunes; by which they made enemies both of princes and people; but Daniel possessed the esteem of both, from the good news he had the happiness to reveal. It was also universally allowed that his predictions were infallible, which may be also judged from the works which he has left us.

Daniel relates, that as he was enjoying the air with his friends, at Susa, the capital of Persia, they were suddenly surprised by an earthquake; on which his friends fled, and left him alonished on the ground. In this situation somebody seemed to touch him, bid him rise, and he should see what would happen to his countrymen in future ages. On his getting up, he saw a ram with several horns, one of which was higher than the rest: looking wellward he beheld a goat passing through the air, which attacked the ram, beat him twice down, and trod on him. Then a large horn grew from the forehead of the goat, which being broke, four more arose in its stead, directed to the four quarters of the heavens. The prophet writes that, from one of these came forth a small horn, which, on its increase, was to make war against the Jews, destroy Jerusalem, and abolish the ceremonies of the temple, and all sacrifices, for 1296 days. Daniel thus expounds this vision. The Medes and Persians are intimated by the ram: their following kings by the horns, and the last of their sovereigns, by the last horn, as his wealth and power was to exceed the rest. A king of Greece, who should destroy the Persian empire, is meant by the goat. The horn on the goat's forehead, means the first of their kings, and the four budding horns, their successors, who, though not allied to them, should divide their dominions: that these should reign many years, and from them a king should arise, who should
wage war against the Jewish nation, abolish their laws, destroy their commonwealth, plunder their temple, and prevent for three years, all worship and sacrifice. This misfortune happened under Antiochus Epiphanes.

Daniel wrote many wonderful predictions concerning the Roman empire, and its inroads on the Jews; which he has left in writing as a proof of their Divine Authority, by their accomplishment. This ought to confound the Epicureans, who deny an over-ruling Providence, and contend that all things happen without Divine direction; which is as absurd as it would be to turn a ship loose to the mercy of the winds and waves, without a pilot. When I reflect on the prophecies of Daniel, I am astonished at the ignorance and irreligion of those people who deny a providence; for how should it happen that things predicted in one age, should be punctually fulfilled in another, if all things were left to the contingency of a mere chance.

End of the Tenth Book.

FLAVIUS
In the seventieth year of the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, and in the first year of the reign of Cyrus, the Almighty accomplished the prediction which he made by the prophet Jeremiah, previous to the destruction of Jerusalem, that, "After a bondage for the space of seventy years, under Nebuchadnezzar, and his successors, the Hebrews should be re-established in their former state of happiness and splendor." The Lord was pleased to incline Cyrus to circulate letters throughout Asia, purporting that the God adored by the Israelites was the eternal Being, through whose bounty he enjoyed the regal dignity, and that he had found himself honourably mentioned by the prophets of ancient date, and represented by them as the man who should cause Jerusalem to be rebuilt, and restore the Hebrews to their former state of grandeur and independency. Cyrus had read the prophesies of the Israelites.
cies of Isaiah, which had been written two hundred and ten years previous to his birth, and which included a revelation from the Lord, that he would create a man named Cyrus, who should reign over many powerful nations, and give the Hebrews possession of their native land. This prediction was delivered one hundred and forty-years before the destruction of the temple. Cyrus entertained a due veneration towards the prophecies respecting himself; and having summoned the principal people among the Jews to Babylon, he informed them that he would grant passports to such of their nation as should be inclined to return to their native country; and that they should be at liberty to rebuild the city and temple of Jerusalem; adding, that he would command his governors, and other officers on the confines of Judæa, to provide them with gold, silver, and other materials for constructing the edifice, and likewise beasts for sacrifice; and he observed, that the blessing of the Lord would certainly attend the righteous undertaking. The principal people of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, with the priests and Levites, immediately departed for Jerusalem: but many of the Jews determined to remain in Babylon, rather than relinquish the possessions they had obtained in that city.

When the people who had accepted the proposal of Cyrus for rebuilding the temple arrived at Jerusalem, great contributions were made in gold, silver, horses, and other cattle. Numbers attended the ceremony of oblations, and the ancient forms of religious institutions with as great punctuality as was observed when the city was first erected. Cyrus had sent to Jerusalem the holy vessels and other utensils which had been taken from the temple, and conveyed to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, Mithridates, the king's treasurer, being charged to deliver them to the care of Abaasfarr, in whose possession they were to remain till the temple should be completed; when he was authorized to deposit them with the priests and magistrates. Cyrus addressed the following letter to the governors of Syria.

Cyrus the king, to Syfina and Sarabalon, greeting.

"I have given permission for all the Jews within my dominions, to return to their own country, to rebuild the city of Jerusalem, and to erect the holy temple on the spot where that fabric originally stood. Mithridates, my treasurer, and Zerubbabel, governor of Judæa, have my directions to superintend the structure, and cause it to be raised sixty cubits from the earth, and to be of the same measure in breadth; the walls to be composed of three ranges of polished stone, and one of wood, the produce of the country; and to provide an altar for sacrifice. The whole expense attending the above, I shall myself defray. Mithridates, my treasurer, and Zerubbabel, Prince of Judah, have been commissioned to restore the following holy utensils, which Nebuchadnezzar carried from the temple: fifty ewers of gold, and four hundred of silver; fifty golden, and four hundred silver vessels; fifty golden water-bailes, and five hundred of silver; thirty...

* According to ancient coins, this name should be Mithradatos, *vide* Spanheim.
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"thirty chalices composed of gold, and three hundred of silver; thirty
"golden, and two thousand four hundred silver phials; and one thousand
"large vessels of various kinds. It is my pleasure that they shall receive the
"revenues which their predecessors enjoyed; and that in consideration of
"beasts for sacrifice, wine, and oil, they be paid two hundred and five thou-
"sand, five hundred drachmas; and in lieu of the fine flour, two thousand
"five hundred measures of wheat: and that this provision shall issue from
"the tribute of Samaria. In conformity to the law of Moses, the priests
"only, are to offer up sacrifice; they are to put forth daily prayers for the
"king and royal family, and for the prosperity of the Persian empire. Such
"as shall presume to act in opposition to this my royal proclamation, shall
"be condemned to the loss of their lives, and the confiscation of their po-
"sessions."

The number of persons who were relieved by Cyrus from the captivity in
Babylon, and returned to Jerusalem, was forty-two thousand, four hundred
and sixty-two.

CHAP. II.

The construction of the city and the holy temple intercepted by the Chuthites. Cyrus
dies, and his son Cambyses succeeds to the throne.

With the greatest industry the Jews applied themselves to form the
foundation of the temple; but they had made no considerable pro-
gress, when application was made to the neighbouring nations, requesting
the princes and governors, who had been appointed to superintend the
work, to prevent farther proceedings. The most strenuous opposers of the
intended structure, were the Chuthites, whom, after he had expelled the
Jews, Salmanafer, king of Assyria, led to re-people Samaria. Considerable
bribes, and flattering promises prevailed upon the commissioners to neglect
the execution of the important undertaking: and Cyrus being at this time
engaged in the war against the Mafigetes, was entirely unacquainted with
the suspension of his commands.

Cyrus fell a victim to the rage of war: and the government being assumed
by his son Cambyses, the Syrians, Phoenicians, Ammonites, Moabites, and
Samarians, caused a remonstrance to be presented to him, signed by Rathymus,
history-secretary; Semelius, the Scribe, and the magistrates of Phoe-
nicia and Syria. This remonstrance was to the following purpose: "We
"are to inform you, great and powerful Sir, that the Jews who were trans-
"ferred into Babylon, are returned to their former possessions, where they
"are occupied in the re-construction of their city, the ruin of which was the
"just punishment of their sedition. They are rebuilding the temple, es-
"tablishing markets, and other places of commerce, and providing for their
"defence, by a general reparation of the walls of Jerusalem. If they are
"permitted to continue their operations, be assured, Sir, that no sooner
"will they be in a condition to command, than they will refuse to obey;
"for they are declared enemies to monarchical government. We consider it
"as
as the indispensible duty of faithful subjects to apprize you that they will
delclare allegiance to their lawful sovereign, and deny their proportionate
contributions towards the requisite supplies of the state. We beseech you,
Sir, to recur to the history of your predeceffors, where you will find the
Jews to be a generation who have ever been professed oppressors to regal
government; and that the daring crime of rebellion was the cause of lay-
ing in a state of deploration that city which they are now rebuilding. We
account it our duty humbly to submit to the consideration of your ma-
jury, that if they are suffer'd to proceed, your communication with Phoe-
nicia and Coele-Syria will be effectually destroyed."

C H A P. III.

The building obstructed for the space of nine years. Cambyses dies; and after the go-
vernment had remained one year in possession of the Magi, Darius, the son of Hy-
flaptes, is invested with the sovereignty.

CAMBYSES who was naturally of a vindictive and haughty disposi-
tion, was greatly irritated by the above remonstrance, to which he gave
the following answer.

"King Cambyses to Rathymus his Historiographer, Semelius, the Scribe, and
the rest of the people of Samaria and Phoenicia, greeting."

"In consequence of your address, I have caused the records of former
times to be examined, and have found your observations respecting the
city of Jerusalem to be founded on good authority. The Jews appear
ever to have been a vindictive, turbulent people, naturally disposed to
rebellion, and their kings in the last extreme vexatious and tyrannical in
the imposition of taxes. On these considerations I command that you exert
your utmost power to prevent the re-constructing of the city; for, in pro-
portion to the increase of power among these people, will the spirit of se-
dition revive; and as they have revolted against former sovereigns, there is
the greatest reason to apprehend that they will audaciously contend against
the authority of the present government."

The mandate having been perused by Rathymus and Semelius, they im-
mEDIATELY took horfe, and, attended by an immense concourse of people,
repaired to Jerusalem, and put a stop to the progress of the building, which
remained in a state of suspense for about nine years; for the undertaking was
not renewed till the second year of the reign of Darius, king of Persia.

Upon his return from the conquest of Egypt, after he had reigned six
years, Cambyses died in the city of Damascus. The government was trans-
ferred to the Magi, who held the administration one year, at the expiration
of which period, Darius, the son of Hyssaptes, was advanced to the throne
by
THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

by the seven Satrapæe, or the heads of the seven principal Persian families, and the unanimous suffrages of the people.

CHAP. IV.

On the intercession of Zerubbabel, Darius consents to the reconstruction of Jerusalem.
The temple is completed in seven years.

Previous to his advancement to the throne, Darius made a solemn vow, that if it should ever prove his fortune to rule in Babylon he would restore the holy vessels which had been taken from Jerusalem. When he was elected king, Zerubbabel, the leader of the Jewish captives, who had been long his intimate friend, repaired to Babylon; and he, with two other officers of rank, was admitted to the particular confidence of Darius, who conferred on each an office of great honor and trust in the royal household.

In the first year of his sovereignty, Darius gave a superb entertainment to his principal officers, the princes and nobility of the Medes and Persians, and the governors of one hundred and twenty-seven provinces situated in that part of his dominions laying between India and Ethiopia. When the entertainment was concluded the company retired. Darius having awaked from a short sleep, and being unable to compose himself again to rest, engaged in conversation with Zerubbabel, and the other two favourite officers above alluded to. He told them that to him who should give the most satisfactory reply to the questions he meant to propose, he would grant the privilege of wearing purple, drinking from a golden cup, sleeping upon a bed of gold, riding in a chariot with a golden harness, wearing a filkén tiara with a golden chain, posseffing the place next inferior to himself in the council, and being considered as one of the blood royal. The king now proposed the following questions:

1. Is there any thing stronger than wine?
2. What can exceed the strength of kings?
3. What is superior to the power of women?
4. Can any thing surpass truth?

Having desired the officers to consider these questions, he retired. The next morning he convened his guests, and having assumed the seat of justice, he ordered the three officers to be called, in order to report, before the assembly, their sentiments on the questions he had suggested.

The first who spoke contended for the superiorly of wine, saying, "It disturbs the understanding, reduces the greatest sovereign to an equality with infancy, gives liberty to the slave, and makes the beggar equal to an emperor; it elevates and enlivens the hearts of the miserable, discharges debts, and relieves every want; it gives confidence to the villain, and puts him above the fear of kings; it causes men to disregard their dearest friends, and assault them with as much fury as they would shew towards their most deadly enemies: when a man has slept off the effects of a delirium, he has no recollection of his conduct during a state of intoxication. Vol. I 5 O " For
"For these reasons, I conceive the operation of wine to be the most pow-

erful."

The second argued in favour of the power of kings. "It cannot be dis-
puted (said he) that the Almighty has created man so far the master of all
sublunary things as to apply them to whatever purposes his inclinations
may direct. As all earthly creatures are subservient to men; so kings
have an authority over men themselves. The sovereign of these sove-
reigns of the creation must be allowed an indisputable superiority. Sub-
jects willingly expose themselves to the most imminent dangers of war, and
even contend with nature herself, in obedience to the command of their
王子, who takes to himself the whole honor and profit of victory. The
husbandman with unremitting toil cultivates the earth; and his first duty
is to supply the king's stores with the produce of his grounds. Thus, while
the people are fighting and working for him, the sovereign indulges in all
the luxuries of abundance, security and ease: he sleeps surrounded by his
guards, who dare not close their eyes while their master enjoys his re-
pose; and no other concerns must interrupt that slavery of attendance to
which they are indispensible bound. What power, then, can exceed
that of the man to whom the public pays such implicit obedience?

Zerubbabel now spoke concerning the power of women and of truth; and
his discourse was to the following effect: "Neither the force of wine, nor
the power of princes, who bind the multitude in a common bond of alle-
giance, can be denied: but women have uncontrollably the superiority.
Before the king, the mother of the king existed: kings are the gifts of wo-
men: women are also the mothers and nurses of those by whom the vine-
yards are cultivated: they direct our domestic concerns, provide necessary
and ornamental coverings for our bodies; and they are so absolutely ne-
cessary that we can neither be brought into existence, or support life with-
out them. When a beautiful woman is before us we disregard gold and
silver, or esteem them only as being the means of obtaining possession of
the beloved object. The charms of women compel us to abandon our
country, relations and dearest friends, and to attach ourselves wholly to
them. When we have explored the sea and land for things most valuable
and curious in nature, do we not congratulate ourselves in the opportu-
nity of presenting our acquisitions to a favourite mistress? Frequently have
I seen the king condescend to receive a blow on the face from his con-
bine Apame, daughter of Rabepaces Themafinus! She has taken the
diadem from his head, and placed it on her own; and, dreading to give
her offence, he has accommodated himself to all her caprices, and yield
ed to her varying humours."

The freedom of this address was a subject of admiration to the princes and
nobles. Zerubbabel now proceeded to a discourse on the super-eminency
of truth. "Neither women nor kings (said he) can be put in competition
with the power of truth. Admitting the amazing magnitude of the earth,
the elevation of the heavens, the astonishing rapidity of the sun's motion,
and that the whole is influenced only by the Divine Providence it must,
follow that the Almighty is just and true, and that the power of truth
against,
"against which nothing can ultimately prevail, supersedes every other "power that can enter the conception of man. Truth alone is immutable "and perfect: the advantages we derive from it are not subject to the "vicissitudes of fortune, but are pure, irreproachable and eternal."
The auditors bestowed the most liberal acclamations upon Zerubbabel, and unanimously acknowledged that he had proved truth to be the only blessing not liable to change or diminution. Darius as a testimony of his entire satisfaction, told Zerubbabel that he would perform his promise: "and "(said he) in consideration of your superior understanding, you shall enjoy "the first place in my esteem, be next in honor to myself, and be adopted "a branch of the royal family."
Zerubbabel availed himself of this favourable opportunity of reminding Darius of the vow he had made, that if he should be advanced to the sovereignty, he would rebuild Jerusalem and the holy temple, and restore the sacred utensils. He thus addressed the king: "Your majesty having been "pleased to allow me the reputation of wisdom, I presume to solicit that you "will discharge the vow under which you voluntarily bound yourself re- "specting the city and temple of Jerusalem." Darius cheerfully embraced Zerubbabel; and presently issued orders for his governors and principal officers to escort him in safety to Jerusalem, and to afford him all necessary assistance towards re-establishing the temple. He also dispatched letters to the magistrates of Phoenicia and Syria, requiring them to furnish vehicles for conveying to Jerusalem cedar from Libanus, and to join their endeavours in forwarding the important design. The king issued a mandate exempting the Jews who should return from captivity from all public taxes, and pronounced them to be at full liberty, and that the Samaritans, Edomites, and the inhabitants of Cæle-Syria, should restore their ancient possessions, and contribute fifty talents towards the structure. The king caused organs to be constructed, and assigned a portion of land to the use of the officers and keepers of the city and temple, and, in fine, fulfilled every resolution that had been made by Cyrus.
Zerubbabel returned thanks to the Almighty for the honourable distinction he had received from Darius, gratefully acknowledging it to be an effect of Divine Providence; and having fervently prayed for the protection of Heaven to the work he was about to undertake, he repaired to his countrymen in Babylon, and imparted to them the joyful news of being relieved from bondage. Upon this intelligence the Jews unanimously joined in thanksgivings; and the solemnity being concluded, they employed seven days in feasting and merriment. Darius having appointed a convoy to attend the Jews to Jerusalem, those who were to undertake the expedition were selected by the principals of the tribes, who provided carriages, horses, and other beasts of burden, for conveying the women and children.
The procession which departed from Babylon was composed of a certain number of Jews, selected from each of the several tribes. Persons playing on cymbals and other instruments, went first: they were followed by four millions six hundred and twenty-eight thousand, selected from the tribes of Judah and Benjamin; four thousand and seventy Levites, and forty thousand
seven hundred and forty-two, women and children: the Levites consisted of
one hundred and twenty-eight fingers, one hundred and ten porters, and
three hundred and twenty-two affiliants in the sanctuary; six hundred and
fifty-two persons who denominated themselves Israelites, but were unable
to authenticate their claim; five hundred and twenty-five having contracted
matrimony with women, whose extraction could not be traced among the Le-
vitical or facerdotal archives; and these last were deemed unqualified for the
discharge of the sacred functions. The people were led to this expedition by
Zerubbabel, the son of Salathiel, who belonged to the tribe of Judah, and
was descended in the line of David: Jefus, the son of Jofedec, was the high-
priest; and Mardochceus and Serebaus, whom the tribes had elected to
share in the command, contributed one hundred pounds of gold, and five
hundred pounds of silver, towards the expenses of the expedition. The
Jews who chose to remain in Babylon followed the procession to some distance
on the road to Jerusalem, but gradually forming themselves into small par-
ties, they returned to their several places of residence.

Zerubbabel, the leader, and Jefus, the high-priest, in the seventh month
after the Jews had retired from Babylon, issued orders for an assembly of
the people in Jerusalem. These orders being cheerfully complied with, an
altar was erected, according to the institution of Mofes, on the spot, where
the altar had stood in former times. Hereupon the inhabitants of the neigh-
bouring countries were greatly offended; and indeed they were enemies to
the Jews, and inclined to obstruct all their operations.

About this period the scaffold of the tabernacles occurred, according to the
order of the Mofaicall law; and it was followed by the daily oblations, the
sacrifices of the Sabbath, and the new moons and other sacred festivals.
From the first day of the seventh month people repaired to Jerusalem in order
to discharge such vows as they had bound themselves to perform.

The building was now commenced, and immense sums were expended
among the various artificers, and in making the necessary provisions for those
who were employed in the conveyance of materials. The Sydonians liber-
ally assisted in the undertaking: they conveyed vast numbers of cedar-planks
from Libanus, and framed a great number of boats, which they removed to
the port of Joppa, agreeable to the directions of Cyrus, which Darius had
confirmed and ordered to be carried into execution.

The foundation of the temple having been compleated in the second month
of the second year after the return of the Jews, they began to raise the super-
structure on the first day of the third month; the direction of the work being
entrusted to such of the Levites who were twenty years of age and upwards,
Jefus, the high-priest, his sons and brothers, Zuliniel, and others, who ex-
ecuted their several commissions with such industry that a progress was made
in the undertaking greatly superior to the most sanguine expectations.

The priests, habited in facerdotal garments, and provided with musical
instruments, repaired to the temple, and being joined by the Levites and the
sons of Alaph, the sacred hymns of David were sung, agreeable to the ori-
ginal institution. The priests, Levites, and others, who had been witnefles
to the astonishing magnificence of the former structure, with violent exclama-
ions
motions of sorrow, lamented the great inferiority of the new temple; but such as were not qualified to judge of the disproportion were perfectly satisfied.

The rejoicings, sorrow, and music, brought numbers of the Samaritans to learn the caufe of such a confusion of sounds; and finding that the Jews had been restored to freedom, and were employed in re-construing the temple, they applied to Zerubbabel, Jesus, and the chiefs of the tribes, entreatyng to be admitted to share the common privileges; urging that they had adored the same God, and observed the same ceremonies in religious worship from the time of being transplanted from Chuthia and Media by Salmanaar, king of Assyria, into the land they then inhabited. The answer was, that they could not be admitted to assist in compleating the fabric, the construction of it having been exclusively assigned to the people already engaged, both by Cyrus and Darius: but they were informed, that access to the building would be indiscriminately allowed to all who were disposed to pay adoration to the Lord. This reply proved so disagreeable to the Chuthites (who are also called Samaritans) that they infligated the Syrians to use their endeavours, as they had done in the reign of Cyrus, for obstructing the work. Sisienes, governor of Syria and Phœnicia, Sarabazanes and others, questioned the principal people at Jerusalem, under the sanction of what authority the temple was to be built; saying it had rather the appearance of a castle than a temple; and wherefore the walls and gates of the city were made so strong? Zerubbabel and Jesus replied, that they were the servants of the Almighty, to whose honor the temple was dedicated by a sovereign superior in power, happiness and wisdom, to any who had before been known; that after many ages the iniquities of the people had called down the vengeance of God, who had permitted the city to be destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, who subjected the people to bondage in Babylon, where he carried vessels and other holy utensils found in the temple: but that Cyrus, king of Persia and Babylon, by his royal mandate, had ordered the reconstruction of the temple, and the restoration of the articles taken from the holy fabric by Nebuchadnezzar; they added that, if it was judged necessary, they might apply to Darius, requesting to inspect certain records to confirm the truth of this relation. The Jews became apprehensive that Darius might be induced to retract his orders; but the prophets Haggai and Zacharias encouraged them against entertaining any dread from the Persians, saying they might rely on the promised favour and protection of the Lord. Thus encouraged, the people applied themselves to the completion of their design without intermission or delay.

The Samaritans wrote to Darius, objecting to the fortifications of Jerusalem, and representing, that an edifice was erecting which had a greater resemblance to a citadel than a place of worship, and observing that the works could not be wholly intended for the service of the king: they caused an epistle written by Cambyses to be shown to Darius, wherein he had intimated the prosecution of the plan, as a measure highly prejudicial to the public. Darius ordered the royal archives to be searched on the subject of this address; and at Ecbatane, a castle in Media, a book was found containing a record to the following purpose,
"In the first year of the reign of king Cyrus, it was ordained, that the holy

temple of Jerusalem should be rebuilt, the height to be sixty cubits, and

the breadth of the same measure, and that an altar should be constructed

within the edifice; that the walls should be formed by three ranges of po-

lihed marble, and one range of wood, the produce of the country; that

the sacred vessels taken into Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar should be re-

stored; that Abassar, governor of Syria, and others, should be appointed

to superintend the structure, and, from the taxes of the province, to fur-

nish victims for sacrifice, wine, oil, and every other article which the

priests should judge necessary; that these commissioners should not remain

in Jerusalem, but leave the work to be executed by the servants of the

Lord; that the priests should put forth supplications for the prosperity of

the king and people; that whoever should dare to act in opposition to these

commands should be condemned to be hanged, and his effects be confiscat-
ed; and that, as a punishment for his impiety, he would be struck by a

severe and instant judgment from Heaven."

Upon discovery of the above record, Darius wrote to Sisinnes and his col-

dleagues to the following effect.

"King Darius to Sisinnes, master of the horse; Sarabazanes, and other

Magistrates, greeting.

"I transmit you the copy of a letter extracted from the records of Cyrus:

"it is my royal command that you strictly adhere to the directions therein

contained."

In consequence of this letter, Sisinnes and the others to whom it was ad-
dressed, determined to unite their endeavours towards completing the edifi-
ce; and with such industry this undertaking was prosecuted, that in the
space of seven years it was entirely finished. On the twenty-third day of the
eleventh month, which the Hebrews call Adar, and the Macedonians Dy-
trus, and in the ninth year of the reign of Darius, a solemn sacrifice was
made, consisting of an hundred bulls, two hundred rams, four hundred
lambs, and twelve goats, as an offering, in gratitude for the restoration of
the twelve tribes from the Babylonian captivity. Galleries were erected
round the structure; and the priests and Levites appointed porters to attend
the several gates.

Upon the fourteenth day of the first month, men, women and children,
assembled in the city, and celebrated the festival of unleavened bread; after
the example of their predecessors, observing a purity of zeal suitable to the
sacred ceremony. After seven days had been spent in making oblations,
and in rejoicings, the people dispersed.

An aristocracy was established, the administration of public affairs being
vested in the high-priest: but a monarchical form of government was after-
wards introduced by the Amonæan family. Previous to the bondage in
Babylon, the Jews, from the days of Saul and David, remained under the
government of kings, for the space of five hundred and thirty-two years, six
months
months and ten days; and the same form of government was exercised before, notwithstanding the administration of justice was lodged in the hands of the officers called judges; who after the decease of Moses and Joshua, presided upwards of five hundred years.

The Samaritans valued themselves on the alliance which they claimed to the Persians; and being a powerful and rich people, and naturally of a haughty and malignant disposition, they proved exceedingly vexatious to the Jews, complaining of the contributions levied upon them for sacrifices, and exerting their utmost endeavours to harass and annoy them. The deficiencies continuing, the Jews drew up a memorial of complaint against the Samaritans, which they deputed Zerubbabel and four others to present to Darius; who, having attended to the accusation, charged the commissioners with the following letter.

"King Darius to Tangar and Sambaba, masters of our horse at Samaria; Sadrack Bobelon, and the other inhabitants of that country, greeting."

"You stand accused by Zerubbabel, Ananias, and Mardocheus, on the part of the Jews, of intercepting the re-construction of the temple, and of contempt of my express commands, by withholding your contributions for sacrifices. I therefore strictly enjoin you to supply them from my treasury, and, with what they shall require for a due observance of the religious ceremonies, that they may offer daily prayers and sacrifices for the favour of God towards myself, and my subjects."

CHAP. V.

Darius succeeded by his son Xerxes, who grants favours to the Jews by the means of Esdras. The death of Esdras. Xerxes gives leave to Nehemiah to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem.

Darius was succeeded by his son Xerxes, who was the heir of his father's virtues. He confirmed to the Jews all the favours his predecessors had promised. At this time Joiakim, the son of Jehu, was high-priest, but the high-priest of the Jews was Esdras, an inhabitant of Babylon, distinguished by his piety, and honoured by the general esteem. He was an adept in the law of Moses, which rendered him a particular favourite with the king. Esdras having resolved to go to Jerusalem, and to take with him a number of Babylonian Jews, requested the king to grant him a recommendatory letter to the governors of Syria; which favour was obtained, and ran in the following terms.

"Xerxes, sovereign of kings, to Esdras, priest and reader of the law of God, greeting. Whereas I and my seven counsellors have determined that such of the Israelites with their priests and Levites, as chuse to accompany you to Jerusalem, to worship according to the laws of their country, may depart; it is likewise granted that they may carry their gold and silver, and that their brethren throughout Babylon may contribute towards the purchase..."
purchase of sacrifices for the altar of your God, and for the making such gold and silver veflils as you may judge neceffary. I likewife order that what is thus given you, be dedicated to your God; and your farther neceffities, if any, fhall be supplied from the public treasure: for which purpole I have written to my officers in Syria and Phcenicia, with express direcions for them immediately to furnifh what Efdras fhall defire. And in the hope that Heaven will prosper me and my family, I direct that one hundred meafures of wheat be dedicated to God, as is required by law. I hereby charge the magiftrates not to receive any thing from the priefts, levites, fingers, porters, or other perfonas belonging to the temple. With regard to you, Efdras, I hereby authorize you (according to the wi- dom God has given you,) that you appoint to prefide over Syria and Phcenicia, Judges of integrity and knowledge in the laws. In the mean time, do you instruct the ignorant, that thofe who trangrefs the laws of God, or the king, may receive the reward of their crimes, fome being punished with death, and others by fine, as the nature of the offence may require.

Farewell.”

Efdras having received this letter, gave thanks to God for the king’s goodness. On this occasion the Jews were summoned to meet at Babylon, the letter read, and copies of it lent to the Jews in Media; but Efdras retained the original. The goodness of the king to Efdras furnifhed matter of agreeable fufprise to the people, many of whom packed up their property, and repaired to Babylon, with a view to return to Jerufalem; while others, habituated to the place, chose to remain in their old habitations: and this ac- counts for two tribes of Jews only being found in Asia, and Europe, under the Roman emperor. The other ten tribes are situated beyond the Euphrates, where their numbers are encreased almoft beyond credibility.

Numbers of people, viz. priefts, levites, porters to the temple, officers, and fervants, flocked to Efdras on the publication of the above recommendatory epifcle. Thofe who chose to return from captivity into their own country, were appointed to affemble at the Euphrates, where having held a solemn falt for three days, and offered prayers for the fuccest of their expedition, they departed on the twelfth day of the firft month, and reached Jerufalem in the fifth month, of the seventh year of the reign of Xerxes. On his arrival, Efdras delivered fix hundred and fifty talents of silver, a hundred talents of silver veffils, twenty talents of golden veffils, and twelve talents of fine brafs (more valuable than gold) to the priefts who took care of the holy treafure; being the gifts of the king and his friends, and fuch of the Ifraelites as remained in Babylon. Efdras having discharged his truft, offered burnt-offerings to God, viz. twelve bulls for the Ifraelites in general, with seventy-two fheep and lambs, and for a sin-offering, twelve goats. To the officers in Phcenicia and Syria, Efdras delivered the king’s letter; in obedience to which the Ifraelites were furnifhed with all fuch things as they ftood in need of.

Efdras had not long adjusted the affairs of the people, when he was in- formed that certain priefts and levites had difobeyed the law, and departed from their duty, by marrying into foreign families, fo as to confound the
race of the priest-hood. He was now, therefore, applied to, that he might maintain the laws, lest God, in his wrath, should punish the whole people for the crimes of a few. Hereupon Esdras, in the extremity of his grief, rent his cloaths, tore his hair off his head and beard, and threw himself on the ground in despair; for so many persons of consequence had been guilty of the abovementioned crime, that he despaired of prevailing on them to quit their wives and children: wherefore he still continued in despondency on the ground. Those whole hearts were not dead to the feelings of humanity, flocked around him, to share his sorrows, and condole with him in his distress. In the interim, the good man, lifting up his hands, exclaimed, “Gracious God! I blush to implore thy mercy in favour of these people,” when I reflect that notwithstanding thy judgments on their fore-fathers for disobedience, they will still proceed in the same path: but thy mercy, “O God, is infinite; on which account pardon, I entreat thee, this wretched remnant of thy miserable servants; and as thy goodness has restored them to their ancient habitation; compleat thy goodness to them by the forgiveness of their present crimes. I acknowledge that their iniquities are deserving of death; but in thy goodness they place their confidence.”

During this heart-felt prayer of Esdras, and while he was surrounded by a crowd of people of both sexes and all ages, Jechonias, a man of distinction in Jerusalem, brought to him the confession of those who had broke the law, by marrying foreign women, and advised Esdras to bind them by an oath to dismission their wives, and the children of those marriages; and that those who refused should be punished. Esdras, approving this advice, imposed the oath, and then retired to the chamber of Johanan, the son of Eliashib, where, through the excess of his grief, he remained all day without food. He next published a proclamation for those who had returned from captivity, to assemble at Jerusalem, on pain of forfeiting their effects to the holy treasury, and of being excommunicated. The tribes of Judah and Benjamin met on the twentieth day of the month Thebeth, and having stationed themselves in the upper part of the temple, Esdras addressed the elders, informing them that they had committed a heinous offence against the laws of their country, by intermarriages with strangers, and that the only way to obtain the favour of God would be to dismission the wives they had married. To this they declared their assent; but said that, as the offenders were many, the fearon fever, and the matter of high concern, it would be proper to take time to reflect on it: whereupon it was agreed that power should be given to the elders, and men of distinction, who were innocent of the alleged crime, to make the proposed enquiry. On the first of the tenth month, this motion was made: and the enquiry lasted till the first day of the succeeding month. On examination, it appeared that many of the kinsmen of Jesus the high-priest, with other priests, Levites, and many of the Israelites, had been involved in the transgression: on which they immediately disowned their wives and children, preferring a regard to the laws, to all other considerations. This being done, they offered up rams as peace offerings: and it was acknowledged that the order of Esdras, regarding the restraint of marriage, should be established for future ages.
The festival of tabernacles having commenced, and the people being assembled in the eastern part of the temple, Esdras, at their desire, read in the midst of them, and read the law of God: which service continued from morning till noon, to the great instruction of the audience, who learnt the laws of truth and uprightness, and were taught to reflect on the fate of their forefathers, in consequence of the violation of those laws, the observance of which would have ensured their happiness. This reflection melted them into tears, which Esdras observing, bad them go home and make themselves easy: observing that the festival was rather profaned by their grief. He advised that they should eat, drink, and rejoice, and regard the festival no farther than as it might prevent their being again guilty of their former error. They took his advice, and having spent eight days in feasting, every man returned home, with acknowledgements to Esdras for the reformation he had occasioned.

The hearts of the people of Israel were won by the conduct of Esdras, who lived honourably: died, at a great age, in Jerusalem, and was interred in a most pompous manner. Nearly at the same time died Joiakim, the high-priest, who was succeeded by his son, Eliaiah.

Among those Jews who had been taken prisoners was Nehemiah, cup-bearer to Xerxes, who being walking near Sura, the capital of Persia, heard some people conversing in Hebrew; on which he asked them whence they came. They said from Judea, and on his enquiring respecting Jerusalem, they said that the walls were destroyed, the country exposed to the inroads of the enemy, the people carried into captivity, and dead bodies left on the highways. Nehemiah wept at these misfortunes, and, lifting up his eyes to heaven, exclaimed, "When, O God, shall thy people cease to be oppressed, and exposed to the insults of others!" While Nehemiah was thus lamenting, a person informed him that the king was going to supper; on which he hurried to attend his duty. After supper, the king observing Nehemiah look dull, asked him the cause; on which (privately praying to God for directions) he said: "How can I but be miserable when the place of my birth is destroyed; Jerusalem become a heap of rubbish; the gates of the city burnt, the tombs of my ancestors violated, and the ashes of the dead faned? I have but one favour to ask;—your royal permission to go to Jerusalem, to assist in compleating the temple, and rebuilding the walls." This request the king complied with, and promised him letters to his governors, who should assist him in his intended work; and, on the following day, the king sent for Nehemiah, and delivered to him letters to Sadaucus, governor of Syria, Phœnicia, and Samaria, to afford him proper assistance. Nehemiah going first to Babylon, was accompanied by voluntary friends to Jerusalem, and arriving in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Xerxes, shewed his friends his letters of credit, and then delivered them to Sadaucus. After this he summoned a general meeting of the people at Jerusalem, whom he addressed to the following purport.

"It must be evident to you, men of Judea, that the same God who protected our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in regard of their justice and piety, now affords his protection to us. By the goodness of this God the king has permitted me to rebuild your walls, and compleat your temple..."
ple. I am sensible that you have envious neighbours, who will endeavour

to frustrate the undertaking; wherefore I recommend that you trust in

God who will defeat your enemies, and labour day and night for the

completion of the work, for which you have now a happy opportunity." 
Nehemiah now directed the magistrates to measure the walls, survey the
ground, and allot to the people of each town and village, their several pro-
portions; engaging that himself, and his dependants would aid the business;
and then dismissed the assembly. Nehemiah's authority had such an influ-
ence, that the Jews immediately applied themselves to complete the work.

The report of this intended re-construction so alarmed the Ammonites,
Moabites, Samaritans, and Coele-Syrians, that they exerted all their skill to
frustrate it. They lay in ambush for the Jews, many of whom they sudde-

nely attacked and destroyed. They hired desperate men to attempt the life of
Nehemiah, and filled the minds of the people with such a variety of fictitious
tales, that they were almost induced to abandon their work: but Nehemiah
remained undaunted, and, with a flight guard, continued his vigilance, de-
spising danger and fatigue; yet the fear of death, or regard for his per-
sonal safety, took no part in his thoughts; but he foresaw that if he should be
destroyed, his dependants would be unable to compleat the work. He
ordered that his carpenters, masons, and labourers should work with their
swords by their sides, and have their bucklers ready in case of necessity.
He likewise stationed trumpeters, at five hundred paces from each other,
that, if an enemy approached, the people might be alarmed in time to de-
defend themselves. He patrolled the whole city every night; neither ate nor
slept more than was proper for the sustenance of nature, and bore his labour,
watching, and hard living, so that he defied all difficulties.

The fortifications being compleated, Nehemiah and the people offered sa-
crifice, and made a feast of eight days, which greatly chagrined the Syrians.
Nehemiah considering that the city was but thinly inhabited, prevailed on
the priests and levites to reside therein, promising to provide them houses
at his own expense. He also directed that the husbandmen should carry
their tithes into the city, for the support of the priests and levites, the duty
of whose offices ought not to be interrupted by worldly cares. These
directions were readily obeyed, and the city soon became more popu-

lous. These things happened in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of
Xerxes. After many worthy actions, Nehemiah died in a good old age:
and he will be ever remembered with gratitude for his goodness in the re-
paration of the walls of Jerusalem.

CHAP.
Xerxes succeeded by Artaxerxes, who turns off his wife Vashti, and marries Esther, Mordecai's niece. Haman advises the destruction of the Jews, and that Mordecai be put to death. Haman hanged on the gibbet provided for Mordecai, and the latter advanced.

On the death of Xerxes, his son Artaxerxes succeeded to the government of the Persians, and had no sooner commenced his reign, than he appointed governors over one hundred and twenty-seven provinces between Ethiopia and India. In his third year he ordered a grand entertainment at Susa, at which his friends and great officers were entertained for one hundred and eighty days. The ambassadors of other nations attended this entertainment for seven days, and the feast was conducted in the following manner. A tent was erected on pillars of gold and silver, covered with purple and fine linen, large enough to contain some thousands of people. The wine was served in vessels of gold and silver, adorned with stones of great value. The attendants were directed (as usual among the Persians) that no one should be compelled to drink more than he chose; and proclamation was made, that a certain number of days should be appointed as a festival for the general welfare of the kingdom. Vashti the queen had a separate apartment where she entertained her women. Her beauty was so great, that the king fent for her, that his company might see her; but in obedience to the rigid laws of Persia, (where a woman only sees her domestics) she refused to attend: the eunuchs were repeatedly sent to summon her, but she still persisted in her refusal. This so incensed the king, that, when the feast was ended, he advised with the seven commissioners appointed to interpret the laws of Persia, how he should act in this case of his wife's refusal. Muchaus, one of the commissioners, said that the offence was not simply against the king, but of dangerous precedent to his subjects, whose wives might be taught disobedience to their husbands, if the queen's presumption should go unpunished; wherefore he advised that the king should issue a proclamation, importing that he had banished Vashti for ever from his court and presence, and would take another wife in her stead. The king's love for the queen pleaded so powerfully for his living with her, and the laws so much to the contrary, that he knew not how to act. While he was almost distracted with his own thoughts, his friends advised him to consider the unreasonable excess of his attachment to one woman, when he had only to chuse among the whole sex, and fix on that wife who should be most agreeable to him. They urged that the former wife would soon be forgotten, in the charms and conversation of a new one.

In consequence of this advice, persons were deputed to search through the king's dominions for some distinguished beauty; and at length they found at Babylon a maid named Esther, the elegance and grace of whose person rendered her the object of universal admiration. Her parents being dead, she had been educated in the house of her uncle Mordecai, a man of great
great distinction, of the tribe of Benjamin. Esther being committed to the
care of the king's eunuchs, was attended with great respect, and furnished
with perfumes, essences, and such other things as ladies use, to improve
their charms. She thus continued with four hundred other virgins, for six
months, at the end of which the king received them alternately to his bed:
but when Esther's turn came, her conversation and behaviour so charmed the
king, that he resolved to marry her, and accordingly celebrated his nuptials
in the month Adar, being the twelfth month of the seventh year of his
reign. He dispatched messengers to proclaim the marriage feast, which
lasted a month, at which the king entertained the principal men of the
Medes, Persians, and other nations. When the queen entered the palace,
the king put the crown on her head, and thenceforward lived with her with-
out enquiring respecting her country. In the mean time her uncle Morde-
ccai removed to Sula, and often enquired at the palace for the welfare of
Esther, whom he loved as tenderly as if he had been her father.

About this time the king issued orders that when he should sit on
the throne no persons should approach him without being commanded to attend,
on the forfeiture of their heads; and the officers attended with axes, to execute
such as disobeyed. But the king held in his hand a golden sceptre, which he
extended when he chose to save such as disobeyed the order: and their touch-
ing this sceptre sealed their pardon.

Bigthan and Teresh, two of the eunuchs of the chamber, now plotted the
destruction of the king; but Barnabafus, a Jew by descent, who was servant
to one of them, told Mordecai of the affair, who made it known to the king,
by the means of Esther; on which the conspirators were seized, convicted,
and executed. For this service Mordecai was admitted a domestic in the
palace, and the circumstance was entered on record to his honor.

The king promoted Haman, the son of Hammedatha, an Amalekite, who
was often at court, where, agreeable to the king's pleasure, both Persians
and strangers paid him great homage. Mordecai alone bowed not to him,
such obedience being against the custom of his country. This being re-
marked by Haman, he enquired who he was; and learning that he was a
Jew, exclaimed at his insolence in affronting him to whom the natives paid
such respect. Haman now conceived a scheme of revenge, not only against
Mordecai, but the Jews in general, remembering that these people had for-
merly beaten his countrymen, the Amalekites, and driven them out of their
land. Hereupon Haman repaired to the king, hinting that the Jews were a
vile race, of bad tempers, disagreeable manners, and superstitions in their
ceremonies; who lurked about his dominions, and appeared to be the enemies
of mankind by their general behaviour. He then besought the king to
oblige him in the highest degree, by ordering the utter extirpation of these
people: "And, (said he) that your revenue may not suffer hereby, I will,
out of my own estate, pay into your treasury forty thousand talents of
silver; for I shall be happy in the loss of part of my private fortune, so that
these abandoned people are but rooted out of your dominions." In answer
hereto, the king refused to take Haman's money, but bid him deal with

the Jews as he thought proper; whereupon the latter gave orders for publishing throughout the king's dominions the following edict:

"Artaxerxes, the Great King, to the one hundred and twenty-seven Governors of the provinces of India and Ethiopia, greeting."

"For as much as God hath given me the supreme rule over numerous nations, and as much command over the rest of the world, as gratifeth my highest ambition: I am disposed, therefore, not to tyrannize over my subjects, but to rule them with a gentle hand, to secure them in peace and freedom, and to settle their tranquillity on a firm basis. These things I have maturely considered; and being informed by Haman, my favourite friend and counsellor, on whose allegiance, discretion and justice, I can depend, and who stands first in my esteem, that a barbarous people have intermixed with my subjects, who presume to govern themselves by their own laws, and prescribe a rule of conduct contrary to good order and subjection: a people who in their manners and behaviour hold our monarchy and administration in defiance: you are therefore hereby commanded, that when Haman, (whom you are to deem as a father) shall give notice who are meant by this proclamation, that, in pursuance of this decree, you put all the said people to the sword, men, women, and children, without distinction: and I farther enjoin that this be executed on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month of the present year; that one day may compleat the destruction of your enemies and mine, and our lives be spent in peace and security."

This order was soon circulated through all the towns of the empire, and the people prepared to destroy the Jews on the fixed day: nor was the disposition at Susa less violent against them, than in other places. In the interim, the king and Haman spent their time in feasting and drinking; but people of reflection were shocked at the approaching massacre.

Mordecai no sooner learnt the purport of the proclamation, than he rent his clothes, covered himself with sack-cloth, threw ashes on his head, and went through the city, protesting against the deed; but stopped at the gate of the palace, which no man durst enter in such a dress: in all other places the Jews were likewise abandoned to grief. The queen learning that Mordecai was at the palace-gate in such a habit, sent and begged that he would change his dress: but he replied that he would not, till the cause of it was removed. The queen sent Hatach, one of the king's eunuchs, to learn Mordecai's reason for such an appearance; on which he told him the particulars of the king's order for the destruction of the Jews; and what a sum of money Haman had offered for the grant. He gave Hatach a copy of the original order, to communicate to the queen; and begged his interest with the king to spare the lives of a whole people; entreat him not to hesitate, for Haman was perpetually traducing the Jews to the king, and would certainly succeed if not counteracted. The eunuch told this to the queen, who sent word to Mordecai, that to interrupt the king on his throne, without orders,
to attend, was an offence punishable with loss of life, except the king granted pardon by extending his sceptre. Mordecai now urged the messenger to remind the queen, that not her personal safety, but that of a whole people, was to be regarded; cautioning her not to omit so charitable an office; and hinting that if she did, Providence would preserve the Jews, and she and her family might hereafter lie at their mercy. Esther now directed the eunuch to tell her uncle that he should assemble the Jews at Susa, and order a fast of three days for the queen's safety; saying, that herself and attendants would observe the same, and at the end of that time she would go to the king at the hazard of her life. The queen's orders were obeyed by Mordecai, who fasted and humbled himself, beseeching God to extend his mercy to penitent sinners, and turn away the malice of their enemies; for that not their own crimes, but the pride of Haman, who expected such adoration as was due only to God, had reduced them to that distress; by which a nation who refused to violate the divine laws, was to be rooted out. The Israelites in general prayed to the same purpose, beseeching God to avert his judgments. The queen wore a mourning veil, according to the custom of her country, prostrated herself on the ground, and abstained from food and all refreshments for three days; and implored God to incline the king's heart in her favour, to render her person and words more acceptable than ever in his sight, that their enemies might be confounded, and her unhappy countrymen escape that snare that had been laid for them.

Three days being thus spent in humiliation, the queen dressed herself in her royal attire, took with her two handmaids, and advanced to the king, leaning on one, while the other bore her train. Dignity, elegance, and concern, were mingled in her appearance. The king was seated on his throne, dressed in robes adorned with precious stones, gold, and pearl. The queen trembled at the sight; and fancying that the king looked displeased, fainted in the arms of one of her attendants. The king, shocked at this accident, descended from the throne, caught her in his arms, and assured her that, though she came unshod for, no punishment should follow, as the law was intended to restrain the subjects, and had no reference to her, who was his partner in the sovereign authority. Thus saying he laid the sceptre lightly on her neck, and gave it into her hands; which dissipated all her fears. Having recovered the use of speech, she said she could not account for her sudden illness, but that her heart failed on the splendid appearance of the king. These words were spoken in such a weak and languishing tone, that the king, impressed by the idea of what she suffered, said, he would grant any thing, even the half of his kingdom, to her petition. Esther only begged he would that day bring Haman with him, and accept of a treat she had provided. They both went, and when elevated with liquor, the king had her only name her request, and it should be complied with: on which she solicited that he and Haman would attend her the following day, when she would prefer her petition. This pleased the king, and enraptured Haman, who was not a little proud of this eminent distinction. In his way home he met Mordecai in the palace, who paid him no respect; on which he went to his wife Zeresh, and several of his friends, whom he informed on what
what terms he was with the king and queen, with whom he had supped, and received a similar invitation for the following day: "but yet (said he) " the infolence of Mordecai chagrines me." Zeresh advised him to erect a gallows fifty cubits high, and obtain the king's permission to hang Mordecai on it in the morning. He took her advice, and the gallows was put up within his own palace. But the providence of God defeated the hopes of Haman; for the king being unable to sleep that night, arose, and ordered his secretary to bring him a number of state papers for his perusal. On reading them, the king found great honours and riches had been bestowed on one man for his valour; that the fidelity of a second to his prince had made his fortune: at length he came to the account of the conspiracy of the eunuchs, Bigthan and Teresh, of which Mordecai had made discovery. The king bad the secretary stop here, and asked him if the party had been rewarded for his services; to which the other said that no reward was mentioned in that account. The secretary was now ordered to enquire the hour; and bringing word that it was day-break, the king bad him see if any of his friends were at the gate of the palace. He there found Haman, with his petition against the life of Mordecai. The king being told that Haman waited, ordered him in, and said, "As I esteem you my " best friend, I wish for your advice: but what honours, consistent with " my own dignity, and my affection for the party, shall I bestow on the " man who has conferred the greatest obligation on me?" Haman, thinking this question related to himself, said, that the man thus to be distinguished should be clothed in the royal apparel, be presented with a chain of gold, and being mounted on the king's own horse, his majesty should direct one of his confident friends to march before him through the city, and proclaim, "Thus shall it be done to the man whom the king delighteth to " honour." The king appearing pleased with this proposal, said, "Do " you take the horse, apparel, and golden chain, and having found Mor- " decai the Jew, dress him, see him mounted, and walk before him as the " herald; for you, being my most worthy friend, are the most proper person " to execute what you have advised. This honour shall be done to Mordecai, " because I owe my life to his zeal." Haman was confounded at this order, but obliged to comply; wherefore he took the horse, the royal apparel, and chain of gold, and went in search of Mordecai, whom he found clothed in buckcloth at the gate of the palace, and desired him to put on the purple robes. Mordecai, ignorant of what had passed, thought Haman intended to ridicule him, and therefore treated him as one who meant to insult the unfortunate. The matter being explained, Mordecai was convinced that the king intended him this honour in reward of his preventing the effects of the eunuchs conspiracy: whereupon he put on the robes, invested him with the chain, and, getting on the horse, rode through the city; Haman preceeding him with this proclamation: "Thus shall it be done to the man whom " the king delighteth to honour." This ceremony being ended, Mordecai repaired to the king, while Haman went home dejected, and informed his wife and friends of what had happened. On hearing herof they were con-
viaced that they could not wreak their vengeance on Mordecai, who appeared to be protected by Heaven.

During their conversation, some eunuchs came from the queen to summon Haman to supper: Sabuchadas, one of the eunuchs, seeing a gibbet in the court-yard, enquired who it was intended for; and being told for Mordecai, the queen's uncle, he said no more. While they were at supper, the king again desired the queen to make her demand, and it should not be refused. On this she recited the imminent danger of the Jews; lamented that herself and countrymen were devoted to destruction, and said, that was the subject on which she wished to speak to the king. She was unwilling to interrupt business of state; and thought that if her countrymen had been only doomed to slavery, the sentence might have been submitted to; but she implored his majesty to put a stop to their total destruction. The king immediately asked who had a design to destroy them; to which the queen answered that, in mere malice, Haman had given such advice. The king being hurt by this discourse, retired to the garden; and in the mean time Haman, who saw the gathering storm, besought the queen's pardon for his errors, and threw himself on the bed by her, in a posture of humiliation. At this instant the king returned, and observing Haman in this situation, reproached him as a villain for attempting the honour of the queen; accompanying what he said with such violent action, that Haman was at a loss to reply. Sabuchadas, the eunuch above-mentioned, now told the king of the gibbet erected in Haman's court, for the execution of Mordecai: hereupon the king gave orders that Haman should be hanged on the very gibbet he had prepared for the other. Thus wonderful was the wisdom of Providence, in bringing Haman to the very punishment he had designed for another.

Haman being executed, his estate was given to the queen, who had by this time informed the king of her affinity to Mordecai; on which the king sent for him, and gave him the ring which had been heretofore entrusted with Haman, and the queen bestowed on him the estates of the delinquent. She next reminded the king of the letters Haman had dispatched through the empire; and begged that he would ease the Jews of their apprehensions, saying that her own life was involved in the safety of her friends. The king assured her that nothing should happen to the Jews without her consent; and permitted her to write to them in his name, and the letters should be delivered throughout his dominions, sealed with the royal signet, which would give them sufficient validity. But the king ordered his scribes and secretaries to write a letter, of which the following is a copy, in behalf of the Jews, to the one hundred and twenty-seven governors of the nations between India and Ethiopia:

"Artaxerxes, the Great King, to his faithful governors, greeting.

"It is but too general a practice for men whose fortune hath been greater than their merit, to insult both their inferiors and benefactors; and, extinguish as far as in their power, all sense of gratitude and benevolence: they like..."
wife pervert the power bestowed to the discredit of those who gave it; and this under such disguises as if God could not penetrate them. Nor is it any new matter for favourites, by the misrepresentation of men and things, to gratify their private passions to the injury of their masters; and thus endanger the lives of honest men by their ill offices with the prince.

This I declare, not on the credit of report or history, but on perfect demonstration within my own knowledge. For the future, therefore, let no regard be paid to slanderous accusations; but let facts be carefully enquired into, and let full proof of the innocence or guilt of the party acquit or condemn him.

You are not unacquainted that Haman is not a Persian, but an Amalekite by extraction, nor how affectionately I have treated, and what honour done this man, having called, and regarded him as my father, ordering my subjects to obey him next to myself. Now his pride had induced him to depart from his duty, and prompted him to think of succeeding to the government, by the destruction of Mordecai, to whom I owe my life; and likewise to destroy the queen; the end of his plot being to usurp my authority, when his plans against the lives of my friends had succeeded.

Wherefore, as the designs of this man to destroy the Jews are notorious, I hereby certify, that, far from finding them seditious, according to his report, I approve of them as a people worshipping that God to whom I and my family owe the possession and support of our dominion. These letters are therefore to command that you abstain from all punishment of these people ordered by the letters of Haman: and you are also to treat them with all respect, notwithstanding the commands of Haman, whom, as a sacrifice to justice, I have caused to be executed on a gibbet before the gates of Susa.

And I further command that copies of these letters be transmitted throughout my dominions, that the Jews may enjoy their laws in peace; and that you afford them help against those who oppress them. And as the thirteenth day of the twelfth month (Adar) is fixed for the extirpation of these people, it is my will that you fix on this time, as the moment of their deliverance: assured that this proceeding will satisfy my friends, and afford a cautionary example to future traitors. Be it farther known to the parties herein concerned, in all our cities and towns, that military execution shall be the consequence of disobedience to these commands: of which all our subjects are to take notice; and the Jews shall be ready to avenge themselves on their enemies at the appointed time.

Persons were immediately dispatched with these letters. In the interim Mordecai, coming out of the palace, drest in the royal robe, gown and chain, the Jews triumphed in this circumstance as a prelude to their happiness; and the joy was extreme wherever the king's letters were published. People of other nations were likewise affected, that many of them were circumcised, to escape as Jews. On receiving this letter, the princes, magistrates,
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magistrates, and governors, dreading the resentment of Mordecai, paid more
than usual respect to the Jews.

The publication of the edict caused the Jews of Susa to destroy five-hun-
dred of their enemies; and the king informing the queen thereof, asked her
if she had any thing farther to demand, for he should not refuse her request.
She begged that Haman's raptoims might be hanged on the gibbet, and that
the Jews might be allowed one other day of revenge. This being granted,
they assembled on the following day, and killed near three hundred more at
Susa; and it was judged that seventy-five thousand more were destroyed
throughout the empire. The slaughter at Susa was on the thirteenth; that
in the country on the fourteenth of the twelfth month; which days are still
celebrated as festivals among the Jews, agreeable to an order of Mordecai,
for a perpetual remembrance to posterity, that the days intended for their
defaftion proved those of their deliverance: and these days are now called
Purim, or feast of preservation. Mordecai continued in great credit with
the king and queen, and so directed public affairs, that the Jews flourished
wonderfully during his administration.

CHAPTER VII.

Eliashib the high-priest succeeded by Judas. Jesus slain in the temple, by his bro-
ther John. Manasseh, brother of Jaddus, the high-priest, married to Sanballat's daughter, Nicasa.

The high-priest Eliashib, being dead, was succeeded by his son Judas,
and he, by his son John. This John caused the temple to be
profaned by Bagos, commander of Artaxerxes's troops, levying a fine on
the Jews, of fifty drachmas daily, for each lamb they sacrificed, to be paid
before the offerings commenced. The cause of this fine was as follows. The
brother of John was named Jesus, and Bagos being his intimate friend,
fought to elevate him to the priesthood. Jesus, presuming upon this dis-
tinction, quarrelled with his brother in the temple, and the latter, much
enraged, attacked and killed him: a circumstance so dishonourable to reli-
gion, that heaven would not permit it to remain unpunished. The conse-
quence was that the Jews lost their liberty, and the temple was profaned by
the Persians: for no sooner had Bagos heard that the high-priest had slain
his brother in the temple, than he exclaimed, in contempt of the Jews,
"Abominable people! to make your house of worship like a shambles."
He now crowded to get into the temple; but some persons opposing him, he
said "Conceive you that my living body is more offensive than the dead
"within this place?" And thus saying, he forced his way. From this pe-
riod, his conduct over the Jews was very rigid, for about seven years; but
John dying, was succeeded in the priesthood by his son Jaddus. Now Jadd-
dus having a brother named Manasseh; and Sanballat considering how great
a city Jerusalem was, and that the Syrians and Assyrians had been frequently
routed by the kings thereof, gave his daughter Nicasa in marriage to Ma-
"
nasshe, as a testimony of the friendship which he intended to maintain with the Jews. This Sanballat was a Chughtite, and from him the Samaritans derive their original; he having governed Samaria, under the last king, Darius.

**CHAP. VIII.**

The war removed from Europe to Asia by Alexander the Great. He ravages the Persian empire; but, instead of destroying Jerusalem, treats the Jews with all possible kindness.

Pausanias having about this time murdered Philip, king of Macedonia, he was succeeded by his son Alexander, who passing the Hellepont, gained a great victory over Darius, by the river Granicus. He then reduced Lydia and Ionia; marched through Caria, and arrived in the country of Pamphylia.

About this time the elders of Jerusalem were engaged against Manasseh, for marrying a strange wife, fearing that if this circumstance passed unnoticed, it might be a dangerous precedent for others, and might at length become customary. They remembered, likewise, that marrying women not of their own people, had heretofore caused their captivity, and the misfortunes consequent thereon: therefore they insisted that Manasseh should no longer attend the altar, unless he dismissed his wife; and the high-priest and people absolutely refused his officiating. Hereupon Manasseh told Sanballat, his father-in-law, of the high regard he had for his daughter; but said he could not submit to be deprived of the priesthood and its honours on account of his marriage, even to so worthy a woman. Hereupon Sanballat said that if he would continue to acknowledge his wife, he would not only secure him in his present station, but raise him to the rank of high-priest, establish him as a prince of the country, and build him a temple on mount Garizim, equal to that at Jerusalem: and all this should be performed by permission of Darius. Relying on these promises, Manasseh remained with his father-in-law, who now grew very old. Many priests and other Israelites having married strange women, they all returned to Manasseh, to support whom in his views of ambition, Sanballat supplied them with houses, land, flock, and money.

Alexander having passed the Hellepont, and obtained the victory at the Granicus, Darius assembled his forces, resolved to give battle to the Macedonians, and prevent their ravaging Asia, as they had proposed. Having passed the Euphrates, he disposed himself to battle on the other side mount Taurus, in Cilicia. Sanballat, pleased with this march of Darius, told Manasseh, that on the king's return he would ratify all his promises; as he had no doubt but that the Macedonians would be routed on the first encounter. In this, however, he was mistaken; for Darius was routed, his army being chiefly cut off, his mother, wife, and children made captives, and himself obliged to fly to Persia for refuge. In the interim Alexander marched

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into Syria, made capture of Sidon and Damascus, and besieged Tyre. He now wrote to the high-priest of the Jews, claiming the assistance theretofore given to Darius, and demanding that his army might be supplied with necessaries, which should be paid for punctually. The high-priest returned a short answer, intimating that they had sworn not to bear arms against Darius, during their lives. This answer enraged Alexander, who, however, proceeded in his attack of Tyre, but vowed that, when he had conquered it, he would attack the high-priest, and teach his people not to violate their oaths. Alexander soon conquered Tyre, and then proceeded to reduce the Persian government at Gaza.

Sanballat, finding that Alexander lay before Tyre, repaired to him with eight thousand men, thus abandoning his faith to Darius. Alexander received him graciously, and bid him speak freely; on which he said that his son-in-law, Manassah, brother to Jaddus, high-priest of the Jews, was following him with a great concourse of people, who requested leave to erect a temple in that province. Sanballat intimated likewise how much Alexander's interest was concerned in this permission, as the Jews, who were very numerous, might be as troublesome to him, as they had heretofore been to the Syrians. The request was granted, and they began to build the temple, of which Manasseh was to be the high-priest, and his descendants, by Sanballat's daughter, to succeed to that honour. At the end of nine months, Sanballat died, and Alexander having made a conquest of Gaza, proceeded towards Jerusalem. Jaddus the high-priest was now confounded to think how he should behave to a prince whose former commands he had disobeyed: on which he ordered prayers and sacrifices for the general prosperity of the people. On the following night it was revealed to Jaddus in a dream, that he should adorn the city with garlands and flowers, open the gates, and let the people, dressed in white, go out to meet Alexander; himself and the other priests preceding, in their proper habits. In the morning, Jaddus, highly rejoiced, told the citizens what had been revealed, and proceeded to make the necessary preparations for meeting the king. Learning that he approached, Jaddus, with the priests and people, went on to a place called Sapha, (or the place of prospect) from its commanding a view of the city and temple. The Chaldeans, and Phœnicians, thought to destroy and plunder the high-priest and people; but it happened otherwise: for Alexander, seeing the people walking in white, the priests in silk robes, and the high-priest in purple, embroidered with gold, wearing his mitre, and having on his forehead a golden plate, with the name of God on it, advanced alone, paid homage to the inscription, and complimented the high-priest. Hereupon the Jews gathered in crowds, and proclaimed the praise of Alexander. This behaviour astonished the kings of Persia and others; and Parmenio asked Alexander how it happened that he, whom almost every man worshipped, should bow to a priest of the Jews. Alexander replied, "I worship not this man; but his God. Some time since I saw this very person, in the same habit, at Dion, in Macedonia. I was debating how to conquer Asia, when he bid me conduct my army over the river, and I should..."

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should subdue the empire of Persia. On seeing him in this habit, the idea of my dream recurs, and I am sure this is the person who encouraged me to this expedition: thus convinced of the divine interposition, I have no doubt of success against the Persians." Having said this, the king saluted Jaddus, and the other priests escorting him into the city, he advanced to the temple, and offered sacrifice. Alexander paid great respect to the high-priest, who, on the conclusion of the ceremony, shewed him a prophecy of Daniel, which predicted that, in future time, a Greek should conquer the empire of Persia. Alexander presuming that this meant himself, was highly gratified, and discharged the people till the following day, when they were to make known what they desired he should do for them: On their meeting, the high-priest said, they wished to enjoy their own laws, to be freed from a tribute paid once in seven years; and to retain the same privileges as the Jews of Media and Babylon; all which Alexander granted, and said farther, that if any of them chose to enlist in his army, they should have the free exercise of their religion; on which many of them engaged in his service.

Alexander having adjusted affairs at Jerusalem, proceeded to different places, and was very well received in them all. The city of Sichem, near the mount Garizim, was at this time the chief residence of the Samaritans, who retained their old disposition of being friends to the Jews in prosperity. Alexander was met by the Sichemites, (accompanied by the troops Sanballat had sent) who, with apparent joy, begged he would honor their city and temple with a visit. The king spake kindly to them, and promised a visit on his return. They then asked a remittance of the seventh year's tribute. Alexander demanded of what nation they were: they answered Hebrews, but the Sidonians called them Sichemites. They were then asked if they were Jews; but they answered in the negative; upon which Alexander said, "The favour you ask I have granted to the Jews; and, when I return, and am better informed, I shall indulge you in what may be thought reasonable." Saying this, the king dismissed the Sichemites; but took Sanballat's troops with him to Egypt, where they had lands allotted to them; but they were afterwards placed in garrison in Thebes, where they had the same indulgence.

Alexander dying, his empire was divided among his successors. The temple of Garizim remained untouched. When the Jews at Jerusalem violated their laws, by a breach of the sabbath, or eating meats that were forbidden, they used to take sanctuary with the Sichemites, pretending that they were falsely accused. Jaddus, the high-priest, died at this period, and was succeeded by his son Onias.

End of the Eleventh Book.
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK XII.

Containing the history of the transactions from the year of
the World 3635 to 3804.

CHAP. I.

The Macedonian empire divided into principalities, after the decease of Alexander.
Ptolemy obtains possession of Jerusalem.

Alexander died, after having obtained an entire conquest over
the Persian empire, and established divers regulations in Jerusalem, as
we have already mentioned: and his kingdom was divided among the chiefs
of his army. Antigonus assumed the command of Asia; Seleucus that of
Babylon and the bordering countries; the Hellespont was under Lyphma-
chus; * Casander reigned over Macedon; and Ptolemy, the son of Lagus,
over Egypt. These princes severally aimed at universal sovereignty, and
the consequence was a war of long duration, in the course of which great
numbers

* Spanheim proves the true reading to be Casander.
numbers of people were sacrificed, and many capital cities utterly destroyed. The country of Syria was particularly affected by these contentions, during the reign of Ptolemy, who was called the favours: but no man less deserved that honourable distinction. This Ptolemy, under the pretext of a religious motive, obtained admittance to the city of Jerusalem on the sabbath, and gained possession of the place, without opposition, the Jews being prohibited the use of arms on that sacred day. In his history of the successors of Alexander, Agatharchides, the Cnidian, says, "The people called Jews, inhabiting the strongly fortified and populous city of Jerusalem, submitted to the intolerable oppression of Ptolemy, from a superstitious regard to their sabbath, by which they were withheld from taking up arms to repulse the invader."

Ptolemy made captives of a great number of Jews from Jerusalem, Samaria, and mount Garizim, and transplanted them into Egypt. The answer of the Jews to Alexander, after he had vanquished Darius, convinced Ptolemy that they were a people who paid a sacred observance to an oath; and, on this consideration, having first sworn them to fidelity to himself and his successors, he entrusted them to defend several places of strength, appointed them to offices of considerable trust, and admitted them to the same privileges in Alexandria which were enjoyed by the Macedonians. The liberality of Ptolemy, and the fertility of the country, induced great numbers of Jews to repair to Egypt. The ancient laws and customs were a continual source of dissensions among the Jews and Samaritans; the former declaring the temple at Jerusalem to be the only holy place, and the others as positively inflicting in favour of the temple at Garizim: and in these contests many lives were lost.

CHAP. II.

One hundred and twenty thousand Jews restored to liberty by Ptolemy Philadelphus. He employs seventy-two learned men of Judea to give a Greek translation of the legislative institutions of the Jews. His munificence towards the holy temple.

PHILAELPHUS succeeded his father Ptolemy, (who was called the favour) in the government of Egypt. On the following occasion he restored to freedom one hundred and twenty thousand Jews who were captives in Egypt. Demetrius Phalereus, who was appointed to the care of the royal library, with remarkable industry laboured to procure all the books which were deserving a place in the king's study. Being asked by Philadelphus how many books he had collected, Demetrius replied, that the number amounted to two hundred thousand volumes, which he hoped soon to increase to five hundred thousand, having learnt that the Jews possessed a vast number of manuscripts on the subject of their laws, ceremonies and customs, which would prove a valuable acquisition to the royal library: he observed that though the characters and language of the Hebrews bore some affinity to the Greek, yet there were many niceties peculiar to each tongue, which would contribute to render the translation a work of difficulty, but that it might
might notwithstanding he accomplished if the king should judge it expedient to incur the expense of the undertaking. Philadelphus expressed an entire approbation of what had been intimated by his librarian: and dispatched a letter to the high-priest of the Jews, requesting his assistance towards the intended acquisition. Aristæus, whose wisdom and modesty had obtained him a distinguished place in the king's esteem, had long cherished the hope of restoring the Jews to freedom; and determining to avail himself of the favourable opportunity which now offered, he applied to Sophibius, Tarantinus and Andraeus, captains of the guards, entreating them to join their interests for effecting the desired purpose. Having received their promise of assistance, he thus addressed the king:

"Your majesty having been pleased to signify a desire of having a translation of the laws of the Jews, I humbly apprehend that the business cannot be fairly executed while so many of the people from whom you expect assistance remain in bondage. To relieve their distress is an act worthy your exalted station and character, since we all worship the Almighty God under the several names of Jove, Jupiter, à Juwando. From a veneration to the universal Creator, may you be inclined to restore the miserable captives to the land assigned them by Providence. I do not presume to espouse the cause of these people on account of a family alliance, but entirely on the consideration that we are the servants of the same God, to whom the solicited clemency, will prove highly acceptable."

The king enquired of Aristæus what number of Jews were in bondage; and he was informed by Andraeus, that they amounted to about one hundred and twenty thousand: upon this, the king asked Aristæus, whether he thought he had requested a moderate favour. It was observed by Sophibius, and others, that compassion towards the miserable was worthy the royal character, in gratitude for having been advanced to the sovereignty. Philadelphus was perfectly satisfied with the conduct of the persons who had interceded in favour of the captives, and ordered that, on the ensuing pay-day, his soldiers, exclusive of their usual stipend, should receive an hundred and twenty drachmas in lieu of every Jew whom they held in slavery; promising further to extend his clemency in compliance with the request of Aristæus, or rather with the decrees of Providence, and that the whole should be ratified by a proclamation emancipating the Jews who had been made prisoners during his father's reign, as well as those who had fallen into captivity before and subsequent to that period. He was informed that the deliverance of these people would incur an expense of at least forty talents: and he said that notwithstanding the sum was considerable, his promise should be punctually fulfilled. The edict issued by this illustrious monarch in behalf of the Jews, was to the following effect.

"It is our royal pleasure hereby expressly to command that all Jews conquered in the incursions of my father's troops into Syria and Phœnicia, and sold into these my dominions, and those likewise who were conquered before and after those days, be restored to liberty, the redemption fee of one hundred and twenty drachmas, for each captive, exclusive of their usual stipends, to be paid the soldiers from the royal treasury. The sub-
jecting such considerable numbers of people to bondage, and destroying their country, were outrages to which the army was induced by the hope of booty; but these licentious proceedings were as contrary to the intention of my father as to justice and reason. From a veneration to the memory of the king my father, and a desire to relieve the oppressed, I hereby enjoin that the Jews be immediately delivered from bondage upon the redemption-money beforementioned being paid to their present masters; that for three successive days this proclamation be made public; and farther that such persons as hold any of the Jews in servitude shall produce authentic lists of their prisoners, and, without fraud or collusion, act in due conformity to this our royal mandate, on the penalty of a confiscation of effects.

The above draught being presented to the king, he observed that what related to those enframed before and after Ptolemy subjugated such vast numbers of Jews in Egypt, was not expressed with the necessary precision, and he caused additions to be made in favour of those whose liberty it was judged had not been sufficiently provided for. He strictly commanded the officers of his treasury, and the collectors of the tribute, to refer in their profession sufficient sums for the redemption of the Jews. In the course of seven days the Jews were ransomed, at the expense of four hundred and sixty talents, for though the proclamation extended only to those who had been made prisoners, the masters inflicted on one hundred and twenty drachmas, for the emancipation of each child born in captivity.

The king ordered Demetrius to publish the particulars concerning the translation of the books and records of the Jews. Upon a register was inserted a transcript of the petition of Demetrius, a list of the donations towards the undertaking, with the names of the several subscribers, and the letters which had passed on the occasion, so that the munificence of the king, and the liberal assistance afforded towards perfecting the work might be apparent on the first view. The petition was conceived in terms to the following effect:

"Demetrius to the Great King.

This is humbly to inform your majesty that, agreeable to your royal command, I have exerted my utmost endeavours to obtain the most useful books and copies for enriching the royal library: and that after an unwearied attention to the subject, the history of the Jewish laws I conceive to be an acquisition most to be desired. Being written in the characters and idiom of the Hebrews, an accurate translation of them must necessarily be attended with much difficulty. The translation we now profess would have been free from many of the errors it contains, had it been executed under the sanction of the royal authority. These laws were the production of the Almighty himself, and form the only perfect legislative code extant; it is therefore necessary to obtain an authentic version of them. Hecataeus, the Abderite, observes that the poets and historians avoided mentioning these institutions, for being of divine origin they were not
not to be profaned. On the above considerations it is suggested to your
majesty, if you shall deem it expedient, to write to the high-priest of the
Jews, requesting him to select from each tribe six elders, conversant in
the Jewish customs and constitutions, to interpret and expound the writings
in question, whereby your majesty will obtain the satisfaction required."

The king ordered letters to be addressed to Eleazar, the high-priest, on
the subject of the proposals made by Demetrius, and that they should mention
the deliverance of the Jews from captivity. He sent presents of fifty
talents of gold for cups and other holy vessels, precious stones to a great
amount, which those who had the care of the coffer were directed to suffer
the lapidaries to select at their own discretion, and an hundred talents of
silver for sacrifices and other holy uses of the temple.

Simon succeeded his father Onias in the high-priesthood: he was a man of
exemplary piety, and of a disposition remarkably tender towards his fellow-
creatures; and by his virtues he acquired the surname of the Just. He died
at an early age, and his only issue being an infant son, named Onias, the
pontifical office was assumed by his brother Eleazar, to whom the king wrote
as follows:

"Ptolemy the King, to the High-Priest, greeting.

The late king my father having found great number of Jews in his do-
minions, who had been made captives by the Persians, he employed
many of them in his armies, and stationed others in garrisons and places
of strength, as a check upon the Egyptians, making for them ample pro-
vision in consideration of their services. Since my advancement to the
throne, I have invariably exercised a mild government; and towards your
people I have entertained a particular esteem. I have redeemed more
than an hundred thousand of them from bondage, and paid their ransoms
from my own treasury. I have disposed of some in my army: others, on
whose fidelity I conceived I might rely, I have appointed to offices in my
palace: and I consider that acts of benevolence are most acceptable to the
Almighty Power to whom I am indebted for the exalted station I hold.
From a desire to serve the Jews in general to the extent of my abilities,
I have conceived a design to procure a Greek version of your legislative
institutions, and to give the work a place in my own library. It will be
considered as a particular act of kindness if you will select from each of
your tribes six elders, the most experienced and skilful in the laws, for
assisting in the translation, from the accomplishment of which I expect to
to derive a very distinguished share of reputation. The commissioners
whom I have appointed to negotiate this business with you are Andraeus, a
captain of my guards, and Aristaeus; and these truly and beloved friends
I have also charged to present you an hundred talents of silver to be em-
ployed towards the charge of sacrifices, and in other holy uses of the
temple. Your reply will be gladly received."

"Elea-
"Your majesty's most gracious letter afforded infinite pleasure to a full congregation of the Jews, who considered it as an eminent instance of veneration towards the Almighty, and benevolence to an unhappy people. From Andraeus and Aristaeus, whose learning and virtues render them deserving the king's favour, we have also received twenty cups of gold, thirty of silver, five goblets and a table to be consecrated for the use of the holy altar, exclusive of an hundred talents of silver to defray the expence of sacrifices, and for other services of the temple. Your majesty's generous donations have been shewn to our brethren: and we are deeply impressed with a sense of gratitude, in manifestation of which, we are unanimously determined to exert our utmost power in an implicit obedience to your commands. According to your desire, I have chosen six elders from each tribe, who are entrusted to deliver you our body of laws, for the return of which, by the same messengers, we rely on the known justice and piety of your majesty. We beseech that the Lord will grant that the intended version of the history of our laws and antiquities may be so executed as to afford you perfect satisfaction: and we earnestly recommend your royal person, those of the royal family, and all you hold dear, to the peculiar care and protection of the Almighty Providence."

To the above answer of the high-priest was subjoined the names of the seventy elders. To particularize the presents with which the king enriched the temple, is a tribute due to his royal munificence, and that attention which he employed to have the work executed with speed and ingenuity.

The king caused the dimensions of the former table to be taken, intending, if the place where it had stood would admit, to supply a larger: being informed that the space would permit him to act at discretion, he formed a design of providing a table five times larger than the original one: but, upon reflection, he suggested that so extraordinary a magnitude would render it inconvenient for daily use; and therefore concluded to observe the former scale, and to employ, in the superiority of workmanship, what he should save in weight of metal by contracting his first design. The king was so great a proficient in the arts, and possessed so quick an imagination, that he was able to make new inventions, and give precise and just directions to his several workmen. He ordered the table to be made two cubits and a half long, one cubit in breadth, and one and an half high. It was entirely composed of pure gold, and encompassed by a triangular border of the breadth of a hand, which was embellished with flower-work, twisted strings, and other ingenious devices; and the several parts were so justly disposed, that in every point of view the beauty of the whole was equally conspicuous. The part of the table most exposed to view was decorated by a great variety of precious stones, set at equal distances, and looped to the border by golden buckles. Valuable stones of an oval form were set on the outside of the table, round which twined an embofled representation of twigs and branches. Ears of corn, bunches of grapes, pomegranates, and divers other fruits were represented
presented by various kinds of stones answering the colours of what they were meant to imitate, and wrought into the form of a crown. Beneath this crown was a row of ovals disposed in such a manner as precisely to match with those above. The feet of the table were received in a golden plate of four fingers breadth, to which they were fastened by means of strings and hooks. Upon the table was traced the course of a Meander by rubies, emeralds, and other stones, of the most exquisite lustre. Boughs and knots, rather in the lozenge form, were disposed along this Meander, which being farther embellished by a judicious introduction of amber and crystal, formed a spectacle inimitably superb and curious. The cornices of the feet were ornamented with lily-work, the tendrils and leaves being led in serpentine directions beneath the table. The basis was the breadth of a hand, ornamented with rubies, and encompassed with a border, the distance of two hands being left between the feet, which were engraved with incomparable skill; they were enriched by representations of the vine and ivy, interpersed with grapes and berries, and the leaf motion of the air caused the leaves to play, so that the work rather appeared to be the effect of nature than of art. The thickness of the table was half a cubit, and it was composed of three parts, joined with such remarkable ingenuity that the nicest eye could not discover the least appearance of the joints.

Two large golden cups were provided, being ornamented half way up the bowls with scallop-work, besides the form of a Meander of a cubit broad, formed by the different kinds of precious stones, and curious representations of creepers and twigs branching to the top in an admirable net-work. Several compartments were decorated with lozenge figures, some of which were four fingers in breadth, besides a variety of precious stones. An inter-mixture of grapes, vines, lilies and other flowers was wrought round the borders of these goblets, each of which would contain about four gallons. There were many pieces of silver to exquisitely polished as to surpass the brilliancy of the clearest crystal.

Besides the above presents, the king furnished thirty vessels of gold, and those parts of them which were not set with precious stones were covered with leaves of the vine and ivy curiously executed. The presents being delivered to Eleazar, the high-priest, he consecrated them to the service of the holy temple; he treated the commissioners with the most honourable distinction; and charged them with gifts of value for the king. Being informed of the return of his ambassadors, and that they were accompanied by the seventy elders, he immediately sent for Andraeus and Aristaeus, who delivered the high-priest’s letter, and gave satisfactory replies to several questions which he proposed. The king being impatient for an interview with the elders, and desirous to avoid casual interruptions, gave orders that his subjects should not have the usual access to his presence; for it was his custom to give public audience once a month, and a private one in every five days. In a short time the elders attended him with the manuscripts of the Jewish laws, written in letters of gold upon parchment; and the presents from the high-priest. The king was surprized at the ingenious formation of the books;
for the skins were affixed to each other with such nicety, as to leave not the least appearance of the joining-places. He told them he had a great respect for them, a greater for the person by whom they were sent, but that his veneration towards the author of the laws then before him, was of a superior quality. The deputies, by their prayers and acclamations, expressed such affecting proofs of a zealous attachment to the king, that he wept in joyful tenderness. The proper officers having taken charge of the writings, the king embraced the elders, telling them the day of their arrival should be annually observed as a festival during his life: this day happened also to be distinguished by his naval victory over Antigonus. He appointed them apartments within his palace, saying they should be his own immediate guests. It was the office of Nicanor to provide for the entertainment and convenience of strangers; and he appointed Dorotheus as his deputy. As an instance of respect to the elders, the king commanded that they might be entertained according to the customs of their own country.

Dorotheus being conversant in the Jewish customs, he was ordered to regulate the manner of entertaining the elders. A seat being placed on each side that whereon the king sat, the guests took their places, and Dorotheus was commanded to serve them in the manner he had, on a previous occasion, served their countrymen. The Egyptian priests and officers whose business it was to attend during the king's meals, were excused from their usual duty: and the king called one of the Jewish priests named Elisa, to bless the table: he rose and returned thanks to the Lord for the nourishment they were about to receive, concluding the solemnity with a fervent appeal to heaven in behalf of the king and people. The company now, with great cheerfulness partook of the entertainment. While they were at dinner the king proposed several ingenious questions in philosophy; and the answers of the elders were pertinent and satisfactory. Twelve days were employed in feasting and merriment. The matters which were discussed, are amply treated of in a book written expressly on the subject by Aristaeus. The arguments enforced in the conversation were so convincing, as to prevail on Menedemus, the philosopher, to acknowledge an over-ruling providence, and terminate the controversies on that head.

In acknowledgement of the edification he had derived in the art of government from the elders, the king ordered them each a present of three talents; after which they were shown to their apartments. On the expiration of three days, Demetrius conducted them along a castrway of seven furlongs in length, and over a bridge communicating with the island and continent, and thence proceeding towards the north, he established them in a commodious retreat adapted to contemplation: he requested they would expedite the translation of the laws, and commended them to the protection of heaven. Exclusive of the usual allowance, Dorotheus supplied them with delicacies from the king’s table. It was their practice to attend each morning at the levee, and having washed their hands in sea-water, closely to apply themselves to study till dinner-time, which was three in the afternoon.

The translation was completed within seventy-two days. Demetrius now assembled the Jews in the place where the elders had made the version, and
in the presence of the interpreters read the books, which received the unanimous approbation of the people, who highly extolled Demetrius as the author of the blessings they enjoyed. He requested that the version might be perused by the eminent men of the nation; and the high-priest, elders, and magistrates, proposed that as the translation had been so unexceptionably executed, it might be ratified, and the authority of the text pronounced unalterable. This proposition was admitted, on the condition that the book should undergo a farther examination, that it might with greater certainty be determined, whether it contained any defect. After this revision it was to receive the authority of a final ratification.

The king received great pleasure from the success of the undertaking, and the approbation it had obtained with the public. The book being read to him, he was transported in admiration of the wisdom of the law-giver. He observed to Demetrius, that considering the incomparable excellency of the laws, it was a matter of wonder they had not been mentioned either by the poets, or historians. Demetrius replied, that being manifestly of divine institution, the people dared not profane them; adding that Theopompus having published some texts of the sacred writings, as works of his own invention, had been punished for his temerity by a judicial madman, for the space of thirty days; that during his sleep he had revelations importing that the sin of confounding sacred with profane matters, was the cause of his phrenzy; that during the intervals of the disease, he supplicated pardon, which was granted in consideration of his repentance and amendment. He said that the poet Theocrites had been struck with blindness for having introduced the sacred writings in a tragedy; but that he was restored to sight upon acknowledging his crime.

Demetrius having delivered the books to the king, he commanded them to be preserved with all imaginable care. He requested the interpreters to avail themselves of every opportunity of visiting him, saying they would derive both honor and profit from a compliance; for his acknowledgments would be worthy a great prince towards wise men. He dismissed them with a present to each of three rich suits of apparel, two talents in gold, the value of one talent in cups, and couches for sitting and eating upon. His presents to the high-priest consisted of ten beds with feet of silver, and rich furniture, a chalice of thirty talents, ten purple robes, a superb crown, and one hundred pieces of fine linen; and, for the service of the temple, cups and goblets of various kinds, and two vessels of gold. These gifts were accompanied by a letter to the high priest, expressing that if the commissioners should again visit him, the circumstance would afford him particular satisfaction; for he entertained a particular regard for learned men, on whom his bounty would be worthily bestowed. This is a brief account of the liberality which the Jews experienced from Philadelphus, who reigned thirty-nine years.
CHAP. III.

The liberality of the king of Asia towards the Jews. Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus the Great, married to the king of Egypt.

So celebrated were the Jews for their faith and their military skill, that Seleucus, surnamed Nicanor, admitted them to the immunities of Antioch, and his several cities throughout Asia and lower Syria; and to this day they enjoy the privileges granted to them, in common with the Greeks and Macedonians. The Jews being prohibited the use of foreign oil, the Olympic officers had it in commision from the government, to allow them, in lieu thereof, a portion of money. In the following war, the people of Antioch infisted upon the Jews being abridged of this privilege: but Mutianus, governor of the province of Syria, would not comply with their requisitions. The people of Alexandria urged the disfranchisement of the Jews during the reign of Vespasian, and his son Titus: the Romans honourably opposed the measure, which the above-mentioned princes could not be induced to countenance. Notwithstanding the provocation of an obflinate war and rebellion, they nobly declined a gratification of their passions, and rejected the interference of two powerful nations on the consideration that the privileges of the Jews could not be abridged without a violation of justice. Their former deserts prevailed over their present offences; and the princes said that private interest should not seduce them to take mean advantages. They urged that such of our people as had taken up arms against the Romans, had been sufficiently punished in the course of the war; and to abridge the sacred rights of those who had not committed offence would be equally contrary to the principles of reason and justice.

The generosity of Marcus Agrippa towards the Jews, stands on record. The Ionians violently remonstrated against that people, setting forth that their city being a gift from Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, whom the Greeks had surnamed the god, they insisted on being put in possession of the place, and themselves to have privileges in exclusion of all other people; and that the Jews should be permitted to share the immunities only on condition of adopting the idolatrous worship. Nicolaus of Damascus was council for the Jews; and he brought the matter to issue, when judgment was pronounced that they should continue in the uninterrupted exercise of the several institutions and customs of their nation; and as a confirmation of this decree, Agrippa declared that he would permit no innovation on the rights of the Jews. The particulars of these transactions are inferred in Nicolaus's History, lib. 123 & 124. As we had not commenced hostilities against the Romans, the conduct of Agrippa is not to be considered as extraordinary an instance of generosity and candour, as that of Vespasian and Titus, who never transgressed the limits of moderation even in the utmost rage of war.

Asia, Judæa, and Coele-Syria, were continually disturbed during the wars maintained by Antiochus the Great, against Philopator Ptolemy, and Ptolemy,
THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

Ptolemy, his son, surnamed Epiphanes. Which ever party prevailed, the Jews, like a vessel between two billows in a storm, were continually on the verge of destruction. Antiochus at length obtained possession of Judea.

Some time after the death of Philopater, his son ordered a numerous army, under the command of Scopas, to march into Coele-Syria; and this force obtained victory over Judea, and several capital cities. After this, Antiochus gave battle to the invader, whom he vanquished, recovering the cities which had been reduced by him. The Jews voluntarily received the army of Antiochus into their city, afforded plenty of provender for the elephants, and with singular bravery joined in the attack of a castle, where Scopas had established a garrison. Polybius, the Megalopolitan, in the sixteenth book of his history, says, "In the winter season Scopas, Ptolemy's "general, invaded, and entirely conquered the country of the Jews." A little farther in the same book, he says, "After Scopas had been defeated by "Antiochus, he reduced Bathamea, Samaria, Gadara, and Abila, and was "afterwards joined by the Jews at Jerusalem, where the holy temple was "situated. What I have farther to lay on this head, I must defer to a fu- "ture opportunity." In gratitude for the services he had received from the Jews, Antiochus wrote the following letter to his officers.

Antiochus the king, to Ptolemy, greeting.

"Having received repeated proofs of the friendship of the Jews, from "our first arrival, which they testified by the splendor with which the el- "ders and magistrates attended us, the reception afforded to our person and "army, the provision made for our elephants and horses, and the assistance "given against the Egyptian garrison: in consideration hereof we hold our- "selves bound to contribute to the restoration of their city, and the recall "of their countrymen from their former residence. For these purposes we "have given twenty thousand pieces of silver, to pay for wine, oil, and "frankincense, for sacrifices; fourteen hundred and sixty measures of wheat "for fine flour, and of salt three hundred and seventy-five measures. Now "our pleasure is, that these orders be obeyed: and that what timber may be "wanted from Judæa, Libanus, or other places, for repairing the temple, "shall be furnished free of duty; and we grant the same exemption on all "other materials for the holy temple: farther permitting that the Jews "govern themselves according to their own laws. We likewise discharge "from all taxes, the elders, priests, scribes, and singing-men. To pro- "mote the re-peopling of the city, we order that all who now reside "therein, or shall do so before the month of Hyperberanthes, be exempted "from taxes for three years, and that, in consideration of former losses, "a third part of their taxes shall be abated hereafter. Lastly we com- "mand, that such of these people as have been made prisoners of war, and "remain in captivity, shall be immediately discharged, and satisfaction "made for their losses,"

Antiochus published another edict, importing that no stranger should enter the temple without permission of the Jews, and being first purified,
according to law: that the flesh of horses, asses, mules, panthers, hares, foxes, or other animals which the Jews durst not touch, should not be brought into the city: that no animals should be fed or brought up in the city, but such as, in old times, had been used for sacrifice: and all offenders against this order to pay, for the use of the priest, three thousand Drachmas.

Another opportunity offered of the king's giving proof of his regard for us. An insurrection happening in Phrygia and Lydia, the king sent the following letter of instructions to his general Zeuxes, who commanded an army in the higher provinces of those countries.

Antiochus the king, to Zeuxes, his friend and father, greeting.

"Having learnt that seditions have arisen in Phrygia and Lydia, I am to inform you, that, by the advice of my council and friends, it is thought proper to transplant from Babylon and Mesopotamia, two thousand Jewish families, with all their effects, into Phrygia, to do duty in the garrisons; as I am convinced of their fidelity, both from the principles of their religion, and the service they have rendered my predecessors. Wherefore I order that you immediately remove them, promising them the full enjoyment of their own laws and customs. When they arrive you shall give them lands and inheritances, that they may build, plant, and cultivate the ground, remitting them all taxes for the space of ten years. And you shall allow them corn for the support of themselves and families, till their own industry shall supply them; by which their zeal in our service will be secured. Lastly, you are to be careful that these people remain unmolested."

After this, Antiochus perfected a bond of friendship with Ptolemy, by marrying his daughter Cleopatra. For a marriage-portion he received half of Coele-Syria, Phanicia, Judæa, and Samaria, which being let to hire to the principal people of the provinces, the rents were paid into the royal treasury.

The pride of the Samaritans now induced them to insult the Jews, of several of whom they made captives. This happened in the time of Onias the high-priest, who was so weak and covetous that he refused the usual tribute of twenty talents, which his predecessors had constantly paid to the king. Ptolemy Euergetes, the father of Philopater, was so affronted at this conduct, that he sent an ambassador to Jerusalem to demand the payment, and threatened to fix a plantation there, and quarter an army on the country, in case of a refusal. The Jews were extremely terrified at this message; but Onias, whose ruling passion was the love of money, was determined to abide the consequence.

CHAP.
JOSEPH, a young man, nephew of Onias the high-priest, was remarkable for his prudence and integrity. Being at Phichola, his mother sent him notice of the above meagre; on which he went to Onias, and reproached him with his disregard to the welfare of the public, to whom he owed his promotion; laying that, at least he should go to the king, and endeavour to obtain a remittal of part of the tribute. This Onias absolutely declined; on which Joseph desired to go in his place, which was granted. Joseph therefore assembled the people in the temple, told them he would wait on the king, and hoped his uncle's remissions would have no ill consequence. They thankfully left the business to him; on which he invited the king's commissioner to a splendid treat, which lasted several days; made him rich presents, and told him he would follow him to his matter. The commissioner returning into Egypt, spoke of the ingratitude of Onias; but mentioned Joseph (who would soon be there) in terms of such high respect, that the king, and the queen Cleopatra, wished to see him.

Joseph now sent to his friends in Samaria, to raise money to furnish his equipage, which cost near twenty thousand drachmas, in cloaths, horses, carriages, plate, &c. On his road to Alexandria, he fell in company with some of the princes and nobles of Syria and Phænicia, who were going to the king, to purchase his revenue, which was annually sold to the best bidder. These people ridiculed the appearance of Joseph and his retinue; but he proceeded to Alexandria, where learning that the king was at Memphis, he went forward, and met him in his chariot, with the queen, and Athenion, the very commissioner whom Joseph had treated at Jerusalem. Athenion no sooner saw him, than he told the king that was the young man of whom he had spoken so highly. On this Ptolemy took him into his carriage, and mentioned how ill he had been treated by Onias. Joseph replied, "An old man is a second time a child: impute nothing to Onias, " beyond what his age will excuse: for us who have youth, and the power " of our faculties, we will give proof of our dutiful attachment." This speech so pleased the king, that he gave orders that Joseph should be lodged in the palace, and treated him at his own table; a circumstance that gave great delight to the Syrians.

The day arriving when the branches of the revenue were to be sold, the nobles abovementioned offered eight thousand talents for the duties of Cilicia-Syria, Phænicia, and Samaria; on which Joseph had double the sum; which pleased the king, who asked him what security he could give. Joseph said his securities were undoubted; and the king bidding him name them, he replied he had no doubt but the king and queen would be mutually bound for his integrity. Hereupon the king trusted him with the receipt of the revenue,
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS UPON

revenue, without other security; a circumstance that extremely mortified
the intended purchasers.

Thus commissioned, Joseph solicited a guard of two thousand soldiers, to
aid him in levying the duties; which being granted, he borrowed five
hundred talents in Alexandria, and proceeded towards Syria. On his ar-
ival at Askalon, the people not only refused to pay the tribute, but insulted
him; whereupon he punished twenty of the ringleaders, and raised a thou-
sand talents from their forfeited estates, which he sent to the king, with an
account of his proceedings. This so pleased the king that he left him wholly
to his own conduct; and the rest of the Syrians, struck by the above ex-
ample, paid their taxes without hesitation. The people of Scythopolis fol-
lowing those of Askalon in refusing to pay the tribute, Joseph dealt with
them as with the others, applying the forfeitures to the use of the king. In
the course of business Joseph procured many valuable presents both to the
king and his ministers.

Twenty-two years Joseph lived in prosperity, during which he had seven
sons by one wife, and one, named Hyrcanus, by the daughter of his brother
Solymium, whom he married in consequence of the following incident. Jour-
n eying to Alexandria with his brother, to find a Jew of rank proper to marry
his daughter, Joseph being at supper with the king, fell in love with a maid
who was dancing to entertain his majesty. He told the secret to his brother,
with whom, as he could not lawfully marry her, he would privately intro-
duce them to each other. The brother promised, but put his daughter to
bed; and Joseph, having drank too freely, discovered not the deception.
This deceit was repeatedly practiced, till Joseph, wholly enamoured, la-
mented to his brother the improbability of the king's permitting the match.
Solymium bad him be at rest; said he might lawfully enjoy the woman as his
wife, and revealed the whole secret: saying he permitted this affront to his
daughter, rather than that his brother should commit a heinous offence. Jo-
seph was all gratitude for this instance of friendship, and married the
daughter, who was the mother of Hyrcanus. At thirteen years old Hyre-
canus was such a miracle of good sense and benevolence, that he became the
object of envy to all his elder brothers.

Joseph, willing to make proof of the abilities of his children, placed all
of them, except Hyrcanus, under experienced masters; but they made no
proficiency. He then sent Hyrcanus a journey of seven days into the desert,
with three hundred pair of oxen, to plow and sow; first privately taking
away the lines that were to fasten the yoke to the plow. The youth, on his
arrival, missing the lines, some husbandmen advised him to send to his fa-
ther for them; but, unwilling to lose so much time, he gave orders for ten
yoke of oxen to be killed, the flesh of which he distributed among his work-
men, and had the skins cut into thongs, with which he fastened the oxen
to the plows, did his business, and returned to his father. Joseph was en-
raptured at this prudence of his son, and embraced him in token of his ap-
probation of such conduct: but the brothers hated Hyrcanus for his superior
abilities.

Soon
Soon after this, Joseph heard that the queen was brought to bed of a son, and that the princes and great men of Syria were hastening to court, to congratulate the king on the occasion. Joseph's age prevented his attendance; but he feverishly asked his son to go; one of whom said he should not chuse to appear before the king; a second was unacquainted with the ways of the court, &c. but they united in wishing Hyrcanus might be sent. Hereupon Joseph called him, and asked how he would conduct himself if sent on this business. Hyrcanus said he should think it an honour to be so employed, and would not put his father to much expence; hinting that ten thousand drachmas would defray the charge. Joseph paused, admiring this moderation, when the son said, "I would not recommend the sending from this "place any presents to the king; but write to your agent at Alexandria to "furnish me with the proper gifts." On consideration, Joseph thought that ten talents might make the necessary purchases; on which he gave his son letters of credit to Arion, who had then three thousand talents in hand; Joseph using to remit the collections in Syria to him, to be transmitted to the royal treasury. Hyrcanus immediately went to Arion with his letters, while his brothers secretly laboured to destroy him. Arion asking what sum would be sufficient, Hyrcanus said a thousand talents. "What! (said the former) "to be wafted in luxury; no, Sir, your father's fortune was made by in- "dustry, and you would do well to follow his example: I will give you "only ten talents, and those I will see expended in the presents." He proceeded in this manner, till Hyrcanus had him committed to prison. At this time Arion's wife, who was on good terms with the queen, carried the news to her mistress, and the queen told it to the king, with reflections on the young man's conduct. Hereupon the king sent a message to Hyrcanus, wondering that he did not fulfill his father's commission, and that more than he had imprisoned the agent: ordering him to attend immediately, and clear himself of the charge alleged against him. Hyrcanus bad the messenger tell the king that, by the laws of the Jews, no man was to eat the flesh of any sacrifice, who had not himself first offered sacrifice in the temple: that his case was similar, and he could not wait on the king till he had provided the presents which his father had provided as a testimony of his duty and gratitude: and that with regard to punishing a refractory servant, he thought himself justified; for the ill example of an inferior might at length reach the king himself: as where authority is despised, the precedent is dangerous. The king was charmed when he heard of this dignity of sentiment in so young a man.

By this time Arion found he had no interest with the king; on which he compounded for his liberty by paying the thousand talents to Hyrcanus, who immediately went to court, and was admitted to the royal table. Hyrcanus now privately bought of the merchants one hundred fine young men, and the same number of accomplished girls, at a talent each. Himself and other persons of distinction, being invited to dine with the king, the master of the ceremonies, placed Hyrcanus at the bottom of the table, on the score of his youth. The company agreed to lay their bones on Hyrcanus's plate,
and then induced Tryphon, the king's jestor, to ridicule him; which he attempted, by bidding the king notice the circumstance, and laying that so had Hyrcanus's father picked the bones of all Syria. The king smiling, asked Hyrcanus how he came by so many bones. "Sir (said he, looking on "the company,) dogs eat bones as well as meat; but men put the bones "aside." This pleased the king, who praised him, and recommended him to general respect. On the following day Hyrcanus privately enquired of the servants, what their masters intended to present the king on the birth of the prince: some said twelve talents, and others more or less; while Hyrcanus pretended to be uneasy that he could give only five talents. The servants told this to their masters, thinking the youth would be disgraced in the king's opinion, by the smallness of his present. On the following day, the highest gift was twenty talents, except that of Hyrcanus, who gave the hundred boys and girls, and with each a talent besides. This gift astonished the king and his friends; but exclusive thereof, Hyrcanus gave gratuities to the king's officers, to counteract the plots of his brothers, who had sought his destruction. The conduct of Hyrcanus so struck the king, that he promised to grant any favour he should ask; on which he requested only letters to his father and brothers. Hereupon the king dismissed him honourably, made him princely presents, and gave him the requested letters to his family.

When the brothers of Hyrcanus learnt how the king and queen had received him, and how much his reputation was advanced by this expedition, they combined to meet him without the town, and put him to death: nor was their father, (who was disgraced at the expense of the presents) wholly unapprized of this affair, though his fear of the king occasioned his concealing it. In fact, the brothers met, and attacked Hyrcanus, whose attendants killed two of them, and wounded several of their followers, the rest escaping to Jerusalem. Hyrcanus proceeded thither; but finding no respect paid him, he went over the river Jordan, where he collected the royal duties from the Barbarians, for the rest of his life. This happened when Seleucus, son of Antiochus the great, reigned over Asia. About this period Joseph, the father of Hyrcanus died, after having collected the public duties of Syria, Phœnicia and Samaria, for twenty-two years; and bearing the character of a courageous and pious man. Near the same period died Onias, the uncle, who was succeeded in the priesthood by his son Simon, who likewise dying, was succeeded by his son Onias, who received, from Arius king of Lacedæmon, an embassy, the contents of which will be seen in the following chapter.
C H A P. V.

A relationship to the Jews claimed by Arsus, who writes to the high-priest Onias. A castle built by Hyrcanus, and called Tyre. Hyrcanus destroyed by his own hands.

Arius, king of Lacedaemon, wishes health to Onias.

"A n ancient manuscript having fallen into our hands, proving the relationship between our families, and that we are descended from the line of Abraham, it appears equitable that all possible good offices should be mutually done by persons so nearly related. We therefore offer you every service in our power; and shall henceforward deem your concerns as our own, and consider our interests as the same. Our faithful servant Demoletes will deliver you this letter, which is written on one page in quarto, and sealed with the figure of an Eagle, grasping in her talons a "Dragon."

Joseph being dead, there were violent disputes between his sons, the elder making war on the younger, and Simon the high-priest, with the majority of the people, taking part with the former. Hyrcanus remained beyond Jordan, engaged in perpetual war with the Arabians, of whom he killed, and carried into captivity, great numbers. In this country he built a wonderful castle, the walls of white stone, with figures of various animals curiously carved on them. A deep ditch or fish-pond was dug round the castle, and in a mountain opposite to it, passageways were cut, in length several furlongs, but, for security fake, only wide enough at the mouth for one man to enter. Within the castle were lodging, dining-rooms, and other places of entertainment, with flately buildings, courts, gardens and fountains. This place is on the borders of Arabia, and Judaea beyond Jordan, near the land of the Edfebonites, and received the name of Tyre. During seven years, which Seleucus reigned in Syria, Hyrcanus held this government. Antiochus succeeded Seleucus; and about this time died Ptolemy king of Ægypt, who left two young sons, named Philometor and Phyfecon. Antiochus being at this time very powerful, Hyrcanus dreading being called to answer for his severities to the Arabians, destroyed himself; and his possessions were seized by Antiochus.

C H A P. VI.

Onias becomes high-priest; repairs to Antioch, and renounces his religion. Antiochus breaks into Ægypt, but is repulsed by the Romans.

The high-priest Onias being dead, Antiochus Epiphanes promoted his brother Jesus to the priesthood, during the minority of his son: but the king being displeased with Jesus, deprived him of the dignity, which he bestowed on the younger brother Onias. Now Jesus took the name of Jason, and Onias that of Menelaus. Hereupon the people were divided into factions
factions: Menelaus being supported by the sons of Tobias, and Jafon by the people in general, who proving too powerful, Menelaus and his party retired to Antioch, declaring they would renounce the Jewish worship, and follow that of the Greeks; requesting permission to open an academy at Jerusalem for public exercises. This licence being obtained, they abandoned the laws and customs of the Jews, adhered to those of other nations, and became perfect Greeks in appearance, even when naked.

Eafe, and the comfortable settlement of his people at home, induced Antiochus to penetrate into Egypt, encouraged hereto, partly by the weakness of the sons of Ptolemy, and partly by ambition. Thus determined, he marched a large army to Pelusium, where he conquered Philometer. He then reduced Memphis and other places; and proceeded to Alexandria, in hope of conquering the king, and taking the place. But the Romans commanding him instantly to withdraw, he abandoned his conquests. Herefore we have spoken only slightly of this king; but we now proceed to the particulars of his taking Jerusalem.

C H A P. VII.

Antiochus takes Jerusalem by treachery. The destruction of the City. The apostacy of numbers of Jews. The temple of Gerizim dedicated to Jupiter.

On Antiochus's retreating from Egypt, he proceeded immediately with his army to Jerusalem; and having gained over a party in the town, the gates were thrown open to him. He hereupon plundered the city, put great numbers to the sword, and repaired to Antioch with his treasure. The barbarities of this outrage were such, that even those who opened the gates to the troops of Antiochus were not spared. The spoil of the temple was incredible: the holy vessels, golden candlesticks, golden altar, table of shew-bread, curtains, silk and linen embroidery, and even the immense quantity of concealed treasure were all carried away. The people were forbid to offer daily sacrifices, the city was levelled with the ground, and most of the inhabitants, men, women and children, were either killed or made prisoners. The enemy built a tower in the city, commanding a view of the temple, which they fortified, and filled with Macedonians and apostate Jews. They built an altar in the temple, on which they sacrificed hogs, in derision of the Jews; whom they utterly distressed, because they would not renounce the true God. They likewise built temples and altars, on which they offered up swines-flesh, in the other cities and towns. They laid penalties on the Jews for circumcising their children, and kept people in pay to extort penalties, or to prosecute them: so that, in the end, most of the Jews submitted to the king's commands: though some were found so courageous as to brave all dangers, rather than violate their laws and religion. These were first severely whipped, and then themselves and wives crucified, those of their children who had been circumcised being hung about their necks. Orders were likewise given to destroy the holy scriptures: and that no person should possess them on pain of death.
The Samaritans finding the wretched state to which the Jews were reduced, now no longer claimed affinity to them, nor spoke of the temple of Gerizim as that of God. They now said they were descend from the Medes and Persians; and resolved to renounce all connection with the wretched race of the Hebrews; which they did by the following petition to Antiochus.

**The humble petition of the Sidonians, inhabitants of Sichem, to the king Antiochus Epiphanes, the illustrious God;**

"That the predecessors of your petitioners having been grievously afflicted in their own country, were induced, partly through their misfortunes, and partly through regard to an old superstition, to combine with the Jews in celebrating a festival they call the sabbath; and in erecting a temple on mount Gerizim, on which to sacrifice to an unknown God. Now whereas your majesty hath ordered those abandoned people to be punished agreeable to their demerits; and the officers appointed, thinking us of the same race, have intended to involve us in the same punishment; we beg to say that our records prove our descent from the Sidonians. Wherefore be pleased to order our governor, Apollonius, and his deputy Nicanor, that we are no farther molested on a presumption of our adherence to the Jews, to whom, by descent and customs, we are estranged. And we petition that our temple, hitherto not named, be denounced the temple of Jupiter of Greece: that when we are ourselves secure, we may attend our duty therein, and advance the revenue, and interest of your majesty."

In answer to this the king dispatched the following letter to Nicanor.

"The annexed letter, from the Sidonians of Sichem, having come to our hands, you are hereby acquainted, that on the intelligence of the bearers thereof, we and our council are of opinion, that the Sidonians are innocent of the crimes alleged against the Jews; but, on the contrary, follow the customs of the Greeks: wherefore our pleasure is that they shall be no farther interrupted. With regard to the temple, we command that, henceforward, it be called the temple of Jupiter of Greece; and to this purpose we have written to Apollonius, our governor."

**CHAP. VIII.**

The messengers, who would compel a false worship, killed by Matthias and his sons.

The dying speech and advice of Matthias.

At this period, Matthias, a priest, lived at Modim, a village of Judæa. He had five sons, named Joannan, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan. Matthias would frequently lament to his sons, the wretched state of the Jews, whose city was laid waste, and temple profaned; and he used to say how much more noble it would be to sacrifice their lives in defense...
fence of their country, religion, and laws, than to live in so base and servile a state.

When the king’s officers came to execute the royal orders, they applied to Matthias, as a man whose conduct might influence others, and commanded him to worship as directed. This he refused, saying, that if every other person submitted, he would not, and would advise his sons never to abandon their ancient religion. While Matthias was thus speaking, a Jew came forward, to sacrifice according to the new edict: which so enraged Matthias and his sons, that they killed not only the Jew, but Apelles, the king’s officer, with his guard, who were endeavouring to enforce the new worship. The altar was overturned in the contest: while Matthias exclaimed, “Pol- • g low me, you that regard your honor or religion!” Hereupon Matthias and his sons retired to the wilder- nes, leaving their property behind them; and were soon followed by numbers of people, who resided in caves a con- siderable time. News hereof being brought to the king’s officers, they drew the troops from the castle of Jerusalem, and advancing to the wilder- nes, advised the Jews to submission, to prevent the necessity of destroying them. To this the Jews turned a deaf ear; on which their opponents fixed on the sabbath for destroying them, which they did by burning them in their caves, no resistance being made; for such was the reverence that the Jews had for the day, that, rather than profane it, they would perish. About a thousand men, women, and children were thus suffocated under ground: but numbers escaped, and united themselves under Matthias. This ve- nerable man now instructed them that, in case of necessity, they ought to defend themselves on the sabbath, as well as other times; or their enemies would always take the advantage, and attack them when no resistance was to be dreaded. They were hereby convinced of the propriety of using arms on the sabbath on urgent occasions; and the practice has continued to this day. Matthias now drew together all the people who had dispersed themselves, and lurked about in dread of the enemy; and finding himself at the head of a considerable army, destroyed the idol altars, put to the sword such apostates as could be found, ordered the circumcision of children, and drove off such of the king’s officers as were appointed to restrain that practice.

At the end of a year from this period, Matthias finding that his death approached, summoned his sons, and addressed them as follows: “My life is drawing to the close; but ere I leave you, I charge you to be firm in the cause I have ascertained. Remember my advice, and follow it. Main- tain the laws and rights of your country, and, if possible, restore order to a nation almost buried in confusion: nor associate with those who have betrayed it. Disgrace not your father; but, defying all dangers, risk your lives when your country demands them, assured that a restoration to your former liberty will be the recompence that God will bestow. It is true that our bodies are mortal; but great actions immortalize our memories; and to such actions I would have you aspire. I most earnestly advise you to concord with each other, and to consider how the abilities of each may best promote the interest of you all. For instance; Simon has a depth of judg-
THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

"Judgment; let him be your counsellor. Maccabæus is distinguished by his valour and military skill; appoint him your general. On the whole, attend to what you have in view, and rely on the support of all men of honour and virtue."

"FYRIANS.

The death of Matthias. His son Judas succeeds to his command.

Thus dying speech of Matthias to his sons being concluded, with his prayers that God would succeed their attempts to relieve their countrymen from their oppressions; he departed this life, and was interred at Modim. He was buried in a decent and honourable manner; and soon after his interment, the administration of affairs was placed in the hands of his son Judas, otherwise called Maccabæus, in the one hundred and forty-sixth year from Seleucus the first. The brothers of Judas gave him such aid, that they soon drove the enemy from the country, destroyed the principal delinquents, and cleared the land from all desfilements.

C H A P. X.

Judas encounters, and kills Apollonius, governor of Samaria. Serael killed by Judas in battle; and the army of the Assyrians defeated.

The succession of Judas to the command of the army being notified to Apollonius, governor of Samaria, he advanced against him: but Judas met and routed him, destroying great numbers of his people on the spot, killing Apollonius with his own hand, and carrying off his sword. The spoil taken in the camp was very great.

Seron, governor of Cæle-Syria, being informed of this victory, and that reinforcements, were constantly coming to Judas, resolved to give him battle; considering himself as bound to reduce those whom he deemed rebels. Having joined a number of fugitive Jews with his own people, he marched and encamped at Bethoron, a village of Judæa. Judas prepared to defend himself; but finding his soldiers discouraged, addressed them as follows: "Brother soldiers, depend not on yourselves, but on God for victory: confidence in him is superior to that in multitudes of men. The history of our ancestors confirms this truth; who, with small numbers, have routed thousands, in defence of their religion, freedom, laws, and families. Truth must prevail, and innocence shall remain unconquered." Thus saying, he led his people to the battle, in which they fought most courageously, killing Seron on the spot, and defeating the army of the Assyrians, who seeing their general fall, betook themselves to flight; each man seeking his own safety. Judas pursued them to the plain, many escaping toward the sea-side; but about eight hundred were slain in the field.

C H A P.

These repeated misfortunes induced Antiochus to raise an extraordinary army of his own people, joined with Greek forces, with which he proposed to invade Judæa in the spring; but his natural benevolence, superadded to the late troubles, had caused such a deficiency in the supplies, that he found the expence of war would be more than proportioned to the revenue. Hereupon he resolved to go first to Persia, to collect cash; and, during his absence, left the command of the country between Egypt and Euphrates, with the care of some of his troops and elephants, to Lyfias, a man of tried integrity; to whom he also committed the care of his son Antiochus, till he should return: and he determined that when he had reduced Judæa, and sold the inhabitants for slaves, the whole country should be destroyed. On filling these orders, he passed the Euphrates, in the year one hundred and forty-seven.

In order to execute this commission, Lyfias placed Ptolemy, son of Dorymenes, with Gorgias and Nicanor, at the head of forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse, commanding them to march into Judæa. Having encamped on the plain of Emmaus, they were joined by numbers of Syrians, and those of other countries, with vagabond Jews; likewise merchants, and traders, who brought fetters to secure their prisoners. Judas was provided with an army of force; but he bad them not trust in their own strength, but implore the protection of heaven, by wearing sackcloth, by fasting and prayer. This being done, he divided his people into regiments, troops, and companies; having first dismissed the men lately married, and such as had made new purchases: and then he animated his people by the following speech:

"Fellow soldiers; it is impossible that a superior opportunity to the present can arrive, for defence of our country, or contempt of danger. Our liberty depends on the issue of tomorrow: our religion, too, is equally concerned, and they must stand or fall together. Consider what you contend for: no less than the peaceable possession of all your privileges. The question now is, whether you will basely perish, and involve your countrymen in your own ruin; or make one noble effort for your preservation. Death is equally certain to the coward as to the man of courage; but great is the difference in fame between him who falls a sacrifice to his country's rights, and him who abandons them through fear of death. Reflect seriously on these things; and remember that you trust in the providence of God to second your valour; and that you are certain of obtaining glory while you contend for victory."

Judas had no sooner finished this speech, than Gorgias, with five thousand foot, and a thousand horse, conducted by some apostate Jews, intended to surprise
surprise him at night. Hereupon he thought of countering the enemy, by attempting the camp, when part of the troops had left it. To effect this he ordered several fires to be made in his own camp, and then marched in the night towards Emmaus, where the enemy was encamped. In the interim Gorgias finding the Jews camp deserted, supposed he had little else to do than to discover and destroy them. At day-break Judas, with three thousand men, arrived at the enemy’s camp, and found them well provided: whereupon he told them that they might safely engage, even if unarmed; for the Providence of God was their special protection. Thus saying, he ordered the charge to be founded, broke in on them, and put numbers of them to the sword, pursuing them to Gadara, while the rest flew to the plains of Jamnia, Idumea, and Azotus. About three thousand were slain; but Judas would not permit his troops to touch the spoil, because Gorgias was yet unconquered; but he said, when his troops were conquered, they might seize the booty. He had scarce spoke these words when the soldiers of Gorgias, who were stationed on an adjacent hill, saw their camp smoking, and their friends dead, while the enemy were still able to renew the attack; on which they dispersed in confusion. The victory being thus easily obtained, Judas permitted his people to pillage the field, in which they found gold, silver, scarlet and purple vestments, and other valuable booty, which they carried off in triumph, singing and praising God for the victory.

This defeat so mortified Lyfias, that in the following year he entered Judea with an army of sixty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, and encamped at Bethsura. Judas, undismayed by such numbers, advanced with only ten thousand men, and having offered up a short prayer for success, attacked the enemy, forced their lines, and killed five hundred on the spot. The army of Lyfias was so struck with this shock, that they determined to conquer or die: but the commander, marking this effort of despair, withdrew them to Antioch, where he obtained re-inforcements, in hope of greater success on a future occasion.

Animated by these successes, Judas encouraged the Jews to rely on the continued protection of God, and to march to Jerusalem, there to offer sacrifices, and cleanse the temple. Arriving there they found the gates burnt, the temple abandoned, and weeds overspreading the courts; so that they wept at the deplorable situation of the place. Judas ordered his people to attack the citadel, while he took care of the cleansing of the temple: which he furnished with utensils, vessels, a candelabrum, a table, and an altar of incense, all of pure gold. He likewise supplied new doors, and put up veils and hangings on the walls. The altar, which had been profaned by sacrifices and burnt offerings to idols, was also removed; and a new one, of unhewn stone, (agreeable to the directions of Moses) placed in its stead. Lighted tapers were placed in the candelabrum, incense offered on the altar, show-bread placed on the table, and burnt offerings made, on the 25th of the month Casleu, just three years after the temple had been profaned by Antiochus: and this ceremony of the purification was repeated on the same day in the one hundred and forty-eighth year of the Olympiad, agreeable to a prediction of the prophet Daniel.
Judas continued this festival eight days, with sacrifices, rejoicing, and feasting, while the air was filled with notes of thanksgiving and praise; and the people were indulged in all reasonable gratifications. The public joy was so great on this restoration of religion and law, that an anniversary, of eight days celebration, was appointed to be held for ever; and which is still called the "Feast of Lights;" which, I presume, alludes to that light which Heaven on this occasion peculiarly granted. In the interim, Judas caused the walls of the city to be repaired, and fortified with towers; he also stationed a garrison at Bethsura, and effectually fortified the place.

The increasing power of the Jews inspired the neighbouring nations to do them every possible injury; and many of them they destroyed by artifice, while Judas did his utmost to defeat their machinations. At this period he attacked Acrabatan, where he got great booty, after destroying the Edomites; blocking up the sons of Baan (their commander), in fortified places, where they lay to attack the Jews: but these places were taken, and laid in ashes, those who protected them being destroyed. When Judas had routed these people, he attacked the Ammonites, commanded by Timotheus: conquered them, took the city of Jazar, set it on fire, made captives of the wives and children; and returned in triumph. As soon as he was gone the people assembled at Galaad, and attempted to surprize the Jews in that district; who taking refuge in the fortresses of Dametha, informed Judas that Timotheus meant to attack them, and begged his assistance. At this instant messengers from Galilee brought complaint to Judas that a conspiracy was formed against them by the inhabitants of Ptolemais, Tyre, and Sidon.

C H A P. XII.


Simon, the brother of Judas, was now sent, with three hundred select men, to assist the Jews at Galilee, while himself and Jonathan, his other brother, marched with eight thousand, to Galaad; the rest of the army being left to the care of Joseph and Azarias, with orders not to fight till he came back again. When Simon arrived at Galilee he attacked the enemy, and destroyed three thousand, pursuing them to the gates of Ptolemais. Having stripped the vanquished, they redeemed the prisoners with the spoils, and returned to Jerusalem with them.

Judas and his brother Jonathan having marched three days into the wilderness beyond Jordan, the Nabathites received them amicably, and informed them of the distresses of their countrymen confined in Galaad, advising them to hasten to relieve them, by way of the desert. During this expedition they reduced the town of Barafa, burnt it, and put to the sword all who were capable of bearing arms. Night now advanced; but Judas proceeded.
to a castle, in which he had learnt some Jews were besieged. Arriving there early in the morning, he found the enemy prepared to scale the place; on which he separated his troops into three divisions, and exhorted them to be valiant, in aid of their countrymen; whereupon, on the second trumpet sounding, the enemy was attacked in the rear. Timotheus finding that Judas was the commander, his men precipitately fled, being pursued by the Jews, who killed eight thousand of them. During the pursuit Judas took the city of Mallam, which was destroyed by fire, all the male inhabitants being put to death. This fate likewise attended Cafphan, Bofor, and other places, of which conquest was made.

Timotheus assembling a large army, aided by a band of Arabians and other forces, passed the river, and encamped near Raphan, where he animated his troops to behave courageously, and prevent the Jews passing that river, on which, he said, the issue of the war depended. Judas finding that Timotheus was prepared for battle, passed the river, attacked and routed him, his people seeking their safety in flight. Some of them repaired to the temple of Carnaim, in hope of protection; but Judas destroyed the town, put the inhabitants to the sword, and caused the temple to be burnt.

He now collected the Israelites in Galaad, and carried them into Judaea, with their families and effects. As the city of Ephron was in his direct road, he asked for permission to pass through it, but this being denied, he prepared his troops to attack it; and conquered it in one day and night, putting all the men to the sword, reducing the place to ashes, and marching his army over the bodies of the dead. Having passed the river Jordan, he proceeded through the plain of Bethfan to Judaea, the people offering sacrifices, and singing songs and hymns of joy, in gratitude for their safety; for not a single Jew was lost in all this expedition.

Simon having marched into Galilee against the people of Ptolemais: Judas and his brother Jonathan being gone against those of Galaad; Joseph and Azarias, who had been left as a guard in Judaea, in the absence of Simon, thought it disgraceful not to distinguish themselves: they therefore proceeded to Jannia, where Gorgias the governor encountered them, killed two thousand of them, and pursued their shattered forces to the confines of Judaea. This misfortune befell them, in consequence of disobeying their commander, whose orders were "not to fight till he came back again."

In the interim Judas carried on a vigorous war against the Edomites; for besides the destruction of Hebron, they demolished Mariâ, and plundered Azotus, returning to Jerusalem in all the pride of conquest.
C H A P. XIII.

Antiochus lays siege to Elymais, but is driven to Babylon. He acknowledges the judgment of God, and departs this life.

ANTIOCHUS being at this period proceeding through his higher provinces, was informed of a rich city in Persia, named Elymais, in which was a grand temple dedicated to Diana, containing sumptuous presents of all kinds, and, among the rest, the shields and breast-plates of Alexander, son of Philip king of Macedon. This information so struck Antiochus, that he proceeded with his army to assault the place: but the inhabitants refited bravely, drove him off, and pursued his forces even to Babylon, destroying numbers of them in the pursuit. While he was lamenting this defeat, news arrived that his other troops, who had been defined to attack the Jews, were discomfited, and that the strength of those people encreased daily. Oppressed with these repeated misfortunes, he fell sick; and finding himself near death, summoned his friends to attend him, and told them the cause of his disorder. "My punishment (said he) is but just, "for profaning the temple of the Jews, and despising the God of Heaven:"

and having said these words, he departed this life. I am astonished at Polybius (otherwise a writer of credit) who ascribes this judgment on Antiochus to his design of rifing the temple of Diana: whereas his sacrilege on the temple of Jerusalem was actually committed: and the imputation of his death to that act would have been therefore more reasonable.

C H A P. XIV.


ANTIOCHUS, on finding his death approaching, sent for a confidential friend named Philip, to whom he committed the crown, royal robes, and signet, in trust for his son Antiochus, then under age, adjuring him to superintend the education of his son, and secure the crown till he should be fit to govern. The death of Antiochus, which happened in the year one hundred and forty-nine, was no sooner announced, than Lyfias proclaimed his son king, by the name of Eupator.

In the interim, the Macedonians, who, with some revolted Jews, were stationed in Jerusalem,fallied out to prevent the Jews worshipping in the temple, which was easily done, as it was commanded by the castle. Hereupon Judas ordered machines and battering-engines to be prepared, to assault the place; but while this was doing, sundry persons deferted to Antiochus, and represented their unhappy situation, in obeying his commands, by which they
they were likely to become captives to Judas. On this the young prince
ordered his troops to be collected, and new levies to be raised, which soon
produced an army of twenty thousand horse, one hundred foot, and thirty-
two elephants. Thus provided, he marched from Antioch to Idumae, and
thence to Bethsura, a place fortified by art and nature. This place he as-
saulted in vain; for all his efforts were frustrated. In the interim Judas,
hearing of his approach, raised the siege, marched to meet him, and pitched
his tents about thirty furlongs from him, in the frights of Bethzachariah.
Antiochus leaving the Bethzarites, encamped near Judas, directing his
army to march and arrange themselves in order by day-light; but the narrow-
ness of the place obliged them to go in defiles, one elephant preceding a
thousand foot and five hundred horse; the elephants having on their backs
castles filled with archers; while the other troops ascended the hills, under
the command of officers of experienced valour. They made the attack from
this height, with the loudest acclamations, so that the valiant re-echoed
with the noise: but Judas received them undauntedly, and killed six hundred
on the first attack. During the engagement Eleazar, brother of Judas, ob-
serving an elephant more gaily companioned than the rest, and presuming
that the king rode this beast, forced himself through the guards, killed several
of his opponents, got under the elephant’s belly, and wounded him mortally;
but was himself crushed to death by the weight of the beast in falling.

At length Judas, finding the number of the enemy too great for him,
returned to the siege of Jerusalem, while part of the army of Antiochus went
to the same place, and the rest to Bethsura. The number of troops, super-
added to the want of provisions, so discouraged the people of Bethsura, that
they agreed to deliver the place, on condition that no violence should be
offered to them. As far as preserving their lives Antiochus kept his engage-
ment, but drove the inhabitants naked from the town, and placed his own
people in their stead. The temple, however, was obstinately defended,
every attack of the enemy being counter-worked: but the people were
distressed for want of bread; for this happening when the stores of the last
year were eaten, and in the seventh year, when the Jews, by their laws,
could neither plow nor sow, many of them abandoned the place in want of
provisions; so that very few were left to defend it.

At this time the king, and Lyfias his general, received information that
the government was usurped by Philip, who was marching out of Persia to-
wards them, at the head of his army: on which they resolved to abandon
the siege, and attack him; but to keep their intention so secret, that neither
officers nor soldiers should judge of their design. To effect which, the king
bad Lyfias represent to them the strength of the place, and how tedious a
business it would be to take it: that corn grew scarce; that the king was
wanted in another place, and the best way would be to yield the people the
use of their religion and laws, which being all they contended for, the king
might depart at his pleasure. This proposal was highly acceptable to the
army.
CHAP. XV.

The Jews deliver up the temple on conditions. Onias destroyed by the king's order.

Philip conquered in battle by Antiochus. The son of Onias retires to Egypt, where he builds a temple similar to that at Jerusalem.

This plan being laid, Antiochus sent a messenger to offer peace to the besieged, with full liberty of conscience and the enjoyment of their rights, which he bound himself by oath to protect; on which they delivered up the temple: but he immediately, contrary to his engagements, levelled the walls with the ground, and carried the high-priest Onias (otherwise Menelaus) with him to Antioch. This was done in consequence of the advice of Lyfias, who said that Onias must be destroyed if ever he wished to live at ease, or see the Jews in peaceable subjection, for he had instigated his father to compel them to a religion contrary to their opinion. Hereupon Onias was sent to Berrheus in Syria, where he was slain, by the king's order, after being high-priest ten years. Onias was a bad man, who to secure himself in power, had caused the Jews to depart from their laws and worship. Alcimus, otherwise called Jacimus, was his successor.

Philip having now assumed the government, Antiochus marched against, conquered, made him prisoner, and ordered his being put to death. The king having given the priest-hood to Alcimus, who was not of the sacerdotal line, the young son of Onias departed to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and was received favourably by him and his queen Cleopatra, who gave him a port in Heliopolis, where he built a temple, modelled after that at Jerusalem.

CHAP. XVI.

Tripolis seized by Demetrius. Antiochus and Lyfias put to death. Judas complained of to Demetrius, by Alcimus. An army sent against Judas, and the priesthood settled on Alcimus. He puts the friends of Judas to death, and then flies for support to Demetrius.

About this time Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, having fled from Rome, seized Tripolis in Syria, assumed the crown, and invaded the country, the people of which readily submitted, and delivered to him Antiochus and Lyfias as prisoners, whom he ordered to instant death. In the train of Demetrius were great numbers of profligate Jews, who had been banished for various offences. These were headed by Alcimus the high-priest, and bitterly envied against the Jews in general, but particularly against Judas and his brethren, whom they accused of destroying numbers of the king's friends, and driving the complainants out of the country: they therefore desired Demetrius to send some person to Judea, to witness what devastation Judas had been guilty of.

Hereupon
Hereupon Demetrius joined Bacchides, governor of Mesopotamia, in a
commission with Alcimus, and dispatched them with an army, to attack Judas
and his adherents. Bacchides marched from Antioch to Judea, where
he invited Judas to treat on terms of friendship; but his design was only to
effnare him. Judas reflecting that with such an army he could not come
as a friend, flood on his guard, and gave no credit to his professions: but
some of his people went over to the opposite party, presuming that their
countryman, Alcimus would not injure them; especially as a solemn oath
was sworn that they should be safe: but, in violation of this oath, Bacchides
calved sixty of them to be immediately slain; which perfidious act prevent-
ed any more from approaching him. This being done, Bacchides went
to Bethsath, where he caused several defectors and other disaffected people
to be slain; and leaving part of his army to protect the province, he re-
turned to Demetrius at Antioch, having first issued orders that Alcimus
should be obeyed in his absence.

During this period the views of Alcimus were directed to secure himself
in the office of high-priest; to effect which he endeavoured to ingratiate
himself with the people by fair words and obliging behaviour; by which he
soon doubled the number of forces that had been left with him; but they
consisted chiefly of renegades, destroying such Jews as were friends to Judas,
wherever they met them. Judas reflecting on this conduct of a set of aban-
doned wretches, had recourse to the laws of retaliation against Alcimus, who
finding himself unequal to the contest, retired hastily to Demetrius, at An-
tioch, whom he irritated against Judas, setting forth the great mischief he
had already done, and the farther danger to be apprehended from him, un-
less an army was sent to check his proceedings.

CHAP. XVII.

Nicanor sent with an army against Judas, and endeavours by treachery to ensnare
him. Nicanor's army conquered by Judas, and himself slain. Alcimus dies sud-
denly. The people choose Judas for his successor. Judas forms an alliance with
the Romans.

Demetrius, uneasy at the growing power of Judas, and fearful of
its consequences, gave the command of a large army to Nicanor, whom
he commisioned to attack Judas, and afford no quarter to his troops. Nicanor
proceeded on this commission; but considering that his opponent
might possibly be ruined by the arts of treachery, he sent for Judas, to
whom he said, "Wherefore should we risk all on the uncertain chance of
war, when we may better adjust matters by negociation? I pledge my
most solemn oath for your security. Peace alone is my object; which
you may imagine by the number of friends I have brought with me, to
 testify our matters good-will and affection to all the Jewish race." This
speech had such an effect, that Nicanor and his friends were received with
frankness; on which Nicanor gave a hint to seize Judas: but the latter had
the
the happiness to discover the plot, and retreated in time to his own people. This detection of treachery put an end to all thought of treaty, and a battle was fought near Capharsalana, in which Judas was routed, and retired to the castle of Jerusalem for refuge.

Nicanor happening to pass near the temple, a number of priests and elders met him, and showed him the sacrifices they were going to offer for the happiness of Demetrius. On this Nicanor profanely swore, that if Judas was not delivered up to him, he would soon return, destroy the temple, and leave it in utter ruin. The priests, in great dejection, prayed that God would protect his temple and its ministers from the fury of the foe. Nicanor now left Jerusalem and encamped at Bethoron, where a great force from Syria joined him. In the interim Judas pitched his tents at Adasi, about thirty furlongs from the enemy, having only a thousand men under his command. He encouraged his troops by saying, that though the number of the enemy was great, they fought in the cause of God, whose power could crush multitudes; and advised them rather to think on their own valour, than the numbers they were to encounter. "Attack them courageously (said he) and leave the rest to heaven." A battle ensued, at first vigorous on both sides; but Nicanor (after performing wonders of valour) being killed, and many of his forces, his people threw away their arms, and fled with the utmost precipitation. In the interim Judas pursued the fugitives, to whom he gave no quarter; proclaiming his victory by sound of trumpet in all the cities and towns he passed through. This brought together the country people, who attacked the fugitives with such fury, that not a man escaped of the whole army, which had consisted of nine thousand. This happened on the thirteenth of the month Adar, in memory of which we to this day celebrate an annual thanksgiving. After this victory the Jews had some respite from war, and hope of future peace; but this was of short continuance.

The high-priest, Alcimus, now gave orders for pulling down the old wall of the sanctuary, and demolishing the whole works of the ancient prophets: but had no sooner spoken than he dropped speeches to the ground, languished awhile, and then died, after having been high-priest four years. On his death, the people unanimously chose Judas to succeed him. The new high-priest was disposed to enter into a league with the Romans, from their fame in conquering the Gauls, Spaniards, Carthagarians, Grecians, &c. Hereupon he dispatched his friends Eupolemus, the son of John, and Jason the son of Eleazar, as ambassadors to Rome, requesting that they might be received as allies, and that Demetrius might be applied to, not to trouble the Jews any farther. This proposal proved agreeable to the senate, who consented to the league, caused this covenant to be engraved on tables of brass, deposited the original in the capital, and sent a copy of it to Jerusalem. The purport of the articles was, "That no people subject to the Romans should hereafter make war on the Jews, or supply their enemies with money, shipping, corn, &c; and that the Jews should be held to the same terms, in case the Romans should be attacked. That if the Jews demanded any future alteration of their agreement, the content
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of the whole people should be necessary to ratify it." Eupolemius the son of John, Jalon, son of Eleazar; Judas, the high-priest, and Simon his brother, commander of the army, registered this resolution of the senate. This is the first alliance which the Jews and Romans made.

CHAP. XVIII.

Demetrius sends Bacchides into Judæa with an army. Judas resolves to encounter him with only eight hundred men. The magnanimity of Judas.

DEMETRIUS hearing of the death of Nicanor, and the defeat of the army, dispatched Bacchides again into Judæa, with fresh troops. This general encamped at Arbela, a town of Galilee, where he forced many Jews from the caves to which they had retreated. Hence he repaired to Jerusalem, where he learnt that Judas and his associates were at Bethsith, to which place he marched with 22,000 foot, and 2000 horse; while Judas had only a thousand men, two hundred of whom deserted him. Thus disheartened for men, and having no opportunity of recruiting his forces, yet Judas resolved to hazard a battle, and encouraged his people to stand by him in all extremities. They preferred to him how vain and impotent an attempt it would be, to engage against such superior numbers; and advised him rather to retreat with caution, and recruit his forces. To this Judas replied, "It shall never be said of me that I turn my back to an enemy. If it be the will of God that we now fall, let his will be done; but let us not, by an ignominious death, destroy all the credit of a life of glory." His soldiers were so animated by this speech that they resolved to abide the contest.

CHAP. XIX.

The battle between Judas and Bacchides. The former is slain after behaving with the utmost magnanimity.

THE army of Bacchides was dispersed in the following manner. The front was composed of light armed men and archers, supported by a body of Macedonians, while there were two wings of horse, the right wing being commanded by Bacchides. In this disposition they advanced towards the enemy; founded a charge, gave a loud shout, and began the attack. The forces of Judas sustained the shock bravely. The battle continued from morning till near sun-set, when Judas seeing Bacchides with his right wing pressing hard on his men, relieved them with a band of courageous youths, who broke their line, and pursued them as far as Aza. The left wing of the enemy now pursued Judas so closely, that, seeing no chance of escape, he and his adherents determined to fell their lives dearly, and fought their enemies till they were overcome through mere fatigue. Judas being killed
in the battle, his troops fled; but his brothers, Simon, and Jonathan, having prevailed on the enemy to give them his body, carried it to Modim, where it was interred with great pomp, in the family sepulchre, and a public mourning of several days appointed in honour of his memory. Thus died Judas Maccabæus, a brave and benevolent man; who forgot not the injunction of his father Matthias, who commanded him to decline no danger in defence of his countrymen; in compliance with which injunction he obtained great honour while he was three years high-priest; and by relieving his friends from the hands of the Macedonians.

End of the Twelfth Book.

Immediately after the death of Judas, the apostate Jews resumed their ancient enmity, and persecuted their honest countrymen with more malice than before. A general famine now spread over the land: so that through distress for bread on one hand, and the difficulty of defending themselves
themselves against their enemies on the other, many of the Jews were in a manner compelled to adhere to the faction of the Macedonians. Bacchides now entrusted a principal share of the government to the apostate Jews, who feized the former friends of Judas, and delivered them to Bacchides, who tortured them to death. The Jews were never so deplorably miserable since the Babylonish captivity as at this period; so that the late adherents of Judas entreated Jonathan to follow his brother's example in risking his life for the liberties of his country; and besought him to assume the command; for without a leader they must be all lost. Jonathan replied that he was ready to do or suffer any thing for the public welfare; on which he was elected general by common consent.

Bacchides hearing of this election, and considering that Jonathan was not less likely to give trouble to the Macedonians than his brother Judas, concerted how he might destroy him: but himself and his brother Simon having intelligence of such a design, collected what force he could, withdrew to a neighbouringu desert, and pitched their tents near the pool of Asphar. Bacchides considering this retreat as a flight, marched his army after them, and encamped beyond Jordan. Jonathan being informed hereof, sent his brother John to the Arabian Nabathites, requesting permission to leave his baggage with them, till he had fought Bacchides: but the sons of Amaranus having notice of this embassy, fell to Medaba, took the baggage and carriages, and killed John and all his people: but this outrage was afterwards properly-revenged.

Intelligence being given to Bacchides where Jonathan was encamped, he fixed on the sabbath to attack him, presuming that his people would not fight on that day, but Jonathan replying, that as the enemy was before, and the river behind them, they had no chance of escape without fighting, they appealed to Heaven for the success of their cause, and instantly attacked the enemy, of whom they killed great numbers. In the interim Bacchides affailed Jonathan, and made a furious stroke at him, which he parried, and retreated with his people to the other side of the river, whither the enemy durst not follow them. Bacchides, having left near two thousand men retired to Jerusalem, which he fortified in the strongest manner, and kept in it as hostages the sons of the principal men of the country. He likewise fortified Jericho, Emmaus, Bethoron, Bethel, Thamnatha, Pharathon, Techoa, and Gazara; which places were supplied with garrisons, ready to make excursions on the Jews.

About this time Jonathan and Simon received intelligence of a pompous wedding to be celebrated between one of the sons of Amaranus, and the daughter of an Arabian of distinction. The wedding was to be attended by the sons of Amaranus, and the bride to be escorted from the city of Gabatha in great splendor. This opportunity was seized to revenge the death of John; and the brothers, having placed an ambush in the mountains, hurried towards Medaba, to attack the people who were to attend the wedding. The bride and bridegroom, with four hundred friends, including wives and children, making their appearance, the party rushed out, destroyed them all,
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all, and carried off the whole booty; after which they retreated to their former station.

Bacchides, having left garrisons in Judæa, returned home, and the Jews remained in some fort of peace for two years; a circumstance that gave great disturbance to the Apostates, who solicited Demetrius to defeat Jonathan and his people, which they said might be effected by surprize in a single night. This proposition being acceded to by the king, he sent Bacchides on this business into Judæa, who, on his arrival, dispatched letters to the king's officers and friends in the country, to assist in making Jonathan captive. Hereupon they contrived how they might get him into their hands; but Jonathan having been forewarned, acted cautiously, so that several repeated trials failed; which so exasperated Bacchides, that he attributed the ill success of the undertaking to the treachery of the apostate Jews who, he said, trifled with the royal orders; and he put fifty of their principal men to death, in the first transports of his rage. At length Jonathan and his brother, finding Bacchides too powerful for them, retired into the wilderness, and raised walls round the village of Bethalaga, to serve them for a retreat on an emergency. Bacchides being informed hereof, marched towards them with all his forces, and being joined by a body of Jews, began the attack of Bethalaga, which he continued for several days; during which it was obstinately defended. Matters being thus situated, Jonathan, having committed the defence of the place to his brother Simon, collected a number of forces in the neighbourhood, and marching privately in the night, attacked Bacchides in his encampment, killing great numbers of his people. Simon soon discovered that this havoc was made by his brother; on which he fell in like manner, burnt the enemy's works, destroyed many of their forces, and returned to his entrenchments. This double attack, and the failure of an attempt in which he thought himself sure of succeeding, almost distracted Bacchides; but he laid all the blame on the apostate Jews, who advised the king in this business. His only concern now was how to draw off his army without disgrace either to himself or his sovereign.

C H A P. II.

A league betwixt Jonathan and Bacchides, the latter of whom quits Judæa. Jonathan fixes on Macchmas as the place of his residence.

BACCHIDES was now deliberating how to act; when Jonathan having received an intimation of what was passing in his mind, dispatched a messenger to him, with proposals for a league of mutual friendship, on the condition of an exchange of prisoners. Bacchides saw in this proposal so fair an opportunity of his abandoning the siege without disgrace, that he immediately acceded thereto: on which the prisoners were exchanged on both sides, and the respective commanders bound themselves by a solemn oath that no further hostilities should be committed. This agreement being ratified, Bacchides returned to Antioch to the king, and never

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again entered Judæa with his army. This state of peace and safety was very acceptable to Jonathan, who retreated to Machmas, where he employed his time in the distribution of law and justice, and the other cares of government. He was zealous in ascertaining the laws, and clearing the country of false brethren, and false worship.

CHAP. III.

Alexander seizes Ptolemais in Syria. Demetrius, on news hereof, marches his army against him.

ALEXANDER, the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, aided by a confederacy of the soldiers in garrison at Ptolemais in Syria, took possession of that place in the year one hundred and sixty. This confederacy arose from an averton the soldiers had to Demetrius, whose pride and indolence were such, that he immured himself in one of his fortified castles near Antioch, where he was excluded from all visitors; and spent his time in the most indolent manner, wholly neglecting the cares of the government, a circumstance that produced him many enemies: but on this news of Alexander having taken possession of Ptolemais, he assembled his army and marched to give him battle.

CHAP. IV.

An alliance proposed and ratified between Demetrius and Jonathan. The latter fortifies and repairs Jerusalem. The Macedonians retire to Antioch. The Jewish deserters remain at Jerusalem.

ON the occasion abovementioned, Demetrius dispatched messengers with letters to Jonathan, proposing a firm alliance between them. This was done to prevent Alexander being first in a proposal of the kind, in resentment of the insults and injuries he formerly sustained. These letters intimated that Jonathan should raise men, provide arms, and set at liberty those hostages who had been committed prisoners to the castle by Baecchides. On receipt of the dispatches Jonathan repaired to Jerusalem, where he read them publicly to the soldiers and the people. The fugitives and profligates in the citadel were surprized at this sudden return of Jonathan to favour: but he proceeded to make his levies, and gave liberty to the hostages, with orders for them to return in safety to their friends. Jonathan now took up his residence at Jerusalem, which he altered, repaired and fortified, erecting for its defence strong walls composed of stones of a prodigious size. On this alteration of Jerusalem, those Macedonians who had been stationed in different garrisons through the country, retired to Antioch: while the Jewish deserters, and others, who were at Bethsura, and in the tower of Jerusalem, remained in their present situation, not thinking it safe for them to retreat.
C H A P. V.

Jonathan advanced to the office of high-priest by Alexander. A battle betwixt Alexander and Demetrius. The unfortunate death of the latter.

The character of Jonathan, his valour and courageous actions against the Macedonians, and the insults that had been offered him both by Demetrius and Bacchides, were not unknown to Alexander; who having been informed of the late offers and pretensions of Demetrius, assembled his friends, and represented to them that nothing could be more prudent than an alliance with Jonathan. The council being of the same opinion, Alexander immediately dispatched an ambassadour with a letter to the following purport:

"Alexander the king, to Jonathan his brother, greeting.

"Having long since been informed of thy character for honour, faith and courage, and deeming thee every way worthy our best regards, we have dispatched ambassadours to offer thee our friendship and alliance, and have commissioned them to treat of the same: and by these presents, and our royal authority, we constitute and ordain thee high-priest of the Jews, and rank thee in the number of the king's friends; and we likewise present thee with a crown of gold and a purple robe: entertaining no doubt of a proper return being made by thee for this instance of our regard and esteem."

On the arrival of this ambassadour, which happened on the day of the feast of tabernacles, Jonathan put on the robe of the high-priest; precisely at the end of four years from the death of his brother Judas, during which time the office had been vacant: and from henceforward Jonathan was diligent to encrease his troops, and provide more arms. By this time Demetrius found he had been deficient in not seeking an earlier alliance with Jonathan: but on hearing of the above letter sent by Alexander, he attempted what might be done by the following:

"Demetrius the king, to Jonathan, and the Jewish people, greeting.

"Having evermore found you true and loyal, and faithful in our service, notwithstanding every attempt of our enemies to seduce you from your fidelity; we think it becomes us to give you some proof of our esteem for your past services, and of our royal encouragement for your perseverance in the same line of conduct for the future. Wherefore it is our pleasure that your tributes be remitted; and we hereby remit all the taxes formerly paid to our predecessors or ourselves; exclusive of the salt and crown taxes, the thirds of your corn and fruits; and these duties we give up for
"all future time, as well as the poll-tax on the inhabitants of Judæa, and "the three governments of Galilee, Samaria, and Pææa. It is our plea-"sure that Jerufalem and its dependencies be exempted from all tenths and "tributes, be deemed holy, and have the privileges of a sanctuary. Let "the citadel be delivered to Jonathan the high-priest, with permission to "place in it a garrison of such of his friends as he may think proper. We "further command that, immediately on receipt hereof, liberty be given "to all Jewish prisoners in every part of our dominions, without any fees "imposed, even on their cattle: that their sabbaths and solemn festivals, "and three days preceeding each, shall be deemed days of freedom to the "Jews throughout our dominions, that they may live at peace and unmole-
"lefted. That thirty thousand Jews, if so many shall be willing, may bear "arms in our service, and receive the same pay as our own troops: that they "be entrusted in garrisons, and near our person: and that our royal family "receive the better sort of them as domestics. In Jerufalem, and the three "dependent provinces, the Jews shall freely exercise their own laws; but "the high-priest must take care that the temple of Jerufalem be the only one "in which the Jews worship. Fifteen thousand shekels of silver we also "grant annually, towards the expence of their sacrifices; and we remit the "ten thousand drachmas formerly paid to our predeceffors, by the priests and "officers attending the service of the temple. We farther order that all "debtors repairing to the temple of Jerufalem, or the liberties thereof, on "account of debt, shall remain unmolested, both in person and property. "We also permit and require that the temple be repaired; that strong forti-
"fications be made round it; and that such strong places as the Jews choose "to fortify shall have garrisons stationed in them: and all this shall be done "at our own expence."

At this period Alexander assembled a large army, partly composed of "such as had gone over to him from Demetrius, in Syria, and partly of his own "troops, with which he advanced to attack the enemy. Soon after the battle "commenced, the right wing of Alexander's forces was pressed hard by the "left of Demetrius, who pushed their advantage even to the plundering of the "camp: but Alexander's troops forced the opposite column, where Demetrius "fought in person, till it was totally routed. Demetrius acted wonders, kill-
"ing, and pursuing his enemies, and defending himself; till at length his "horse plunged into a bog, and being oppressed by multitudes, he was obliged "to yield, which, however, he disdained for some time to do, fighting on "foot till his body was covered with darts and arrows. Thus died Demetrius, "at the end of a reign of eleven years."
CHAP. VI.

A proposal of Onias to build a temple in Egypt, similar to that of Jerusalem. A dispute between the Jews and Samaritans, whether the temple at Gerizim or Jerusalem be the true one. The matter referred to the king, on agreement that the mistaken party suffer death. The king declares in favour of Jerusalem.

At this time Onias, the son of Onias the high-priest, dwelt in a kind of exile with Ptolemy Philometer at Alexandria. This Onias, considering how Judea had been ravaged by the Macedonians, and with a view to acquire fame to himself, determined to try to obtain permission of Ptolemy, and his queen Cleopatra, to build a temple in Egypt similar to that at Jerusalem, in which he proposed that priests and levites of his own family should officiate. He was inspired with this idea by a prediction of the prophet Isaiah, of six hundred years standing, intimating that in future ages a Jew should erect a temple in Egypt to the glory of God. This prophecy took such possession of the mind of Onias, that he wrote the following letter to Ptolemy and Cleopatra.

"When I had the happiness of serving your majesties in the field, I observed in my pafsage through Cæle-Syria, Phœncia, Leontopolis, in the land of Heliopolis, and other places, that the Jews could not agree about their temples, in which there is no uniformity. This happens likewise among the Egyptians, through diversity of religions, and number and variety of temples. Now whereas, near the castle of Bubætes on the plain, I have found a place where materials for building are plenty, and there are numbers of beasts proper for sacrifice, my humble petition is, that I may be permitted to destroy a ruinous temple on that spot, which was never consecrated to any god; and build in its place one after the model of that at Jerusalem; covenanting that prayers be therein offered for your majesties and your royal house. Thus will the Jews through-out your dominions be more united, and more capable of rendering you service. The prophet Isaiah foretold that this should happen, and that God would have a place in Egypt dedicated to his service."

The following answer to this letter, by which the king and queen disclaim all violation of the law, is somewhat remarkable.

Ptolemy the king, and Cleopatra the queen, to Onias, health and joy.

"Having taken into consideration your letter, in which you desire permission to destroy an old temple and erect another, at Leontopolis, near Bubætes on the plain, in the land of Heliopolis: we can scarcely imagine how a temple should be acceptable to God, built in so unclean a place, frequented by such a number of noxious animals. Nevertheless, as you appeal to a prophecy of Isaiah, as an encouragement to your proceeding, we"
"we grant you such permission as is in our power, provided the laws of God be not violated by your proceeding."

This grant being made, Onias began immediately to build the temple, and raise the altar, on the plan of that at Jerusalem, though the dimensions were much less. When the building was finished, Onias found a number of priests and levites of his own sentiments, to perform the several parts of divine worship.

About this period a most violent dispute happened at Alexandria, between the Jews and Samaritans, the latter of whom had built a temple at Gerizim, in the time of Alexander the Great. This dispute, which regarded the temple, and the mode of worshipping, stood as follows: the Jews insisted that there was no temple authorized by the laws of Moses, but that at Jerusalem; while the Samaritans were equally sanguine for the temple of Gerizim. Both parties agreed to refer the dispute to the decision of the king and his ministers, with allowance that counsel might be heard on each side, and that the party in the wrong should suffer death. Andronicus, the son of Meffalan, was appointed to plead for the Jews, and Sabbæus and Theodofius, for the Samaritans. Both parties were bound on oath before God and the king, to offer nothing contrary to law. The Jews of Alexandria were uneasy for their advocate, and grieved to think that any doubt should be made of the sacred authority of the temple of Jerusalem, the noblest structure in the universe. The king having summoned his counsellors to try the issue, a debate arose who should speak first; when Sabbæus and Theodofius yielding that point to Andronicus, he began by stating the antiquity and sanctity of the temple at Jerusalem; proved the legality of its original foundation; displayed the regular order of the priesthood through a succession of ages; adverted to the splendor and dignity of the place, as it had been at all times celebrated; and spoke of the magnificent bounty of the kings of Asia towards it; whereas the temple of Gerizim had been little more noticed than if no such place had ever been built. These pleadings determined the king in favour of the temple of Jerusalem, and he accordingly gave sentence of death against Sabbæus and Theodofius.

CHAP. VII.

Alexander marries Cleopatra, daughter to the king of Egypt. Great honour done to Jonathan the high-priest.

DEMETRIUS being dead (as hath been heretofore mentioned) Alexander assumed the government of Syria; soon after which he wrote a letter to Ptolemy Philometer, proposing a match between himself and his daughter, and intimating that there would be no disgrace in an alliance, after the conquest of Demetrius, and the recovery of a kingdom which was his own in right of his father. This proposal was highly satisfactory to Ptolemy, who sent a letter to Demetrius, congratulating him on his late success, and promising to befriend his daughter on him in marriage. He farther promised to meet him at Ptolemais, with his daughter, where the wedding
wedding should be celebrated. Soon after writing this letter, Ptolemy took his daughter to the appointed place, where Alexander attending, the parties were married, and he received as a wedding portion, a sum becoming the dignity of the father. Alexander invited the high-priest Jonathan to the wedding, where both the monarchs received him in a distinguished manner, and made him large presents; Alexander particularly directing him to wear a purple robe on the occasion, and take a seat next himself on the throne; and giving orders to his principal officers to attend him in the city, and proclaim that no man should insult, abuse, or otherwise ill treat him, on pain of abiding the consequences. Some enemies of Jonathan had come to the place, with a view to defame him; but on this gracious declaration they abscended, in apprehension of the ill consequences that might arise to themselves.

**C H A P. VIII.**

*An army conducted into Cilicia by Demetrius Nicanor. Apollonius made general by Alexander. Jonathan the high-priest vents Apollonius, whom he pursues to Azotus, and fires the temple of Dagon. Alexander compliments Jonathan on his victory. Ptolemy marches to join Alexander. He and Ammonius contrive the death of Ptolemy, who thereon takes his daughter from Alexander, and marries her to Demetrius. Alexander defeated by Ptolemy and Demetrius. Alexander's head cut off, and presented to Ptolemy. The citadel of Jerusalem besieged by Jonathan, who makes presents to Demetrius. The army of the latter disembarked, and their affection lost.*

**DEMETRIUS** the younger, being supplied with a body of troops that Laodacus had hired, embarked and sailed with them from Crete into Cilicia, in the year 165. This alarmed Alexander, who instantly marched from Phoenicia to Antioch, to secure his affairs before the arrival of Demetrius; but Alexander leaving the care of Cæcule-Syria to Apollonius, he marched an army into Jamnia, where he sent a challenge to the high-priest, Jonathan, accusing him for living at ease, and withdrawing himself from the public service: defying him to meet him with his sword in the open field, and putting the issue on their single contest: boasting, likewise, that he was at the head of a number of the bravest men in the empire, whose valour had frequently made the ancestors of Jonathan yield.

On this defiance, Jonathan, with his brother Simon, and ten thousand select men, marched from Jerusalem, and encamped at Joppa, the gates of which were shut by a garrison of Apollonius, which soon surrendered, on Jonathan's preparing to attack the place. Apollonius hearing that Jonathan was in possession of Joppa, marched, and encamped in the fields near that place. Hereupon Jonathan advanced, and pursued him towards Azotus; but when Apollonius found him on a particular spot, he faced about to engage, having first planted a thousand horse to attack Jonathan in the rear: but being aware of this disposition, formed his men in a square figure, to fight every way. Jonathan ordered his brother Simon to charge the body of the
the enemy, while his own men should only receive the darts and arrows which fell on their bucklers. In this situation they stood so close that nothing could penetrate them; and when the enemy was fatigued by this fruitless mode of attack, the troops of Simon broke in, and put the main body to flight. Jonathan pursued them to Azotus, killed numbers of the fugitives, and drove the rest into the temple of Dagon, which he burnt to the ground: nor did he stop here; for he set fire to the city, and to several adjacent villages. It was reckoned that about eight thousand men were either slain or burnt. Jonathan having defeated this army, advanced to Ascalon, and encamped near that city, the inhabitants of which brought him presents, as a testimony of their esteem, which he gratefully received, and then went back in triumph to Jerusalem, laden with spoils. Alexander pretended to be greatly pleased with this defeat of Apollonius, who, he said, had undertaken the expedition against a friend and ally without his consent; and in token of his approbation of Jonathan's conduct, he made him governor of Accaron, and presented him with a golden buckle, a gift heretofore peculiar to the royal family.

About this period Ptolemy Philometer arrived in Syria, with land and sea-forces, to assist Alexander, his son-in-law. Agreeable to the king's order, he was received with universal respect, except at Azotus, where the people complained of the burning of the temple of Dagon, and reviled Jonathan, who had ravaged the country with fire and sword. Jonathan met Ptolemy at Joppa, conducted him to the river Eleutherus, and then returned to Jerusalem, having been received with great marks of distinction.

Ptolemy arriving at the city of Ptolemais, had nearly fallen a sacrifice to the treachery of Alexander, on a plan concerted by Ammonius. The plot being discovered, Ptolemy wrote to Alexander, and demanded justice on the delinquent: but Alexander refused to deliver him, confessing that himself had a share in the plot: on which Ptolemy conceived a mortal hatred to him. Ammonius afterwards lost his life while he was seeking his safety in the disguise of a woman's dress.

The abovementioned conduct of Alexander so disgusted Ptolemy, that he took his daughter from him, and engaged in a league with Demetrius, on condition of being restored to his father's kingdom, and receiving the hand of Cleopatra in marriage. Demetrius was equally pleased with the wife, and the proposed terms; but Ptolemy had no easy matter to procure the consent of the people, to receive, as a king, the man whom they deemed an enemy: but their hatred to Alexander was so great that they complied. Hereupon Ptolemy entered into Antioch, where the citizens and soldiers proclaimed him king of Asia and Egypt. He was a man of honour, discretion and temperance, and so conducted his affairs as to afford satisfaction to his own people without giving disquiet to the Romans. Having summoned a council of the people of Antioch, he advised them to receive Demetrius as king; hoped that all past enmity would be forgotten, on a sense of the present obligation; said that he would himself be bound for his faithful execution of the trust reposed, and that he would content himself with
the government of Egypt only. These arguments procured the regal government to Demetrius, by consent of the people.

A vast army brought out of Cilicia, under the command of Alexander, was now ravaging Syria, and the country round Antioch, with fire and sword. Hereupon Ptolemy and Demetrius attacked, routed him, and compelled him to fly to Arabia. During this battle, Ptolemy's horse, being frightened by the braying of an elephant, threw him, and his enemies wounded him in many parts of the head, so that he must have died on the spot, but was rescued by some of his guards. He lay speechless four days; but on the fifth he began to recover, when the head of Alexander, which had been cut off by Zebelus, an Arabian prince, was presented to him; but he died soon after he had pleased himself with the sight. The abovementioned Alexander reigned five years, and was succeeded by Demetrius, who appears to have been of a cruel disposition, from his treatment of Ptolemy's soldiers, to whom he owed obligations on his marriage with Cleopatra. This conduct so disgusted the soldiers, that they left their elephants behind them, and went to Alexandria.

At this period, the high-priest Jonathan, having collected what forces he could in Judea, laid siege to Jerusalem, to expel the garrison of Macedonians, and drive out the Jews who had taken sanctuary. The people in the place at first defied Jonathan; but soon sent out scouts to demand succour of Demetrius, who instantly marched from Antioch, and arriving at Ptolemais, sent to Jonathan to attend him: On this the latter took presents of gold and silver, fine robes, and other valuable effects, which he gave to Demetrius, being attended by the priests and elders: but during this time the siege went forward as before. The king, equally gratified by the presents, and the behaviour of those who offered them, confirmed Jonathan in his office of high-priest; and was so far from paying regard to the calumnious insinuations of the apostate Jews, that upon Jonathan's requesting an abatement of three hundred talents for the tribute of Judea, with the dependent provinces of Samaria, Joppa, and Galilee, he sent away the following dispatches:

Demetrius the king, greets his brother Jonathan, and the rest of the Jewish nation.

"You are hereby to understand that we have lately written a letter to our trusty, and well-beloved cousin Laethenes, a copy of which is herewith transmitted."

Demetrius the king, to his father Laethenes, greeting.

"Such is the sense we entertain of the return that our friends, the Jews, have from time to time made to our good-will, that we are resolved to give them some distinguishing testimony of our esteem. Wherefore we hereby command that the governments of Ephraim, Lydda, and Ramath, with all the lands dependant on them, which were taken from the Samaritans, be assigned to the use of Judea: and we exempt the priests Vol. I.
at Jerusalem from all taxes heretofore paid to our ancestors, as well those called crown taxes, and on salt-pits, as those on corn and fruit: and we command that, for the future, nothing of the kind be demanded. Take care that a copy of this letter be sent to Jonathan, and let it be hung up in a distinguished part of the holy temple.”

All things being now in a peaceable train, Demetrius dismissed his army without giving them their full pay; and retained only a number of mercenary troops, which had been collected in Crete, and other adjacent islands. This discharge of the troops, without gratuity, alienated the affections of his people; for his ancestors had been accustomed to keep them in pay, in peace as well as in war.

CHAP. IX.


The uneasiness which prevailed among the troops of Demetrius, being remarked by Tryphon, a native of Apamia, and heretofore one of Alexander’s officers, he applied to Malchus, tutor to Antiochus, son of Alexander, representing the disposition of Demetrius’s troops, and offering to restore Antiochus to the throne of his father. Malchus hesitated: but was at length induced to comply, and committed Antiochus to the care of Tryphon.

During this period, Jonathan was besieging the city of Jerusalem; he resolved to expel the fugitive Jews from the garrison, as well as from other fortresses in the country. On this occasion he sent messengers with farther presents to Demetrius, requiring him to withdraw his men from the fortresses. Demetrius answered, that he was willing to oblige him in that, and more important concerns, as soon as the war should be ended; and entreated him, by the rights of friendship, to send him a supply of forces, as his own people had fled to the enemy. Jonathan sent him three thousand men, in conformance of this request.

Demetrius, both on his father’s account, and his own, was now become extremely obnoxious to the people of Antioch: insomuch, that, on hearing of the aid from Jonathan, they assembled in arms, and surrounded the palace, as if with a view to attack it: but their intention was to seize him on his coming out. Hereupon Demetrius drew up his hired troops, and those sent by Jonathan, and attacked the affailants; but superior numbers obliged them to retreat into the palace, from the battlements of which they threw darts
darts and arrows at the enemy, which obliged them to take shelter in different houses. The Jews now fired the city, the houses of which flanding close, and the buildings being chiefly of wood, burn with great fury. The inhabitants fled from house to house, the Jews pursuing and destroying them. Their whole care now was to save their wives and children; but still the Jews, taking advantage of the confusion, in obedience to the king's order, killed great numbers, and obliged the rest to lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion. Thus ended the battle; Demetrius pardoned the rebels, and gave the spoils to the Jews, whom he sent back to Jonathan, with acknowledgements that the victory was owing to their valour: but he did not long continue in this disposition; but threatened to attack Jonathan, if the same tribute which the Jews had formerly paid to his ancestors, were not paid to himself. This threat would have been made good, but that Tryphon arriving with young Antiochus, placed the crown on his head, and being assisted by the soldiers whom Demetrius had defrauded of their pay, attacked the latter, conquered him in a sea-engagement, seized on his elephants, made capture of the city of Antioch, and compelled him to retreat to Cilicia for safety.

Antiochus now sent an express to Jonathan, confirming to him the office of high-priest, putting him in possession of the four governments annexed to Judaea, and giving the command of his forces, from Tyre to Sidon, to his brother Simon. He likewise enrolled him in the list of his friends, and sent him several drinking-cups of gold, with a gold buckle, purple robes, &c., commissioning him to wear these badges of dignity. These marks of distinction struck Jonathan, that he sent a joint message to Antiochus and Tryphon, offering to unite with them against Demetrius as a common enemy.

Jonathan being commissioned to raise forces, attempted it in Syria, Phoenicia, and the towns and cities adjacent; but though he was received with respect, he got no troops. Hence he went to Akalon, where he was received in form, and had presents made him: here he represented to the people that it was their interest to assist Antiochus against Demetrius; and they promised to take arms. Proceeding to Gaza, on the same design, the gates were shut against him, and the people resolved to adhere to Demetrius. Hereupon Jonathan divided his army, assaulting the town with one part, while the country was burnt and laid waste by the other. The inhabitants neither finding relief, nor having hope of any from Demetrius, and seeing no prospect but of destruction before them, sent deputies to make submission to Jonathan, who received them in the most friendly manner; accepted their proposals, and sent their hostages to Jerusalem, while he proceeded towards Damascus.

In the interim Demetrius had a large army encamped near Cedars, bordering on Tyre and Galilee, with a view to entice Jonathan out of his way: but he continued his rout, leaving the care of Judaea to his brother Simon; who, assembling what force he could, marched and attacked the strong fortress of Bethfursa, then in possession of the partisans of Demetrius. The people in the garrison, apprehensive that they should all be put to the sword, re-
quested Simon’s permission to march unmolested to Demetrius: which he granted; and placed another garrison in their stead.

By this time Jonathan was advanced into the plain of Apollonia, where he had no idea of any opposition: but one of Demetrius’s parties, having notice of his march, lay in ambush behind a mountain, while the main body advanced to attack him on the plain. Jonathan gave the best orders the shortness of the time would permit: but the Jews, seeing the ambush, were afraid of being surrounded by two parties, and precipitately fled. So general was the terror, that only fifty gallant fellows remained with Jonathan, and the two captains, Mattathias, the son of Absalom, and Judas, the son of Chabfeus. These charged the enemy in front, in so desperate a manner, that the forces of Demetrius hesitated; but on which those who had deserted from Jonathan returned, attacked them, killed near two thousand, and followed the rest even to their tents at Cedasa.

This victory being obtained, Jonathan returned to Jerusalem, whence he dispatched ambassadors to Rome, to renew former alliances, with directions to come back by way of Lacedaemon, on business of a similar nature. The Romans received the ambassadors with high respect, and dismissed them with letters, recommending that safe passage might be granted them by the kings of Europe and Asia. On their return, they delivered the following letter to the Lacedaemonians.

The high-priest, Jonathan, the elders of the nation, the priests, and the rest of the Jews, send greeting to the Ephori, senate, and people of Lacedaemon.

“"In the hope that you are well in health, and in your public and private affairs; we are likewise so; for we rejoice in your welfare.

"By a letter of antient date, from your king Arius, to our high-priest, Onias, which was delivered to him by Demoteles, (a copy of which we enclose) we find that we are nearly allied to you in blood. By the testimony we then gave to Arius, by the hands of the said Demoteles, it appears how happy we were in the notification of such an alliance: not that the matter was new to us, for it is mentioned in holy writ. Now we would inform you, that we should, ere this time, have claimed your friendship, but we left the honor of giving the example to you. From the first notification of your friendship to the present time, we have constantly prayed to God that you might live in health and prosperity, and vanquish your foes. In all our difficulties and misfortunes from the malice of ambitious neighbours, we have been cautious not to trouble you, or other allies: but Divine Providence having put an end to our wars, and our affairs being more at ease, Numenius, the son of Antimachus, and Antipater the son of Jason, men of honour, and senators, have been dispatched with letters to the Romans, and to yourselves, for renewing and strengthening the league of friendship between us. Return what answer you think proper; but let us know how we may serve you, assured that we will testify our affectionate regard by every means in our power.”

At
At this period the Jews were divided into three sects, called Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. The opinion of the Pharisees was that, in some instances, men were left to their own will, and in others over-ruled by a particular fate. The Sadducees held that a man’s condition was in all cases determined by his own conduct, without any interference of destiny; while the Essenes contended that an irrevocable fate over-ruled every action.

Jonathan being informed that the forces of Demetrius, which were now augmented, were advancing towards him, hastened to meet them at Amathus, resolved to oppose their entrance into Judaea. He encamped about fifty furlongs from them, whence he sent spies to discover their design; who taking some prisoners, learnt from them that it was intended to surprize him in his encampment. Hereupon he arranged every thing for his defence, fixed sentinels at the out-posts, and kept his men under arms all night, previously acquainting them with what was intended. Demetrius’s commanders learning that their plan had been divulged, were puzzled how to act, for they were not able to make an open attack: wherefore they decamped in the night, covering their retreat by a number of fires. At day-break Jonathan marched to attack them; when finding the camp abandoned, he pursued them with all expedition; but in vain, for they had retreated to a secure place beyond the river Eleutherus. He now therefore pursued his course to Arabia, plundered the country of the Nabatheans, took multitudes of their cattle, and made many prisoners, which he took to Damascus and fold.

In the interim Simon proceeded through Judaea and Palestine, and fortified all defensible places, even to Ascalon: which being done, he went forward to Joppa, which he possessed himself of, and placed a garrison in it, to prevent the place being delivered to Demetrius by the inhabitants.

When things were in this situation, Jonathan and Simon retired to Jerusalem, and the people being summoned to the temple by the high-priest, were directed to repair the walls of the city, fortify them with towers, and to cut off the communication betwixt the city and castle by another wall: likewise to put the whole country in a state of defence by proper garrisons. This advice being approved, Jonathan committed to his brother’s care the country department, taking that of the city on himself.

By this time Demetrius had got into Mesopotamia, proposing to ravage that country, and reduce Babylon. His plan was to fix the seat of war in the upper provinces, the Greek and Macedonian inhabitants of which had invited him thither, with promises of obedience, and offers of assistance against Arfaces, king of Parthia. Encouraged hereby, and thinking that after he had beaten the Parthians, it would be easy to drive Tryphon out of Syria, Demetrius advanced towards them, and was cheerfully received by a large army, at the head of which he attacked Arfaces, who totally routed him, took him prisoner, and destroyed almost all his forces.
Tryphon's plot against Jonathan, whom he insincerely betrays, kills a thousand of his people, and makes him a prisoner.

The failure of Demetrius in the last attempt, induced Tryphon to abandon all allegiance to Antiochus, and reflect how he might possess himself of the crown; but as Jonathan was the firm and powerful friend of Antiochus, the scheme was to destroy him first. For this purpose Tryphon went to Bethâan, where he found Jonathan with forty thousand men at his command. Finding his strength unequal to the encounter of such an army, he sought to seduce him by presents and compliments. He directed his officers to obey Jonathan as himself; and proceeded, with great artifice, from one subtlety to another. At length he insinuated that, as the war was over, Jonathan might disband his army, keeping only a proper body guard, and attend him to Ptolemais, which place, and all the adjacent fortresses, he was resolved to put into his possession. Lulled by these arguments and promises, Jonathan dismissed all his army except three thousand men, two of which he left in Galilee, and went with Tryphon to Ptolemais, with the other thousand. The inhabitants having been previously instructed, shut the gates on his first entering the town, killed all his thousand men, and took him prisoner. Tryphon dispatched a part of his army to Galilee, with a view to destroy Jonathan's two thousand men left there: but these having information of the manner in which Jonathan had been treated, seized their arms, and effected their escape. Tryphon's troops were so convinced that these men would bid equal defiance to death and danger, that they returned without attempting to molest them.

The inhabitants of Jerusalem were extremely afflicted on being informed of the massacre abovementioned, and the imprisonment of Jonathan, for whom they had the sincerest regard; and in case of whose death they apprehended the utmost danger from those enemies of whom before they had no fear. Nor were they much mistaken in their conjecture; for upon the news that Jonathan was put to death (as will hereafter be mentioned) their neighbours combined against them, as men who had no commander; even Tryphon assembled an army to invade Judæa; but Simon, observing
observing their fears, summoned them together, and addressed them to the following purport:

"It is unnecessary, friends and countrymen, for me to say that my father, brothers and myself, have been always ready to expose our lives for the common liberty: the defence of law and religion, has been the business of our family; nor am I so lost to the authority of example, as to think of preserving my life by the forfeit of my honour. Seek not, therefore, for another commander, since I am willing to lead you wherever great and glorious actions shall call us. I count not myself greater than my brethren, nor value my life more than they did theirs. Never shall it be said that I have departed from the dignity of my family. I have no doubt but God will, by my hands, avenge you of your enemies, deliver you, your wives and children, from those who oppress you, and secure the holy temple from defilement. In a word, is it not because you are considered as a sheep without a shepherd, that the present confederacy is in league against you?"

This speech so animated the people, and dispelled their fears, that they exclaimed, "Simon alone ought to succeed his brothers Judas and Jonathan: let Simon be our general, and we will obey his commands." Simon now ordered the walls of the city to be repaired and fortified, which being done, he dispatched his friend Jonathan, the son of Abfalon, to Joppa, to clear that town of its inhabitants, left they should deliver it into the hands of Tryphon.

At this period Tryphon, at the head of an army, was marching from Ptolemais to Judæa, bringing Jonathan with him as a prisoner. Simon and his troops met him on a mountain that overlooks the plain, near the city of Addida. Tryphon finding, that the Jews had elected Simon general, sent him an express, importing that, if he wished his brother's release, he should send a hundred talents of silver, and two of Jonathan's sons, as a security that, after he should be set at liberty, he should not seduce the people of Judæa from their allegiance. Simon had no doubt but a deception was intended; but he thought that if he refused the money as a ransom, or the sons as hostages, the death of his brother might be imputed to him: whereupon he summoned a council, to whom he intimated his suspicion of treachery; but said he thought it would be proper to dispatch both the young men and the money, rather than be thought indifferent with respect to his brother's safety. Hereupon the hostages and money were sent, yet Tryphon refused to give Jonathan his liberty, and continued to ravage the country with his army, till he arrived at Dora, a city of Idumæa, whence he proposed to proceed to Jerusalem: Simon still closely watching his motions.

Intelligence was brought to Tryphon, while on his march, that the garrison of Jerusalem was distressed for provisions, to the relief of which he was desirous to hasten; on which he ordered his horse to be ready to march; but so deep a snow fell in the night, that there was no possibility of proceeding. He now, therefore, returned to Coele-Syria, and passed through Galaad, near the city of Baalea, in which country, he caused Jonathan to be put to death, and having buried him, went forward to Antioch. Simon, however,
however, had the remains of Jonathan removed to the sepulchre of his father at Modin, public mourning being made on the occasion, and a superb monument of polished white marble erected to the family. This was on an eminence, and encompassed with arched walks, and reposing on pillars each of an entire stone. Simon caused seven pyramids to be erected, viz. for his father, mother, four brothers, and himself; and these were so extraordinary, that they are still celebrated for their beauty and magnificence.

Jonathan had now governed, as prince and high-priest, four years, and was succeeded by his brother Simon, as above-mentioned. Simon, in his first year, relieved the people from the tribute heretofore paid to the Macedonians; and he stood so high in their opinion, that they dated their writings, both public and private, from the years of his government, with the addition of "most worthy patron of the nation." Every public business flourished in his hands. He obtained a victory over the common enemy; destroyed the cities of Gazara, Joppa and Jamnia; levelled the citadel of Jerusalem with the ground, and ordered that it could not afford a refuge for rebels and fugitives, nor be in a condition to annoy the city. To effect this, he advised the digging the mountain on which the castle stood, so that the temple should be left on the higher ground. He assembled the people on this business, to whom he represented the mischiefs already sustained by this castle, and the probable consequences, if an enemy should get possession of it. This argument had such an effect, that they universally agreed to destroy the mountain; and the people worked on it for three years, day and night, (relieving each other) till at length the temple had the advantage in point of situation.

C H A P. XII.

Antiochus murdered by Tryphon, who succeeds to the Crown. His soldiers desert to Cleopatra, who marrying Antiochus Soter, he attacks and conquers Tryphon. The death of the latter.

DEMETRIUS Nicanor had not been long made prisoner, when Tryphon privately murdered Antiochus the son of Alexander, and propagated a report that he lost his life by an accident which happened in his exercises. While the public were intent on this report, Tryphon exerted his utmost influence, and employed both money and friends, to induce them to chuse him king. The friends of Tryphon urged that Demetrius was a captive with the Parthians; and that Antiochus would never forgive those who had deserted his brother. By these insinuations Tryphon paved his way to the throne: but there did not need much artifice in the case; for the people readily combined towards his elevation, from an idea that those who voted for making him king, would be in a fair way to make their own fortunes; so that there was no difficulty in his advancement. Tryphon no sooner

* Scaliger says that Jonathan died after governing the nation eighteen years, and in the fourteenth year of his priesthood.—See his notes on Eutropius.
sooner became king, than he began to display that turpitude of heart by which he had been distinguished while a private man. His point was no sooner gained than he threw off the mask, and proved that the name of Tryphon (which signifies a dissolute wretch) very well became him. His disposition proved to disagreeable to the soldiers, that they deserted, and fled to Cleopatra, the wife of Demetrius, who was at that time in retirement with her children at Seleucia, while Antiochus Soter (the brother of Demetrius) was ranging from place to place, the fear of Tryphon preventing almost everyone from affording him assistance. Cleopatra, encouraged by the advice of her friends, and the appearance of the soldiers who had defected from Tryphon, and urged by the fears she had left the people of Seleucia should deliver the place to the usurper, dispatched a message to Antiochus, offering her kingdom to his disposal, and herself in marriage. This proposal being embraced by Antiochus, the people flocked to him in such crowds, that he soon found himself at the head of a large army, with which he marched against Tryphon, conquered him in battle, drove him from Syria to Phoenicia, and at length put him up in the strong fortress of Dora. Antiochus now dispatched ambassadors to the high-priest Simon, on a treaty of friendship and alliance; and the proposal being accepted, Simon sent him money and provisions towards the maintaining of the siege; articles at that time highly acceptable to Antiochus, who was very grateful for this instance of his friendship. After a while Tryphon escaped from Dora, and fled to a town called Apamia; but the place was taken, and himself put to the sword, before the fourth year of his reign was ended.

C H A P. XIII.

The ungrateful behaviour of Antiochus to Simon, who besieges him, and renew a league with the Romans.

By nature covetous and ungrateful, Antiochus so far from making a proper acknowledgement of the favours Simon had conferred on him, sent Cendebæus with an army, to ravage Judæa, and take him prisoner. The idea of this diabolical perfidy so enraged the venerable man, that in despite of age and infirmity, and with all the ardour of youth, he assembled his army, and marched at the head of it to engage the enemy. Having dispatched his son with a number of select troops, he followed in a different direction with the rest, stationing part of his forces in ambush at every proper place. Thus he had the advantage in every encounter, succeeded to his utmost wishes, and having renewed his league with the Romans, spent the remainder of his days in peace.
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C H A P. XIV.

Simon treacherously murdered by his son-in-law Ptolemy. The wife and two of the children of Simon made prisoners: but the third son being apprised of his danger, escapes to Jerusalem.

SIMON having held the government of Judaea eight years, was invited to an entertainment by Ptolemy his son-in-law, and there cruelly murdered by him. Ptolemy made prisoners of the wife and two of the sons of Simon, and employed ruffians to surprize and take away the life of John, the third son, who was called Hyrcanus: but receiving timely information of the treachery, he fled to Jerusalem, where he experienced the most friendly behaviour from the people, who entertained a great veneration for the memory of Simon, and a deadly abhorrence of Ptolemy, whom they courageously repulsed upon his attempting to enter at one gate of the city, after Hyrcanus had gained admittance at another.

C H A P. XV.

The pontificate is assumed by Hyrcanus, who besieges Ptolemy in the castle of Dagon. Ptolemy exposes the mother and brothers of Hyrcanus upon the battlements. The fortitude of the mother, who is at length put to death by Ptolemy, after which all of cruelty he flies for shelter to Zeno, who was surnamed Cotyla.

PTOLEMY retired to the castle of Dagon, which was situated in the neighbourhood of Jericho. As the successor of his father, Hyrcanus assumed the pontifical dignity. He marched to attack the castle to which Ptolemy had retreated. In the prosecution of this enterprise the greatest difficulty he had to surmount was a natural tenderness towards his mother and brethren, whom Ptolemy caused to be whipped and otherwise publicly tormented upon the battlements, threatening to cast them down unless Hyrcanus immediately raised the siege. This terrible menace abated the resolution of Hyrcanus, who judged that if he proceeded in his first design, the consequence would be an aggravation of cruelty to his relations. His mother observing his embarrassment, called to him aloud, urging him, without considering the sufferings of herself and her sons, to avenge the injuries his family had received, and expressing a willingness to expire under the most excruciating torments, on condition that the barbarous and unnatural tyrant Ptolemy should meet a punishment proportioned to the enormity of his guilt. This instance of generosiry and fortitude animated Hyrcanus to make a vigorous assault; but he observed that in proportion to the force he exerted for reducing the fort, additional cruelty was exercised upon his mother; and his desire of revenge yielding to filial tenderness, the siege was protracted, till the arrival of the sabbatical year, which put a period to the war. Every seventh year as well as every seventh day, is
observed by the Jews as a time of rest. Upon the conclusion of the war, Ptolemy put the mother and brothers of Hyrcanus to death, and then retired for safety to Philadelphia, the government of which place had been usurped by the tyrant Zeno, who was surnamed Cotyla.

**CONCLUSION of the HISTORY of the BIBLE.**

**CHAP. XVI.**

Jerusalem besieged by Antiochus, who grants a truce of seven days. Hyrcanus intercedes for a compromise; the siege is raised, and the parties form an alliance. The death of Antiochus, and the succession of his brother Demetrius.

**STIMULATED** by the disgraces he had been subjected to by Simon, the father of Hyrcanus, Antiochus, in the fourth year of his reign, in the first of that of Hyrcanus, and in the 8th hundred and second Olympiad, made an incursion into Judæa; and having committed great devastation in the country, obliged Hyrcanus to take refuge within the city, which he encompassed with his troops divided into seven bodies. The great strength of the walls, and the intrepidity with which the place was defended, prevented any considerable advantage being gained by the assailants for some time. During a short interval the camp was distressed for water; but this inconvenience was removed by a plentiful fall of rain. The northern quarter of the city being judged the least difficult of access, against that part Antiochus directed his greatest force. He erected an hundred turrets, each consisting of three stories, in which he stationed a great number of men for prosecuting the assault. To prevent a reinforcement or communication, he formed a double circumvallation of considerable extent. But notwithstanding these operations, the troops made frequent sallies from the fort to annoy the enemy; at such times as they appeared to be the least prepared for defence; and when these attempts were not likely to succeed, they had the advantage of a safe retreat into the city. Such of the inhabitants as consumed the provisions without bearing arms in support of the common cause, Hyrcanus compelled to evacuate the city; and Antiochus preventing their retreat to the open country, many of them perished under the walls for want of food.

On the arrival of the feast of the Tabernacles, the above-mentioned miserable people were again received into the town: and on occasion of this festival the people applied to Antiochus for a truce of seven days. This request he granted with the utmost readiness; and sent them bulls with gilded...
gilded horns, and other beasts for sacrifice, gold and silver cups replenished with a variety of the most esteemed perfumes and spices, besides a large supply of provisions. His conduct in every instance was contrary to that of Antiochus Epiphanes, who upon conquering the city, proved his contempt of the institutions and ceremonies of the Jews by sacrificing hogs upon the altar, and polluting the holy place with liquor in which the flesh of those animals had been boiled. This affront produced an irreconcilable animosity. The piety of the present Antiochus obtained him the surname of the pious, and he was held in the highest estimation by all ranks of people.

The generosity of Antiochus encouraged Hyrcanus to dispatch an ambassady, requesting that he would permit the Jews to live agreeable to the established laws and customs of their nation. Antiochus, in opposition to the court-faction, complied, on the condition that the Jews should lay down their arms, secure to him the tribute of Joppa and other cities, and admit a garrison into Jerusalem. The garrison was objected to on the plea of the necessary inconvenience of mixing with strangers; and to compound this matter an offer was made of five hundred talents, and hostages for a due performance of the treaty. Three hundred talents being paid in part, and the hostages, one of whom was the brother of Hyrcanus, being delivered, the siege was raised.

The sepulchre of David, the richest sovereign who had been known, Hyrcanus caused to be opened; and thence he took three thousand talents, whereby he was enabled to hire re-inforcements to his army: he was the first among the Jews who entertained foreign troops. He now formed an alliance with Antiochus, and invited that king and his army into the city, where he received and entertained them with the utmost magnificence. As it is recorded by Nicolaus Damascenus, he afterwards accompanied Antiochus to the Parthian war. This historian says, "After Antiochus had subdued the Parthian army under the command of Indates, he constructed a triumphal arch upon the banks of the river Lycus; and that at the intercession of Hyrcanus, a Jew, he remained at this place two days: the Jews being forbid by their laws to travel on the festival, which happened to occur at that time. This festival was the feast of the pentecost, which immediately followed the sabbath; and on neither of those days were the people of our nation allowed to travel. Antiochus gave battle to Arsaces, king of the Parthians, and in this encounter he lost both his life and his army. Upon his kingdom being invaded Arsaces gave liberty to his captive Demetrius, who succeeded his brother Antiochus in the government of Syria."
THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

C H A P. XVII.

Idumæa conquered by Hyrcanus, who reconciles the inhabitants to the Jewish institutions. He negotiates a fresh treaty with the Romans. His army being entirely routed, Demetrius flies to Ptolemais for shelter: he is afterwards seized by the enemy at Tyre, and put to death. Alexander slain in battle. The wars between Antiochus Gryphus and his brother Antiochus Cyzicenus.

UPON receiving information of the death of Antiochus, Hyrcanus led his army into Syria, expecting to find that country greatly depopulated; and this conjecture proved to be justly founded. After a siege of six months he subdued Medaba; and he soon after made himself master of Samega and other places in that neighbourhood; he then proceeded to the conquest of Sichem, Garizim and the land of the Chuthites, where one of the governors, named Sanballat, in compliment to his son-in-law Manasséh, the brother of Jaddus, the high-priest, having obtained the permission of Alexander, constructed a temple on the model of that at Jerusalem, as we have before related: this temple was destroyed about two hundred years after it had been built. He reduced Adora, Marïfla and other places of strength in Idumæa, and prosecuted his successes till he had subdued the whole province. He then issued a proclamation, enjoining the departure of those who would not submit to circumcision. Rather than abandon the land, the people acquiesced in this, and every other Jewish institution: and since that period they have been numbered among the people denominated Jews.

Hyrcanus the high-priest now dispatched an embassy to the senate of Rome with letters on the subject of a renewal of the league of amity. In consequence of these letters, Fanius, son of Marcus Præster, assembled a senate in the field of Mars, on the eighth of the Ides of March, Lucius Manlius, son of Lucius Mentina, and Caius Sempronius son of Caius Falerna, being present to deliberate on the proposed treaty and other public business which Simon, the son of Dositheus, Apollonius, son of Alexander, and Diodorus, son of Jafon, were commissioned to negotiate with the senate. It was stipulated that restitution should be made of the city and ports of Joppa, Gazara, the fountains, and other places which, in violation of a decree of the senate, had been usurped by Antiochus; that the king's troops should not pass through that or any other part of the Roman territories without permission; and that commissioners should be appointed for estimating the losses consequent on his devastations, for which full reparation should be made. On these conditions the proposed treaty was accepted by the senate, who assured the honourable deputies on the part of the Jews, that on the first opportunity an answer in form should be returned, and that no injury should in future be offered to them. Fanius was commissioned to supply the ambassadors with money from the public treasury for defraying the charge of their return; and they were likewise furnished with
letters of recommendation to the governors and officers of the several places through which they were to pass.

During these transactions, Demetrius was heartily disposed to commence hostilities against Hyrcanus: but he was not in a condition to effect this design, being generally detested by the Syrians and his own soldiers, who uniting in a confederacy against him, requested Ptolemy, otherwise Phyicon, king of Egypt, to send to them a descendant of the house of Seleucus, whom they would invest with the sovereignty. Ptolemy sent Alexander surnamed Zebina, attended by a numerous army. An engagement ensued, and Demetrius being defeated, fled to Ptolemais, where Cleopatra, his wife then resided: but being denied entrance into the city, he repaired to Tyre, where he was seized by his enemies, who, after keeping him some time in a miserable existence, deprived him of life.

The kingdom of Syria being now under the sovereignty of Alexander Zebina, a league was formed between this new king and Hyrcanus, the high-priest, who soon after was engaged in hostilities with Antiochus Gryphus, son of Demetrius. Alexander supported his ally in this war; and when the armies joined battle it was his fortune to be slain. Upon the death of Alexander, Antiochus succeeded to the throne of Syria: but he checked his desire of proceeding against the Jews, in consequence of intelligence being communicated to him that his brother and name-fake Antiochus, who was surnamed Cyzicenus, was raising an army at the town of Cyprus, for the purpose of opposing his operations. Antiochus Cyzicenus derived his last appellation from the place where he was educated; he was the son of Antiochus Soter, who was slain by the Parthians. We have before observed that Cleopatra was married to two brothers. Upon the arrival of Cyzicenus in Syria, an engagement ensued between him and his brother; and, indeed, they lived in a perpetual state of animosity and warfare. In the mean time Hyrcanus enjoyed an uninterrupted tranquillity; for, upon the decease of Antiochus Soter, he no longer acknowledged himself to be either a subject or ally of the Macedonians. The affairs of Hyrcanus were in a flourishing state during the time of Alexander Zebina, but still more so in the sovereignty of the brothers; for while they were harrassing each other to destruction, Cyzicenus committing devastation in the country, and the other having no assistance from Egypt, he enjoyed perfect ease and safety in Judæa, where he amassed immense wealth.

C H A P. XVIII.

Samaria besieged by Hyrcanus. Antiochus Cyzicenus marches to the relief of the city, but is repulsed by Aristobulus. Samaria is utterly destroyed. Hyrcanus abandons the principles of the Pharisees, and adopts those of the Sadducees. The death of Hyrcanus.

The people of Mariá, though subjects to the king of Syria, were inhabitants of Judæa, and in alliance with the Jews. The indignities they had received from the Samaritans so greatly incensed Hyrcanus that he determined
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determined to direct the whole force of his arms against the strongly fortified city of Samaria: which was rebuilt and called Sebastä by Herod, of which we shall speak more particularly hereafter. He begirt the town with a ditch of considerable width, and a double wall of great strength, appointing his sons Antigonus and Ariobarbus to prosecute the siege, which was conducted with such vigour, that in a short time a terrible famine raged in the city, the inhabitants being reduced to the necessity of supporting themselves on carrion. In this extremity they solicited relief from Antiochus Cyzicenus, who directly marched to their assistance; but was repulsed by Ariobarbus, who being joined by Antigonus, they pursued him to Sythopolis.

The brothers returned to Samaria, and renewed the siege; in consequence of which, the people again requested assistance from Cyzicenus; and he prevailed upon Ptolemy, surnamed Lathurus, to supply him with six thousand men. The grant of these troops so greatly offended the mother of Ptolemy, that he was in the most imminent danger of losing his kingdom. With these Egyptian forces Antiochus ravaged part of the country of Hyrcanus; his motive being to entice the troops from the siege by a diversion, as he was not in a condition to oppose the whole force of his antagonist. But from defertions, many of his troops falling into ambushes, and other accidents, he despaired of success; and appointing Callimander and Epierates to the conduct of the war, he retired to Tripoli. Callimander engaged in a rash expedition wherein his army was destroyed and himself slain. The Jews bribed Epierates to surrender Sythopolis and other places. After a siege which continued a year, Hyrcanus became master of Samaria, which he utterly destroyed, and by forming water-courses, and other measures, the appearance of the spot was entirely changed, and no vestige remained of the buildings. There is a surprizing, and perhaps an incredible, tradition respecting Hyrcanus. It is related that being alone offering incense in the temple, a voice from heaven informed him that his sons had obtained a victory over Antiochus Cyzicenus; and that he immediately went forth to the people and communicated to them the revelation, which was soon after confirmed. This extraordinary incident is said to have happened at the precise time in which Cyzicenus was defeated.

Not only the Jews of Jerusalem and Alexandria, but those also of Egypt, Cyprus, and other places were now in a flourishing situation: for in consequence of a disagreement between Cleopatra and her son Ptolemy Lathurus, the queen had committed the command of her army to Chelcias, and Ananias, the son of Onias, by whom a temple, after the model of that at Jerusalem, had been built in the territory of Heliopolis. The queen was wholly influenced by the advice of these men. Strabo, the Cappadocian, says, "Great numbers of those who came with us to Cyprus, as well as of those who were afterwards sent thither by Cleopatra, abandoned the queen, and attached themselves to the interest of Ptolemy: but the Jews of Onias's party continued in allegiance to her, in gratitude for the distinction she had bestowed upon their friends and countrymen Chelcias and Ananias."

The success of Hyrcanus attracted the envy of the Jews, and particularly of that sect called Pharisees. The influence of this faction was so great as constantly
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constantly to prevail over the multitude, even in opposition to the sentiments of the king and the high-priest. Hyrcanus, who had been educated among the Pharisees, invited them to an entertainment; and when his hospitality had caused a circulation of good humour, he addressed them to the following effect: "Since I profess your own principles, it is scarcely necessary to observe, my friends, that my most sanguine wish is to render myself acceptable to the Almighty, and to observe a strict justice to my neighbour. If I have violated my duty, it is your business to admonish me, and it shall be mine to effect a reformation of my conduct." This speech was received with great applause, which afforded Hyrcanus considerable pleasure.

One of the guests, named Eleazar, a man of a malignant disposition, answered him thus: "Having declared yourself an advocate for truth and plain dealing, you cannot be offended if I recommend a resignation of the pontificate, and that you apply yourself only to the discharge of your civil authority." Being asked by Hyrcanus the reason for making the proposal, he said, "Because our elders have related that your mother was a slave in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes." The Pharisees and Hyrcanus were the more offended at this charge as it had no foundation in truth. A particular friend to Hyrcanus, named Jonathan, insisted that the slander of Eleazar had been previously concerted by the Pharisees, against whom he bore a violent enmity, being himself a Sadducee. He said to Hyrcanus that the truth of his observation would be confirmed upon demanding what punishment was due to the man who had uttered so vile a calumny. The question being proposed, their answer was, that being a people disposed to mercy, they did not adjudge defamation to be an offence deserving death, and that they were of opinion imprisonment and whipping would be sufficient punishment. This reply induced Hyrcanus to believe that the Pharisees in general were concerned in the calumniatian of his family: and he was so violently inflamed against them by Jonathan, that he abrogated their laws, subjected those who should observe them to severe penalties, and attached himself to the Sadducees. It will appear, in the proper place, that this conduct rendered himself and his sons extremely unpopular. The Pharisees had many traditions which were not included in the laws of Moses. The authority of these traditions was denied by the Sadducees, who considered themselves bound in obedience only to the written laws. In the contentions between these sects, the Sadducees were supported by the people of quality and wealth, and the Pharisees by the multitude. The particulars respecting these sects, and the Essenes, will be found in the history of the wars of the Jews.

Having quelled this dissension, Hyrcanus enjoyed the remaining part of his life in uninterrupted peace and happiness. He died in the thirty-first year of his government, leaving five sons. The Almighty was pleased to bestow upon him three eminent distinctions, viz. the civil government, the high-priesthood, and the spirit of prophecy. He predicted, by a divine revelation, that his two eldest sons would not long enjoy the government; and the prophecy was verified, as will appear in the following chapter.
Aristobulus establishes a monarchical government. His cruelty towards his mother and brethren. The death of Antigonus, according to the prediction of the prophet Judas. The death of Aristobulus.

Aristobulus, the eldest son of Hyrcanus, determined to abolish the principality, and establish an absolute government: and the period at which he effected this was four hundred and eighty-one years after the emancipation of the Jews from captivity in Babylon. He had a particular regard for his next brother, whose name was Antigonus, and he admitted him to some share in the government, but his mother, whom he considered as his rival to sovereignty, Hyrcanus having bequeathed to her all that was in his power to leave, he ordered into close confinement, and his three younger brethren he consigned to the same fate. So horribly unnatural was his cruelty as actually to starve his mother in her prison, and, on some equally malignant and groundless insinuations, to sacrifice the life of his favourite brother Antigonus. It was some time before Aristobulus would attend to the malevolent suggestions against his brother. On the approach of the feast of the tabernacles, Aristobulus was confined to his bed by sickness: and at this time Antigonus came from the army in great martial pomp, and, attended by his guards, repaired to the temple in order to supplicate heaven for the restoration of his brother's health. The enemies of Antigonus insinuated to the king that the magnificence and state which his brother had assumed was an evidence that he aspired to the sovereignty. Aristobulus did not give credit to all that was reported concerning his brother, but supposing there to be some foundation for a part, he determined to provide for his own safety without appearing to be apprehensive of danger. The king stationed a guard in a subterraneous place in the tower, which has since received the name of Antonia, and commanded them, that if Antigonus came that way unarmed, they should not molest him, but that if they observed him provided for defence, they should take away his life. Aristobulus dispatched a messenger to request the presence of Antigonus in his apartment, and strictly to enjoin him to come unarmed: but the queen and other of his enemies prevailed upon the messenger to say, that the king, desiring to see him equipped in an extraordinary suit of armour which, it had been told him, he possessed. Unsuspecting the treachery, Antigonus immediately went forth completely armed; and he was slain by the soldiers pulled in the dark passage of the tower of Straton. Judas, whose prophecies had been constantly verified, upon observing Antigonus go to the temple, said to his disciples that he was weary of existence, since his reputation as a prophet was entirely lost; for that he had predicted the death of Antigonus should happen on that day at Straton's tower; but that he was still alive, the place six hundred furlongs distant, and the day more
more than half elaps’d. Presently after this, news was brought that Antigonus had been slain under the tower, according to his prefage. This tower was called Straton’s tower, as well as that upon the coast, which was afterwards distinguished by the name of Cæsarea.

The severe upbraiding of conscience for the barbarous murder of his brother greatly increased the distemper of Aristobulus, and a vomiting of blood ensued: as an attendant was conveying some of it away in a vessel, he spilt a part, seemingly by the direction of providence, on the spot where the marks of Antigonus’s blood were yet to be seen. This event, which was supposed to have happened from design, produced some disorder, the cause of which the king anxiously enquired; and having extorted it from his attendants by entreaties and threats, he said, “The all-seeing power hath detected my iniquity, and my brother’s murder hath called down the vengeance of heaven upon me. How long shall I hold that life which is forfeited to the blood of a mother and a brother? Rather why do I not expire on a sudden than thus yield my life drop by drop, as if the severe reft punishment was inadequate to my guilt?” Upon uttering these words Aristobulus, who was surnamed Philellen, signifying a lover of the Greeks, instantly died, having reigned only one year. He subdued and annexed a considerable part of Ituraea to the territory of Judæa, and compelled the people to submit to circumcision and other Jewish institutions, on the penalty of banishment: and he performed other important services to his country. Excepting in respect to the matters already urged against him, he was considered as a man of modesty and justice. On the authority of Timagenes, Strabo speaks of him to this effect. “He was of a good disposition, and in many instances proved himself a friend to the Jews: he extended their jurisdiction over a great part of Ituraea, and united the people in the common bond of circumcision.”

C H A P. XX.

Salome restores the three brothers of her late husband to liberty, and advances Janneus Alexander to the sovereignty: he puts one of his brothers to death, and lays siege to Ptolemais, but abandons the enterprise; Ptolemy stations one part of his army before the town, and leads the other to Achoitis, which he conquers by assault.

S A L O M E, called Alexandra by the Greeks, restored the three brothers of Aristobulus, her late husband, to liberty, and Janneus, otherwise Alexander, who was the eldest and of a disposition less violent than the others, she raised to the throne. It was the fortune of Alexander to incur his father’s aversion soon after his birth, and this is said to be the reason of his displeasure: Hyrcanus had a dream that the Almighty appeared to him, and that upon asking who should be his successor, the resemblance of Alexander was immediately represented to him. This circumstance prejudiced him so much against Alexander that he sent him to be brought up in Galilee.
Alexander caused one of his brothers to be put to death for attempting to supplant him in the government: but he made a generous provision for the other brother, who contented himself in a private station.

Alexander led an army to Ptolemais, and gave battle to a body of the enemy’s forces, whom he compelled to retreat into the city, where he kept them blocked up. Gaza, another sea-coast town, remained at this time unsubdued, as did Dora and the tower of Straton, which were in possession of Zoilus. Antiochus Philometer and his brother Antiochus Cyzicenus were so exhausted in the wars they had maintained against each other that the people of Ptolemais expected no relief from them. Zoilus, who had been waiting for the opportunity of making advantage of the prevailing divisions, afforded some relief to Ptolemais, but the force he sent was not sufficient to be of any considerable service. The people of Ptolemais had no hope of relief but from Egypt, and their principal dependance was upon Ptolemy Lathurus, who having been compelled to evacuate his kingdom by his mother Cleopatra, had retired to Cyprus. They sent an ambassady to him, commissioned to solicit his assistance against Alexander, and to assure him there was every reason to believe the people of Gaza and Ptolemais would declare in his favour immediately upon his entering Syria, and that he would be supported by Zoilus, the Sydonians, and other neighbouring people. Ptolemy ordered all possible dispatch in the equipment of a fleet for this enterprise.

In the interim Demæntus, a man of considerable influence, harangued his fellow citizens in the following manner: “The point in question, said he, is, whether it will be most eligible to abide the event of the war, than to accept the relief we have demanded; for if we put ourselves under the protection of Ptolemy, inevitable slavery must be the consequence. Danger is also greatly to be apprehended from Egypt, for it is not to be imagined that Cleopatra will remain inactive while Ptolemy is preparing for war. She will send a powerful army to pursue and attack him unprepared. Besides, the queen has determined to drive him out of Cyprus; and when she finds him engaged in strengthening his interest with the neighbouring provinces, she will seize the opportunity to effect her purpose. To give the argument another turn, let us suppose that Ptolemy will be driven back to Cyprus; we shall then be left without succour, and he will have dangers to encounter that he may not at present apprehend.” This address destroyed the hopes they had entertained of the success of their ambassady; and of this Ptolemy was informed during his passage, notwithstanding which he determined to proceed.

Ptolemy disembarked at Sicamin, and thence marched, at the head of about thirty thousand horse and foot, to Ptolemais. On his arrival before the city, he dispatched an ambassady to the people, but they refused to receive the message and to hold any intercourse with either the king or his agents. This disappointment so greatly embarrassed him that he knew not what measures to pursue. Zoilus and some commissioners from Gaza represented to Ptolemy that the Jews and Alexander were committing great devastation in their territories, and requested his assistance to repulse them.

Upon
Upon the appearance of Ptolemy, Alexander judged it prudent to raise the siege. He engaged in a secret treaty with Cleopatra to subdue Ptolemy, whom he, at the same time, treated as a friend and ally, offering him four hundred talents of silver, on condition of surrendering to him the usurper Zoilus, and refurging to the Jews the lands which he possessed and had formerly belonged to them. Ptolemy readily embraced the proposal, and seized Zoilus; but upon discovering that Alexander had privately made proposals to Cleopatra, he considered the treaty to be violated, and therefore laid siege to Ptolemais. He appointed one part of his army to prosecute the siege, and led the other to ravage the country of Judæa. Alexander assembled an army, which some affect was composed of fifty, and others of eighty thousand troops, to oppose the operations of Ptolemy, who, taking advantage of the sabbath-day, subdued Afolochis, a city in Galilee, by assault, acquired an immense booty, and made about ten thousand of the people prisoners.

C H A P. XXI.


HAVING subdued Afolochis, Ptolemy made an assault upon Sephoris, but in this attempt he was defeated and sustained great loss. He then led his army against Alexander, whom he met with in the neighbourhood of *Asophus, adjacent to the river of Jordan, and pitched his camp opposite to that of the enemy. The van of Alexander's army was composed of eight thousand of the soldiers called Hecatontomachis, who were provided with brazen bucklers. In the front of his forces Ptolemy had some warriors equipped in the same manner, but his followers were not in general so well armed as their adversaries, and they were therefore the less anxious for an engagement. Philostratus, an officer of great skill and experience, encouraged them to expect success. They crossed the river; and to this movement Alexander, who was stationed on the opposite shore, made no opposition, judging that he should with less difficulty obtain a conquest if he could attack the enemy while they were in a situation from which the river behind them would render a retreat impracticable. The battle was sustained with great bravery on both sides; upon a body of Ptolemy's troops giving way, *

* In the Theaurus Geograph. of Ortelius it is laid to be Afolochis, v. Asophus.
victory seemed to favour Alexander; but upon the arrival of Philostratus with a reinforcement, the Jews were entirely routed, and pursued by Ptolemy till his soldiers were fatigued and their weapons blunted by the havoc they made. It is recorded that thirty thousand men were slain in the encounter; and Timagenes says, in his history, that the number was fifty thousand. Great numbers were made prisoners and the rest escaped by flight.

After this terrible carnage, Ptolemy went to some villages belonging to the Jews, and commanded his soldiers to murder the women and children, and then to put the parts of their bodies into vessels of water which were to be placed over fires. He had recourse to this bloody stratagem in order to strike terror into those who had escaped by flight, by inspiring the idea that his army was addicted to feed upon the flesh of an enemy. This shocking barbarity is mentioned both by Strabo and Nicolaus.

Judaea being ravaged, and Gaza subdued, Cleopatra judged it necessary to give a check to the enterprizing spirit of her son Ptolemy; and she was farther induced to this, as he had already advanced to the gates of Egypt, and had formed a design of usurping the government. She mustered both her military and naval forces with all possible dispatch, and appointed for her generals two Jews named Chelcias and Ananias. She transported her most valuable treasure, her grand-children, and her last will, to the Island of Cois. She sent a strong naval force and her son Alexander to preserve peace in Phoenicia, in which province a revolt was threatened; and she went herself to Ptolemais, where being refused admittance, she ordered the city to be assaulted. Hereupon Ptolemy evacuated Syria, and repaired to Egypt, in the flattering expectation that he should find that country in a defenceless state: but in this attempt he was defeated; and in pursuing Ptolemy, Chelcias, one of the generals of Cleopatra, lost his life in Coele-Syria.

The queen detached a body of troops in pursuit of Ptolemy, who was again driven out of his own country, and under the necessity of establishing his winter quarters in Gaza. In the interim she became mistress of Ptolemais, which was taken by assault. The queen received presents from Alexander, whom she treated in a most gracious manner, considering him as a prince violently persecuted, and as having no resource for relief but in herself. The impolicy of suffering such numbers of Jews to remain dependent on the will of one man was urged to Cleopatra, and she was advised to seize Alexander and his kingdom: but this was opposed by Ananias, who pleaded the iniquity of the measure, which would render her an object of the most violent detestation to the honest part of the Jewish people. The conduct of Ananias proved highly agreeable to the queen; and she afterwards renewed a league of amity with Alexander at a city of Coele-Syria called Scythopolis.

Alexander being no longer in dread of the power of Ptolemy, led his army against Gadara, in Coele-Syria, which after a siege of ten months, he subdued; he then proceeded to Amathon, the strongest fort on the river Jordan, where Theodotus, the son of Zeno, had deposited his treasure, and

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this place he reduced. Theodotus, in revenge for the injury he had received, attacked the Jews by surprize, destroyed ten thousand of them, and made booty of Alexander's baggage. Notwithstanding this misfortune, the king attacked and subdued the sea-coast towns called Raphia, and Anthedon, to which Herod afterwards gave the name of Agrippiades. Cleopatra had now returned to Egypt, as had Ptolemy from Gaza to Cyprus. Alexander availed himself of this opportunity to lay siege to the city of Gaza and ravage the country, in order to revenge himself upon the people for having formerly solicited Ptolemy to join in repulsing him. Appollodotus, attended by ten thousand citizens and two thousand mercenaries, made an intrepid rally one night upon the camp of the enemy, who supposing Ptolemy had come to the relief of the besieged were greatly disconcerted: but when day-light discovered their mistake, they rallied and charged Appollodotus with so much fury as to kill ten thousand of his party. Notwithstanding their defeat and being threatened by famine, the people of Gaza determined to encounter all difficulties rather than submit to the enemy: and they were encouraged to perfist in this resolution by Aretas, an Arabian king; but he did not afford the timely assistance he had promised them.

Lykimachus being envious of his own brother for the great reputation he had acquired, barbarously murdered him; and then with the concurrence of his adherents, treacherously surrendered the city to Alexander. Upon entering the town, he seemed inclined to moderation: but he soon gave his troops unlimited liberty for destruction, and a terrible carnage ensued, in which, however, as many of the Jews as of the people of Gaza were slain. Some of the inhabitants fired their own houses, that they might not be plundered by the enemy; and some killed their wives and children, preferring that they should die in freedom rather than live in bondage. The senators were in council when Alexander entered the city, and five hundred of them fled to the temple of Apollo for sanctuary, but they were all slain, and the city was pillaged, and entirely destroyed. Alexander now returned to Babylon, after having employed a year in the expedition against Gaza.

Nearly at this period Antiochus Gryphus fell a sacrifice to the treachery of Heraclean in the nine-and-twentieth year of his sovereignty, and in the forty-fifth year of his age. He was succeeded in the government by his son Seleucus, who commenced war against his uncle Antiochus Cyzicenus, whom he subdued in an engagement, and afterwards put to death. Some time after the decease of Cyzicenus, his son Antiochus, frinamed Pushebes, was crowned at Arad. He declared war against Seleucus, whom he defeated and drove out of Syria. Seleucus fled to Cilicia; and notwithstanding he was received in a most friendly manner, he imposed upon the Mopicates the most oppressive taxes, which so greatly incensed them against him that they set fire to the palace, wherein Seleucus and his attendants were consumed.

During the government of Antiochus Cyzicenus in Syria, a brother of Seleucus, who was also named Antiochus, declared war against him, in which Cyzicenus lost his life. He was succeeded in the sovereignty by his brother Philip, who reigned over a part of Syria. Hereupon Ptolemy Lathurus
Lathurus advanced Demetrius Eucærus, his fourth brother, to the throne of Damascus. Antiochus defended himself with singular bravery against his brothers: but he espoused the cause of Laodice, queen of the Galadanes, in the war against the Parthians, by whom he was slain in battle, after having manifested himself a man of great intrepidity. His own brothers, Philip and Demetrius, succeeded to the government of Syria, as before observed.

About this time Alexander was highly enraged against the people under his command. On the celebration of the feast of the tabernacles, it was a custom among the Jews to march in procession, carrying boughs of palm and citron. While Alexander was preparing to assist in the usual solemnities, the people threw citrons at him, called him slave, and applied to him other insulting terms. Highly incensed at this conduct, he caused six thousand of the multitude to be slain: and he had a partition of wood fixed up to keep the crowd from the altar. He entertained no esteem for the Syrians, and judged it not prudent to rely on them: but he chose the Pifidians and Cicilians as mercenaries for prosecuting his schemes. He subdued the Arabsians, rendered the Moabites and Galaadites tributaries, and destroyed Amathus, without opposition from Theodorus. He declared war against Obed, king of Arabia, during which he was surprized by an ambush in the neighbourhood of Gadara, in Galilee, and forced into a craggy and narrow passageway, whence, with infinite difficulty, he retreated to Jerusalem. A rebellion now ensued, which continued for the space of six years, in the course of which no less than fifty thousand lives were lost. The king became extremely desirous to effect a reconciliation: but the more anxiety he expressed on the subject, the more averse were the people to a compliance. At length he asked, by what means he could satisfy them: and the reply was that he would do it by cutting his own throat. They solicited the assistance of Demetrius Eucærus against Alexander.

C H A P. XXII.

Alexander is defeated by Demetrius Eucærus. Six thousand Jews join Alexander in the mountains; he subdues Bethana, and carries the people prisoners to Jerusalem. The massacre of eight hundred Jews with their wives and children, as a public spectacle. On account of his cruelty, Alexander is called Tibradis. Demetrius besieges his brother Philip in Berea. Demetrius is taken prisoner by the troops of Mithridates, the Parthian king. The death of Demetrius; and the succession of Philip to the throne of Syria.

DEMÆTRIUS EUCÆRUS led an army consisting of three thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, including auxiliaries, and pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Shechem. Alexander marched against him at the head of about twenty thousand of his adherents, and about six thousand Greek

* Vaillant in his Nummi Seleucidorum endeavours to prove this an error of Josephus. vide, p. 370.
Greek mercenaries. Alexander employed every stratagem his imagination could suggest to seduce the troops of his adversary to join him; and a like conduct was pursued by Demetrius towards the Greek mercenaries: but neither of them was able to succeed. The armies joined battle, and Demetrius proved victorious. Great havoc was made on both sides: and the auxiliaries of Alexander fought with astonishing bravery, every man of them yielding his life sword in hand. Alexander fled to the mountains, and compassion for his misfortunes soon after induced six thousand Jews to join him. This reinforcement proved so alarming a circumstance to Demetrius that he retired. The rest of the Jews continued the war against Alexander, notwithstanding they were vanquished and great slaughter was made among them in every engagement. At length they were compelled to seek refuge, and most of the Jews, and among them the principal men, fled to Bataniam, where they were besieged by Alexander, who, after he had subdued the town, carried them prisoners to Jerusalem, where he exercised upon them the most shocking cruelty. He gave a treat to his concubines in a turret which commanded an extensive prospect, and for the entertainment of his company he caused eight hundred Jews to be crucified, and the throats of their wives and children to be cut at the same time. Thus were the tortures of these unhappy victims aggravated by being witnesses to the barbarity executed upon those to whom they were connected by the tenderest bonds. They had revolted against their lawful sovereign, invited foreign powers to support them in rebellion, put his crown and life to the most imminent danger, and drove him to the necessity of relinquishing the possessions he had obtained in the wars against the Moabites and Galaadites as a gratuity to the king of Arabia for declining to espouse the cause of his refractory subjects: these, not to mention other circumstances of a similar kind, were certainly an high provocation to severity of punishment: but yet by no means sufficient to justify his unnatural rigour. The above instance of cruelty rendered Alexander so obnoxious to the Jews, that they distinguished him by the appellation of *Thracidas. About eight thousand of the soldiers who had taken up arms against the king, escaped by night, and lived in retirement during the remaining part of Alexander’s reign, which he enjoyed peaceably after the insurrection abovementioned had been quelled.

From Judea, Demetrius marched with ten thousand foot and one thousand horse to besiege his brother Philip in the town of Berea. Stratton, the friend of Philip, who held the government of the place, applied to Zizus, a prince of Arabia, and Mithridates Sinaces, king of Parthia, for assistance. They supplied a formidable army to repulse Demetrius, whole people being greatly distressed for water, and perpetually annoyed by the darts and arrows of the confederate powers, at length surrendered, Demetrius being taken prisoner and sent as a present to Mithridates, king of Parthia. The Antiochians who were found in the camp were allowed to return to Antioch. Mithridates behaved to his prisoner with a degree of liberality and respect that

*The Thracians being remarkable for a cruelty of disposition, according to Thucydides, and other historical writers.
THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

that acquired him great honour; but being seized with illness, Demetrius did not long survive. In a short time after Demetrius had been made prisoner, Philip repaired to Antioch, and assumed the government of the Syrian dominions.

C H A P. XXIII.

In the absence of Philip, his brother Antiochus, otherwise Dionysius, obtains possession of Damascus. Through the agency of Milesius, he is deposed by Philip. Antiochus afterwards excludes Philip from the city, and admits Antiochus. All the passes from Caparsaba, or Antipatris, to Joppa, fortified by Alexander. A terrible encounter between Alexander and Antiochus, whose army is routed and himself slain. The election of Aretas to the throne of Cæle-Syria. He obtains a victory over Alexander with whom he afterwards engages in a treaty. Alexander sallies several considerable places by surprise, dives Demetrius of the royal authority, and then returns to Jerusalem. The extensive power of the Jews. The destruction of Pella. At the siege of Ragaba, Alexander is afflicted with a quartan ague: the lamentations of his queen Alexandra; having recommended to her a reliance on the favour of the Parthians, he expires.

WHILE Philip was engaged in an expedition against the Parthians, his brother Antiochus, otherwise called Dionysius, procured himself to be invested with the sovereignty of Damascus. Upon receiving intelligence of this event, Philip immediately repaired to the city, where he gained admittance by means of Milesius, who was governor of the fort, and deposed Antiochus. He offered no gratuity to Milesius; let it be imagined that he had been admitted into the town through bribery, rather than the authority of his name and character: and for this neglect that officer seized an opportunity of revenge. While Philip was engaged in his usual exercises and diversions at the circus, Milesius shut the gates of the city against him, and determined again to receive Antiochus; who upon gaining information of what had happened, marched out of Arabia and entered Judæa with an army of eight thousand foot, and eight hundred horse. Hereupon Alexander caulis a ditch to be cut of considerable depth, extending from Caparsaba, which is now called Antipatris, to the sea of Joppa, which was the only passage whereby access could be gained to the town. He also erected a wall of considerable length, and a number of towers, composed of wood. Antiochus set fire to these wooden fortifications, by which means he gained a passage into Arabia. He proceeded to engage the enemy, who gave way on his first attack: but they soon after advanced with ten thousand horse, and Antiochus encountered them with great vigour, and a bloody combat ensued. Antiochus had so greatly the advantage that he considered himself secure of victory; but observing one of the wings in danger of being overpowered, he eagerly pressed to its relief, but in the attempt it was his fortune to be slain. The troops were so dispirited by the death of their leader that they fled in confusion to Cana, where the majority of them perished for want of food.
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS UPON

Merely from a principle of opposition to Ptolemy, the son of Menæus, the people of Damascus elected Arcus to succeed Antiochus Dionysius in the government of Cæle-Syria. He led an army into Judæa, vanquished Alexander in the neighbourhood of Addida, and after having concluded a treaty with him, returned to Damascus.

Alexander subdued the city of Dion by assault. After this enterprise he proceeded to Es³a, where Zeno had deposited all his valuable treasure; he environed the place with three walls, after which he reduced it by assault. He then marched against Gaulana, Seleucia, the Vale of Antiochus, and the forts of Gamala, which places he also conquered by storm. Many accusations of mal-administration, having been exhibited against Demetrius, Alexander deprived him of the regal authority. After having employed three years in the above expeditions, Alexander conducted his army back to Jerusalem; and the Jews received him with the warmest congratulations, expressing a perfect satisfaction in his conduct, which had brought their affairs into so prosperous a train.

At this period the Jews were in possession of many considerable places in Syria, Idumea, and Phœnicia; as Apollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Azotus, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, Roinocura, and the tower of Stratton, on the sea-coast. In the inland part of Idumea, they had Adora, Marilû, Samaria, and the mountains of Carmel and Itabyr; Scythopolis, Gadara, Gaulanitis, Seleucia, and Gabala: in the country of the Moabites, Es³ebon, Medaba, Lembæ, Oron, Thelithon, and Zara: and in Cilicia, Aulon, and Pella. The last mentioned city was destroyed, in consequence of the inhabitants having refused to adopt the laws and customs of the Jews, who possessed many places in Syria, which we have not particularised.

Towards the conclusion of his reign, Alexander became violently addicted to intemperance, the consequence of which was a quartan ague. He was afflicted with this distemper for three years, during which space he still continued his attention to the affairs of government and the army: but his excesses and the cares annexed to his station, at length produced his death, which happened on the frontiers of the Geræens, during the siege of the castle of Ragaba, situated on the other side the Jordan.

The queen Alexandra judging her comfort beyond the possibility of recovery, gave way to the violence of grief, and lamented the miserable situation to which herself and children would be reduced by his death. "My beloved husband, (said she) what will be the fate of your wife and children if we are deprived of your protection, and left to the mercy of your most inveterate foes?" To this Alexander replied, "I particularly request that you follow the advice I am about to give: as the only effectual means to secure a peaceful succession to yourself and children, keep my decafe profoundly secret from the army till the castle shall be subdued; then repair in triumph to Jerusalem with the news of victory; and let your principal care be to ingratiate yourself into the esteem of the Pharisees; for your character will receive its colour from the interest you form with..."

with that zeal, to whose opinions those of the multitude are entirely sub-
"servient. The popular clamour against me has been raised by an oppo-
sition to them. On your arrival at Jerusalem, tend for the principal men
among the Pharisees, expose my corps before them, and let them from
a veneration of their piety and justice, you resign the body either to be
allowed the ceremony of interment, or to be treated with contempt and in-
dignity in return for my past unworthy conduct, as their disposition shall
direct; and allure them that in this, and all other matters of a public
nature, you will observe an implicit obedience to their authority. Fol-
low this counsel, and my remains will infallibly receive the honours of
a magnificent funeral; and yourself and your offspring will be established
in the dignities of the royal faction." Having concluded this speech,
Alexander expired, in the twenty-seventh year of his sovereignty, and in the
forty-ninth of his age.

CHAP. XXIV.

Alexandra follows the advice of her deceased husband in regard to the Pha-
riquees, who direct the administration in the name of the queen. Hyrcanus, the
eldest son left by Alexander, is advanced to the pontificate; Aristobulus, the other
son, and other eminent men remonstrate against the Pharisees: in consequence
of which, the queen gives them possession of several places of strength, referring to
herself: Hyrcanus, Alexandrias, and Macheras, wherein she had deposited her
treasure. Aristobulus leads an army against Ptolemy. The siege of Ptolemais by
Tigranes, king of Armenia. He is opposed by Cleopatra. Mutinous cohorts vanquished
by Lucullus. The forts belonging to queen Alexandra submit to Aristobulus, whose
wife and children she imprisons. Alexandra dies.

The castle being subdued, the queen, in conformity to the direction
of her late husband, delivered the body to the Pharisees, to be dis-
posed of as they should judge expedient, and submitted the administration
entirely to their direction. This conduct acquired Alexandra the warmest
friendship of the Pharisees, who had hitherto been her most inveterate ene-
emies: they harangued the multitude, highly extolling the merits of Alex-
ander, and lamenting the loss of so excellent a sovereign; and their discourse
had such an effect upon the people, that they determined to observe his fun-
eral with a magnificence superior to what had been known on any former
occasion.

Alexander left two sons, the elder of whom was named Hyrcanus, and the
other Aristobulus: but the regal dignity he bequeathed to his queen Alex-
andra. Hyrcanus was not qualified for affairs of state, being naturally dis-
posed to a life of ease. Aristobulus was of an active and intrepid disposition. The disapprobation which the queen expressed of the administration
during the life of her husband obtained her the favour of the people.
Through her interest Hyrcanus was appointed to the office of high-priest:
this distinction was not given him on account of his seniority to Aristobulus,
but on the consideration that he might be governed with the least diffi-

The
Though the government was conducted under the authority of the queen's name, she was a mere instrument to the Pharisees, to whom she exacted a strict obedience in her subjects. The traditions and ordinances of the Pharisees, which had been suppressed by her father-in-law, she caused to be revived, at the instance of this sect, who also obtained her concurrence in the return of exiles, and such other measures as they were inclined to effect. She considerably augmented her own troops, and had a mercenary army in constant pay.

In this last, and some other particular instances, she acted independent of the Pharisees. Her great power rendered her so formidable to the neighbouring states, that they sent her hostages as a security for not committing acts of hostility. The Pharisees were perpetually urging the queen to acts which fomented disorders in the government. They became exceedingly importunate for vengeance to be executed upon those who, had advised taking away the lives of the eight hundred Jews, of whom we have already spoken. In compliance with their request Diogenes was put to death, and after him many others. At length the leading men among those who were persecuted by the Pharisees repaired to the queen, Aristobulus—being at their head; and his countenance manifested the abhorrence he entertained of the public measures. The adherents of Aristobulus represented to the queen that in the utmost extremity of danger they had preferred an uniform loyalty to their late sovereign, who had generously rewarded their services: and they supplicated, that since they had escaped the perils of war, they might not be sacrificed to the malevolence and treachery of their domestic enemies. They added, that if their persecutors would proceed no further in their fanguinary purpose, from a respect to their superiors, they would suppress future complaints on what had been already perpetrated. They requested, that if their adversaries were permitted to continue their cruelties, the queen would allow them to withdraw, saying they would rather yield their lives in the palace than retire from her jurisdiction without her consent. They observed that to countenance the declared enemies of her deceased comfort, at the expense of his approved friends, would be a severe reproach upon her majesty's honour; and Aretas, the Arabian king, and other hostile powers would enjoy a peculiar pleasure upon learning that she had driven from her court the men who had been so formidable that their very names had formerly struck them with terror. They said, that if she was determined to yield every consideration to the ambition of the Pharisees, they had only to solicit her majesty to grant them permission to retire into castles and garrisons, where they would terminate a miserable existence, honourably sharing the common calamities, which seemed to await the friends of the deceased king.

These expostulations drew tears from the auditors, who invoked the ghost of Alexander to compassionate those who had been slain, and those whom it was apprehended would experience a similar fate. Aristobulus spoke with the most freedom on the public cause, and he was the least reserved in uttering reproaches upon his mother. The people who were so heavily oppressed were themselves the cause of the calamities they experienced by virtue,
vesting the government in the hands of an impetuous and vindictive woman, notwithstanding the empire might have been legally confided to a female of the male line.

Being greatly embarrassed by the conduct of the malcontents, the queen judged she could not adopt a more expedient measure than that of appointing them to retire to several garrisons and places of strength; but it was stipulated that they should not enter Hyrcania, Alexandria, and Macæria, in which places she had deposited her jewels and other valuable treasure. Soon after this she sent Arstobulus at the head of an army to oppose Ptolemais, a man named Menæus, near Damascus, he being a turbulent prince, and exceedingly vexatious to his neighbours: but he returned without effecting any considerable enterprise.

While affairs remained in this situation, Alexandra received intelligence that Tigranes, king of Armenia, had marched an immense army into Syria, and that his design was to penetrate into Judæa. In consequence of this alarming intelligence, the queen dispatched an embassy, charged to make compliments and present gifts to Tigranes, who was then encamped before Ptolemais. The queen Scione, otherwise named Cleopatra, who held the government of Syria, animated her subjects to oppose the operations of Tigranes. The ambassadors sent by Alexandra on the part of the whole Jewish people, were favourably received, and Tigranes allowed them of a friendly disposition, acknowledging that he considered himself highly honoured by the queen's sending an embassy to him at so great a distance. Tigranes subdued Ptolemais, and immediately after that enterprise, received information that Mithridates having been routed and pursued by Lucullus, had fled into Siberia; and that Lucullus being unable to overtake him, had marched into Armenia, where he was then committing great devastation. Hereupon Tigranes drew off his army, and repaired to provide for the safety of his own dominions.

Alexandra being seized with a dangerous illness, Arstobulus judged that he should not meet a more favourable opportunity for executing the designs he had formed. Accompanied only by one attendant, he went privately by night to the forts and castles where the friends of his late father resided. He was greatly dissatisfied with the conduct of his mother; and he became uneasy upon reflecting that if death should be the consequence of her present indisposition, the whole family would be at the mercy of the Pharisees, who had an absolute authority over their creature Hyrcanus, the next in succession to the government, and that he was totally unqualified for executing a public trust. He communicated his purpose only to his wife, whom leaving, with his children, at Jerusalem, he repaired to Agada, where an inhabitant of distinguished rank, named Galates, gave him a liberal reception. On the day after that of his departure, his absence was observed by Alexandra, who, however, entertained no idea of his intention, till she was informed that several fortresses had submitted to him. For when she had accepted his proposals, the example was immediately followed by the rest. The queen and her party were thrown into the utmost confusion, judging Arstobulus to be a man qualified to succeed in the enterprise.
terprize he had undertaken; and they were further alarmed by the dreadful apprehension that they should be called to a severe account for the barbarities they had exercised upon his friends. The wife and children of Aristobulus were seized, and confined under a strong guard in the citadel adjacent to the temple. The people repaired in great bodies to the prince, who in fifteen days was master of two and twenty castles. He speedily assembled an army from Mount Libanus, Trachonitis, and the neighbouring powers, who were readily inclined to support the stronger party, from the expectation of the advantage they should derive by assisting in the establishment of a new king. Hyrcanus and the elders requested that the queen would give directions as to the measures they were to pursue. They informed her of the great power of Aristobulus, saying their situation was desperate, but that though ruin was to ensue, they could not act without her concurrence. She replied, that the state of her mind and body rendered her wholly incapable of the cares of government, which she resigned entirely to their management: adding, that there was no deficiency either of men or money. Having delivered these words, she expired, in the seventy-third year of her age, and in the ninth of her reign.

Alexandra was a woman highly ambitious of honour and command, and so particularly assiduous in the dispatch of public business, that she may serve as a worthy example to rulers of the other sex. She attended to present circumstance, without vainly endeavouring to penetrate into futurity. She was moderate in the exercise of her authority, and lived in high reputation for justice and integrity. After her decease the errors of her government were conspicuous in the calamities experienced by the royal family. The queen having chosen the enemies of her house for her advisers, is to be justly attributed as the cause of the misfortunes which followed. During her reign, she preserved the government in uninterrupted tranquility.

End of the Thirteenth Book.
HYRCanUS took on himself the office of high-priest in the third year of the Olympiad one hundred and seventy-seven, when Q. Hortenius, and Q. Metullus Creticus were consuls. Aristobulus instantly prepared to attack him, and a battle was fought near Jericho, in which Hyrcanus was routed, many of his troops defecting to the opposite party, and himself obliged to take refuge in the citadel, where, by the command of the mother of Aristobulus, his wife and children were imprisoned: the rest of Hyrcanus's troops fought for safety within the verge of the temple; but in a little while were induced to submit. The passions of the brothers being at length cooled, they mutually agreed that the possession of the government should be secured to Aristobulus, while Hyrcanus should enjoy his private fortune in the
the manner most agreeable to himself. This agreement was signed in the
temple, and validated by the ceremonies of joining hands, pledging their
public faith, and embracing each other in the sight of all the assembly:
and this being done, Aristobulus departed to his palace, and Hyrcanus to
his private apartments in the same building.

CHAP. II.

Aristobulus combined against by Antipater, in favour of Hyrcanus, who applies to
Aretas for assistance. Antipater stipulates with Aretas, in behalf of Hyrcanus.

ANTIPATER, an Idumæan, was a mortal foe to Aristobulus, and,
of course, a partizan of Hyrcanus. He was a man of fortune, of an
active, but litigious disposition. Antipater, from an enmity which had
long subsisted between him and Aristobulus, sought to degrade him in the
opinion of the people by every method of calumny and detraction; and
at length so far prevailed as to excite their jealousy and fear of him.
He used to represent how unreasonable it was that the elder brother should
be superseded by the younger, to the excluding him from his government
and birthright; and hinted that it was a disgrace to the many noble Jews
who permitted such an assumption of power. In the same manner he talked
to Hyrcanus, whom he advised to secrete himself, since the opposite party
could not but have a design on his life, knowing that his brother was not
safe while he lived. Hyrcanus was a man of an unsuspecting disposition, on
whom this discourse appeared to have little effect; but his brother Aristo-
bulus was of warm and violent passions. Antipater perceived that his in-
sinuations did not operate on Hyrcanus as he wished: but he still urged
him to avoid his brother, till at length he prevailed on him to offer
his friendship and services to Aretas, king of Arabia, and claim his pro-
tection in return; and this advice appeared the more reasonable, as Arabia
was adjacent to Judæa. This resolution being made, Antipater repaired to
Aretas, and having obtained his oath not to deliver Hyrcanus into the
hands of his enemies, he returned to him with an account of the success
of his expedition. Having remained a little while at Jerusalem, he conducted
Hyrcanus out of the city by night, and, making long journeys, brought
him safe to the city of Petra, where the court of Aretas was kept. He
now exerted all his influence with the king to establish Hyrcanus in his pa-
ternal right; and, at length, by presents and arguments, induced him to
consent. At the same time Hyrcanus promised that if, through the king's
means, he should be settled in his government, he would restore the twelve
cities which his father had taken from the Arabians.

CHAP.
C H A P. III.

Aretas, encouraged by the promises of Hyrcanus, collected an army of fifty thousand cavalry and infantry, with which he marched against Aristobulus, whom he soon overcame; and many of his troops deserting to Hyrcanus, he retreated to Jerusalem, to which place Aretas pursued him; and attacked him in the temple; most of the people, except the priests, now taking the part of Hyrcanus; while Aretas, with his Jewish, as well as Arabian forces, pressed on with the utmost alacrity. As the feast of unleavened bread approached, at the time this war was depending, the principal Jews retired into Egypt; and at this period Onias, a holy man, retired himself, in the expectation of a civil war. The Jews, impressed with an idea of the pietv of Onias, intreated him, that, as his prayers had formerly delivered them from famine, he would now denounce a curse on Aristobulus and his people, that they might be freed from the miseries of war: Onias hesitated; but the people repeatedly urging him, he stood up in the midst of them, and said, "Thou, O God, art the King of kings; and since it so happens that we who now stand before thee are thy people; and thy priests are those who are besieged in the temple; I humbly entreat thee: thou wouldst not listen to the prayers of either party to destroy the other!" Thus saying, a set of villainous Jews floned him to death; and his barbarous murder was avenged in the following manner. During the attack of the temple, the time of the feast of unleavened bread arrived, when it was customary for the Jews to offer a number of sacrifices: but the parties besieged being deficient, defied the others to supply them; and a thousand drachmas, ready money, for each beast, was the agreed price. The priests and Aristobulus lowered this money in a bag, from the wall of the temple; but when the affiilants had received it, they refused to deliver the beasts for sacrifice, thus not only robbing men, but defrauding God of the sacrifice intended for his service. On this infamous conduct the priests united in prayer, that God would not permit the crime to escape without punishment. An immediate judgment was the consequence of their prayers: a violent tempest descended, which cut off the fruits of the earth throughout the province: so that fifteen drachmas was the price of a single measure of wheat.
Flavius and thoufand place faw The and hundred crown been who Damafcus., "pieces Armenia, and vine, Alexander, golden taken, golden prefents and five was particular, Pompey ambalklor Ptolemy five Rome, confeqiicncc hear garden, AT Pompey, ciTY, offered Jiamafcus, 5i8 Pompey, whom Rome. Aretas bulus, towards Arabia, in lents. attend Antipater.  

**CHAP. V.**

Pompey, on his way to Coele-Syria, bath magnificent presents made him. The acceptance of bribes charged on Gabinius and Scaurus. Ptolemy Menæus redeems his life by the payment of a thousand talents. The dispute between Hyrcanus and Ariflobulus heard before Pompey, who postpones the settlement of it; and Ariflobulus retires to Judea.

Some time afterwards, on Pompey's going to Damæcus and Coele-Syria, ambassadors attended him with presents from Syria, Judæa, and Egypt. In particular, Ariflobulus sent him a golden vine, valued at five hundred talents, of which Strabo gives the following account: "A present was made to Pompey, from Egypt, of a crown weighing four hundred pieces of gold; and from Judæa another present, of a golden vine or garden, which received the name of Delight. Ambassadors made these presents; and in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, at Rome, I saw the vine, referred 'Alexander, king of the Jews.' It was allowed to have been sent by Ariflobulus, prince of the Jews, and was estimated at five hundred talents."

Pompey was now attended by other ambassadors, viz. Antipater from Hyrcanus, and Nicodemus from Ariflobulus, who charged Gabinius and Scaurus, the former with embezzling three, and the latter four hundred talents. Pompey undertook to hear his caufe, and appointed the parties to attend him. The spring advancing, Pompey marched towards Damæcus, in his way to which he destroyed Apamia, a fort belonging to Antiochus Cyzicenus.
Cyzicenus. He likewise adverted to the conduct of Ptolemy Menæus, a
bad man; who was, however, permitted to redeem his life by paying a thou-
sand talents, which were distributed among the troops of Pompey. This
prince next razed the fort of Lycias, (posseted by Silas the Jew) and pro-
ceeded through Heliopolis and Chalcis, to Cœle-Syria, and thence from
Bella to Damascus, where the dispute between the Jews and their princes was
to be heard. Hyrcanus and Aristobulus charged each other, and the com-
mon people opposed both; saying, "They ought not to be governed by
kings, but priests, agreeable to the laws of their country." They ac-
knowledged that the two brothers were descended from the line of priesthood;
but insisted that their view was to overturn the government and enslave the
people.

Hyrcanus pleaded, that, though he was the elder brother, Aristobulus
had usurped his rank and estate, contrary to justice, had robbed him of his
birth-right, and reduced him to a dependance on his own bounty. He re-
presented him as a man disposed to harass his neighbours both by land and
sea; and insisted that the violence of his disposition was what enraged the
people against him.

The plea of Aristobulus was, that no view to usurp the authority had de-
prived Hyrcanus of his title or dignity; but that he was set aside from
ruling, on the score of incapacity for government, the people in general
holding him in contempt. "For my part (said Aristobulus) I had no
choice but to assume the government, or venture its being transferred to
another family; and with regard to the title of king, I held it only as I
received it from my father Alexander." These things he offered to prove
by the testimony of a set of gaudy courtiers, whose evidence seemed fit only
to be rejected by men of calm and temperate dispositions.

On hearing both sides, Pompey seemed to be of opinion that Aristobulus
had been too hastily in his proceedings; but, for the present, he dismissed
both parties, promising that when he had reduced the Nabathaens, he
would return and consider the business farther; but he enjoined them to be-
have peaceably in the mean time, and, left Aristobulus should interrupt him
in his journey, dismissed him with respectful compliments: but the latter,
regardless of what Pompey had promised, departed to Delion, and from
thence to Judæa.

C H A P. VI.

Pompey in a rage, marches against Aristobulus, who delivers up the castles in his pos-
session, and retreats to Jerusalem, towards which place Pompey follows him.

POMPEY was so exasperated at the proceedings of Aristobulus, that
he combined the army he had destined against the Nabathaens, with
those forces he had raised in Damascus and other parts of Syria, and his
Roman legions, and pursued him through Pella and Scythopolis, till he ar-
rived at Core, in the center of Judea, where he learnt that Aristobulus was
retired to a strong castle named Alexandrian, at the summit of a mountain.
From this place he summoned him to come down, which, in dread of a war with the Romans, his friends advised him to comply with. They now held a conference on the subject of the dispute between the brothers, after which Aristobulus obtained Pompey's permission to retire to the castle; a favour which he frequently asked, by way of obtaining his end, by keeping on good terms with Pompey: yet this did not prevent his putting himself in the best posture of defence, lest the latter should declare for his brother. Some time afterwards Pompey commanded him to deliver up his castles, and to signify, to the governor thereof, the royal will, that no hesitation might be made. Aristobulus obeyed this order, but was so chagrined thereat, that he departed immediately to Jerusalem, to make preparations for a war which he now thought inevitable. In a little time Pompey followed him at the head of his army; but, while on his march, received an express from Pontus, informing him that Pharnaces had slain his father, Mithridates.

CHAP. VII.

Pompey moves towards Jerusalem. He is met by Aristobulus, who offers him a sum of money, and the command of the city. This proposal being accepted, Gabinius is sent, but the gates are shut against him. A strict guard is kept on Aristobulus.

The first place Pompey encamped at was Jericho, and the next day he proceeded towards Jerusalem. By this time Aristobulus, who had regretted his former conduct, went out to meet Pompey, to whom he offered a sum of money, with the command of the city, and whatever other gratification he might wish, so that a war could but be prevented. These terms were accepted by Pompey, who dispatched Gabinius, with some troops, to the city, to receive the offered money: but his endeavours were fruitless; for the gates of the city were shut on his approach, and it was urged that the soldiers would not abide by the stipulation. This behaviour so enraged Pompey, that he advanced to Jerusalem, and directed that Aristobulus should be guarded in the strictest manner.

CHAP. VIII.

The citizens of Jerusalem divided between the interests of Pompey and Aristobulus. A peace proposed by the former, but rejected. The temple assaulted and taken. The pious behaviour of the conqueror. Jerusalem made tributary to the Romans. Aristobulus carried prisoner to Rome by Pompey.

During the time that Pompey lay before the town, the citizens were divided in opinion how to act. The friends of Aristobulus broke down the bridge between the temple and the city, having first possessed themselves of the former; while the adherents of Pompey admitted his army, and gave the city and palace into his hands. Pilus, his lieutenant, being
being sent to take possession of them, fortified the buildings near the temple. This being done, Pompey made an offer of peace, which being rejected, he prepared for an assault; Hyrcanus supplying him with all things that were necessary. Pompey proposed to begin on the north side of the temple, which was the weakest part; but this was encompassed by a ditch, and guarded by high towers. Craggs and precipices prevented all passage on the city-side, as the bridge was down: but the Romans, with amazing labour, filled the ditch with timber and other materials, and raised ramparts so high that they played large stones on the wall of the temple. But the Sabbath of the Jews intervening, gave the Romans an advantage; for on that day, though the law allowed them to repel force by force, yet they durst not work, even to hinder the operations of their enemies. The Romans observing that no opposition was made on the Sabbath, employed that day in preparation for the attack on the following. This will serve to prove the high veneration the Jews have for their religion and laws, from which even the dread of death cannot induce them to depart.

When the siege had continued above two months, the temple was taken on a fast-day, in the hundred and seventy-ninth Olympiad, during the consulship of C. Antonius, and M. T. Cicero. On entering the place the enemy made a general massacre; but even this cruelty did not deter those at the altar from proceeding in their devotions, as they deemed it preferable to fall into the hands of an inveterate foe, than to abandon the rights of their religion. These facts are attested by Strabo, Niccolaus of Damascus, the Roman historian Livy, and others who have written of the life and actions of Pompey. The enemy attacked the great tower with engines and batteries, and having made a breach in a wall adjacent to it, the tower fell to the ground. The breach being made, the enemy crowded in at it; among the first of whom were Cornelius Fuscus, the son of Sylla, Furius and Fabius, each with distinct parties. The place was covered with dead bodies, some of which were slain by the Romans, while many of the Jews killed each other: some threw themselves from the walls, others fired the houses, rather than witness to the barbarities that were practised. About twelve thousand Jews fell in this action, though but few of the Romans. Among the prisoners was Abibalom, the uncle and father-in-law of Aristobulus. A number of persons now entered the holy places, where none but the priests had ever been before; among whom were Pompey and his attendants, who found a table of gold, cups and a candelabrum of the same metal, perfumes, incense, and, in the treasury, about two thousand talents. These things, however, he deemed holy, and from motives of piety, forebore to touch them, but ordered the officers of the temple to cleanse the place on the following day, and offered sacrifices in the accustomed manner. He re-instated Hyrcanus in the office of high-priest, caused the incendiaries who promoted the war to be executed, and rewarded, according to their merits, Fuscus and others who had behaved valiantly in the attack. He rendered Jerusalem tributary to the Romans, and reduced to allegiance those towns in Coele-Syria which were possessed by the Jews, whom he confined to their
antient boundaries. Gadara he caused to be rebuilt, in compliment to his freedman, Demetrius, who was born there, and gave up to their former inhabitants the towns of Hippon, Scythopolis, Dian, Samaria, Marissa, Azotus, Jamnia, Arethusa, and other places in the interior parts of the country: but Gaza, Joppa, Dora, and Straton’s-Tower, being all on the coast, he made them free ports, and added them to the province. In future time Straton’s-Tower took the name of Caesarea, on its being rebuilt by Herod.

The ruin of Jerusalem, and the loss of the liberty of the Jews to the Romans, is to be dated from the quarrel between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus; as the Jews were compelled to restore to the Syrians what they had taken in war, to pay above ten thousand talents to the Romans, and had the mortification to see the sovereign authority transferred to the meanest of the people, which had hitherto remained with the priests.

The war being ended, Pompey assigned the government of Coele-Syria, even to Euphrates, and the borders of Egypt, to Scaurus, with whom he left two legions of Roman troops; departing himself to Rome, having Aristobulus, with his sons Alexander and Antigonus, and two of his daughters prisoners: but Alexander found means to effect his escape.

C H A P. IX.

The march of Scaurus against Petra. He accepts a sum from Aretas, to prevent a war.

Scaurus marching towards Petra, the chief place in Arabia, found the country so flomy and defolate, that he was compelled to commit great ravages in order to furnish his soldiers with bread. Agreeable to an order of Hyrcanus, Antipater supplied Scaurus with corn and other necessaries from Judaea; and Antipater being known to Aretas, Scaurus commissioned him to go and treat with him; and he succeeded so well in his commission, that Aretas agreed to pay three hundred talents to prevent the ruin of his country. Thus an apprehended war terminated to the equal satisfaction of both parties.

C H A P. X.

Alexander attacked and routed by Gabinius, who offers an amnesty, and orders the damaged cities to be repaired. Alexander delivers up his castles. Hyrcanus restored to the priesthood. Five courts of justice constituted.

Frequent incursions being made into Judæa, and much mischief done by Alexander the son of Aristobulus, a command was given to Gabinius, who went from Rome to Syria, against him, and performed many actions of bravery. At this time Hyrcanus the high-priest, though unable to resist an enemy, proposed to repair the walls of Jerusalem, which Pompey had demolished; but the Romans prevented his proceeding in this business. Alexander now collected through the country ten thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, consisting of Jews and others, and fortified the castle...
of Alexandrión, after having supplied it with stores. Gabinius proceeded to attack him; but sent forward Marcus Antonius, and other officers, who being joined by Antipater's auxiliary forces, and the honest Jews commanded by Pitholus and Malichus, came up with Alexander, who hereupon retreated towards Jerusalem, a battle ensued, in which Alexander had three thousand men slain, and the same number taken prisoners. Gabinius now besieged Alexandrión, but offered pardon to the besieged, on their surrender: but they strongly guarded the walls of the castle, which the Romans bravely attacked, and killed many of them; Marcus Antonius, on this occasion, behaving with distinguished valor. Gabinius now left his army to prosecute the siege, and proceeded to a survey of the country, and to give orders for the rebuilding those cities which had been destroyed; in consequence of which, after having been long deserted, they soon became places of convenient residence. This being done, Gabinius repaired to the siege of Alexandrión, from whence Alexander sent ambassadors, offering to deliver that place, and the castles of Hyrcania and Mæcharas, on the condition of his pardon; which Gabinius granted, but razed the places to the ground. The mother of Alexander (whose husband and children were prisoners at Rome,) now visited him, and he complied with all her proposals. Hyrcanus was now conducted to Jerusalem, and reinstated in his office of high-priest. Five courts of justice were now established, viz. at Jerusalem, Gadara, Amathus, Jericho, and Saphora, the whole province being separated into five equal divisions: the people of each applying for the administration of justice in their own district.

C H A P. XI.

The flight of Aristobulus from Rome. A body of men sent after him. He is routed, and sent to Rome a second time. The Nabathæans defeated by Gabinius, who goes to Rome, and is succeeded by Crassus.

A R I S T O B U L U S escaping from Rome to Judæa, with a view to repair and fortify Alexandrión, after the destruction caused by the late siege, Gabinius dispatched after him Sisenna, Antonius, and Servilius, to secure the place, and take him prisoner. His fame had brought many Jews to his interest, among whom was Pitholus, governor of Jerusalem, with a thousand men well armed: many unarmed likewise attended, but those he dismissed. Marching with eight thousand men, to attack Machæras, the Romans overtook, fought, and conquered him, killing about five thousand on the spot, while the rest fled for safety. After being thus routed, Aristobulus, with about a thousand men, fortified the castle as well as he was able; but in two days it was conquered by assault, and himself, and his son Antigonus made captives, and conducted to Gabinius, who sent him a second time prisoner to Rome, after he had possesed the offices of king and high-priest for three years and a half. Gabinius having intimated to the senate of Rome that he had promisèd their mother that the children of
of Arisbobulus should be set at liberty, on the giving up certain castles, they were sent back to Jerusalem in freedom.

An expedition against the Parthians was now undertaken by Gabinius, who, altering his intention, proceeded towards Egypt to restore Ptolemy. For this expedition Antipater assisted him with money, arms, and corn, and induced many of the Jews near Pelusium to enter into an alliance with him.

When Gabinius returned, he found that Alexander, son of Arisbobulus, had ravaged Syria with a large army, compelled many Jews into his service, killed numbers of the Romans, and pursued the inhabitants to mount Garizim, whither they had fled for refuge. Hereupon Gabinius sent Antipater, a man of honour and skill, to treat with the Syrians; by which many of the rebels were brought to a sense of their duty: but Alexander was inflexible; for having collected an army of thirty thousand Jews, he resolved to hazard a battle with Gabinius. This battle was fought on mount Itabyr; and Gabinius conquered them, killing ten thousand Jews.

After this victory Gabinius, in consequence of Antipater's advice, proceeded to attack the Nabatheans, whom he totally routed, and gave liberty to Mithridates and Orfanes, two noble Parthians, who fled for his protection, and whom he reported to have fled into their own country. Gabinius, having honourably discharged all that he had in trust, retired to Rome, and was succeeded in his command by Craflus.

CHAP. XII.


While Craflus was preparing to make war with the Parthians, he went to Judæa, and plundered the temple of eight thousand talents, exclusive of the two thousand which Pompey refused to touch. He took likewise a bar of gold of three hundred minas, each mina computed at two pounds and a half. This bar was secreted in a beam made hollow to receive it, and delivered to Craflus by Eleazar, who observing his avidity, gave him this as a composition for the refl; for adjoining to this timber were hangings of immense value; and Eleazar had likewise the care of the other rich ornaments of the temple: nor was this bar of gold delivered till Craflus had solemnly sworn he would be content with it, and take no more: but he stripp'd all the temple, in violation of this oath.

How great soever this treasure deposited in the temple may appear, it will not seem so extraordinary, when it is considered how long the Jews were in adorning it, and that it was sent from all parts of the world where the true God was worshipped. That this account of its immense value is not exaggerated, appears by the testimony of various historians, among whom Strabo says, "Some money which Cleopatra had deposited at the Isle of Coos, with

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...eight hundred talents of the Jews, was sent for to that island by Mithri-
dates." Now as the Jews have no public treasure but what is sacred, it
is evident that the Jews of Asia, fearing a war with Mithridates, sent this
 treasure to Coos: for those of Judea would rather have lodged it in the tem-
ple of Jerusalem.

In another place Strabo says, "Sulla going through Greece, to attack
Mithridates, dispatched Lucullus to Cyrene, which was then distracted
by the quarrel of the Jews, who had spread themselves all over the
world." Again, he says, "The Cyrenians consisted of burghers, huf-
bandmen, strangers and Jews, the last of whom are to dissipated, that
they are found in every habitable part of the earth. Ægypt and Cyrene,
while governed by one prince, and several other countries, embraced the
laws, rites and customs of the Jews; allowed them religious assemblies,
and even educated their own children in the Jewish mode. In Ægypt
were great numbers of them, to whom a part of the city of Alexandria was
affixed, and they were allowed magistrates and courts of justice. The
Ægyptians corresponded well with the Jews, who had formerly come from
that country, and were easily united with the people.'

Cassius now proceeded to give battle to the Parthians; but himself and
most of his army were cut to pieces. In the interim Cassius went to Syria,
where he stopped the progress of the Parthians, whose success had rendered
them insolent. He then proceeded, by the way of Tyre, to Judaea, where he
affiliated Tarichea, and took it, making thirty thousand prisoners,
among whom was Pithoalas, the friend of Aristobulus, who was put to death
by the advice of Antipater. This Antipater married Cypron, an Arabian
lady of high rank, by whom he had four sons, Phaera, Herod (afterwards
king) and a daughter named Salome. Antipater was a man of such obliging
department, that he conciliated the affections of the princes and nobles who
knew him; particularly of the king of Arabia, who entrusted the govern-
ment of his children to his care, while he waged war with Aristobulus. By
this time Cassius, having reinforced his army, proceeded to the River Eu-
phrates, to oppose the progress of the Parthians.

C H A P. XIII.

Cæsar gives liberty to Aristobulus, who is poisoned by the partizans of Pompey. Alex-
ander beheaded. His sister married to Philippon, who being slain, she is then mar-
rried to Ptolemy.

Some time after this, Cæsar having conquered Rome, found that Pom-
pey and all the senate had fled from the city, and retired beyond the
seas. Cæsar, therefore, gave Aristobulus his freedom, and placing two le-
gions under his command, sent him into Syria, to keep that country in sub-
jection: but the satisfaction he had reason to hope from this distinction was
of very short duration; for the adherents of Pompey soon found means to
destroy him by poison: but the friends of Cæsar took care of his funeral.
For a considerable time his body was embalmed in honey, till at length Anthony sent it for interment in the royal vault.

Pompey having given orders to Scipio that Alexander, the son of Aristobulus should be beheaded for former seditious practices against the Romans, the sentence was executed at Antioch. Hereupon Ptolemy Menæus, governor of Chalcis near Libanus, sent his son Philippon to Askalon, requesting that the widow of Aristobulus would send to him her son Antigonus, and her daughters. With one of these daughters, named Alexandra, Philippon became enamoured, and was married to her; but he being afterwards killed, Ptolemy his father espouséd her, and made provision for the family.

C H A P. X IV.

Mithridates takes Pelusium. The breach first entered by Antipater.

The influence that Antipater had in Judæa was very considerable.

After the conquest and death of Pompey, by the advice of Hyrcanus, he rendered great service to Cæsar in his war in Aegypt: for Mithridates bringing troops to the aid of Cæsar, being compelled to flee at Askalon, as he could not proceed to Pelusium, Antipater reinforced him with three thousand Jews, and induced the principal people of Arabia, and all Syria, to give him their aid: among the affilant princes was Jamblicus and his son Ptolemy; and Tholomy of Libanus, the son of Sohemus: in fact, the people were ambitious who should be foremost in their services. Hereupon Mithridates proceeded to Pelusium, the inhabitants of which refusing him admittance, he attacked the place, and broke down part of the wall. Antipater first entered at the breach; and the troops so well seconded him, that the town soon surrendered.

After this Antipater and Mithridates being on their way to join Cæsar, were opposed by the Aegyptian Jews in the country of Onias: but Antipater, whose credit as their countryman was not small, produced a letter from Hyrcanus the high-priest; on which the opponents afforded them such supplies as might be necessary on their march; and the inhabitants of Memphis cheerfully came into the same interest.

C H A P. XV.

Antipater relieves Mithridates when near losing a battle. Cæsar does honour to Hyrcanus and Antipater. Antigonus complains against them to Cæsar, who determines in their favour.

Mithridates and Antipater attacked the enemy at a place called Delta, distinguished by the name of the camp of the Jews. Mithridates was pushed so hard, as to endanger a general rout, when Antipater, advancing by the bank of the river, relieved him, put the enemy to flight,
flight, took possession of their camp, and sent for Mithridates to share in the booty. In this action Antipater lost about fifty men, and Mithridates eight hundred. When Cæsar was informed what had happened, he con-

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This war being over, Cæsar went by sea to Syria, paying all possible re-

pect to Hyrcanus and Antipater, the former of whom he confirmed in his office of high-priest, and made the other a freeman of Rome. Some writers affirm that Hyrcanus was in the above war: Strabo says, "Hyrcanus the " high-priest came with Mithridates into Egypt;" and, in another place, he tells us that "Mithridates having gone thither by himself, sent for An-

tipater, governor of Judæa, to come to him at Ascalon, who brought " three thousand men with him: and that in consequence of his advice, " many princes and great men, among whom was Hyrcanus the high-priest, " went over to Mithridates."

At this period Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, represented to Cæsar that his father had been poisoned for serving him in the wars: that Scipio had cut off his brother's head: that himself was disinherited, and an object of commiseration. He accused Hyrcanus and Antipater with having in-

jured him in particular, and violated the rights of the people in general. Antipater, being present, obviated these reflections, spoke of the ungovern-

able spirit of Antigonus, ever ready to destroy the public peace, and mod-

dely hinted his own merits to Cæsar, to whom he appealed on his own declaration respecting the late war. Aristobulus (it was said) was always a professed foe to Rome; so that the treatment he had received at the hands of the Romans, was no more than what the law of nations, and common prudence, would warrant. With regard to Scipio's beheading his brother; he had been convicted of several robberies, and was only punished according to his demerits. Cæsar, having heard the whole merits of the cafe, con-

firmed Hyrcanus high-priest, offered Antipater the choice of any command, and made him governor of Judæa.

C H A P. XVI.

Hyrcanus commissioned by Cæsar to rebuild Jerufalem. The senate of Rome and the Jews enter into an alliance. The Athenians league with the Jews. The people exorted by Antipater.

At this period the walls of Jerufalem lying in the same state of ruin in which Pompey had left them, Hyrcanus solicited Cæsar's permission to rebuild them, which he readily granted, with every token of respect: and he likewise dispatched an express to the consuls at Rome, to enter on the records of the capitol, the following resolution.

"The senate being met in the temple of Concord, on the 13th day of "December, have passed the following decree: L. Coponius, the son of "Lucius, and Caius Papirius Quirinus, being present."

"Forasmuch
"Forasmuch as it appears to the senate, by the report of Valerius, the son of Lucius Praetor, that Alexander the son of Jason, Numenius the son of Antiochus, and Alexander the son of Dorotheus, ambassadors from our faithful allies the Jews, request that the ancient league of friendship between us may be renewed; and whereas they have brought a golden cup and buckler, valued at fifty thousand crowns, as a present, in token of their friendly disposition; and request our recommendatory letters to all governors and free towns, that they may pass safely by land and sea through their respective districts: the senate therefore ordain, that the league of friendship be renewed and confirmed: that whatever the ambassadors have asked be complied with, and their presents received." This happened in the month of Panemus, in the ninth year of Hyrcanus's office of high-priest and prince. This governor of the Jews was likewise singularly honoured by the republic of Athens, who transmitted him the following decree.

"Decree of the senate of Athens, passed the 25th of the month Panemus; Dionysius Athispliades being president and high-priest, and Agathocles Archon, reported on the eleventh of the Prytanea, in the month Munichion, by Eucle the Alimufian, son of Menander the secretary. A council of the Preedri being assembled in the theatre, the high-priest Dorotheus and his affiants collected the suffrages of the people; and Dionysius, the son of Dionysius, made the following publication:

"Whereas Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and high-priest and prince of the Jews, hath uniformly, on all occasions, public and private, received and entertained our ambassadors, and given every other testimony of his regard to our people in general, and the citizens of Athens in particular, of which we have abundant proof: and whereas Theodorus, the son of Theodorus of Sunium, hath credibly informed us of the virtues of the said prince, and his wishes to render us every service; we have determined to present him with an honorary crown of gold, and, in the temple of the people and the graces, to erect a brazen statue to his memory; and we order that, when in theoures of public exercise, spectacles shall be exhibited to the honour of Bacchus, Minerva, Ceres, &c. proclamation be made of our having presented this crown in honour of his virtue. And we further command our governors and magistrates to aid and assist in making known this treaty of friendship between us; that our grateful regard to men of worth and honour, and our zeal to encourage offices of friendship in future, may be acknowledged. We also direct that proper persons may be immediately chosen to wait on Hyrcanus, in our name, and with this decree and our presents, that others may be excited to exceed us in liberality of conduct."

Cæsar having dispatched his affairs in Syria, returned immediately by sea to Jerusalem, taking with him Antipater, who, on his arrival, gave immediate orders for repairing the walls which Pompey had thrown down. Antipater likewise made a tour through the province, exhorting a turbulent people to peace and quietness. He represented to them the virtues of obedience to their prince, by the peaceable enjoyment of their possessions; explained
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plained what danger would result from seditious practices and innovations, which would compel their governors to persecute them, force Hyrcanus to acts of tyranny, and even produce enmity from their best patrons and allies, the Caesars, and the senate of Rome, "who (said he,) will exact a "rigid obedience."

C H A P. XVII.

Jerusalem and Galilee governed by Phasael and Herod. Ezechias, a famous thief, put to death. Antipater envied for his reputation. He is complained of to Hyrcanus, and Herod is ordered to appear before the judges. The speech of Samuel. Herod exasperated against Hyrcanus. Proclamations in honour of the Jews. Brutus and Cæsius desirè Cæsar in the Senate-house.

HYRCANUS being of an easy disposition, Antipater seized the opportunity of promoting his sons, Phasael and Herod, to posts of eminence. To the former he gave the government of Jerusalem and the adjacent country; and to the latter that of Galilee. Herod, at this time, was only fifteen years of age; but of a genius so great and enterprising, that he fought every opportunity to distinguish himself. The borders of Syria were at that time much infested with robbers, and Herod took the whole band, and put them to death, with Ezechias, their commander. This heroic deed so raised his fame among the people, that he was deemed the author of their repose in every town and village: it also brought him to the knowledge of Sextus (kinsman of Cæsar) who had then the government of Syria. Phasael was likewise inspired by his example, to seek for popularity. He was a man of patriotic disposition, calculated for business, of admirable address, temperate in the use of power, and never abusing it. This disposition of his sons rendered Antipater an object of regard to the whole nation, which considered him rather as a prince than a deputy: and he was singularly distinguished by his faith and friendship, and for remaining unaltered in his prosperity.

The wealth, power, and grandeur of Antipater, the dignity of his family, and the veneration in which the people held him and his children, together with the vast revenue he received from Hyrcanus, caused him to be viewed with an eye of jealousy by the principal Jews, especially when they found he was a favourite with the emperor, as well as with the common people of Rome. They infinuated that he received money of Hyrcanus, for the use of the Romans, and took the credit of it to himself, as if he had advanced it. This being hinted in malice to Hyrcanus, he appeared rather pleased with the circumstance. But the people were chiefly chagrined by the ambitious disposition of Herod, which induced them to make the following complaint to Hyrcanus: "Why will you be negligent while every thing is "going to destruction? Perceive you not that Antipater and his sons divide "the prerogatives and emoluments of the royal power, while you are a "prince only in title and name? Be cautious the matters proceed too far; "for depend on it your government and life are equally endangered. If

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"you consider those youths as your deputies, you are mistaken; for, in fact they are masters. Herod's treatment of Ezechias and his companions was a violation of public justice: for it is murder to put a man to death without the ceremony of trial, however atrocious his crimes may have been: but Herod has exercised an arbitrary power, without the least pretence of authority for so doing."

The mothers of those who had been slain now continued day after day in the temple, calling on prince and people for justice on Herod, for the murder of their children: till at length Hyrcanus appointed a day when a bench of judges should determine between Herod and his accusers. Herod came into court at the first call; but, in consequence of his father's advice, only with such attendants as might appear necessary to secure him without offending the court. At this time Sextus Cæsar, who commanded in Syria, wrote in favour of Herod to Hyrcanus, with threats, if he were not acquitted: but these were needless; for Hyrcanus was extravagantly fond of him. Herod and his attendants having waited a while, without a single charge against him, the company were wondering at the event, when Sannias, a man of incorruptible integrity, spoke as follows:

"I never before saw a prisoner at the bar behave in so bold and vain a manner; and I believe your observance and experience will hardly furnish you with such another instance. It has been formerly customary for people, in such a situation, to appear, by their dress and behaviour, resigned to the legal enquiry that awaits them: but here is a culprit who seems to pride himself in his dress and attendants, and looks as if public justice was more to be dreaded by the court than the criminal. Yet I entreat not him for consulting his own safety, rather than the respect due to the laws, so much as I do the king and judges, who have permitted him to act in this manner. But remember that God is just and powerful; and the time is advancing, when this man, whom in favour of Hyrcanus, you are seeking to discharge, shall ruin you, the judges and the king." It will appear, in the sequel of the work, that his prediction was verified.

As it now appeared to Hyrcanus that Herod was in danger, he adjourned the court till the following day, and advised him to save himself by a private retreat. Hereupon Herod retired to Damascus, under pretence of being in fear of Hyrcanus; and, in conference with Sextus Cæsar, declared that he would disclaim the jurisdiction of the court, if ever he should be again summoned. This enraged the judges, who told Hyrcanus that his ruin was concerted: but though the matter was evident, and himself convinced of it, yet he had not courage to take the necessary advantage of the circumstance. By this time Herod was safe in the protection of Sextus Cæsar, and had purchased part of the government of Coele-Syria. Hyrcanus now saw the danger that might be dreaded. Herod, enraged at being exposed to a trial, drew forth an army, and would have attacked Jerusalem, but for the entreaties of his father and brother; on their intercession, however, he abstained from farther violence to the man who had raised him to fortune and honour. They said that though he had been cited to trial,
he lay under obligation for his discharge. They mentioned the uncertain chance of war, and that victory often decided against all human expectations: said he could hope nothing from divine justice, when fighting against the prince who had nourished and protected, but never injured him: yet if, at present, he conceived an ill opinion of Hyrcanus, he should attribute his conduct to evil counsellors.

By this time Cæsar was returned to Rome, and preparing for an expedition into Africa, against Scipio and Caro; having been congratulated on his way by ambassadors from Hyrcanus, who solicited the renewal of ancient leagues of friendship. In this place it may be proper to advert to the distinctions repeatedly paid by the Roman emperors to the Jews, and to notice their mutual alliances, that the public may see in what estimation the valour and fidelity of the Jews were held by the kings of Europe and Asia.

It is true the histories of the Persians and Macedonians are not generally known; and though we possess them, we would rather refer the credit of our cause to the monumental inscriptions on the pillars of brass, and in the Capitol of Rome; which evidence will not be controverted; neither will that inscription of Julius Cæsar, on the brazen pillar of Alexandria, which remains a perpetual monument of the Jews admittance to the privilege of free citizens. I now proceed to give the orders and decrees of the senate, and of Julius Cæsar, to the credit of our nation in general, and the honour of Hyrcanus in particular.

"Caïus Julius Cæsar, Emperor, Pontifex Maximus, and Dictator for the "second time, sends greeting to the magistrates, senate and people of "Sidon."

"Myself and army are in good health, which I trust you are also. I "transmit you a copy of our letter to Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, prince "and high-priest of the Jews, to be engraved on a table of brass, the in-"scription to be in Greek and Latin, and remain among your registers to "future ages." This letter was to the following purport:

"C. Julius Cæsar, Emperor, Dictator, and Pontifex Maximus for the "second time, hath ordered the publication of this decree, by the advice "and approbation of the senate."

"Whereas Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, a Jew, hath constantly, in "time of war and peace, proved himself our friend and ally, as is evident "from indisputable attestations; and in particular by his dispatching fifteen "hundred select men to Mithridates, for my aid in the late war in Alex-"andria. In consideration of these services and good offices, I hereby af-"firm to Hyrcanus and his heirs the perpetual sovereignty of the Jews, as "prince and high-priest, in conformity to their own laws: and I direct that "they be henceforth numbered among my trusty and well-beloved friends "and associates. My further pleasure is, that all the privileges and rights "of the priesthood be possessed by himself and his posterity, in all future "times, and if any debate arises among the people, respecting the disci-"pline of the Jews, let himself and his family be the final judges thereof.

"And
And I further ordain that the burden of winter quarters, and all public
payments be remitted to the Jews.

Let us now proceed to particular grants, decrees, and resolutions.

Caius Julius Cæsar being consul, it is commanded that Hyrcanus and
his heirs for ever, shall enjoy the government of the Jews, together with
the grants, emoluments, and possessions belonging to the priesthood: and
that in all cases judgment be left to the high-priest. We further order
that ambassadors be immediately sent to Hyrcanus, to treat of an alliance
of friendship: and that the above determination be engraved on tables of
brass, in Greek and Latin, to be placed in the capitol, at Tyre, Sidon,
Akkaron, and in the temples, that none may pretend ignorance of our
pleasure, which we would have known throughout our dominions: that
proper respect and attention may be shown to the ministers of our friends
in all places.

The emperor, dictator, and consul, C. Julius Cæsar, duly considering
the worth, services, and friendship of Hyrcanus, doth hereby, for the
emolument of the senate and citizens of Rome, grant unto the said Hyr-
canus, and to his sons, in perpetual succession, the office and authority of
princes and princes of Jerusalem, and over all the Jewish people, that
they may exercise and enjoy these dignities in the same manner their pre-
decessors have done.

C. Julius Cæsar, during his fifth consulship, commands and directs
that the city of Jerusalem be fortified and repaired; and that the go-

government be vested in Hyrcanus, prince and high-priest of the Jews:
that every second year a part of their taxes be remitted, and that they
be excused the payment for carriages, and other impositions.

C. Julius Cæsar, Emperor, commands that the people pay an annual
tribute for the city and all its dependencies, except the city of Joppa:
but that all duties shall be remitted them on the seventh, or fabbatical
year, when fruit, or grain, is neither sowed, planted, nor reaped: and
he likewise ordains that a duty of a fourth part of the fruits be paid every
second year, by the Jews of Sidon, exclusive of the tythes to Hyrcanus
and his sons, as heretofore paid to their predecessors. He commands,
that no soldiers be raised, or charges imposed on the lands of the Jews,
for winter-quarters, or otherwise, by his ambassadors, military officers,
or governors; but that they hold all their possessions in peace. He fur-
ther directs that the city of Joppa, which the Jews possessed when they
first became allied to the Romans, remain in subjection to Hyrcanus
and his family, with the revenues arising from husbandry, taxes, cus-
toms, anchorage, port-duites, and exportation of corn to Sidon, every
alternate year, the fabbatical year excepted. With regard to the village
that Hyrcanus and his ancestors possessed in the great plain, the senate
decree that it remain with him and the Jews as heretofore: that all
laws and customs between them and the priests be preferred, and that all
privileges, even to Lydda, formerly granted them by the senate and people
of Rome, remain good: and forasmuch as the Romans formerly granted
lands to the kings of Syria and Cilicia, let them remain in the possession
of
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"of Hyrcanus. Be it likewise granted that himself, his son and amba-
فادors, have seats among the senators, to see the gladiators, and other
"public shows: and that whenever they apply to the senate, the dictator,
"or master of horse shall procure them an audience; and that if
"the senate shall come to a resolution, an answer be given them in ten
days."

When Alexander was emperor for the fourth, and consul for the fifth
time, he recognized the worth of Hyrcanus in the following respectful
terms:
"Forasmuch as those who preceded me in the provinces as well as in the
senate, have spoken highly of Hyrcanus the high-priest, and of the Jews
in general, to whom the thanks of the senate and people of Rome have
been transmitted, in testimony of the excellence of their conduct: I deem
these offices of friendship and respect as worthy of memory; and think my-
self bound, in the name of the senate and people of Rome, to testify the
high sense I entertain of the friendship and regard of Hyrcanus, his
family, and countrymen."

Caius Julius, dictator and consul, sends greeting to the magistrates, senate, and
people of the Parthians.

"Forasmuch as great numbers of Jews, from various districts, have
complained to us at Delos, in the presence of your own ambassadors,
that you have deprived the Jews of exercising their laws, rites, and sac-
crifices, and have shewn us your order of interdiction; we hereby acquaint
you that our friends and allies shall not be thus rigidly treated: but,
on the contrary, that the quiet enjoyment of their customs, feasts and
sacrifices be permitted them; a privilege not denied them even in Rome:
for when Caius Caesar was consul, and public meetings forbid, the Jews
were excepted, and permitted to assemble at their feasts; and, in another
prohibition, I excepted the Jews from the restraint, and left them to their
own customs. Wherefore it is requisite that the order you have pub-
lished to abridge our friends of their accustomed privileges, should be re-
voked, in respect to us, and to them for our sake."

Marcus Antonius, and Publius Dolabella, being consuls, assembled a
senate, to give audience to ambassadors from Hyrcanus, and finally complied
with every request they made. In consequence of letters received from Hyr-
canus, Dolabella sent dispatches through Asia, and particularly to Ephesus,
the capital, to the following purport.

"Forasmuch as Alexander the son of Theodorus, ambassador from Hyr-
canus, prince and high-priest of the Jews, hath informed us, that by
their religion, laws and customs, the Jews dare not carry arms, travel,
or even procure the necessities of life on their sabbath: by which they are
incapacitated from attending the duties of war; therefore we hereby com-
mand, agreeable to the practice of our predecessors, that from this time
forward the Jews be discharged from all military cares, and allowed to af-
Vol. I. 6 T. "semblé
"seemle, worship, and sacrifice in their accustomed manner. You are to cause due notice to be given hereof through the several cities of your province. Dated in our Court, the 18th day of September."

Dolabella granted these privileges to the Jews, at the request of Hyrcanus; and Lucius Lentulus, when consul, pronounced that a free exercise of their religion should be granted to the Jews who were citizens of Ephesus; and that all offices and charges respecting the war should be remitted to them.

It would be easy to produce many resolutions and decrees of the senate in favour of Hyrcanus, and the Jews; with letters to governors of cities and provinces, respecting their claims. The ancient proofs, in fact, are indubitable; and the record is yet to be seen, on tables of brass, and pillars in the capitol, of their alliance with the Romans: but what is said above will be sufficient to convince every reader.

A violent sedition now happened in Syria. Cæcilius Balsus engaging in a plot against the life of Sextus Cæsar, procured him to be murdered, withdrew his troops from the province, and took possession of it. To this succeeded a war on the borders of Apamia. The friends of Cæsar marched against Balsus, and were joined by Antipater and his sons, who deemed themselves bound to revenge the murder of their friend. During the progress of this war, Marcus offered himself to succeed Sextus; and, in the interim, Cæsar was murdered in the Senate-house, by Brutus, Cælius, and their fellow conspirators, after having governed three years and a half.

C H A P. XVIII.

A civil war ensues on the death of Cæsar. The people greatly oppressed, and even sold by auction. Malichus enters into a plot against Antipater, but saves himself by perjury.

Cæsar being dead, dreadful commotions happened among the principal men of Rome, each consulting his apparent interest, till a civil war was the result. Cassius taking possession of the army in Syria, which then lay before Apamia, raised the siege, and induced Marcus and Balsus to join him; which being done, he proceeded from place to place, collecting arms, money, and men: but in Judæa he imposed a rate of between seven and eight hundred talents of silver, oppressing that district beyond any other. During this confusion Antipater committed the care of levying part of his money to his two sons, while Malichus, (who was secretly his enemy) was concerned with others in collecting the rest. Herod, ready to oblige the Romans at the expence of other people, gave Cassius an early proof of his zeal, by valuable presents collected in Galilee: but cities under the command of other governors, not being equally ready with their offers, were publicly sold, with their inhabitants, to the best bidder, by order of Cassius; as was the case with Gophna, Emmaus, Lydda, and Thamima. Malichus would, on this occasion, have fallen a sacrifice to the rage of Cassius, had not...
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That Hyrcanus compounded for his life by the payment of a hundred talents. Caecilius had no sooner departed with the treasure he had collected, than Malichus concerted a plot against Antipater, conceiving that it he was deprived, Hyrcanus would govern with more safety. Antipater was aware of this design on him, and, for the prevention of its effects, crossed the river Jordan, and placed himself at the head of as large an army of Jews and Arabs as he could collect: but Malichus, who was a man of equal artifice and courage, went immediately to Antipater and his sons, and solemnly swore to his innocence. "Can it be imagined (said he) that I should be so weak as to think of a plot or conspiracy, when I knew that Herod had the command of the arms and magazines, and that Phasael had the government of Jerusalem?" Thus, failing in his principal view, he obtained pardon of Antipater. At this period Syria was governed by Marcus, who, hearing of other designs that Malichus had in Judaea, would certainly have put him to death, but that he was sated by the mediation of Antipater.

CHAP. XIX.

The government of Lower-Syria bestowed on Herod, by Marcus and Caecilius. Antipater poisoned through the contrivance of Malichus, who forswears the deed.

This pardon of Malichus ended in the destruction of Antipater. Marcus and Caecilius having collected an army, committed the command of it by sea and land to Herod, whom they appointed to the government of the Lower-Syria, with the promise of that of Judaea, when a war in which they were engaged with Anthony, and the younger Caesar (afterwards Augustus) should be ended. Herod's advancement made Malichus so jealous of Antipater, that he bribed Hyrcanus's butler to poison him while he was at dinner with his master: which being done, he took possession of the city with a guard of soldiers. This murder of their father enraged Herod and Phasael; but Malichus confidently swore to his innocence. The brothers were resolved to be revenged, but differed in the mode. Herod was for taking the field with an army; but Phasael, dreading a civil war, proposed rather to act by stratagem; wherefore he behaved with civility to Malichus, neverhinting his suspicions of the murder: and employed himself in erecting a superb monument to the memory of his father. About this period Herod went to Samaria, where finding all things in great confusion, he endeavoured by the rules of law and justice, to adjust the differences that had arisen among the inhabitants.

On the approach of a solemn feast at Jerusalem, Herod marched his army towards the city; which terrifying Malichus, he persuaded Hyrcanus not to admit him; and accordingly he complied, on the pretence that a communication of their worship with strangers would desile their holy religion. Herod, however, in contempt of this order, got into the city by night; which alarmed Malichus; but he had the artifice to provide a guard for the security of his person, and to conceal his real sentiments by tears and lamentations for the loss of his honoured friend Antipater. On the other hand,
Cassius was so well acquainted with the character of Malichus, that hearing of Antipater's death, he commanded Herod to take vengeance on the murderer, and issued private orders to his troops at Tyre to assist him. Some time afterwards, when Cassius took Laodicea, and the people crowded to him with money and other effects, Herod thought that would be the proper opportunity to effect his purpose: but as Malichus was advancing to Tyre, his spirits failed him, and he had recourse to a different plan. Having then a son who was an hostage in Tyre, he conceived that if he could persuade him to revolt, and himself take possession of the government, while Cassius was at war with Anthony. This scheme might have answered the proposed end, but that Herod prevented it: for he sent out a number of officers to meet Malichus and his party, and invite them to a treat: which being done, they attacked him on the side of the town next the sea, and slew him with their daggers. Hyrcanus was struck with astonishment at hearing of this affair: but Herod immediately informed him that it was done in consequence of Cassius's command; on which Hyrcanus appeared satisfied with the vengeance that had been taken for so foul a murder, on a notorious enemy to his country.

Cassius having quitted Syria, great commotions happened in Judæa. The troops in Jerusalem under the command of Felix, attacked Phasael, in whose defence the people betook themselves to arms. Hereupon Herod applied to Fabius, governor of Damascus, for aid to assist his brother, but being seized with a fit of illness, was unable to carry his generous design into execution. However, Phasael was happy enough to compleat his business without assistance, compelling Felix to retreat to a fortress, and submit on conditions. Phasael now reproached Hyrcanus with ingratitude for taking part with his enemy, after such a number of obligations received; for at this period the brother of Malichus had possessed himself of many fortified places, among which was Masada, hitherto deemed almost impregnable: but Herod, recovering of his illness, retook the places, and parted with Malichus, after having executed terms of agreement with him.
At this time Antigonus, the son of Ariobulus, paid a sum of money to Fabius, to assist him in raising an army; and they procured the confederacy of Marion, to whom Cassius had given the command of Tyre, and all Syria, in which several garrisons were placed, and three even in Galilee. These places, however, were soon reduced by Herod, who not only treated the Tyrians that defended them, with fair quarter, but showed them respect, and made them presents, to testify the regard that he had for them. This being done, he marched to Antigonus, attacked and routed him on the confines of Judea; and then returned to Jerusalem in triumph, where Hyrcanus and all the people received him with every testimony of respect. Herod was now on the point of marriage with Mariamne, daughter of Alexander, and the marriage being soon after consummated, he had by her three sons and two daughters. Antipater, his eldest son, was by the daughter of Dokes, a former wife of his own country.


Anthony and Augustus having conquered Cassius at the battle of Philippi, Caesar departed into Gaul, and Anthony proceeded into Asia. Marching through Bythinia, the latter received several ambassadors, and among them one from many Jews of distinction; complaining of Phasael and Herod, and insisting that, though Hyrcanus was the nominal governor, yet the brothers had usurped the authority and administration. Herod pleaded his own cause, and backed his arguments with presents of such value, that his enemies could obtain no advantage. When Anthony arrived at Ephesus, ambassadors waited on him from Hyrcanus, and the body of the Jews, with a crown of gold, and various presents, entreating that such of their countrymen as Cassius had made prisoners, contrary to the laws of war, might have their freedom restored, and be put in possession of their lands, of which they had been deprived; and for this purpose they solicited Anthony's letters to the provinces. There was so much reason in this request, that Anthony, in compliance with it, sent the following dispatches:
The Emperor Marcus Antonius, to Hyrcanus, High Priest, and Prince of the Jews, health, joy, and salutation.

"Forasmuch as we have been assured of the regard that you and your people entertain for us, (agreeable to what we have formerly experienced at Rome) by your ambassadors at Ephesus, Lysimachus, the son of Pausi
tias, Joseph the son of Menneus, and Alexander the son of Theodo-
rus, who have honourably discharged their commission; and forasmuch
as we are convinced of your sincerity, piety, and virtue, by better proofs
than verbal professions, we accept your friendship and readily agree to your
proposals. The enemies to ourself and the Romans having ravaged the
whole country of Asia, in defiance of the laws of society, of oaths, pro-
mises, and all engagements sacred and civil, we have turned our arms
against them, as against the violators of the common rights of humanity.
The murder of Cæsar was a villainy of so deep a dye, that the sun hid
its face at the sight. Many of the assassins retreated to Macedonia,
as if there also to solicit the vengeance of heaven. Their malice at the
battle of Philippi was extreme: having possessed themselves of the for-
tresses, even to the sea, under cover of mountains almost impaßible, their
situation was such, that there was only one place at which to attack them;
yet the justice of heaven decreed us the victory: Brutus and Cassius re-
tired into the town, where being attacked closely, they fell together; so
that a just judgement being inflicted on them, we now hope the return
of peace; and that Asia, recovering from a desperate distress, will be de-
livered from the ravages of war. We will take care that you and your
people participate in so great a happiness; and for this purpose have al-
ready sent orders that the Jews, both bond and free, who have been exposèd
to exile by Cassius, or his order, be immediately set at liberty. And we
further command that all the privileges granted by myself and Dolabella
be peaceably enjoyed by you and your heirs; forbidding the Tyrians
from molesting you; directing that they restore all the goods and estates
of which the Jews have been deprived; and signifying our acceptance of
the crown and presents you transmitted us."

The Emperor Marcus Antonius sends greeting to the magistrates, senate and people of Tyre.

"Forasmuch as the ambassadors of Hyrcanus, high-priest and prince of
the Jews, have signified to us, at Ephesus, that when our enemies had
usurped possession of this province, you seizèd the lands of many of those
people to your own use: now know ye, that as we embarked in the war
for the public welfare, and the promotion of religion, against the attempts
of the rebels; we hereby command that you not only live in friendship
with our allies, but return to the proprietors whatever was seizèd by the
enemies, to whom the senate not having given right of possession, they
could not transfer any right to others; as what they possessed was in con-
sequence
sequence of unlawful seizure. Having now subdued our adversaries, we "judge it expedient to re-establish our friends in the possession of their "estates: wherefore, if you at present posses any lands or estates, here-to-"fore the property of Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, which were seized "during the invasion of Cassius, we command that they be immediately de-"livered to the persons who originally owned them; and if doubts or diffi-
culties arise, we will enquire into them when we come into your coun-
try, and see that justice is equally administered."

The Emperor Marcus Antonius greets the magistrates, senate, and people of Tyre.

"I have transmitted you my mandate, which you will take care to see "fairly transcribed in Latin and Greek, and placed among your records, "on a table, to the public view of all the people."

Marcus Antonius, Emperor and Triumvir, &c.

"Forasmuch as Caius Cassius, in the time of public commotion, with a "lawless force, broke in on a province where he had no concern, and with-
"out any just cause, ravaged the country of the Jews, our faithful adhe-
"rents; and continued his oppressions till the usurpers were reduced by our "arms. Now in order to repair, as far as in us lies, the damages sustained, "we command that restitution of, or satisfaction for, whatsoever hath been "taken from them be immediately made; and that instant liberty be given "to the prisoners of that nation: and, on pain of our highest displeasure, "we command obedience to this decree."

Instructions to the same purpose were written to the people of Sidon, An-
tioch, and Arad; which is mentioned to prove what respect the Romans con-
stantly paid to the Jews.

C H A P. XXIII.

Anthony falls in love with Cleopatra. Accusations against Herod and Phasael, who undergo a trial. Herod's accusers lose their lives through their ingratitude.

On Anthony's going toward Syria, Cleopatra met him in Cilicia, to pay her respects; on which he became most violently enamoured of her. At this period near a hundred persons of rank amongst the Jews com-
plained to him of the conduct of Herod and Phasael, bringing with them a number of good orators, to act as counsellors. Anthony heard the cause at Daphne: Messala pleaded for the brothers, and was supported by Hyrcanus. When the pleadings were ended, Anthony asked Hyrcanus which of the young men was best qualified for a governor. He replied Herod: but An-
thony had such regard to them both, (in remembrance of the kindness of their father Antipater, who protected him when Gabinus invaded Judæa,) that
that he made them tetrarchs, and committed that country to their government. He wrote many letters in their favour, threw fifteen of their most implacable enemies into prison, and had resolved to have them executed, but that Herod interfered, and obtained their pardon. Herod’s benevolence, however, had no weight with his enemies; who were no sooner dismissed, than they concerted new schemes to destroy him. Having selected a band of a thousand people, they went towards Tyre, to wait the arrival of Anthony. In the mean time Herod and his brother had made such an interest by valuable presents, that Anthony dispatched orders to the magistrates of Tyre, commanding them to support the authority of Herod, and to punish the Jewish messengers, as people whose wish was to frustrate the schemes of government. Herod now gave a second proof of his benevolence, by going out to meet the deputies, whom he advised to retire. Hyrcanus seconded this advice, representing the mischief that might arise from their perseverance: but in defiance of all danger, and in contempt of advice, they obstinately persisted in going forwards, till being met by numbers, both Jews and Tyrians, many of them were slain, many wounded, and the rest fled; which put an end to all open opposition; but the vulgar continued to revile the proceedings of Herod, till Anthony was so exasperated that he ordered judgment of death on the prisoners.

Syria was conquered in the following year, by Pacorus, son of the king of Parthia, and Barzaphanes a prince of the country. At this period died Ptolemy Mennaus; who was succeeded by his son Lyfanius, who, through the interest of Barzaphanes, contracted an intimate friendship with Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus.

CHAP. XXIV.

The death of Herod and his party, and the deposition of Hyrcanus, concerted by Antigonus. Pacorus and Barzaphanes unite against Judea. Entrance denied to Pacorus by the Tyrians. The Jews of Mount Carmel take part with Antigonus. Phaefal betrayed by Pacorus. Barzaphanes denounces a treachery with which he is charged.

The people of Parthia were offered a thousand talents, and five hundred women, by Antigonus, on the condition of their killing Herod and his adherents, deposing Hyrcanus, and accepting Antigonus governor in his place. Hereupon the Parthians marched against Judæa, Barzaphanes going through the inland country, and Pacorus by the sea-coast. The people of Tyre refused to admit Pacorus into the city; but those of Sidon and Ptolemæus received him readily. On this he enticed a party of horse to the king’s cup-bearer, whose name likewise was Pacorus, to observe the situation of the country, and assist Antigonus, if it should be necessary. The Jews of Mount Carmel associated with Antigonus, who expected to conquer that part of the country called Dryme, by their affiance. Many reinforcements joining him, he was induced to advance to Jerusalem, to attack
attack: Herod and Phaæfal in the royal palace; but as he was proceeding to put his design in execution, the brothers attacked him in the market-place, and compelled the partizans to retreat to the temple. Herod placed a guard of soldiers in the adjacent houses; but the crowd rushing violently in upon them, set fire to the houses, which were consumed, with those that were in them. Herod soon revenged this action by slaying a great number of them in battle. There were now almost daily skirmishes, till near the Feast of Pentecost, which Antigonus anxiously expected, on account of the number of people then resorting to the city. The time arriving, thousands, both armed and unarmed, crowded round the temple, and every part of the city was thronged, but the palace, which Herod guarded, while Phaæfal took charge of the walls and outworks. The enemy being now stationed in the suburbs, Herod falled out on them, killed many, and routed thousands, some of whom fled to the city, some to the temple, while numbers fought refuge behind an adjacent rampart. In this attack Phaæfal likewise behaved nobly. Pacorus now, by the persuasion of Antigonus, entered the city with a small party, under pretence of restoring peace; but in fact to promote Antigonus to the government. They were, however, treated respectfully by Phaæfal; but in return Pacorus laid a plot against his life, under pretence of an embassy to Barzaphanes. Phaæfal, naturally unfurious, agreed to undertake this embassy, though much against the opinion of Herod, who advised destroying Pacorus and his people, knowing how little confidence was to be repose in them. Hyrcanus and Phaæfal, however, proceeded on their journey, leaving behind them two hundred horses, and ten of the people called freemen, with Herod, and being conducted by Pacorus. When they arrived in Galilee, the governors of the adjacent garrisons came in arms, and with presents, to meet them; and among the foremost of these was Barzaphanes, notwithstanding the latent treachery of his heart. Phaæfal and his attendants being conducted to a station near the seacoast, were there informed that Antigonus was to give the Parthians a thousand talents, and five hundred women, for this service. Phaæfal now suspected treachery; and the same night he had information that a band of soldiers were ready to seize him. This plot would have been certainly executed, but that they waited for advice of Herod’s being seized at Jerusalem, agreeable to a pre-concerted plan: for if the others had been first seized, it was thought that Herod might have had time enough to escape. The arrival of guards that were to take them into custody, proved the reality of this contrivance. Hereupon Phaæfal’s friends advised him to take horse, and seek his safety; particularly Ophelius, who had detected the conspiracy through the information of Saramella, one of the richest men in Syria, who living near the sea-coast, offered him the convenience of shipping from his house. But Phaæfal disdained to leave his friends in distress; and going to Barzaphanes, directly accused him with the baseness of his conduct: “If money (said he) had been your object, I should have conceived that Phaæfal might have more amply gratified you than Antigonus; to say nothing of the intended infamous insult to be offered to the persons of am-
"bassadors, in violation of the laws of nations, and the rights of hospita-
tality." Barzaphanes departed to Pacorus, having first denied the whole fact.

C H A P. XXV.


As soon as Barzaphanes had retired, a party of soldiers seized Hyrcanus and Phasael, who exclaimed against the villainy of such treatment; at this instant an eunuch was sent to take Herod, if he could be enticed out of his palace; but his correspondence with his brother having been intercepted, he suspected their design, and went to Pacorus, and the chiefs of the Parthians, to expostulate with them. They answered that they were unacquainted with the matter, but if he doubted of his brother's welfare, his best way would be to go out of the town, and receive his letters, left they should fall into improper hands. But Herod, having heard how his brother had been treated, was suspicious; and his suspicions were confirmed by Alexandra, daughter of Hyrcanus, to whose daughter Herod was to be espoused; and by her advice he governed himself. The Parthians now took till the following day to consult how they should act with Herod, for they were afraid to seize him openly; but Herod, knowing how violently they had acted towards his brother, and considering how dangerous it might be to remain longer among them, resolved to attempt an escape in the night. Hereupon he provided waggons, horses, and other beasts of carriage for the women, among whom were his mother, sister, and Mariamne, the niece of Aristobulus, and daughter of Alexander, to whom he was to be married. There were likewise the mother of his intended wife, with his own youngest brother, and all the family. Having collected his troops, they departed towards Idumea, and were considerably advanced before their enemies had notice of their design. It was melancholy to think of women, with children at their breasts, being thus hurried from their country, while their friends were in bonds, and themselves in apprehension of a similar fate.

At this period, however, Herod remained immovable, animating his companions both by example and advice: he said that neither their lives nor persons were secure but in flight; and advised them not to lose that time in lamentation which ought to provide for their safety: on which they resolved to act with a becoming degree of resolution. At this instant a wagon being overturned, endangered the life of Herod's mother; which so affected him, that, partly through tenderness to her, and partly through apprehension that the loss of time might occasion his being overtaken by the enemy, he would have
have thrown himself on his sword, had not his attendants prevented him. They urged that he ought not to sacrifice his friends to the fear of his enemies, and that a brave man should disdain to injure the public by his own destruction. Being reduced to the power of recollection, he took all possible care of his mother, and hastened his journey to Mælæa: the Parthians frequently pressng on him in small parties; but he was still victorious. When he was about sixty furlongs from Jerusalem, the Jews who had pursued, attacked him; but he routed them, shewing admirable discipline in the fight, notwithstanding his hurry and confusion. On his subsequent advancement to the throne, Herod built a palace on the spot where this victory was obtained, and near it a village which he called Herodium.

Proceeding to Refa in Idumæa, Herod's brother Joseph met him, and they consulted how to get rid of great numbers of useless people that were with them, exclusive of their troops: and considering that the castle of Mælæa, to which they intended to retire, was too small to contain them all, they discharged about nine thousand persons, to seek subsistence in Idumæa, till they could find a regular settlement. Those who were fit for war he kept, and having placed in the castle his near relations, with the women and children, in all about eight hundred people, he left them sufficient provisions, and proceeded to Pella, the chief city of Arabia.

On Herod's leaving Jerusalem, the Parthians, the next morning early, ravaged the city and palace, seizing every thing therein, except three hundred talents belonging to Hyrcanus, and a few valuable articles the property of Herod. Nor were the Parthians satisfied with plundering the city, but ravaged the adjacent country, and totally demolished the city of Marıtha, which was famous for its strength and riches.

The king of Parthia having given the government to Antigonus, Hyrcanus and Phaæel were delivered to him as prisoners: but he regretted the loss of the women, who, as well as the money, were to be delivered to him by contract. Antigonus now ordered that Hyrcanus's ears should be cut off, to incapacitate him for the office of high-priest; presuming that the people might otherwise at some future period, restore him.

Phaæel, finding that he was destined to death, determined that his enemies should not destroy him, but, as his hands were fettered, dashed out his brains against a wall. It has been said that the hurt was not mortal; but that the surgeons employed by Antigonus, put a period to his life, by dressing his wounds with poison. However, he lived to learn that Herod was safe from the hands of his enemies, which enabled him to die in peace.

In the interim Herod, so far from finking under his misfortunes, seemed but the better disposed to encounter them. He applied to Malchus, king of Arabia, for a loan of money, either on paying interest for it, or in mere friendship, having no doubt that a prince who owed him so many obligations, would be glad to repay them. At this time he had not heard of his brother's death, and his intention was only to raise three hundred talents for his ransom, and he took a son of Phaæel, of seven years of age, to pledge for the money. Messengers now arrived from Malchus, directing Herod to quit the country, for the Parthians would not admit his flag. He replied, that
that he came not to give trouble, but to adjust his own business: but he con-
ceived this treatment arose from a wish of some powerful people to avoid
paying a just debt, and defraud him of money that had been lodged in their
hands by Antipater.

Herod now retired towards Egypt, calling, in his way, at a temple where
he had left a number of his friends. At Rhynocura, on the following day,
he was told of his brother's death. By this time Malchus, repenting his in-
gratitude, went after Herod, to make reparation; but he was too late; for
the former was gone to Pelusium, where arriving, the mariners bound to
Alexandria would not take him on board. Hereupon he applied to the ma-
gistrates, who in respect to his former character, attended him into the city,
where Cleopatra entertained him with magnificence, and entreated that he
would reside there some time: but he was so determined to go to Rome, that
neither dangers, difficulties nor entreaties could prevent him from putting
his scheme in practice.

Hereupon he embarked for Pamphilia, and after a tempest that obliged
the seamen to throw the lading overboard to save the ship, he was at length
landed at Rhodes, where he was happy enough to meet Sappinas and Pto-
leny. He contributed part of his shattered fortune to the repair of the
town, which was almost destroyed by the war with Cassius. At Rhodes he
shipped himself for Italy, and after putting in at Brundusium, proceeded to
Rome, where he informed Anthony of what had happened in Judæa: rela-
ted the murder of his brother; the imprisonment of Hyrcanus; the con-
tract for the thousand talents, and five hundred women, to be delivered to
the Parthians when the government devolved to Antigonus. " With regard
" to the women (said he) I got them away by night, and lodged them in a
" place where they are now besieged, and in imminent danger of being
" made prisoners. These are the facts: and in defiance of every danger by
" fear and land, I have come to state my affairs, and to solicit your
" affiance."

C H A P. XXVI.

Augustus and Anthony become Herod's friends. He is elected king of Judæa. An-
thony and Augustus conduct him to the capitol. The castle of Masada attacked by
Antigonus. Ventidius extorts money from Antigonus.

Anthony was affected with the story of Herod's misfortunes. He
reflected on the instability of fortune, which might soon make his own
situation as pitiable: he recollected the friendly offices formerly done him
by Antipater, father of Herod; nor forgot the sum he was to receive when
he advanced Herod to the rank of a king: but what chiefly influenced him in
his favour was the enmity he had to Antigonus, whom he considered as a
dangerous man, and a foe to Rome. Augustus seconded Anthony's views in
favour of Herod, partly on account of a family acquaintance; partly because
his father and Antipater had been fellow-soldiers in Egypt; and partly from
his wish to gratify Anthony. Meafigia and Attratus presented Herod to the
senate of Rome, recommending him to their regard, on account of his own
and his father's services; reproving Antigonus, for accepting the govern-
ment from the Parthians, in contempt of the Romans, and for his former
ill conduct. When the senate were warmed with their addrests, Anthony laid
that in consideration of the present state of the war with the Parthians, it
would be proper to appoint Herod king of Judea; and this was universally
agreed to. Distinguished as this honour was, Herod owed much to Anthony
for procuring it; since the Romans deviated from their usual practice, in
bestowing a royal dignity on one who was not a branch of a royal family. His
ambition had aspired no farther than to solicit it for Alexander brother of
Marianne, and nephew to Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, whom he afterwards
put to death, as will appear in the sequel. This business was transacted in
seven days, at the end of which Herod was sent from Italy, on the exercise
of his new dignity.

When the senate broke up Herod was conducted to the capitol, between
Anthony and Augustus, attended by the consuls and senators, where they
offered sacrifices, and deposited their decrees. This was in the consuls'llhip
of C. Domitius Salvinus, and C. Annius Pollio, in the 184th Olympiad; and
Anthony made a most superb entertainment, to congratulate the new king on
his accession.

During Herod's absence Antigonus besieged the castle of Meafigia, where
all provisions were plenty except water, for which they were so distress'd,
that Joseph, with 200 men, had resolved to force their way through the be-
siegers to the Arabians; having been informed that Malechus regretted his
late ungenerous treatment of Herod: but at this juncture a violent shower of
rain falling, their cisterns and reservoirs were all filled with water, which de-
termined them to remain in their present situation: and animated by this
providential relief, they made repeated sallies on the enemy.

In the interim, the Parthians were driven out of Syria by Ventidius, a
Roman general, who then went into Judea, on a pretence of assisting Joseph;
but in fact to extort money from Antigonus, which, by advancing his troops
to Jerusalem, he effected. His end being answered, he retreated with the
greater part of them; leaving a few under the command of Silo, to disguise
his design: for Antigonus was compelled to compound with him also, lest
he should attack him before the arrival of the Parthians, whom he expected
to his assistance.
By this time Herod was returned out of Italy, and had reached Ptolemais, on his way towards Galilee, to meet Antigonus, having under his command a large body of auxiliary troops, besides his own forces. At this period also Gellius arrived from Anthony, with orders to Silo and Ventidius, that they should afford Herod all possible assistance in taking possession of his kingdom: but when these orders arrived, Ventidius was busily employed in subduing tumults that had taken place in several cities, through the means of the Parthians; and Silo was in Judæa, on the receipt of a pension from Antigonus. Herod's army being collected, appeared to be considerable, and increased as they marched: almost all the people of Galilee declared in his favour. The first great object of his present visit was to raise the siege of Maffada, in order to give liberty to his friends and relations, who had been so long imprisoned in that city. But in this expedition Joppa appeared to be such a barrier against his views of advancing to Jerusalem, that he could not think of leaving so strong a place unsubdued. In this situation Silo marched off; and the Jews making a close attack upon his rear, Herod drove in upon them with a select party, put them to the rout, and rescued Silo, when he was on the point of being made prisoner. This being done, Herod made a conquest of Joppa, and, without loss of time, repaired to relieve his friends in Maffada, at which place numbers of people flocked to his assistance; some of them on account of his father, some in respect to his own merits, and a third sort in consideration of the obligations they owed to both: but a hope of ingratiating themselves with the new king was
was the most prevailing motive. In the interim Antigonus had laid several
snares and ambushes to entrap him in his way. These, however, produced
scarcely any effect; and Herod, having raised the siege of Masada, gave all
possible relief to his friends. He then attacked and took the castle of Reba,
and marched towards Jerusalem, his army being composed of a number of
citizens that dreaded his power; together with Silo's forces. Having sta-
tioned his army on the west quarter of the city, many violent fallacies
were made against him, and the besieged galled his forces with repeated showers
of darts and arrows. In the interim Herod commanded his herald to proceed
round the walls of the city, and proclaim, in different places, that his whole
view in the undertaking was the benefit of the city, and the welfare of the
public at large: that so far from harbouring the least intention of doing them
any injury, he was willing to grant a perpetual oblivion and forgiveness
of all past offences, let the crime be ever so atrocious, and by whomsoever it
might have been committed. In answer hereof, Antigonus (in an address to
Silo and the Roman soldiers) represented how iniquitous and unreasonable a
thing it was, to think of advancing Herod to the throne, who was himself a
private man and an Idumæan, and to be considered in no other light than as
a half Jew; a practice diametrically opposite to ancient custom, and to the
laws and rights of succession. Antigonus farther said, that if they were of-
fended at his receiving the crown from the hands of the Parthians, and sought
to deprive him of the dignity on that account, there were not wanting se-
veral of the royal and sacerdotal line, who had merited equally well from the
Romans, and having an indisputable title to the government, the depriving
them of it would be an act of the highest injustice. At length the dispute
between Herod and Antigonus encreased to that degree, that abusive lan-
guage passed, and in the end Antigonus commanded his men to drive the
enemy from the walls; which they did effectually, by means of darts and
arrows. There now remained no doubt but that Silo had been corrupted.
He had tampered with many of his acquaintance among the troops, who
began to be very clamourous for money and provisions; demanded more
commodious winter-quarters, and said that Antigonus had ravaged the
country in such a manner that no subsistence was to be obtained in it. This
mutinous disposition encreased to so great a degree, that the soldiers were on
the point of quitting their arms, and deserting Herod, on the contrary,
declamed on his authority; made use of the names of Cæsar, Anthony,
and the Senate, who had commissioned him to come into that country; and
encouraged both his officers and soldiers not to depart from their duty, but
to rely on him, who would exert his utmost influence to accommodate them
with every convenience that their present situation would allow. Hereupon
he dispatched commissaries to buy up all kinds of necessaries, so that Silo
had not the least cause of complaint left; for the troops were soon supplied
with incredible quantities of provisions: Herod having likewise directed his
friends in Samaria to collect at Jericho great stores of corn, wine, oil, and
cattle, and to supply the army from thence. Antigonus conceiving rightly
of what had been directed, sent out parties to patrol the fields and roads,
and intercept the persons bringing the supplies: and, according to order,
they lay in detachments near Jericho, and about the crags of the mountains, watching when the convoys might pass. Nor was Herod less affiduous on his part; for with ten companies of troops, half consisting of Jews, and the other of Romans, together with a hired party, he marched toward Jericho; but five hundred of the inhabitants, with all their families, having quitted the town, and fled to the mountains, he pursued them, made them prisoners, but afterwards gave them their liberty. The city was ransacked by the Romans, who found therein an immense treasure, consisting of money, jewels, rich furniture, and other valuable effects. The king having left a garrison in the place, retired by the way that he came, and appointed his army to take up their quarters in places which he had lately conquered; as Samaria, Idumæa, and Galilee. Antigonus bribed Silo with a sum of money to permit the Roman army to be quartered in Lydda, which was done to obtain the friendship of Antony. The Romans were now in the midst of peace and plenty, and in every way well accommodated.

Herod, however, whose disposition would not permit him to remain long idle, sent one thousand foot and four hundred horse, under the command of his brother Joseph, into Idumæa, while he himself went to Samaria, to take proper care of his mother, and the rest of his relations, whom he had conveyed from Maffada; and then he went to Galilee, to take in some garrisons of which Antigonus was in possession. Arriving at Sephoris, while the snow laid deep on the ground, he found that the inhabitants had deserted the place, but left behind them great quantities of provisions of all kinds. At this time the adjacent country, particularly about Arbela, was most dreadfully infested with robbers, who roving from their lurking places in the mountains, disturbed the neighbourhood in a high degree. Hereupon Herod ordered out a squadron of horse, and three companies of foot, to drive them out from their retirements. He marched against them with his whole army, about forty days after he had sent out this force; on which the robbers made their appearance, and attacked Herod's troops with so much resolution that his left wing gave way; but bravely rallying his forces, and putting himself at the head of them, he renewed the charge, and totally routed the opponents, whom he pursued even to the river Jordan. The consequence of this victory was that, in a short time, all the people of Galilee submitted, except those who had taken refuge in the mountains. On this conclusion of the business, Herod distributed that one hundred and fifty drachmas should be given to each private soldier, and a sum proportionally larger to the officers; and they were ordered into winter quarters on the receipt of this gratuity. Herod was now informed by Silo and his officers, who had been in the pay of Antigonus, that the latter not only refused to grant them more than provisions for one month, but had likewise issued orders to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, to clear the country of all the necessaries of life, and to starve the Romans out of their quarters, by retiring with the provisions to the mountains. Herod, however, prevented this calamity from befalling them, by directing his younger brother Pheroras to take care and provide for the army, and likewise to repair the then ruined fort of Alexandrion; and he executed both these commissions with great fidelity, and much to his credit.

Ventidius
Ventidius was at this time in Syria, and Anthony at Athens, who commanded Silo to repair to the former place with the Parthian auxiliary troops; but first to give his assistance to Herod, if it should be found necessary. To him he repaired, but Herod dispatched Silo and his forces to Ventidius, while himself marched against such of the enemy as were lurking about in the mountains. The passages were so narrow, and the rocks so steep, that it was almost an impossibility to approach them; and themselves and families lived in the caverns. On viewing these places Herod found that it would be equally impossible to creep down on them from above, or scale them from below; and he therefore had recourse to the following contrivance: he had a number of cages made, to be let down by iron chains from a machine at the top of the hills: in which cages were men with hooks, darts, lances, and other arms, to destroy them in their holes, or draw them out, and throw them headlong to the bottom, as might be requisite. Considering the depth and danger of the place, this was a horrid experiment: besides that the robbers were furnished with provisions in their caverns. On letting down one of these cages to the mouth of a cell, and no one daring to come out, a soldier, impatient of waiting, seized his sword and buckler, and catching hold of the chain that suspended the cage, slipped into a cavity of the rock. In this place he flew several with his darts, and in case of their resistance drew out others with his hooks, and cast them down the precipice. Some he killed with his lance, and then safely returned to the cage. Those who escaped were terribly frightened by the lamentations of the wounded, but night advancing, nothing more was done. The king now offered pardon to all who would lay down their arms and submit, and many acceded to these terms of mercy.

The attack was commenced in the same manner on the following day; only they exposed themselves more; placing fire to combustible materials that were in the caves, by which the parties were smothered. In one cave was an old man, who had a wife and seven sons, who earnestly implored him to submit to the enemy. The man however took his station at the mouth of the cave, and as they attempted to pass him, he stabbed them one after the other, killing his wife the last. Their bodies he threw down the precipice, and followed them himself, determined rather to die, than sacrifice his liberty. While he was thus destroying his family, he reproved Herod on account of the meanness of his extraction; though the prince, who stood at a distance, courted his acceptance of mercy, by the most expressive signs in his power. The war between Herod and these people was now at a period.

Soon after this enterprise the government of that district was committed to Ptolemy, and Herod marched into Samaria, with three thousand foot, and six hundred horse, in order to come to a decisive battle with Antigonus. Ptolemy, however, lost his life by his advancement; for he was attacked and slain by a party of those who had committed so many ravages in Galilee; and they immediately retired to the mountains, and other almost inaccessible places; whence they occasionally issued, and ravaged all the country: but Herod,
Herod, on his return, punished them for their outrages, killing some on the spot, forcing others from their retreats, whom he put to the torture, and destroyed their forts and castles. Having thus conquered his foes, he laid a fine of a hundred talents on certain cities suspected to favour the enemy.

Pacorus king of the Parthians, having been now defeated in battle, Ventidius, agreeable to his orders from Anthony, sent Machærus to Herod with a thousand horse, and two legions; but Machærus having been artfully applied to by Antigonus, departed to him, under pretence of giving intelligence, though in direct opposition to the advice of Herod. On his approach, Antigonus, so far from confiding in him, directed his people to oppose him with darts and slings. He was now convinced that Herod was perfectly right in his dilatation, and that he ought to have listened to his advice. Enraged at the treatment he had received, he turned about towards the city of Emmaus, destroying, without distinction of friend or foe, every Jew that he met with in the way. This conduct was so obnoxious to Herod, that he immediately went towards Samaria, to acquaint Anthony with what had happened, and to inform him that he was himself able to cope with Antigonus, without the aid of such as did more mischief to their own cause, than to that of the enemy. While he was on this expedition, Machærus hurried after him, and having overtaken him on the road, earnestly entreated him either to give over all thoughts of his proposed journey, or at least to leave his brother Joseph behind, that those two might carry on the war against Antigonus in conjunction. On this solicitation Herod yielded, forgave all that had palled, and left the army under the command of Joseph, with particular directions not to quarrel with Machærus, nor to undertake any enterprise without a prospect of success.

On this adjournment of affairs Herod took with him an additional number of horse and foot, and marched to join Anthony, who then lay before Samosata, on the banks of the Euphrates. When he arrived at Antioch he found multitudes disposed to join Anthony, but that the roads where so thronged with barbarian enemies they could not approach him. Hereupon Herod put himself at their head, and undertook to conduct them: they proceeded on their march; but having advanced within two days journey of Samosata, a party of the enemy's horse encountered them, which had lain in ambush behind some bushes, on the entrance into the open country, to prevent Anthony receiving any aid from that quarter. The enemy suffered the front of the troops to pass; but when Herod advanced with the rear, they attacked him violently with about five hundred horse, and broke his front ranks. The king, however bore down courageously on them with his guards, drove them from their station, rallied his scattered forces, and pursued his success till he recovered all they had taken, which in prisoners, baggage, carriages, horses and mules, amounted to a very considerable booty. This battle being ended Herod proceeded in his way to Anthony; but was frequently attacked on his rout, by companies of barbarians, who fellied out upon him from the woods and thickets; but in all his encounters he was still superior to them, defeating them in all the attempts they made; till at length a free passage was
was left him, no person to oppose him, and the people hailing him as their preserver as he proceeded.

Herod's actions against the barbarians being signified to Anthony, with the gallant manner in which he had acquitted himself in other contests, he selected the choicest of his troops, and going out to meet him, he no sooner approached the town than he was received with all possible distinction. As soon as Anthony saw him he ran to embrace him, with every token of friendship and regard: praised him for his wisdom and virtue, and treated him with a degree of dignity and respect proportioned to the royal character with which he had invested him. Not long after this a period was put to the war, by Antigonus delivering up Samosata. Anthony now conferred on Sophus the government of the province, and the command of the army, with orders to afford all proper assistance to Herod, and then departed into Egypt. On this Sophus sent two legions to guard the king in his way to Judæa, and followed himself with the rest of the army, almost immediately.

During these transactions Joseph lost his life in Judæa, by not observing the directions which Herod had given him when he departed to Anthony. Joseph marching towards Jericho, with his own soldiers, and five companies of Machærus, with a view to get in the harvest; stationed his troops on the mountains. The greater part of the Roman troops being lately raised in Syria, and all of them raw and undisciplined, the enemy seized the advantage both of their position and inexperience, and attacking them by surprise, totally routed them, destroying six companies, and cutting Joseph to pieces, while he was valiantly fighting at their head. The field being now in possession of Antigonus, he found the body of Joseph among the slain, and gave directions for cutting off his head; but this was redeemed, at the price of fifty talents, by his brother Pheroras: Soon after this the district of Galilee revolted, and as many of Herod's friends as could be found were drowned in the lake. There were various other disturbances in Judæa; and, in the interim, the castle of Gath was fortified by Machærus.

Intelligence of these repeated misfortunes, so immediately following each other, was conveyed to Herod, at a place called Daphne, in the neighbourhood of Antioch: but he was the less astonished at it, as he had lately had some disagreeable dreams, which evidently prefigured the death of his brother. Herod now departed with all expedition towards Mount Libanus; and, taking with him eight hundred men, he approached to Ptolemais: from whence going forward in the night through the country of Galilee, he was attacked by the enemy, who had quitied the castle on the preceding day. He beat them back to their old quarters, surrounded the place, and disposed his troops for an attack early on the following morning; but in the interim there happened so violent a tempest, that he was obliged to retreat and take shelter in the adjacent villages. At this critical juncture arrived another legion which Anthony had sent to Herod, a circumstance which so intimidated the garrison, that they abandoned the place, and made their escape in the night. Herod being now impatient to revenge the death of his brother, repaired with all possible expedition to Jericho, where, on his arrival, he treated the princes of the place with the utmost magnificence. Supper being ended,
and the company departed, Herod was the last man who quitted the room, to retire to his own apartment; and he was no sooner out of the parlour than the roof of it fell at once to the ground, without injury to any person. This was deemed a signal interposition of providence, by which the imminent danger that had awaited Herod was prevented.

On the following day the enemy descended from the mountains, surprizing the Romans with a body of six thousand men. The distress occasioned hereby was very great; they trampled down all opposition, and Herod himself was wounded in the side by an arrow. Just after this, Antigonus, as it boastful of his superior force, sent Pappus, with a number of troops under his command, into Samaria; and while he and Machærus were mutually considering which should attack the other, Herod took possession of five towns, put to the sword two thousand men that were in garrison in them, and leaving the places in ashes, retired to seek for Pappus, who had then made his encampment at a place named Jfanas, where numbers of people from Jericho and Judæa flocked to his standard. Herod finding the enemy in a disposition to decide the matter by arms, a battle immediately ensued, in which he totally routed his opponents, amply revenging the death of his brother, and punishing them in the very town to which they fled for sanctuary. In an instant the houses were crowded with soldiers from the top to the bottom, each seeking his own safety. The roofs were uncovered, and stones and weapons descending, the slaughter was most horrid: but the most dreadful part of the spectacle was the dead bodies lying one on another in the chambers, which sunk their spirits into a state of absolute despair.

The broken troops now fled in such numbers, and in such wildness of disorder, that if a furious tempest had not happened in the very juncture, the assailants, in the first zeal of conquest, would have marched directly to Jerusalem, and put a speedy termination to the war: for at this period Antigonus was doubting if he should not quit the city. The evening being far advanced, Herod directed his soldiers to go to supper, and retreated to his own chamber, to take some necessary refreshment after the battle: and now again he had a providential deliverance, no less singular than the former. Being in his bath, unattended but by one person, three soldiers, each with a drawn sword in his hand, rushed into the room, crossed it with great haste, and went off by the opposite door. On enquiry it appeared that these men, during the rage of the battle, had concealed themselves in the house, in fear of the enemy; and now retired with all expedition, to save themselves, without having any notion of doing injury to the king, whom it would have been easily in their power to put to death. Among the bodies of the slain was found that of Pappus, whose head Herod ordered to be cut off, and sent it to Pheroras, as a sort of consolation for the death of his brother Joseph, who had been slain by Pappus, while fighting at the head of his troops.

The confusion occasioned by the above battle was no sooner over, than Herod marched his army towards Jerusalem, and stationed himself (where Pompey had done before) on that part of the city next the temple, which seemed the most obvious place of attack. When his engineers were ready, all proper materials provided, and he had given orders for the erecting of towers,
towers, and throwing up trenches and bulwarks about the place, he went to
Samaria, to conclude his marriage with Mariamne, daughter of Alexander,
and grandson of Aristobulus, to whom, as hath been heretofore observed,
he had been contrived a considerable time before: but he left behind him
a number of officers, to conduct the siege in his absence.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Herod and Sosius besiege Jerusalem. The taking of the city and temple. Herod's
meditation. Antigonus makes his submission. The army mutinous. The huma-
nity of Herod. Antigonus carried to Anthony in chains, and put to death through
the influence of Herod. The extinction of the Abmoncean line.

Soon after the marriage of Herod had taken place, Sosius dispatched
a large body of horse and foot, which he soon followed himself, taking
the road through Phœnicia. In the mean time the king returned from Sa-
maria, with a body of about thirty thousand men, and the whole army being
united, advanced towards the north walls of the city, consisting, exclusive
of the auxiliaries from Syria, of six thousand horse, and eleven regiments
of foot. Herod and Sosius were the commanding officers: the latter being
employed by Anthony to assist in the war; and the former consulting his
own interest, having a view to settle himself in the possession of the kingdom,
which, on the defeat of Antigonus, the professed enemy of Rome, had been
befowed on him by the senate.

In the city the Jews were equally courageous and numerous: for almost
all the body of that people were assembled within the place. Their defence
was very obstinate. They animated each other with exclamations of "The
" temple of the Lord! the temple of the Lord!" repeatedly exulting in what
they deemed prelages of victory, and flattering themselves that these seemed
to foretell a conquest which, by the blessing of God, would attend their
arms. At the same time they were extremely frequent in falling forth into
the country, where they made ravages, in order to distress the besiegers;
and so industrious were they in this business, that in a short space they left
scarcely any subsistence for man or beast. Herod, however, who foresew
the inconveniences that must arise from these proceedings, in great measure
prevented them, partly by placing troops in ambush to entrap the pillagers,
and partly by supplying the camp with provisions, by means of commissia-
ries sent to distant parts. The weather proved so very fine, and such a
number of hands were employed in advancing the works, that the pioneers
had soon finished their part, and the assailants were now advanced to the
battery, exerting all their skill and diligence to accomplish their end. Nor
were the parties besieged less vigilant in their resistance; still opposing one
stratagem to another, and by one invention counterworking another. A number
of desperate fallies were made, in which the enemies works, as well those
that were compleated, as those that were only in hand, were frequently set

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on fire: their courage was likewise extremely conspicuous when they advanced to fight hand to hand, being no ways inferior to that of the Romans; though it must be confessed that in experience and military knowledge, the advantage was very greatly in favour of the latter. One wall was no sooner thrown down, than immediately the besieged supplied its place by a refrenchment that answered the end of another. When the besiegers wrought one mine, the besieged worked a counter-mine; and they repeatedly met under ground, and fought while employed in this business; their actions were most desperate, and they became valiant through mere despair. At the time they were acting these wonders against an enemy without the walls, they were almost starving within them, for want of necessaries; for this happened in the sabbatical year, when it was unlawful for them to cultivate the earth. At the end of forty days after the attack commenced, twenty gallant men mounted the first wall, and were followed by one of Sofius's centurions. At the expiration of fifteen days from this time the second wall was taken, and a number of the galleries round the temple set on fire, which circumstance Herod attributed to Antigonus, to render him obnoxious in the eyes of the people. The lower town, and the outer-quarter of the temple being taken, the Jews retired to the upper part of the city, and the middle of the temple: and apprehensive that the Romans might interrupt them in offering up their daily prayers and sacrifices, they sent ambassadors to Herod, to ask permission to bring in as many beasts to the city as might be necessary for that service. This request, in the hope that it might have a conciliating effect upon them, Herod readily granted: but he soon discovered his error, for they appeared to be still more zealous in the cause of Antigonus; on which Herod immediately attacked the city with his whole force, and made a conquest of it by assault. The delay that had happened, and the opposition that had been made, so exasperated the Romans, and the Jews in the service of Herod were likewise so enraged with those of the opposite party, that they jointly united to put all they met with to the sword, without distinction of sex or age: and this was done equally in the streets and houses; nor was the temple itself any longer a sanctuary to those who fought for refuge in it. The scene of blood and slaughter that now ensued exceeds all description. The soldiers, transported to the highest degree of fury and revenge, were implacable in their resentment, and paid not the least regard to the rights of humanity: Herod, however, did all that was in his power, by treaty and authority, to put a stop to the carnage; but all his orders and persuasions passed equally unheeded.

When things had arrived at this extremity of distress, Antigonus, in debasement of his former regal character, descended from the tower, and threw himself at the feet of Sofius; but, so far from taking pity on his misfortunes, Sofius treated him as one who had debased himself below the dignity of manhood, calling him by the name of Antigona, (instead of Antigonus) as if he had been a woman. But in the sequel he was not treated like a woman; for Socius directed that he should be put in irons, and a strong guard placed over him for security.

Herod,
THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS. 535

Herod, however, had not yet accomplished his end; for the victory he had already obtained over his enemies, was not attended with greater difficulties than he now experienced in keeping his own people in subjection. The forces which he had hired crowded in immense numbers, and were extremely importunate, to get into the temple, and even into the very sanctuary; to prevent which, Herod was obliged to exert all his authority, and to have recourse to force as well as to fair words and threatenings. In fact, he would have been more essentially injured by his success than even by a defeat, if he had indulged the curiosity of the riotous multitude so far as to expose to their sight the sacred and venerable mysteries of religion. He likewise argued and reasoned with Sofius, to prevent the soldiers from indulging their rage for plunder, murder, and devastation; representing that if they continued to ravage and destroy, as they had hitherto done, the Romans would find, in the end, that instead of having a people to govern, he would be king of a desert: he added, that if the sovereignty of the whole world were to be offered him at the expense of so much blood, he would not accept of it. In answer to this Sofius said that it was a matter of course, an act of justice, and agreeable to general practice, that when any place was taken by assault, the soldiers should have the booty. Herod in reply told him that, as far as the soldiers had any interest in the matter, he would himself compound with them for the plunder, and gratify them to the utmost of their wishes; and this he accordingly did; for he made it a point of honour and conscience to be true to his engagements. In a word, he behaved in so liberal a manner to the common soldiers, gave the officers such superior gratuities, and made so many acknowledgments, attended with sumptuous presents, to Sofius, that he wholly redeemed the city, and in the end, all parties appeared perfectly satisfied.

This event took place in the 185th Olympiad, in the third month, and on the day of a solemn fast, being the anniversary of the taking of the city by Pompey, twenty-seven years before: happening likewise, when Marcus Agrippa and Canidius Gallus were consuls.

All things being thus settled, Sofius dedicated a golden crown to God, and then departed to Jerusalem, and took with him his prisoner Antigonus, in chains, to present him to Anthony. Herod now began to entertain an idea that it was possible Anthony would not put the prisoner to death; but that, when he should appear at Rome, he might appeal to the senate for the legality of his claim to the government; and as Antigonus was of the blood-royal, and Herod himself but of vulgar extraction, he was exceedingly doubtful what might be the issue. It occurred to him that Antigonus might intimate, that as he had been in arms against the Romans, he could not expect the restitution of the regal dignity in his own person, as his actual offences might be deemed a sufficient forfeiture of all his pretensions; yet that his son, who was perfectly inoffensive, might be admitted to the succession, and no advantage taken of the innocent for the crime of the guilty. Herod becoming very uneasy with the weight of these reflections, bribed Anthony.
Anthony, with a large sum of money, that Antigonus might be privately put to death; and this being done, Herod became easy in his mind.

The Aemilian line was extinguished by the death of Antigonus. This family had possessed the government one hundred and twenty-six years; was rendered famous by the long continuance of the priesthood therein; and not less illustrious by the signal services rendered to the public by a long line of ancestors. Our forefathers have by tradition informed us that a domestic war put an end to these services; and that the administration fell into the hands of Herod, who was a private subject, and of no distinguished family.

End of the Fourteenth Book.
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK XV.

Containing the history of the transactions from the year of the World 3929 to 3955.

CHAP. I.

Herod's kindness to his friends, and severity to his enemies. The friendship of Pollio and Sameas with Herod. Pollio's prediction recited. Herod makes presents to Anthony. Forty-five principal men belonging to Antigonus put to death. Antigonus beheaded at Antioch.

THE conquest of Jerusalem by Herod and Sosius, and the taking Antigonus a prisoner, having been already mentioned; it now remains to give a detail of what followed upon this event. Herod was no sooner promoted to the exercise of his regal authority over the kingdom of Judæa, than he began to make ample provision for those of the citizens who had adhered to his interest, while he was to be considered only in the station of a private man: but with regard to those who had opposed his measures, one or more of them were almost daily doomed to death, and executed. On this occasion Herod took into his particular favour Pollio, the Pharisee, and his disciple Sameas, in gratitude for the favour conferred on him (when he be-
sieged the city,) by advising the citizens to open the gates, and give him entrance. This was the same "Pollio," who, on a former occasion, when Herod was examined before Hyrcanus, and the rest of the judges, told them that the time was advancing when that man whom they were seeking to discharge, should ruin them: and in the event this prediction was wholly verified.

Herod had no sooner taken possession of the city, than he gave orders for the collection of all the royal furniture, together with such valuable treasure, in gold, silver, and effects, as had been secreted by the more wealthy of the citizens; and this he directed to be conveyed to the palace, and out of it made a most sumptuous present to Anthony, gratifying with the remainder such friends and adherents as had been most faithful to his interest. He now gave orders that forty-five of the most zealous friends of Antigonus should be put to death, and directed that a guard should be placed at their doors while the bodies were brought out, which guard was also to see that nothing else was conveyed away: and if any gold or silver was discovered, it should be immediately produced to the king: so that, in fact, the vanquished saw no end to their misfortunes. They were unhappy enough to be subjected to a necclulous prince, whose avarice was so great, that all their earthly possessions were too little to gratify it. This happened, likewise, during their sabbatical year, when their wants could not be supplied by the customary produce of the harvest.

At this time Antigonus was a prisoner to Anthony, who had an intention of graceing his triumph by exhibiting him in chains: but hearing that the Jews began to be mutinous, and to favour Antigonus, from the antipathy they had conceived to Herod, he immediately gave orders for his being beheaded at Antioch, as the most likely method to appease the passions of the people. This event is mentioned by Strabo, in the following terms:

"Antigonus, king of the Jews, being conveyed by Anthony prisoner to Antioch, he there ordered his head to be cut off: being the first king ever put to death in this manner by the Romans: but thus much he could acknowledge in his justification; that while Antigonus was living, the Jews would never acknowledge Herod for their king: and, in fact, the veneration they had for their former prince was so great, that no degree of punishment would prevail upon them to acknowledge Herod as a king, even in name: he, however, proposed to himself, by this ignominious punishment, to destroy the reputation, and insult the memory of Antigonus, while he complacently satisfied the affections of the people to himself." This is the short history which Strabo gives of this affair.

Of Barzaphanes and Pacorus, the two generals of the Parthians, we have already spoken, together with their making prisoners of Hyrcanus and Pha-sael, of whom the former had been high-priest, and then prince of the Jews; and the other (who was brother of Herod) had dashed his brains out against the wall, rather than submit to an ignominious death from the hands of the enemy. At this period Hyrcanus was a prisoner in the hands of the Parthians.

* In the 17th chapter, of the XIVth book, this is said of Sameas, not of Pollio.
Thus it appeared to the government, and being himself a man of a grateful and generous disposition, he conceived that others would feel the same benevolent feelings. Influenced by these ideas, he thought that Herod, on his elevation, would make every possible acknowledgement to the man who had preserved his life and honour, in a case of the utmost extremity; which he himself had actually done, as hath been mentioned in a former part of this work.

Hyrcanus reflected so much on this plan, that he was resolved to carry it into execution by a journey to Herod; but he thought it expedient first to consult his most intimate friends on the subject. A consultation being held on the business, they unanimously advised him against taking the journey: "While you remain here (said they) you may be certain that we and our people will all pay you that respect and obedience to which the dignity of your own character, and our rank as subjects and servants entitle you. This is an honour you cannot expect to receive in your own country, as you are incapacitated from the acceptance of it by the personal injury that hath been done you by Antigonus." They likewise represented to him, that, with regard to the rendering of mutual good offices to each other, princes were less careful than persons in a more humble situation: that the memories of kings were not the most tenacious, and that the fortunes of men were very apt to have an influence on their manners. Reasonable as this discourse was, the violent inclination that Hyrcanus had to visit his own country made him
him deaf to all their advice. At this period too it happened that Hyrcanus was invited, by a letter from Herod, to repair to him, and take his share in the government: this letter desired him to request Phraates, and the Jews his brethren, not to deny him a satisfaction which he so much coveted: intimating that this was the period when he had the fairest opportunity of testifying his gratitude to the man to whom he was indebted for his life and advancement. Nor did Herod's entreaties thus end: for he dispatched Saramalla as an ambassador to Phraates, commissioning him to deliver valuable presents, and pay all possible respect, in behalf of Hyrcanus, whom he esteemed his friend and patron. Now the whole of this conduct appeared to be dictated by hypocrisy; for Herod being a prince not only fulsome and artful, but knowing that he had usurped the dominion, thought it a point of prudence to secure himself against every vicissitude of fortune; and on this principle deemed it good policy to get Hyrcanus into his custody; or to cause his destruction; which last circumstance happened, as will appear in the sequel.

At length Phraates, gave a dispensation to Hyrcanus, whom the Jews in Babylon having supplied with money, and all other necessaries for his journey, he repaired to Jerusalem, where no degree of respect or esteem was wanting to congratulate him on his arrival. Herod assigned him the most distinguished place at all public meetings and entertainments; called him, and treated him as his father, and behaved in all respects with such an unreserved confidence, that there could not remain the least doubt but that he was sincere in his professions. In the common opinion nothing seemed to be now wanting to the confirmation of Hyrcanus in the office of high-priest, but Herod's too great solicitude on the occasion; which gave rise to a dissention in the family, of a most dangerous nature. Herod however, determined that no man of distinguished extraction should be promoted to the office of high-priest, sent to Babylon for Ananel, a person of inferior degree, and caused him to be promoted to that distinguished honour. The wife of Hyrcanus was Alexandra, the widow of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, by whom she had a son, likewise called Aristobulus, after his grandfather, and a daughter named Mariamne, married to Herod, who was a woman of the most distinguished beauty. Now Alexandra was exceedingly concerned at this flight being put on her family; since, as she had a son living, she thought the office of high-priest ought not to be given to a stranger; and hereupon she employed a certain musician to carry a letter to Cleopatra, requesting that she would solicit Anthony to bestow that distinguished office on her son; but no regard was paid to this solicitation. It happened at this juncture, that Gellius, a confidential friend of Anthony, being in Judæa, on business respecting his own affairs, saw Aristobulus and Mariamne, whom he deemed to be two of the most beautiful and graceful persons that had ever existed. Hereupon he paid many compliments to Alexandra, on having had the happiness to give birth to two such wonderful instances of human perfection, and persuaded her to send Anthony a present of each of their pictures, as the most likely method to succeed in any request she had to make to him. In consequence of this advice she sent the pictures: and Gellius, who wished to inflame
Anthony with a passion for Mariamne, greatly exceeded the bounds of truth in his report of the beauty of their persons, representing that they were elegant beyond description, and had much more the appearance of angels in human shape, than of mere mortals. Anthony could not, with any appearance of a regard to the laws of honour or politeness, think of sending for the wife of a prince with whom he was on terms of friendship; and he was equally averse to give offence to Cleopatra. Thus situated, he wrote to Herod, intimating how happy he should be to receive a visit from Ariilobulus, whenever it might be thought convenient. At this time Ariilobulus was not more than fifteen or sixteen years old; and Herod conceived that it would be extremely imprudent, to send a youth of noble extraction, in the flower of his age, and so distinguished by his personal perfections, to a man who was remarkable beyond all others for a propensity to unnatural crimes, and unceasing in the pursuit of irregular pleasures: for this, in fact, was the character of Anthony: superadded to which, he was known to use his authority to countenance and assist him in the perpetration of his enormities. On this consideration Herod sent him an excuse, intimating that the Jews were of such a sedulous disposition, and so fond of the idea of a new king, that if Ariilobulus was to quit the kingdom, an insurrection would unavoidably happen.

Herod having sent this message to Anthony, now contrived to keep on the best terms with Ariilobulus and Alexandra: but his wife was repeatedly urging him to do justice to her brother with regard to the office of high-priest; insinuating that his own interest was concerned in the affair; since the duties of the office would necessarily prevent Ariilobulus from taking the journey. Herod, having reflected on this discursive, put an extraordinary scheme into execution. Having summoned a kind of council of his friends, he began to express bitterly against Alexandra, who he said had engaged in a conspiracy against him, and was endeavouring, by means of Cleopatra, to prevail on Anthony to remove him from the government in favour of her son; a conduct, he said, which was the more extraordinary, as she could not elevate Ariilobulus without degrading her daughter, and pining the way, by means of civil discord, to displace her son-in-law from the throne, and deprive him of that rank which he had acquired by such unremitting toil and repeated danger. "Notwithstanding this (said he) I am so willing, to bury in oblivion all that is past, and to shew the respect and regard I entertain for my mother, and every one of her family, that I will immediately befall the office on her son; which, indeed, I should sooner have done, but that he was not of proper age to undertake it when I committed it to the care of Ananel.

This address, which was calculated only to amuse the women and the council, affected Alexandra in a very high degree. She was at once highly concerned to find her own conduct suspected, and enraptured to hear the determination in favour of her son; so that she burst into tears, protested her innocence, and proceeded farther to elucidate the motives of her conduct in the following manner; "With regard to the office of high-priest, I was so
CHAPTER III.

Spies appointed to watch the conduct of Alexandra. In consequence of her application to Cleopatra, she is invited to bring her son into Egypt. The secret betrayed by Euphor to Sabbion, who reveals it to Herod, and their escape is prevented. Aristobulus drowned by the contrivance of Herod. An universal grief on the occasion. Alexandra conceals her grief. Aristobulus splendidly buried, and Herod affests great concern.

No sooner had the above-mentioned meeting broke up, than Herod deposed Ananel from the office of high-priest. This Ananel, as hath been heretofore mentioned, was a foreigner, descended from those Jews who had been formerly carried captives by the Assyrians, beyond the river Euphrates, thousands of which captives went to reside at Babylon. Ananel, however, was descended from the line of the priesthood, and had been an old friend of Herod, who, on his advancement to the regal dignity, made him high-priest, and now deposed him, in order to procure peace in his family. This proceeding, however, was contrary to law; for the office of high-priest having been once regularly conferred, ought to remain with the party for life. This rule was first violated by Antiochus Epiphanes, who placed his brother Onias in the office, having removed Jothua for that purpose. In the second instance, Aristobulus set aside Hyrcanus, and took on himself the dignity. And finally, Herod, as above related, conferred this distinction on the other Aristobulus, during the life time of Ananel.

The intention of this proceeding appeared to have been a regard to domestic peace; but the event will shew that the reconciliation which seemed to have taken place was by no means sincere: for Herod was impressed with the idea that Alexandra would not remain quiet any longer than till she could find a fresh opportunity of giving farther trouble. Convinced in his own mind that this was the fact, he gave orders that she should be confined to her palace, and issued his injunctions that she should never interept herself in public concerns. Exclusive of this he appointed so many persons to watch over every part of her conduct, that all her actions were immediately reported to
the king. As she was a woman of great rank, distinguished state, and high spirit, she could but ill brook the indignity of having all her motions thus minutely observed. She was cut to the heart when she reflected on the circumstance, and determined that she would do or suffer any thing, rather than she would be thus unjustly suspected, and live in perpetual fear and distrust, the life of a slave, while she had every right to be distinguished as a person of superior dignity. Having maturely reflected on her situation, she visited her whole court in a letter to Cleopatra, whose advice and assistance she solicited. Cleopatra returned an answer, in which she earnestly entreated her to make an escape with her son, and gave her an invitation to take refuge with her in Egypt. This advice she highly approved, and contrived to carry it into execution in the following manner. A ship being provided that lay ready to convey them into Egypt, she directed that two coffins should be got ready, herself put into one, and her son into the other; and servants whom she thought she could depend on were entrusted to carry them out by night, and put them on board the vessel. It happened that there was one Sabtion, who was deemed to be a firm friend of Alexandra, and so utter a foe to Herod, that he had been suspected of being concerned in the plot for putting Antipater to death by poison. Now Alexandra had a servant named Elop, who not having the least doubt but Sabtion was acquainted with the intended escape, incautiously revealed the whole secret to him: on which the latter, seizing this opportunity to redeem his lost credit with Herod, immediately informed him of every particular. Herod, however, suffered all the proceedings to go forward till they were on the very point of making their escape, and then he caused them to be taken into custody. Nevertheless he was induced to forgive this attempt of Alexandra, not from any motive of benevolence to her, but left the power of Cleopatra, and her influence over Anthony, should carry into execution some scheme of revenge. Herod, in fact, was so far from treating her with severity, that he assumed an uncommon appearance of benevolence and greatness of mind; and this even to such a degree, that it was beyond the bounds of all probability that his professions should have any sincerity for their foundation. However, notwithstanding all this apparent nobleness of conduct towards Alexandra, it was secretly determined that the life of her son should be of short duration: but he was not to be dispatched so hastily or inconsiderately, as to give cause of suspicion.

It happened that the feast of tabernacles, one of the most solemn and celebrated that is held among the Jews, was now advancing: when Herod determined to recreate and make merry among his people; and assumed an unusual degree of good nature on the occasion: but an incident now gave occasion to accelerate the original intention of murdering Aristobulus. He was at this time in the eighteenth year of his age, very tall, remarkably handsome, and in fact the perfect resemblance of his grandfather. As he advanced towards the altar, dressed in the proper robes of his office as a priest, to officiate as the law required, he did his duty with so singular a grace, as he was by the distinguished perfections of person, and a dignity of mind that was apparent even in his countenance, that he at once engaged the hearts, and charmed the eyes of all the spectators. And to such a degree were
were they delighted, that they could not refrain from expressing the affection, respect and esteem they had for him, by offering up their prayers, wishes and vows, for his prosperity; their joy and gratitude seemed to be without bounds; and they testified it by repeated acknowledgments of the obligations they owed to his distinguished family. The people, however, did not seem to reflect, that while they were extolling Aristobulus, they were degrading Herod, and that the envy of the latter would consider it in this light: but this was actually the case, and Herod becoming jealous of their behaviour, the destruction of the other was accelerated.

After the festival was ended, Herod went to Jericho to accept of a treat given by Alexandra, and there, as in point of compliment to Aristobulus, he took him apart from the company, to take a share in his diversions and recreations. As the weather was too hot for any considerable degree of exercise, they were treated to a cool shade, adjacent to a number of fish-ponds, in which several of their friends and dependants were bathing. Herod, now prevailed on Aristobulus to make one of the party, and the latter, taking his advice, jumped into the water; when several of Herod's agents, who had been purposely stationed for that purpose, began to plunge and play with him in the water, under pretence of diversion only, so that at length they kept him down till he was drowned. Thus ended the life of Aristobulus, in the first year of his priestly office, and the eighteenth of his age; and Herod immediately restored Ananeth to his former dignity. This tragical event was no sooner known to the women, than universal despair seemed to take place: the lamentations exceeded all description, and the sorrow was beyond all bounds. The loss was deemed a general one; the whole city was in tears on the occasion, and every family seemed to share the common distress. Alexandra, however, was the principal mourner, and it was no small aggravation of her misfortune, that though she was convinced of the base design to which her son had fallen a sacrifice, she was compelled to silence, in the fear of more fatal consequences. Her despair, however, was ruin, that she was frequently tempted to destroy herself; but still the restrained every effort of her passion, in the hope that if she could but survive her present resentment of the horrid murder of her son, and conceal her knowledge of the real author of the crime, she might live to see a just vengeance fall on his head. On this principle she behaved as if she had been a stranger to what had really happened; but Herod exerted all his address to convince the public that he was totally innocent; and by his language, appearance, and conduct, so well acted the part of a real mourner, that it was almost impossible to have supposed that he was insincere. It has been deemed doubtful whether, partly from motives of humanity, and partly from the influence of confidence, he might not be considered as a true penitent, for the having spilt the blood of so accomplished and noble a youth; but, on the other hand, it is said that the death of the one was thought necessary for the security of the other; and that Herod's principal view was to obviate all suspicion of his being concerned in so infamous a bafeness. Aristobulus was buried with the utmost pomp and magnificence, by the order of Herod. His body was embalmed, and nothing
nothing left undone that might tend to add splendor to the solemnity: and this he did to appease the violent passions of the women, who were highly exasperated on account of the murder.

CHAP. IV.

An account of the murder transmitted by Alexandra to Cleopatra, who urges Anthony to see justice done on the murderer. Anthony sends for Herod to answer for his conduct. Herod appears. His uncle Joseph administers in his absence; being ordered by Herod, that if Anthony destroyed him, Marianne should be put to death by Joseph. The secret accidentally discovered by Joseph. Herod prides himself on Anthony's favour to him. He becomes jealous of Marianne. Joseph is put to death, and Alexandra committed to prison. Anthony is governed by Cleopatra. Account of the baseness of her conduct.

These splendid proceedings, however, afforded no satisfaction to Alexandra, whose mind was so distracted by the murder of her son, that her whole thoughts were employed in considering of some means of revenge. Having revolved the whole matter deliberately in her mind, she dispatched to Cleopatra a particular account of the perfidious manner in which her son had been destroyed by Herod. On this occasion Cleopatra, who had been always inclined to do her service, felt herself unusually animated to assist her, and espoused her interest as if it had been her own; continually soliciting Anthony to see ample justice done on the murderer. She represented to him the atrocity of the crime itself, and how derogatory it would be for him to suffer a king whom himself had elevated, and who was in fact but the usurper of the right of another, to escape unpunished, after having committed so violent an outrage on the legal heir to the throne. Anthony having maturely considered the affair, went to Laodicea, where he sent for Herod, to examine him respecting the death of Aristobulus, since he could not but entertain the utmost horror of the deed, even though Herod himself was the perpetrator of it.

Herod was too sensible of his guilt to trust to the merit of his cause; besides, he reflected that Anthony would be repeatedly applied to by Cleopatra in his disfavour: so that, at all events, he came to a resolution to make his appearance, which, in fact, he would otherwise have been compelled to do. Wherefore he entrusted the care of his government to his uncle Joseph during his absence, strictly commanding him that if Anthony should put him to death, he should immediately doom Marianne to the same fate: for so violent was his regard for his wife, that he could not bear the reflection of any other man poising her after his death; and he likewise considered that her perfidies had been, in great measure, the cause of his misfortunes. Anthony had likewise conceived an affection for her, on the report of her charms. When Herod had given the above orders, he repaired to Anthony; but in the utmost dejection of mind.

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Joseph
Joseph, during his administration, took the utmost care of the trust committed to his charge; and often waited on Mariamne, partly through respect, and partly on affairs of business. While they were in conversation Joseph used frequently to speak of Herod, as one of the most fond and tender husbands in the world. The women seemed to wonder at the strangeness of this affection, particularly Alexandra: but Joseph, in the zeal of his heart to ascertain that character of which he had spoken so highly, unintentionally betrayed the secret he was intrusted to have kept; arguing as an undoubted proof of Herod's affection, that as he found himself unable to live without his wife, he was determined that they would not be parted even in death. These words were interpreted by the women, not as a proof of Herod's love, but as a resolution that they should not long survive, in case he should be put to death.

A report now became prevalent in the place, propagated by some who withed ill to the king, that Anthony had first ordered Herod to be put to the torture, and then doomed him to death. The whole court was alarmed at this news; and the women in particular; whereupon Alexandra entreated Joseph to take them with him, and seek protection of the Roman legion commanded by Julius, which was then quartered in the suburbs. She urged that if any disturbance should happen in the palace, the Romans would provide for their safety; and that if Mariamne could but have an opportunity of appealing to Anthony, he would not refuse her any favour she could ask, even though she were to solicit the possession of the kingdom, and all the royal privileges attendant thereon.

During the consideration that took place on this affair, letters were received from Herod, which proved the falsehood of the late report: and by them it appeared that Herod was no sooner arrived with Anthony, than by obliging language, and the effects of presents, he so far engaged him in his interest, that the power of Cleopatra to do him injury seemed to be at an end. "Kings (said Anthony) would be no longer kings, if they were to be accountable for their proceedings: it is their privilege that their actions should pass unquestioned; and Cleopatra would give an instance of her prudence, if she would seek less to pry into the arcana of government." These letters were likewise full of a description of the honours that Herod had received from Anthony; mentioning that he had invited him to his council and solemn feasts, notwithstanding all the detractions of Cleopatra, whom he represented as having a design on the government, exclusive of her endeavours to injure him. But he said that Anthony was a prince of integrity and honour, and his friends might soon expect his own return to take possession of the kingdom, which would be effectually secured to him, together with the continued friendship of Anthony, who had made Cleopatra a present of the country of Coele-Syria, on the condition that she would never trouble him again on the affairs of Judaea.

The consequence of these letters was that the design they had of putting themselves under the protection of the Romans, was set aside: but the plan had not been conducted so secretly but that Herod had some intimation of it; and as soon as Anthony was gone on an expedition against the Parthians.
he returned to Jerusalem, where he was made acquainted with the whole affair by his mother, and his sister Salome: in fact, the latter proceeded so far as to charge Joseph her own husband, with having an intrigue with Mariamne: but this arose from a former animosity against Mariamne, who being once in a dispute with Salome, had thrown out some insinuations respecting the meannesses of her extraction. By these insinuations, however, Herod was thrown into the utmost rage of wrath and jealousy; (for Mariamne was dear to him as his own existence) so that it was with the utmost difficulty he was enabled to prevent himself from breaking out into the wildest extravagancies, and to restrain his passion within the bounds of discreet moderation: but on cool recollection he took Mariamne apart, and closely examined her respecting her intimacy with Joseph.

Mariamne, in vindication of her innocence, said everything that it might be supposed such innocence would dictate; insisting, that for anything that might look like criminal, or dishonourable in her conduct, she was not only innocent with regard to Joseph, but with respect to all mankind. At length the king, enamoured of the charms of his wife, and overcome by the extremity of his own passion for her, relaxed by degrees from his former severity to her, totally absolved her from all suspicion of the crime that had been imputed to her, and confessed himself perfectly convinced that she had given no cause of offence. He likewise repeatedly entreated her pardon for that inconsiderate haste, which induced him to give credit to a report by which she had been so vilely traduced. During this discourse he behaved to her with unfeigned tenderness, and with such endearments, that mutual tears and embraces succeeded, as is generally the case in these kind of reconciliations. The more doubts Mariamne seemed to entertain of the reality of Herod’s regard for her, the more anxious was he to give her every testimony of his undoubted sincerity. At length, however, he exclaimed, “Yes, truly, you give an abundant proof of the tenderness of your regard as a husband, by ordering an innocent wife to be put to death, in case you should happen to die yourself!” These words were no sooner spoken than he broke from her arms in the utmost rage, tore his hair, and cried out with all the fury of a madman, “Ay! it is now evident, beyond a doubt, that the purity of my wife has been corrupted by Joseph; for nothing less than the confidence arising from such an intimacy could have induced him to give up so important a secret, which had been committed to his care with such solemn injunctions not to reveal it.” In the first impetuosity of his passion Herod had almost determined to put Mariamne to death on the spot: but, after some violent struggles on his part, the warm love that laylatent in his heart prevailed for her preservation. With regard to Joseph, however, he gave instant orders for his being put to death, even without being heard in his own defence; and he directed that Alexandra, as the author of all the mischief, should be committed to prison.

At this period there were great commotions in Syria, arising from the conduct and intrigues of Cleopatra, who had now an absolute ascendant over Anthony, which the mad use of to produce very mischievous consequences: she was perpetually soliciting him against the men of rank in his dominions, till
till she had prevailed on him to take their governments from them; and then she got them appropriated to her own use. In a word, her ambition and avarice were so extravagant, that she made no scruple of any thing which might be productive of her own advantage. One of her first flagitious crimes was to procure the destruction of her brother, a youth near fifteen years of age, and who was next heir to the throne. She then caused her sister Arsinoe to be destroyed, while she was engaged in her devotions, in the temple of Diana, at Ephesus. Neither sanctuaries, temples, nor sepulchers escaped the rage of her avarice, where she conceived that any thing might be obtained by a sacrilegious violation of them. She consulted no measures of right or equity, nor made distinction between things sacred and profane, so that her own advantage might be promoted. In a word, this woman was so lost in pride, vanity and voluptuousness, that the possession of the whole world would have been insufficient to gratify the unbounded exuberance of her passions. This being her disposition, it is not much to be wondered at that she was so solicitous to urge Anthony to deprive others of what she intended for her own emolument: and, in fact, she had no sooner entered Syria with him, than she began to concert how she might make herself mistress of the whole country. She procured Lyfanius, the son of Ptolemy, to be put to death on the pretence that he was a friend to the Parthians; without assigning any other cause. She solicited and obtained of Anthony, the countries of Arabia and Judea, in injury of the kings who were the legal possessed. Anthony, in a word, was so very much devoted to the humour of this woman, that he appeared to be almost fascinated with her charms: yet some of her demands were so extremely enormous and illiberal, that there was no possibility of his complying with them, without publicly declaring himself the slave of a woman of most abandoned character. In a word, being unwilling, on the one hand, to disoblige her by the refusal of any of her requests; and, on the other, equally ashamed publicly to announce himself her slave by complying with all her demands, however unreasonable, he took a middle course of conduct, between the two extremes, by assigning to her use certain parts of both the provinces, together with all the cities from the river Eleutherus, to Egypt, Tyre and Sidon alone excepted, which had been always accounted free: yet these donations, liberal as they were, did not prevent her soliciting Anthony, in the most earnest manner, to give her those two places likewife.
C H A P. V.

Herod receives Cleopatra with great distinction at Apamia. She attempts to seduce Herod, who doubts whether he shall not put her to death; but this being opposed by his friends, he compliments her, and attends her towards Egypt. Armenia subdued by Anthony, who presents Cleopatra with prisoners and other booty. Two hundred talents a year paid to Cleopatra as a tax.

CLEOPATRA having adjusted her own affairs, and Anthony being going into Armenia, she attended him as far as the river Euphrates, and on her return towards Judaea she came by the way of Apamia and Damascus, where she was met by Herod, who received her in the most distinguished manner, and entered into a treaty with her respecting as much of her revenue as arose from that part of Arabia and Jericho as had been granted to her. Now Jericho is a place distinguished for its balsam, which is the most valuable of all gums; and also for the finest palm-trees in the universe.

Cleopatra now exerted all those artifices of which she was so compleat a mistress, to induce Herod to embark in an amour; and as she was a woman of warm passions, and almost dead to shame, she made such advances towards the conclusion of the contract as could not be misunderstood. Love was the pretence for all her actions; though it is extremely probable she had some farther design in reserve, for her artifice was unbounded.

Now Herod was not unapprized that Cleopatra was one of the most malicious women existing; so that he thought himself previously prepared how to treat her: but when he came to be a witness of the shameless licentiousness of her behaviour, he was struck with astonishment, and secretly resolved that if she should proceed to any greater lengths, he would affront and abandon her. On further reflection he summoned a meeting of his friends on the business, and consulted whether it might not be best to put an end to the life of so vile a woman while he had her in his power, which he thought would yield some kind of satisfaction to those he had heretofore ill treated, and be a security to those who might otherwise fall a prey to her artifices in future. He considered too, that Anthony would receive an advantage by this proceeding, as she was the common enemy of all mankind, nor would fail to betray him likewise, if ever it should happen that he should want her assistance. On the whole, then, Herod was absolutely of opinion that she should be put to death: but his friends were zealous in advising him to the contrary, thinking it would be a derogation from his regal dignity, and a dangerous proceeding. Wherefore they entreated him to recollect himself, reflect seriously on the business, and not to proceed rashly: for Anthony, though the circumstance might be really to his advantage, would not easily brook the affront; besides that his mistress being taken off by force, or privately destroyed, he would but become the more enamoured of her.
former merits, and be irritated to a spirit of resentment. They urged too that it would not be easy to palliate or excuse a violence offered to the person of a prince of her distinguished rank and descent: and however great the advantage might be that Herod would reap from her death; yet no pardon could ever take place, on account of the insult it would appear to be to the honour and love of Anthony. They likewise represented to him in the most earnest manner, that if the execution of his intended scheme should take place, the dreadful distress and confusion that would most certainly follow, not in the royal family only, but throughout the whole kingdom. With regard to the wanton importunities and addresses of the queen, they urged that neither actual injury, nor any danger of it, could possibly arise from his rejection of them: and as to any thing else that might happen, he had only to act as his reason should dictate in the present state of affairs. This was the substance of the arguments made use of by the friends of Herod; and partly by the credit of their counsels, and partly by the weight of the arguments themselves, they prevailed on him to acknowledge that his plan was not fit to be adopted; and thus diverted him from the execution of it. Herod having thus altered his intentions, behaved complaisantly to Cleopatra, made her presents of great value, and as she was going into Ægypt, he conducted her a part of the way.

At this time Anthony was ravaging the country of Armenia; and having made prisoners of Artabazes, the son of Tygranes, and some of the princes his sons, he sent them into Ægypt as presents to Cleopatra, together with immense quantities of valuable treasure, of which he had made capture. Artabazes was succeeded in the government by his eldest son Artaxias, whom fear had induced to leave the country on the first commencement of the war: but he had not been long in possession of this new dignity before he was deprived of it by Archelaus, and the emperor Nero, who caused Tigranes, the youngest brother of the family, to reign in his stead.

Herod made the most regular payments of the revenues of the country which Anthony had granted to Cleopatra; considering that it was ill policy to provoke a woman, and it was particularly his interest to keep on good terms with her. As Herod had the care of collecting these revenues, the Arabians paid them punctually for a considerable time, raising no less a sum than two hundred talents annually: but they soon began to decrease in their contributions, till in the end not quite one hundred talents were raised.
A competition for the empire between Augustus and Anthony. An army marching to join Anthony, under the command of Herod, is advised to attack the Arabsians. The Jews conquer the Arabsians in a bloody battle. Another vast army of Arabsians at Cana, in Coele-Syria, is likewise routed by the Jews. Anthony attacks the Jews when they are fatigued, and off their guard, and obtains a complete victory over them.

This breach of faith, and neglect of the Arabsians, in not raising the stipulated taxes, would certainly have been punished by Herod, by a war upon that people, but he was prevented from carrying his design into execution by the civil contentions among the Romans: for at this time the battle of Actium was near at hand, the event of which it was thought would prevent all farther competition for the empire, which then prevailed between Anthony and Augustus. This happened in the 187th Olympiad. As Herod had now been, through the distinguished generosity of Anthony, a long time in possession of a fertile and well-peopled country, and having plenty of cattle, corn, and money, he immediately began to raise a large army, with which he marched to offer his patron assistance: but Anthony not being in want of such additional force, advised Herod to march immediately against the Arabsians, whom he considered in the light of a traitorous and perfidious people. In fact, these directions were given in consequence of the advice, and by the direction of Cleopatra, who thought the was consulting her own interest in promoting a quarrel between the Arabsians and Jews. In obedience to the royal will, Herod returned with his army, and soon arrived in Arabia, having under his command a very considerable number both of horse and foot. The Arabsians, having perfect intelligence of all his motions, were waiting to give him battle near a place called Diospolis, towards which he immediately directed his march. The opposite armies soon came to an engagement, and after a most obstinate and bloody contest, victory declared in favour of the Jews. Not long after this event the Arabsians assembled another large army at Cana, in Coele-Syria; of which Herod having received authentic information, and being advised that they were upon their march, advanced with the main body of his troops to that part of the country; intending there to encamp and fortify himself, till he should have a favourable opportunity of attacking the enemy with good prospect of success. The soldiers, however, were so elated with the consideration of their former victory, and so perfectly convinced that the army was animated with courage, and in the best possible condition for an attack, that they urged that waiting in expectation was but loosing time; and they therefore desired permission to proceed to an immediate encounter: nay, such was their impatience for engagement, that they were ready to break through all the bounds of discipline. This uncommon ardour and alacrity of the troops gave the king so much satisfaction, that he was determined to encourage the humour, and not check the eagerness of
disposition, which he thought might, most probably, lead on to victory. Wherefore he immediately put himself at the head of his troops, grasped his sword in his hand, gave the word of command to march and begin the attack, and only follow the example of his own valour. Hereupon they marched forward to the combat with such a determined warmth of bravery, that the Arabians were astonished at their courage before the actual encounter. For a little while, indeed, they made some faint show of a slight resistance; but, soon after the first onset, they gave way, and the greater part of them fled in confusion, finding themselves wholly unable to cope with the magnanimous valour of their enemies.

This defeat would probably have proved the total destruction of the Arabians, but that Athenion, who acted as general for Cleopatra, in that country, took advantage of the situation of affairs. Now Athenion, who was an irreconcilable enemy to Herod, had remained, during the late battle, in a kind of neutrality, having his forces drawn up in order to wait the event of the contest. If the Arabians had happened to have proved successful, Athenion would not have interposed between the contending parties; but when he came to find that the Jews were the conquerors, and that after the battle they seemed to be fatigued and wearied out with the labours of the day, and likewise, in the pride of victory, indifferent to a proper care of their own security, he collected a great number of the natives, and taking advantage of the Jews being off their guard, he surprized them by a sudden attack, and routed them with a very small degree of difficulty: pursuing his advantage, he followed them over precipices, and drove them into bogs, doing great execution, as the Jews were unacquainted with those places.

These symptoms of victory inspired the Arabians with such additional courage, that they renewed the battle, and gave fresh chase to their enemies, whom they slew in such immense numbers, that very few escaped out of so great a multitude. Herod beginning to see the dangerous situation of affairs, and being a witness how greatly the enemy had the advantage of his troops, hastened away with all possible expedition to get fresh succours; but the camp of the Jews was taken and plundered before he could bring up his reinforcements. Thus, by the means of a single surprize, was a compleat and important victory obtained, and the destruction of a potent enemy effected, beyond all human expectation or probability. After this melancholy issue of the contest, Herod was compelled to have recourse to the making of depredations, and incursions, on the Arabians. He was likewise obliged to seek refuge in the secure places of the mountains, being afraid to expose his army to the event of a battle. However, the time thus spent was not absolutely thrown away; for his troops were hereby kept in perpetual exercise, instructed in the duties of military discipline, inured to hardships and fatigues; and in some degree qualified to redeem their forfeited honour on any future occasion.
C H A P. VII.

Account of a terrible earthquake in Judæa. The Jewish ambassadors put to death by the Arabians, when they went to sue for peace.

IN the same year that the important battle of Actium was fought, which was in the seventh year of the reign of Herod, there happened a more violent and dreadful earthquake in Judæa than had been known in any former period. Great numbers of cattle were destroyed by this melancholy event, and, in the several towns, above ten thousand men lost their lives by the overthrow of the buildings: but the soldiers who were in the open fields escaped with much less injury, as they could not suffer by the fall of houses. The news of this providential judgment having reached the Arabians, their pride and insolence on the occasion is not to be described. Though in fact the earthquake was exceedingly horrid and destructive, the report of its mischief it had done greatly exceeded the truth. The Arabians, however, thought that the land of Judæa was almost wholly depopulated, the cities and people buried in the ruins, and the nation no longer in a condition to wage war against them. The Jews, in the midst of their distress, dispatched ambassadors to the Arabians, humbly soliciting terms of peace; but the Arabians not only put the ambassadors to death, but, in a short time, advanced with an army, still farther to distress the already unfortunate.

Mature reflection on the hopeless and deplorable state of their affairs, had dejected the Jews to such an astonishing degree, that they became utterly desponding, lost all regard to the support of their public government, and, in case of the approach of an enemy, despaired of having courage to defend themselves. Matters being thus situated, the king did all in his power to elevate their spirits, encouraged them to dismiss their unreasonable anxiety, and entreated an exertion of as much courage as might be necessary to prepare for their own defence. Some of the more distinguished of Herod's people felt their misfortunes so severely, that while the sense of them was recent in their minds they could not easily be prevailed on to attend to the arguments of prudence and wisdom: but when Herod, in consequence of his advice, had prepared them to listen to what he had to offer for the emolument and satisfaction of the army, he delivered himself as will be found in the following chapter.
MY fellow soldiers, and companions in misfortune! You must be well acquainted with the distress and difficulty we have lately met with, which has occasioned a degree of disappointment that no language can describe: and, in fact, it is not to be wondered at if we should want courage on the occasion: but if we reflect that the war has already surrounded us beyond prevention; we should likewise recollect that nothing has yet befallen us which a vigorous exertion of our courage may not, in a great degree, repair. For my own part, I think it my duty to endeavour to elevate your depressed minds, by pointing out the means by which your ancient virtue may be recovered.

To speak in the first place of the war. You will please to reflect on the just grounds on which it is undertaken, and the many provocations that there were to commence it; two considerations that have the most powerful influence on men of honour and courage: and in the next place I will endeavour to prove that our cause is not so desperate and hopeless as may be imagined. And respecting the first article of which I have engaged to speak, that is the justice of our cause, you will yourselves be competent judges of what I am about to advance. With regard to the Arabians, it is known to you all that they are an impious and barbarous race of people, destitute of all sense of truth or honour; and that this is the general character they bear wherever they are known: but towards us their conduct has been supereminently atrocious; as if we had been selected from the whole race of mankind, to be the peculiar mark of their envy and ill-treatment. To say nothing of their ingratitude for all other obligations, what was it prevented their falling under the yoke of Cleopatra, but the strength of my interest with Anthony? For my sake, likewise, it was that Anthony behaved in other respects so favourably to them, through the generous kindness which infligited him not to do any thing which would be disagreeable to me. With regard also to the portions of land obtained by Cleopatra from Anthony, out of both the provinces, what was it but my industry and kindness alone adjusted the whole business, partly by the payment I made of two hundred talents, and partly by the security I gave for the payment of two hundred more? Notwithstanding that several portions of the land which are taxed to the payment of this very tribute, are at this time possessed by us, and are the absolute property of the Jews, who ought not, in point of equity, to pay any tribute at all, especially on account of the Arabians, who are under obligation to us even for their very preservation from destruction. But beyond all I have said, it seems inconsistent with the laws of common reason, that a nation which owes the possession of its liberties to our bounty, which
themselves have repeatedly and gratefully confessed, should now, in
a time of peace and amity, refuse the acknowledgement of a just debt, and
seek to violate that good faith, which hath hitherto been deemed sacred,
even among enemies. But these people are distinguished by the singularity
of their conduct: they think nothing criminal that is attended with profit,
and have no farther notion of honesty than as it promotes their own emo-
lument. What then have we now to do but to assume our indisputable
right of punishing by the means of war, a faithless and perfidious enemy?
This too is perfectly consonant with the will and ordinances of the Divine
Being, who hath inflicted his orders, and vested us with an authority to do
right to those who wrongfully suffer under the weight and violence of an
arbitrary oppression: and while we are in a state of warfare this is not only
proper, but absolutely an act of justice. Is it possible to conceive a
deed more base, or a greater outrage to the rights of human society, (even
if Greeks and Barbarians were to be the Judges) than the insult offered by
our enemies to the persons of our ambassadors, who are a rank of men
whose characters are agreed to be held sacred by all nations; nor are they
deemed less so by the Jews than by others. If we reflect, in what light
can we conceive of the angels and messengers of the Most High, from
whom we have learnt his commands, and received the knowledge of his
will, but as ambassadors of a higher and more distinguished rank? By the
means of this kind of mediation through ambassadors, we have been
taught the knowledge of our duty to our Creator, and instructed to live
in the practice of acts of friendship to each other. Consider, for a
moment, my friends, if any act could be more savagely brutal than the
destruction of that only adequate provision which God hath made for the
peace and security of mankind, by the extirpation of those officers while
in the actual execution of their duty. Is it possible that these people can
expect any degree of prosperity in war, or the enjoyments of any of the
calm comforts of peace, after so violent an outrage on the natural rights,
and acknowledged privileges of their fellow-creatures? I have not yet
been able to learn that they have the slightest argument to offer in their own
justification. If it should be said that the possession of the power to do an ill
action will justify its being done, notwithstanding that equity is on the ad-
verse side; I answer that this kind of argument will have no weight with
those who have been better instructed, and taught to know that God is the
essece of justice; and that, against his decrees, neither strength nor num-
ber has any weight.

Not, however, to dwell on extraordinary cases, let us consider the pre-
sent as it actually stands, opposing their force to ours. When we first
attacked these people, we obtained the victory; and in the second battle
they soon gave way, and fled on the first attack, intimidated by our su-
perior valour. After we had become perfect masters of the field, contrary
to the laws of war and honour, Athenion broke in upon us; for at that
time there was no declaration of war. Now will any man call this conduct
the effect of courage or of perfidy; and is the success of the action to be
deemed any other than the reward of a successful iniquity? This then,

... surely
flavius josephus upon

“Surely, is not a time for us to despond, when we have every reason to indulge in the fullness of hope! Who will say that we have any motive to fear those people whom we have repeatedly conquered, whenever we had an opportunity of attacking them on fair and equal terms? Who will say that they ever obtained a victory which they did not owe to fraud? Let us, however, suppose that they were indeed men of courage: this consideration ought to be an additional incitement to men of equal courage to attack them: since the highest honour a man of bravery can obtain is from the conquest of a man of bravery; and no credit ever yet resulted from a victory over a coward.

“If a consideration of our domestic broils should weaken your resolution, or your spirits should fail from a reflection of the judgment of the late earthquake, you will do well to consider that the Arabians have always looked upon these misfortunes as much greater than they really are, so that they will be deceived in the judgment they have formed of us. In fact, there can be no kind of reason why we should be discouraged, in our proceedings, because they are emboldened in their sentiments; nor have they any rational grounds for their confidence, but that they have considered us as desponding and almost broken-hearted. The whole then, that we have to do to reduce their pride, is to struggle against our own misfortunes with a generous ardour; for the more respect we learn to entertain for ourselves, the less considerable will the enemy appear in our eyes. Let me add, that there is nothing in our situation which renders us so despicable as some persons may conceive: since there is nothing in our disappointment that seems to prove any fatality operating against us; and it ought to be considered only as one of the common consequences of war. If this evil was brought on us by the providence of God, it is equally certain that the same divine commission removed it, confident with that benevolent plan by which sinners are punished without being destroyed. But that we may be more perfectly convinced of the approbation of Heaven in the continuance of this war, let us reflect how signal has been the decision of God in our favour. What more complete and conclusive evidence could you have wished of the distinguished mercy of the Almighty, than that not a single soldier suffered by the earthquake, while so many thousands of other people were destroyed in various parts of the province? And who will say that if every individual of us had been employed in the same cause, but that the judgment might have been averted in consequence of the laudable engagement? Let the idea of this providence be ever uppermost in your minds; and let it afford you all possible consolation that God is your protector. Recollect, likewise, that you are to fight in the cause of justice, against the most impious and abandoned among men: a people who are treacherous to their friends and allies, in all their public and private actions: that are bold in deeds of sacrilege and murder; but void of that courage necessary to enter the lists with a determined enemy.”

The Jews were so exceedingly animated by this speech of Herod, that all their ancient courage seemed to be revived; therefore taking advantage of
of their present disposition, he offered the customary sacrifices, and immediately marched beyond the river Jordan, (towards the Arabians) where he fixed his camp. Now, between the two armies there happened to be a castle, which either party regarded as a most advantageous situation, in case of their coming to a battle, or of decampment. The obtaining possession of this place, then, occasioned a kind of skirmish with their darts and lances; but the armies by degrees approaching nearer to each other, a close engagement ensued, in which many men were lost on both sides; till, in the end, the Arabians turning about, left the field with great precipitation. This evident pusillanimity of the enemy inspired the Jews to so great a degree, that they rushed forward, and forced them to their very trenches, where, for a considerable time, they made some appearance of resistance; but this was in a very irregular manner, and with such apparent dejection in all their looks and actions, that it was evident they fought in mere despair, and almost without the hope of conquest. Still, however, they continued the contest, partly encouraged by the greatness of their numbers, and partly impelled by the necessity of fighting, or losing their lives on the spot; till at length, after a tedious contest, and the shedding of much blood, they were totally routed, with the loss of five thousand men, part of whom fell by their own swords, part by those of the enemy, and the rest were trampled to death by the crowds. Those who remained alive retreated with all possible expedition to their camp, where their prospect was of the most melancholy kind; for they had neither food nor liquor to support their existence; and in this situation they remained for a considerable time, without prospect of escape or relief, so closely were they environed by the Jews.

Thus reduced to the most extreme necessity, they sent out deputies to Herod, humbly entreating that he would either grant them peace, or permit them to furnish themselves with cold water, to relieve them from the intolerable pain of intense thirst: but Herod, resolved to give full scope to his revenge, refused to accept of presents which they had sent him, disdainful to attend to the entreaties of the deputies, and determined not to gratify them in any of their requests.

Within five days after the return of the deputies, about four thousand of these wretched people came out of the camp, and offered to become slaves, and submit to chains, rather than endure any longer the extreme distress of an unconquerable thirst. On the sixth day, by a general confent, all the remainder of them falled forth, and attacked Herod's troops, preferring an instant death, to the torment of tediously expiring under every circumstance of infamy. Thus desperate were they on their first inflicting forth: but having neither strength nor spirit equal to the ardour of the undertaking, but they fought death as a relief to their present misery. On the first attack seven thousand of them were slain; and by this victory, the rest were taught that Herod was a skilful commander, and not to be easily persuaded to resign advantages he had gained; and thereupon they submitted themselves to the protection of the conqueror.
HEROD was elevated to the highest degree of vanity on reflecting upon the above victory. He conceived that the world would deem him a conqueror of the first magnitude; and in this idea returned to Jerusalem, filled with the most pleasing thoughts that he had obtained the summit of his ambition. But while he was congratulating himself on his good fortune, he received advice that Augustus had defeated Anthony at Actium; on which he considered himself as a ruined man: nor was he singular in this opinion: all parties, friends and foes, were of the same sentiment; conceiving that the person who had been so firm a friend to Anthony would never be forgiven by Augustus. His friends were so sincere with him as not to conceal their opinion that he would be utterly ruined: while his foes, who conceived great hopes from the probable change of affairs, pretended to console with him on his misfortunes.

Herod now began to conceive, that as Hyrcanus was the only surviving branch of the royal family, it would be good policy to procure his destruction, even though Augustus might afterwards determine unfavourably with regard to himself. He thought that, whether he might fall under his displeasure, or escape it, there would be no wisdom in leaving between himself and the government a person who had so fair a pretension thereto: exclusive of which, the cutting him off from the succession would afford him a personal gratification.

While he was revolving in his mind how he should act in this emergency, an incident that happened in the family of Hyrcanus afforded him the means of coming to a resolution. Hyrcanus was a man of the most pliant and easy disposition imaginable: he had an utter aversion to business of all kinds; he was for leaving every thing to chance, and was contented with whatever event took place. Opposed to this character was that of his daughter Alexandra, a woman violent in her passions, aspiring, turbulent, and, on the present occasion, animated with the warmest hopes of a change in the administration of affairs. Now Alexandra was perpetually remonstrating with, and urging her father, to devise some mode of delivering his family from the oppressions and persecutions of Herod; and advising him to make a timely provision for his own security, while a happy change in his fortune presented itself to his view. The substance of her advice was
was, that he should immediately write to Malchus, who was at that time governor of Arabia, requesting that he would receive him into his protection, if the urgency of affairs should require it: but the reply was, that it should happen that Augustus should be displeased with the conduct of Herod, the consequence would be, that himself would be removed from his dignity; since the opinion of the public was clearly on his side, and he had an indisputable right to the station.

Hyrcanus hesitated for a considerable time; but Alexandra persevered, urging him to the same purpose, and giving him every encouragement to hope, while Herod was preparing secret practices against his life; in a length sufficed himself to be overcome by the importunities of his daughter, and thereupon wrote a letter to Malchus, the care of which was committed to one Dositheus, and the substance of it was, that "Malchus should send a party of horsemen to the lake Asphaltites, about three hundred miles distant from Jerusalem."

Dositheus being a confidential friend both of Hyrcanus and Alexandra, this letter was therefore entrusted to his care; and the rather because he was conceived to be an inveterate foe to Herod and his cause for the putting his relation, Joseph, to death; and likewise on account of his brothers who had been sometime before slain at Tyre, by Anthony. All these considerations, however, were insufficient to make Dositheus faithful to his employers; for he thought it more to his interest to solicit the favour of the present King; whereupon he immediately went and shewed him the letter, and received his acknowledgements for the obligation. Herod now requested the further favour of him to fold it up, seal it, carry it according to the original direction, and bring back the answer that Malchus should send; since it would very much import him to know how the latter would act in so interesting a business. Thus directed, Dositheus set forward on his journey, executed his commission with fidelity, and brought back the answer of Mechus, which was to the following purport: "That he was willing to give entertainment to Hyrcanus and his family; that if he chose to bring with him all those Jews who remained true to his interest, they should likewise be received in the most hospitable manner: that he was ready to send a proper force to conduct them in safety; and heartily disposed to give Hyrcanus all possible assistance in any way he might require."

Upon the receipt and reading of this letter Herod sent for Hyrcanus, and demanded of him whether he held any correspondence with Malchus or not; and being answered in the negative, Herod produced the letter, and commanded that it should be read publicly; which having been done, he directed that Hyrcanus should be put to death. In the way above mentioned this story is related in Herod's commentaries; but many different reports have prevailed respecting this affair. Several persons have intimated that he did not fall a sacrifice on account of the crime above alleged, but for a conspiracy in which he was said to be concerned. The story is yet told in a different manner. It is said that Herod being at a public entertainment, enquired of Hyrcanus (but not in a way that seemed to evidence any suspicion) whether he had received any letters from Malchus. To this he answered in the affirmative,
tive, but averred that these letters had nothing particular in them, containing only matters of mere compliment and civility. Herod, it is asserted, now proceeded to interrogate Hyrcanus farther, and demanded whether he had ever received any presents from Maleus. To this likewise he answered in the affirmative; but said that these presents were nothing more than four horses for his own use. It is averred that the king contrived this trivial circumstance into treason, arising from the acceptance of bribes; and therefore gave orders for his being taken from his presence, and immediately put to death.

After all that has been said on this matter, many persons are of opinion, that Hyrcanus was altogether innocent; and this opinion they found on very rational arguments. He was remarkably distinguished for being a man of almost the mildest temper imaginable, who had the least of officiousness in his disposition of any person that ever lived. He was so singular for his modesty, and the temperance of his conduct, that he is said never to have been guilty of one rash action in the whole course of his life: never to have indulged himself in the usual livities of youth, nor to have been wanton in the exercise of his authority; for in his mode of government he strictly followed the advice of Antipater, the father of Herod. Hyrcanus, at the period above mentioned, was more than eighty years of age, and dwelt on the opposite side of the river Euphrates, having left his friends and best connexions behind him, in submission to the will of Herod, who was now established in the plenitude of his power: so that it seems to exceed the bounds of all human probability that Hyrcanus should have attempted a plan so impracticable in itself, and so totally contrary to the whole bent and disposition of his mind: wherefore the whole matter hath been justly looked upon to be a contrivance of Herod for the destruction of the other.

Thus ended the life of Hyrcanus; a life long and troublesome, and chequered with a vast variety of fortune. He was promoted to the execution of the office of high priest during the reign of his mother Alexandra, and continued to discharge the duties of it nine years, at the end of which his mother died, and he assumed the reigns of government. He had not been in possession above three months, when he was expelled by his brother Aristobulus: after this, however, he was restored to his former station by Pompey, who put him in possession of all his dignities, and for the space of forty years he continued in the enjoyment of them; but was at length dethroned by Antigonus, suffered the pain and disgrace of having his ears cut off, and was carried away prisoner among the Parthians. But he had not long remained in this situation before he obtained his liberty, and returned home, flattering himself with great advantages from the friendship of Herod: but in this hope he was so egregiously disappointed, that the latter caused him to suffer an ignominious death, at a most advanced age, and after having experienced so many of the malicious turns of fortune. Hyrcanus was distinguished by the candour and moderation of his disposition, as well as by his regard to the laws of equity. He was remarkable for his love of ease, and generally entrusted the administration of public affairs to the care of others, from a conviction that he was himself ill calculated for the management of them. This easiness of disposition in Hyrcanus laid the
the principal foundation of the fortunes of Antipater and Herod: yet, in the event, it so happened, that, in defiance of all law and justice, he fell a sacrifice to that very goodness of temper which ought to have been his protection.

Herod had, by the means above mentioned, no sooner got rid of Hyrcanus, than he immediately departed to Caesar, not that he had any great expectation of favour from that quarter, towards a man who had abated the cause of Anthony with so great a degree of zeal. Previous to his departure, being suspicious of the conduct of Alexandra, and apprehensive that the might foment a rebellion among the people during his absence, he committed the executive power of the government to the care of his brother Phædoras. His mother Cypris, his sister, and his other relations, he sent to the castle of Mallada; laying strong injunctions on his brother that if any misfortune should arise to them, he should resolutely support his authority, and administer all public affairs in his own name. Marianna, the wife of Herod, he sent to Alexandrium, to reside with her mother Alexandra, as the animosities subsisting between his wife, his own mother and his sister were so great, that it would have been the height of imprudence to have permitted their residence together. The government of the fort of Mallada, he committed to the care of two of his faithful and confidential friends, Joseph his treasurer, and Sohemus of Iturea; which was done under the pretence of respectful attention to the princes: but the governors received private orders that if they should hear of any violence offered to the person of Herod, the women should be immediately destroyed, and their utmost endeavours exerted that his brother and sons might be rendered secure in the government.

CHAP. X.

Herod’s Speech to Caesar, who treats him with singular respect, and confirms him in his government by a decree of the Senate. Intercession made for Alexander by Herod, but in vain, as Caesar had made a vow not to spare him. Herod waits on Caesar at Ptolemais, where he is received with the utmost magnificence and splendor.

HEROD had no sooner issued his orders respecting what he intended should be done in his absence, than he proceeded, without loss of time, to wait upon Caesar at Rhodes. When he came to that city he laid by his crown, but did not disrobe himself of any other part of his dress that was an ensign of royalty. Caesar having given permission for his being admitted to an audience, he exhibited a distinguished proof of the dignity of his mind: disdainful to make needless apologies and idle excuses for what he had to say, (as is but too customary in similar cases) but delivering his whole sentiments with manly freedom and resolution.

"Illustrious Caesar!" (said he) "I wait not upon you to disfavor the sincerity of a friendship I have always entertained for Anthony: and I must be free..."
free enough to declare that if it had been in my power to have made him master of the world, he had not wanted that distinguished station. My duty demanding that I should go in pursuit of the Arabians, I could not be personally with him in the last battle; nevertheless, I did my utmost to render him service, by proper supplies of money and provisions; and I regretted that nothing farther was within my power; for so great were my obligations to Anthony, and so perfect the esteem that I entertained for him, that I considered my life, equally with my fortune, as a debt due to the affection that I owed him. Though it was not in my power to be with him at Actium, it becomes me, in my own justification, to say that I entertained the same affection to his person and cause after the fatal issue of that day, as I had done before: nor did the revolution in his fortune tempt me for a moment to hesitate whether I should or should not change my party. In cases where it was out of my power to assist him with my arms, I have never failed to offer him my best advice; which was to destroy Cleopatra, and take possession of her kingdom, as the most likely method to effect his own preservation. Now I appeal to Cæsar, whether, if Anthony had been prudent enough to have followed these directions, he would not, at this time, have treated with him on more equal terms: but Anthony chose to proceed in another mode, and has promoted your interest rather than his own, for want of an exertion of that prudence which his situation demanded. Now though you may have conceived the less favourably of me, because I had attached myself to the interest of Anthony, at a time when you were his professed enemy, yet I shall not, on that account, hesitate to make known and defend the services I have done him, and the perfect esteem I have ever entertained for him. If you will for a moment advert to his rank, and the friendship I bore him, without retrospection to the peculiarities of his situation, I conceive that you will see so much of gratitude and good faith in my conduct, that you may think the acceptance of my friendship worthy your notice; for the dignity of my character will suffer no alteration whether I vow this friendship to Cæsar or to Anthony."

Herod delivered this speech with an air of so much magnanimity, and accompanied it with so graceful an action, that Cæsar, who possessed a natural greatness and benevolence of disposition, was wonderfully charmed with the defence he had made. He had no sooner finished his oration than the emperor treated him with particular marks of generosily and regard, directed him to re-assume his crown, and continue to be as sincere a friend to himself in future, as he had heretofore been to Anthony: he likewise informed him that the good offices which Herod had done him in the affair of the gladiators, had been made known to him by Cæsidius.

These generous expressions of Cæsar were soon followed with the most substantial effects; for Herod was reinflated in his kingdom, the possession of which was secured to him by a decree of the senate: and this very singular favour was granted through the immediate influence of Cæsar; a circumstance that, as it exceeded Herod's most sanguine expectations, was matter of equal surprize and joy to him. These matters being adjusted, he
went into Ægypt with Cæsar, and on the journey treated both the emperor and his attendants with a degree of splendor agreeable to their high rank, and consistent with the benevolence of his own disposition: exclusive of which he made them many valuable presents. Herod, now greatly interested himself with Cæsar, to obtain the pardon of Alexander, who had been a friend of Anthony: but this solicitation could by no means be complied with, as Cæsar had bound himself, by a solemn vow, not to grant a pardon to the delinquent.

The Jews, who on Herod's departure had considered him as a ruined man, were now so astonished at his return with a greater degree of reputation and splendor than that with which he had left them, that they looked upon him as one whom providence protected in a peculiar manner, and turned to his advantage all those circumstances which appeared to lead him only into dishonor and danger.

Some time afterwards, when Cæsar was on his return out of Ægypt, Herod went to Ptolemais, in order to pay his respects to him; and there treated him with a degree of magnificence, and a profusion of expense, that exceeds the power of description: nor was this liberality confined to himself only; but he supplied all his army with necessaries of every kind. Cæsar was so struck with this behavior, that he entered into the utmost degree of familiarity with him, and they generally rode together, while their troops were forming in order. Herod had at this time in his train one hundred and fifty persons, dressed in a most sumptuous manner, who were perfectly well instructed in the discharge of a trust committed to their care; which was to pay particular attention to the accommodation of Cæsar and his friends on their march, and to take care that himself and his army should be properly supplied both with wine and water, however barren or dry the ways might be; a circumstance that greatly enhanced the reputation of Herod in the opinion of the army. He likewise made Cæsar a present of eight hundred talents, and behaved in all respects so much to the general satisfaction, that far greater respect was paid to the sublimity of his sentiments, than to the dignity of his station. In consequence of this conduct in embracing so proper an opportunity to exhibit the benevolence of his disposition; and his subsequent respectful behavior to many other Romans of distinction, in their journey out of Ægypt, he obtained, from all ranks of people, the character of one of the most illustrious princes that ever existed.
WHEN Herod returned to his kingdom, distinguished in the most glorious manner, he found his family in the highest degree of disorder, and his wife and mother-in-law greatly chagrined at their situation: for they could not but deem themselves rather to be prisoners in the castle (which was really the caft) than as having been lodged there for the security of their persons: and they were mortified beyond all description from the consideration that not a single circumstance there was to their order or disposal. Previous to his return, the mind of Mariamne was filled with the idea that the whole of Herod's professions of regard to her had no farther view than the consulting of his own convenience. But what, above all other things, gave her the utmost concern, was the resolution that she should fall a sacrifice in case of her husband's death. The sanguinary tendency of the orders which Herod had given to Joseph engrossed all her faculties: she saw that her only prospect of security consisted in her obtaining the favour of her keepers; particularly that of Sohemus, for her life was more immediately in his hands. For some considerable time he remained true to his trust, and kept the secret inviolable; but on the ladies treating him with great compliance, and presenting him with several little gratuities, he began to recede by degrees, and, at length, discovered the whole secret that Herod had entrusted him with. Now at this time he had formed an idea that Herod was to be considered only as a lost man: and he therefore imagined that no danger could arise from that quarter, while, on the other hand, he should be certain of ingratiating himself with the princes, and by this means advance his interest at all events. But if the matter, however, should
issue the other way; and if Herod should succeed in every wish of his heart; "In this case (said he) I know that he doth on Mariamne to so extravagant a degree, that he will never consent to any thing that is not perfectly "agreeable to her:" and in consequence of these reflections it was that he determined to reveal the whole secret.

Mariamne was so shocked with these conditional orders which her husband had repeatedly given respecting her, that she conceived the greatest sympathy to him; and so great was the horror and dread of her mind at the thought of living with a man who could entertain such sentiments regarding her, that she made it the subject of her daily prayers that he might never return to her alive; and, at a future period, when she had it not in her power to conceal her sentiments any longer, she acknowledged this circumstance in the most open and explicit manner.

The new and unexpected honours and distinctions with which Herod had been gratified, so engrossed his whole mind, that he was impatient to be the first messenger of the good news to Mariamne; and he delivered the happy tidings to her amidst a profusion of tender embraces, that evidently proved the violent and unabating love that he had for her. But while he was relating the circumstances of events which he could not doubt would afford her great satisfaction, she looked upon her with an air of the most perfect indifference, without paying the least kind of attention to his narrative. She was, in fact, perfectly unrelieved in her neglect; and being a woman who prided herself in acting without disguise, she took no pains to assume a look foreign from her heart, but permitted Herod to read in her countenance, that his good news and endearments afforded her abundantly more pain than satisfaction.

Herod was now no longer tormented with the doubts of jealousy, since what he most dreaded to be assured of, appeared now to be altogether certain. In fact, the aversion that his wife had to him was now so evident, that partly through the indignation he felt at finding his love rejected, and partly through his confusion, from the transports of his rage, and the warmth of his affection, each passion tormenting and tearing his heart with violent and opposite force, his tendernesses inciting him one way, and his resentment hurrying him another, that a perfect whirlwind of passion agitated his whole frame. He saw not how to gratify his love, without offering violence to his resentment; and at the same time he dreaded the giving scope to his vengeance, more than the opposite extreme, for he felt a principle of self-love in his breast, which told him that after he should have taken vengeance on his wife, the most unhappy consequences would arise to himself, when future experience should convince him that life was not to be supported without the endearments of her conversation.

This reflex anxiety of Herod's mind (which was greater than language can express) leaving him in doubt how he should conduct himself with regard to Mariamne, his mother and sister thought this a fit opportunity of increasing the difference between them, by doing all kinds of ill offices, and propagating every species of calumny, that might tend to promote that hatred
hatred which was already growing apace in the breast of Herod. They, therefore, suggested a number of circumstances to him, such as, from their nature, though he could not entirely reject, yet neither could he afford them such an implicit confidence of belief, as to determine, on the credit thereof, to destroy a person for whom he had such an unbounded affection. Nevertheless, he became daily more and more discontented in his mind, and behaved with a greater degree of severity to his wife. On the contrary, Mariamne took not the least pains to disguise the discontent which rankled at her heart; so that the violent regard that Herod entertained for her, was, by degrees, converted to the utmost rancour of hatred: infomuch that it is not improbable but that she might have fallen an immediate sacrifice to his resentment; but that just at this juncture intelligence was received of the death of Anthony and Cleopatra, and that Egypt was at that time in the possession of Caesar. On the receipt of this information, Herod loit not a moment in repairing to Caesar, leaving his family in the abovementioned disordered situation, and once more committing Mariamne to the care of Sohemus, to whom he made many acknowledgements for his former services, and gratified him with a command in Judaea, as a testimony of his esteem.

On the arrival of Herod in Egypt, Caesar treated him with great distinction, behaved more in a style of familiarity than heretofore, placed great confidence in him, and conferred the following favours on him in token of his regard: he made him a present of four hundred Gaous who had officiated as guards to Cleopatra; he likewise made him governor of that part of the country which Anthony had heretofore given to Cleopatra, and added thereto the government of Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and the tower of Straton which lay towards the sea, together with the command of Gadara, Hippen and Samaria; all which proved a great addition to his royal splendor and dignity.

Herod having respectfully attended Caesar as far as Antioch, there took leave of him, and returned to Jerusalem, but found himself altogether as unhappy at home, as he had been successful abroad: he was convinced that the splendor of a crown was by no means a counterpoise to the misfortunes attendant on an unhappy marriage; and his distress was aggravated from the consideration that this match was of his own choice, on which he had built all his hopes of earthly happiness: for certainly no man ever loved a woman with a purer or more honourable affection than Herod did Mariamne. Notwithstanding all objections to her conduct, her chastity remained undoubted, beyond even suspicion; but she had some singularities of temper which made her forget all respect to her husband’s power and authority; for she would sometimes treat him in the most opprobrious manner. Herod endeavoured to behave with an apparent evenness of temper, though she used frequently to reflect on his mother and siter, on account of the meaneness of their extraction; and this too in so public a manner, that it created the most implacable animosities among the ladies, and was the source of a thousand scandalous reports, and malevolent calumnies.
Mutual offices of enmity had now continued a whole year from the time of Herod's return from Caesar, and seemed to be continually increasing, when a plot which had been preconcerted was carried into execution. Herod, oppressed by the heat of the weather, and intending to indulge himself in repose, retired to his closet for that purpose: but thoughts of a more tender kind occurring to his mind, he sent for Mariamne: and when she came to him he confided her with the utmost fondness, and besought her kindness with prayers and solicitations: but she answered him only with the utmost contempt and scorn, and reminded him with great acrimony of the death of her father and brother. Herod, enraged beyond all description at the insolence of this behaviour, flew into so violent a passion, that it was with the utmost difficulty he restrained himself from taking immediate vengeance on her, in which case she would undoubtedly have fallen a sacrifice to the impetuosity of his wrath. Herod's sister, Salome, hearing a disturbance, kept the butler in readiness to execute an important commission with which she had previously charged him; and this was no other than to wait on the king, with a tale that Mariamne had been soliciting his assistance in the preparation of a love potion for his majesty. The butler was instructed that if the king should demand to know its contents, he should declare that they were mixed by Mariamne, that he knew nothing of the ingredients, and that all his business was to deliver the preparation; but if the king should not be particular in his enquiries, he should behave with equal reserve, and no injury would arise from what might pass from the interview.

The butler being perfectly well instructed in what manner he was to act, executed his commission agreeable to his directions; and approaching the king with an appearance of great gravity, and as if he had important business to communicate, he told his majesty that Mariamne had offered him bribes and other gratuities to induce him to provide a love potion for him. The butler finding that the king appeared to be alarmed at hearing this intelligence, proceeded to inform him that such a preparation having been offered to him, and he being ignorant of what it might contain, thought it would be an act of the greatest prudence, as far as it concerned both the king and himself, to wait upon him with an account of what had happened. Herod had heretofore met with sufficient cause of vexation; but the almonistment with which he was struck at the above-mentioned information drove him to the very verge of distraction: wherefore he instantly ordered that a person in whom Mariamne particularly confided should be put to the torture, presuming that she would not carry into execution any plan whether of greater or less consequence, without his being in the secret. Obedience being paid to this sentence, the party was strickly questioned; but nothing could be extorted from him, till, in the extremity of his anguish, he dropped some words intimating that the uneasiness of Mariamne arose from something that Sohemus had communicated to her. The sufferer had hardly pronounced these words, when Herod burst into the most passionate exclamation, declaring that "Sohemus, who had hitherto been so loyal a subject, and approved himself so true a friend both to his king and country, never could have betrayed a secret of so important a nature as that with which he had been
"been intrusted, but in the confidence of illegal familiarities with Mariamne." He therefore gave immediate orders that Sohemus should be put to death; and directed that his wife should be summoned to take her trial before a court of justice; and appointed for her judges a number of persons devoted to his will.

When the day of her trial arrived, the charge exhibited against her was the having conspired to poison the king. Herod was more violent against her, both by his words and actions, than was consistent with the dignity of a court of justice; and the judges observing the disposition of the king, followed his example in pronouncing her guilty. This sentence was no sooner passed, than both Herod, and all his surrounding friends, thought it would be prudent not to carry it into execution; but rather to spare her life, and detain her in prison. Salome and her adherents were alone violent in their exclamations for immediate justice: and, in consequence of what they urged, that a revolt would happen among the people if the queen's life was spared, Herod was prevailed on to agree to her execution: and this occasioned the fatal exit of Mariamne.

When Alexandra found to what extremity the proceedings against her daughter had been carried, she had every reason to conclude that her own life was in danger. In order, therefore, to avoid the dreaded consequence, she descended to a conduct that was altogether derogatory to the dignity of her character. Her fears in this juncture, induced her to go such lengths, and she was so zealous not to be thought to have combined with her daughter, that she sought every opportunity of traducing her character in all companies, representing her as the most base and ungrateful of women, and extolling the justice of that sentence which had doomed her to death for conspiring the destruction of a husband to whose tenderness she lay under such unbounded obligations. Alexandra carried this hypocritical behaviour to such a height, that she became universally despised, as one who could condescend to insult her daughter during the extremity of her misfortunes: but Mariamne, even while she was conducting to the place of execution, spoke not a word in answer to all she had heard of her mother's unnatural behaviour, though her countenance testified the sense she entertained of the shameful part that her mother had acted. In a word, Mariamne maintained her spirits to the greatest degree of firmness and constancy; not exhibiting, even by the change of her complexion, that she was terrified at the thoughts of approaching death. In a word, she died in the same manner she had lived, a pattern of courage, disdainning fear, and proving herself capable of sustaining the most arduous trials.

Thus ended the life of the generous and virtuous princess Mariamne, a woman who would have been superior to all her sex, but that she had too great a mixture of passion and pride in her disposition. Her beauty was so great, the graces of her person so extraordinary, and the charms of her conversation so singular, as not simply to render her superior to all other women, but so much so, as not to admit of any degree of comparison. Now these preeminent gifts and qualifications tended in a great degree to the advance-
ment of her misfortunes, by occasioning the unhappy life she led with her husband: for he was enamoured of her beyond all description, neither opposed her will, nor denied her any thing; but permitted her to do what she pleased, and indulged her in every gratification she chose: and this perhaps might give rise to those frequent and inconsiderate reproaches that she cut upon him, without reflecting that she was thereby destroying her own happiness: for by this kind of conduct she rendered her self obnoxious to the mother and sister of her husband, and finally to himself, whose affection she conceived would never have been alienated from her.

After the death of Mariamne, the passion which Herod had entertained for her in her life time (of which much hath been already said) broke forth with redoubled violence: for the regard that he had for her exceeded that of other husbands to their wives; it was a passion carried beyond all common conjugal affection, even to a degree of dotage; for the more presumptuously the treated him, the more his fondnefs for her increased. Now when he came to reflect upon the sentence he had ordered to be carried into execution, he broke out into the strangest and most unmannerly exclamations, still repeating the name of Mariamne, and saying that her blood cried aloud for vengeance. The agonies of his mind encreased to such a degree, that he fought to divert his melancholy by drinking, feasting, keeping much company, and a variety of other entertainments: but when he found that all these endeavours were fruitles, he resigned the care of his government, which he was no longer able properly to manage: soon after which he grew delirious, talked in a raving manner, and while his fits of phrenzy were on him, he would frequently call for Mariamne, and direct that she should be brought to him; for in the ramblings of his fancy she appeared to him to be yet living.

During the time that Herod was afflicted with this disorder, a most dreadful plague broke out in Jerusalem, which raged with such prodigious violence, that persons of all ranks and degrees fell a sacrifice to its rigour; and this calamity was universally deemed to be a just judgment consequent on the murder of the unfortunate and innocent Mariamne. As the king's illness now daily increased upon him, he retired to a private country tent in Samaria, and caused a report to be propagated that he was gone to take the diversion of hunting. Before he had been long in this retreat, he was attacked with an illness much more violent than the former; attended with a rackling pain and inflammation in the head, so that he was not master of his own conduct. The preseripts applied with intention to relieve him, were found to do him more injury than service, so that his case was considered as little less than hopeless. The difficulties that arose in the attempt to conquer this disease, the peculiar situation of the patient, and the impossibility of relieving him in the regular way, being considered, the physicians reflected that it would be in vain to interpose their advice any longer, and therefore left him entirely to his own management, and the event to Providence; only recommending that he might be gratified in every thing that he required.

Herod's unhappy situation of body and mind being made known to Alexandra, who was then at Jerusalem, she reflected on the circumstance, and
began to consider if it might not be possible for her to obtain the possession of some of the strong forts; and, in particular, she wished to be mistress of two of them above the rest, one of which was situated in the city, and the other close adjoining to the temple; being assured that the people must be altogether at the mercy of the party in possession of those two towers: for such is the disposition of the Jews, that they will yield up their lives rather than part with their religion; and as their daily sacrifices make a very considerable part thereof, whoever has the command of the abovementioned towers may determine whether they shall have any sacrifices at all or not. With a view to the accomplishment of her design, Alexandra made application to the governors of the said towers, whom she addressed to the following purpose: "I need not inform you of the very deplorable state of the king's health; wherefore I entreat you that the two fortresses may be given up to the possession of the mother of the king's wife, and the child of Herod and Mariamme; lest, in case of his death, a different family should succeed to the throne; and even if the king should recover, the hands of his nearest relations are those in which the government may with most safety be trusted." The governors, partly from a sense of their duty, but chiefly from an enmity they had to Alexandra, refused to acknowledge the force of her arguments for the delivering up of the towers; besides they said it would ill become them to make a kind of prejudication of the king's life, for whom, during many years, they had entertained the most perfect friendship: and Achiab, one of these very governors, was nephew to Herod. Their conversation was no sooner at an end than Achiab dispatched an account of the proposal that Alexandra had made, to Herod, who sent back immediate orders that she should be put to death, without loss of time.

With great difficulty Herod recovered of his violent indisposition, but it produced a very strange and singular effect both in his body and mind. His disposition was totally altered, and he became so extravagantly cruel and ferocious, that the least trifles that ruffled his temper incited him to acts of singular barbarity; and either friends or foes were equally the objects of his vengeance. The following account respecting Costabarbus, Lysimachus, Antipater (otherwise named Gadia) and Dositheus, will be deemed a cæsis in point. Costabarbus was a man of as great distinction as most in Idumæa, and descended from a family whose ancestors had heretofore officiated as priests of Coze, a deity which they had formerly paid great veneration to, till at length, during the reign of Hyrcanus, they adopted the Jewish mode of religion. When Herod was first advanced to the regal authority he committed to this Costabarbus the government of Idumæa and Gaza, and gave him for a wife his sister Salome, whose husband Joseph he himself had caused to be put to death, as hath been noticed in another place. This promotion fo exceeded the expectations, or even the hopes of Costabarbus, that his pride and insolence encreased with the elevation of his rank, till at length he even conceived the idea of disputing the authority of Herod; for, on reflection, he thought that the Idumæans had descended beneath their own dignity in acknowledging themselves to be subject to the Jews, merely because they had adopted their ceremonies and mode of worship. Here-
upon he dispatched an embassy to Cleopatra, hinting to her that as the country of Idumea had long submitted to the authority of his ancestors, there would be no impropriety in her soliciting Anthony to bellow the government of it on herself. Cotlabarus did not recommend it to her to make this application from any particular desire he had to be under the command of Cleopatra, but in the hope that, the force of Herod being thereby weakened, he might have it in his power to seize the government of Idumea for himself: and to induce him to hope for success in this undertaking he had two principal encouragements, viz. the dignity of his birth, and the immense fortune he had acquired; the latter, indeed, by means that did him no credit for he amassed his money without paying any regard to the dictates of honour or conscience: nor was his avarice in any degree superior to his ambition.

Cleopatra exerted her utmost influence with Anthony to obtain the government of Idumea: but all her intercessions proved in vain. This circumstance being made known to Herod, Cotlabarus would have fallen a sacrifice, for the advice he had given, but that Herod's mother and sister became advocates in his behalf, and after some difficulty, procured him a pardon, on the condition that no future confidence should be reposed in him. Some time after this a violent quarrel happening between Cotlabarus and Salome, the latter caused a bill of divorce to be delivered to her husband, a circumstance diametrically opposite to the usage and practice of the country, and an absolute infringement of the privilege of the man; for the custom was that the husband might discharge the wife, and absolutely forbid her contracting marriage again without his permission. In the present instance, however, the will of Salome had the validity of a law: the parted from her husband, and going to her brother, paid him a compliment, intimating that she entertained a higher sense of the duty she owed to him, than that she had vowed to her husband: and that she came to inform him of a conspiracy against him, which had been entered into by Cotlabarus, Lysimachus, Antipater, and Dolithaeus. What gave the principal credit to her information was, an account of the friendship that Cotlabarus had shown to the sons of Babas, whom he had privately protected for no less a space of time than twelve years. A piece of intelligence so very extraordinary made an unusual impression on Herod; for he had long since determined in his own mind to compleat the diminution of the sons of Babas, as persons who were professed enemies to his interest; but one incident or other had continually arisen to divert his attention from this subject. Now the offence that provoked Herod to such a degree of enmity to these people arose from the following circumstance.

During the time of Antigonus, when Herod was besieging Jerusalem, the inhabitants were so wearied out with the misfortunes and calamities consequent on the siege, that a great majority of them declared for throwing open the gates, and permitting Herod to enter the city: but this was resolutely opposed by the sons of Babas, who were men of great rank and influence in the city, and friends to the cause of Antigonus; and their advice was to make an obstinate defence, and support the government in the royal
line. Soon afterwards, when Herod took the city, he gave instructions to Coßtabarus to keep a strict watch on all the passages which led out of the city, and to see that not a single person of the country-faction made his escape. Now it happened that the sons of Babas were the peculiar favourites of the people in general, and of course the most proper instruments to be made use of, in case of any future attempt that might be made to change the government. Coßtabarus seemed to consult his own interest in their preservation, and gave private orders that they should be secretly conveyed to a place of safety. This transaction had no sooner passed, than Herod, who immediately suspected what had happened, examined him strictly on the circumstances of the affair: but the other swore a solemn oath that he was altogether ignorant how they had been disposed of. This produced an immediate proclamation, offering a reward to those who would discover the place of their retreat; and many other modes of enquiry were adopted: but nothing was confessed on the part of Coßtabarus, who having at first denied the truth, found that he could not now retract what he had said: so that the concealment of the affair, which had been a point of kindness, now became a matter of necessity and prudence. At length, however, the whole secret being developed by Salome, the king immediately dispatched proper persons to their places of retreat, and caused them all to be cut to pieces, with their friends and adherents; and by this proceeding the whole house of Hyrcanus was utterly eradicated: insomuch that, from this time forward, there was no such thing thought of as controlling the actions, or opposing the will of the king.

No sooner was Herod established in the plenitude of an absolute dominion, than he began, by slow degrees, to recede from an observance of the valuable laws, and prudent government of our ancestors, by which the people, in former times, had been kept in obedience, and induced to a regular discharge of their duty: and, instead thereof, he introduced a number of foreign innovations, particularly, he caused a theatre to be built in Jerusalem, for the purpose of exhibiting wrestling matches, which were to be celebrated every fifth year in honour of Augustus Caesar. Herod likewise built a magnificent amphitheatre without the walls of the city: and the two buildings abovementioned were equally superb and expensive: but these were neither of the least use, nor afforded any entertainment to the Jews, who were not of a disposition to be gratified by the vanity of such exhibitions. Now Herod, to make his public entertainments the more distinguished, caused proclamations respecting them to be made in various parts of the country, with promises of considerable rewards to such as should come off conquerors. By this mode of proceeding, he engaged (from various parts) a great number of competitors in their several professions, such as wrestlers, horse-racers, mimicks, fencers, players on musical instruments, charioteers, some of whom were skilled in driving two horses; others four, &c. in fact it was the king's particular care to collect together every thing that might tend to promote the principal design, to render it curious, pleasurable, or ornamental. The theatre was embellished with trophies, devices and inscriptions, to the honour of Caesar, and in celebration of his triumphs: the whole building.
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was ornamented with gold, silver, and precious stones, and furnished with rich habits, and hangings of great price. That the diversions might be rendered the more various, he provided likewise a number of lions, tigers, and several other of such kinds of wild beasts as were distinguished by their strength or fierceness, or by any other remarkable singularity. Sometimes these ravenous animals were turned loose to encounter each other, and at other times to attack criminals under sentence of condemnation. Now the foreigners seemed to receive a singular satisfaction at this sight; but, on the contrary, the Jews had an equal aversion to it, deeming it an unjustifiable cruelty, and such a kind of violation of their laws as tended to a corruption of their manners: for what can be more inconsistent with the dignity of human nature than receiving satisfaction from the savage entertainment of sacrificing men to beasts, and the spilling of blood by way of diversion! To say nothing of the folly of adopting bad new customs in the room of excellent old ones.

In a word, the Jews in general were exceedingly disgusted; but what gave them greater dissatisfaction than other circumstances was the trophies, which appeared to them to be the representations of men covered with arms; and which they looked upon in the light of a total opposition to the institutions of their country. They were so vehement and outrageous in the expression of their antipathy to these trophies, that Herod did not think it would be a point of prudence to oppose their humour in a forcible manner, but rather endeavoured by reasonable arguments, and the prevalence of fair language, to set before them the absurdity of those superstitious notions which gave rise to the objections that they made: but they were so far from being convinced by his arguments, that they universally exclaimed against a proceeding which they thought had the appearance of infirmit. They said they could have submitted to any thing else; but with regard to the bringing of images (for so they denominated the trophies) into the city, they could never think of acquiescing in so atrocious a wickedness, but would always oppose it to the utmost of their power.

As Herod found that the antipathy to the trophies was continually increasing, and that neither the exertion of authority, nor the arts of persuasion tended to moderate the passions of the people, he selected a number of the principal men of the opponents, and having conducted them to the theatre, where he directed that the trophies should be shewn them, he demanded their opinion of them, desiring they would frankly tell him what they took them to be; on which they declared, as with one voice, that "They were the images of men." Hereupon Herod gave directions that the trophies should be stripped, and when it came to appear that there was nothing beneath the covering but stumps of wood, the suspicion in which they had so long indulged themselves was turned into perfect ridicule: and when the tumult arising from the discovery of this affair was subsided, the majority of the people appeared to be perfectly passive in the submission to every innovation; still, however, there were not wanting several who persisted in their abhorrence of the admission of all foreign customs, apprehen-
five that they might probably be followed by very fatal consequences in the public state of affairs: they therefore thought it a point of duty they owed their country, at whatever hazard to themselves, to preserve their ancient discipline, now so greatly endangered, and not to permit Herod, under the sanction of the regal dignity, to behave as an enemy to his country, and, by the introduction of illegal customs, to wound the consciences, and violate the rights of the people.

A great deal being publicly said on this subject, the minds of the people were much inflamed; and hereupon ten citizens immediately united in a conspiracy against the life of the king, notwithstanding the extreme hazard and danger that must attend the engaging in such a plot. Now among the rest there was one who happened to be blind. This man hearing repeated accounts of the alarming nature of Herod's proceedings, was so transported with rage at his conduct, that he declared, though it was out of his power to take an active part for the general welfare, yet he was willing to bear an equal share in the sufferings of his companions, however severe they might happen to prove; and this public-spirited declaration tended, in a great degree, to fix them in their resolution. After having held repeated conferences together upon the subject, each man concealed a dagger under his coat, and, thus armed, they proceeded to the theatre, with a fixed determination to slay the king, if they should be so happy as to get near enough to him, which they flattered themselves they should be able to do: but at all events they determined to make an attack on his guards, from whence they promised themselves one comfort would arise, in case of their miscarriage; since their being put to death for the attempt would render the king still more odious in the sight of the people: so that the force of their example in vindication of the sacred rights of their religion, might encourage others to carry the plan into execution on some future opportunity.

Just as the king was going to enter the theatre, a person whom he had employed as a spy prevented his going in, by revealing all the circumstances of the plot: whereupon Herod, fully sensible of the enmity the people entertained for him, returned to his palace, whither he sent for the conspirators of whose names he had been previously informed. When they attended, they considered themselves as if taken in the actual fact; and being certain that there remained no chance of their escape, they gave a fresh proof of the most undaunted courage, by acknowledging every part of the crime with which they were charged, and justified it in all its circumstances. This they did with astonishing composure and resolution of mind and behaviour; and produced the daggers with which they intended to have destroyed the king. They said "We do not conceive ourselves as having engaged in a criminal association, for the promotion of our interest, or the gratification of our passions, but as having leagued together in a sacred combination for the public welfare, and the preservation of the laws, which it is the duty of all worthy citizens, and true patriots, to support at the hazard of their lives."

Having made this free and generous declaration, they were immediately taken from the royal presence, and put to death with every circumstance of excessive
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...cruelty. However, the miserable wretch who had given the informa
tion against them, lived but a very little time after them; for he was
himself attacked by several persons, who tore him to pieces, and threw his
mangled body to the dogs: this was done in the sight of a great number of
people, yet, for a considerable time, not a single man was detected who
had a hand in this scene of vengeance: but at length, some women who
happened to be present when the fact was committed, being taken into
custody, and put to the torture, they made a discovery who it was that had
been concerned in the transaction. Hereupon all those who had a hand in
the business were apprehended, and themselves and every person of their
families immediately put to death: in the mean time the common people
remained firm in the support and vindication of their old laws, customs,
and privileges.

Herod seriously reflecting on the mischievous consequences which he feared
might arise from this mutinous disposition among the people, who, he
found, were not to be kept in subjection but by an absolute force, he thought
it would be a point of prudence to do every thing that lay in his power,
and without loss of time, toward the preventing of an absolute revolt. At
this time the king had two fortresses in the city, in one of which his palace
was situated, and the other, named Antonia, served as a proper guard upon
the temple. Exclusive of these he likewise fortified Samaria, (which is
otherwise named Sebaste) which was advantageously situated for keeping the
country in subjection: nor was it less properly stationed for preventing the
effects of insurrections in the city; as it was only about a days journey
distant from Jerusalem. Another strong fortress lay likewise in a good situa
tion for the furtherance of Herod's designs, which had been formerly called
Straton's Tower, but was now known by the name of Caesarea. He also
erected the fort of Gabala in Galilee, and that of Esimonitis in Perea, and
built a castle in the great plain, which was designed for the quarters of the
cavalry.

So advantageous were the situations of these various fortifications through-
out the different parts of the country, that if the people should attempt to
carry into execution any plot or contrivance against the state, there was a
sufficient force in every neighbourhood, and always holding themselves in
readiness, either to prevent the mischief growing to any considerable head,
or to crush the insurgents. Herod, in the first instance set about adjusting
the affairs of Samaria, as a place of great natural strength, and admirably
adapted to the scheme he had in view. For this purpose he ordered a large
number of troops, both foreign and domestic, to march into the city, partly
to affit in guarding a temple which he proposed to build there, and partly
to give a degree of splendor to the proceedings; but principally with a view
to his personal safety, which was amply provided for under these appear-
ances of magnificence. From Samaria he changed the name of the city to
that of Sebaste, as hath been heretofore noticed; and separated the country
around it into lots, which he distributed among the inhabitants, who soon
grew into easy circumstances, as the soil was naturally fruitful. This place
he encompassed with a strong and thick wall, and enlarged its original size to
to such a degree, that it was thereafter deemed one of the first among the cities of eminence. The circumference of the city was twenty-five furlongs, and in the center of it was a furlong and a half of ground set apart for the erection of a temple; and on this spot Herod caused the said temple to be built; which, for the magnificence of the structure itself, the expense that attended it, the extent of its dimensions, and the abundant variety of ornamental and curious articles with which it was embellished, was by no means inferior to any other building of the kind. Herod likewise proceeded regularly, without the least loss of time, in improving all the other parts of the city, so as to be answerable to the temple; for exclusive of his relying for security on the strength of this palace; his ambition was gratified in the hope of transmitting to posterity so splendid a monument of his own dignity and greatnes.

C H A P. XII.

The country of Judea afflicted with a blasting drought, famine, plague, and other terrible judgments. The singular wisdom of Herod in making provision for the necessities of the people. Herod builds a most sumptuous palace. Jesus, the son of Pharisees, depopulated from the office of high-priest; and Simon, the son of Boethus, promoted in his stead. Herod erects a castle. The building described. Herod's general character. He causes several cities and temples to be built.

When Herod had reigned something more than twelve years, the country of Judea was afflicted with a variety of severe calamities; but whether these arose from the immediate interposition of the divine wrath, or were the consequence of the general course of providence, it does not become me to determine. A tedious and blasting drought was the forerunner of these calamities, and this was followed by such a barrenness, that the earth could no longer produce the necessaries of life. This, of course was succeeded by a famine; and partly, at the first, through the change of diet, and partly through the want of food, the people were tormented with the plague, and afflicted with a variety of other disorders, succeeding in the most rapid course after each other. Nor was it a small aggravation of their singular distress, that there were no persons to attend those who were sick, who were, of consequence, left without assistance, food or medicines. Death now made such ravages among them, that the survivors despaired of ever seeing each other again, and neglecting to afford any relief to the diseased, permitted them to die without so much as an attempt to alleviate their miseries. By this time the provisions of the preceding year being all expended, and no prospect appearing of any supply, their condition grew almost hopeless, as they were every day more pinched by the extremity of want than on the proceeding one; and their misfortunes were greatly aggravated by the reflection that after the expiration of one season, the earth continued barren, and promised nothing for a future supply. Distress so ex-
quite as this naturally put every one on contriving how he might keep himself from absolute starving.

The calamity at length increased to such a degree, that even the ample revenues of Herod, great as they were, afforded not resources equal to his support; for his receipt of rents and customary duties all failed; his former mafs of treasure had been expended on buildings and fortifications; and there was an universal deficiency in all the public accounts. Add to all this, that the people grew outrageously violent and clamorous; and, as is usual in all instances of popular discontent, the blame of every miscarriage was attributed to the government. All this time, however, Herod was extremely anxious how to obviate the difficulties with which he was surrounded; but the method of doing it presented a scene of no small embarrassment. As his neighbours were no better supplied with provisions than himself, there was no great reason to expect relief from that quarter; and with regard to money, for the procurement of the necessaries of life from more distant parts, he had so little left, that it was by no means equal to the payment of the necessary expense. It was, however, absolutely requisite that something should be done towards the alleviation of the general distress. After mature consideration on the affair, the king gave orders for the melting down all his plate, vessels, curiosities, and other articles of gold and silver, which had been heretofore employed in the service of his own table; and this being all collected together, he caused it to be sent into Egypt, which was at that time governed by Petronius, under a deputation from Caesar.

The great number of applications that had been made to Petronius, on the same account, and the importunity with which they had been urged, had produced him great distress: but from a singular regard and esteem that he had conceived for Herod, he had of course a wish to promote the happiness of him and his subjects: he therefore, in preference to all others, granted him a permission to export corn; and even affixed him, to the utmost of his power, in the purchase of it, and in the carriage. This circumstance proved highly advantageous to Herod, and tended to the promotion of what he had in view: for no sooner was this reasonable relief imported, than his reputation and credit were restored among those who had heretofore spoken the most unfavourably of him: his conduct and good management were extolled in the highest degree, and his wisdom and virtue were universally spoken of in terms of admiration.

On the happy receipt of this supply, the first care of Herod was to distribute it to those who were distressed, with proper regard to the number and situation of those who were to partake of it. He issued orders for the carrying provisions to such as were not able to fetch them: and with regard to those whom age, sickness, or other impediments prevented from making their own bread, he directed proper bakers to make it for them. He likewise took particular care that his subjects should be supplied with proper clothing, as well as food absolutely necessary for the sustenance of life. On this principle he sent them variety of garments, since sheep for the furnishing of wool had been as scarce as corn for the making of bread. Having provided

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for
for his own subjects in the most ample manner, he was excited by the common feelings of humanity, to extend his benevolence, in the next place, to the relief of the Syrians, his near neighbours, whom he supplied with a large quantity of feed-corn, to be sown against the following season. This happening to arrive at the precise time when it was most wanted, they sowed it immediately, and the produce was so unusually great, that, when the harvest came on, Herod sent fifty thousand men, to assist in gathering in the fruits of the earth; and these fifty thousand Herod had himself prevented from starving during the famine. By the abovementioned prudent conduct and good management on the part of Herod, affairs that had been given up as hopeless were absolutely re-established; every thing that he undertook succeeded to the extent of his wishes, whether in his own dominions or among those of his friends. Not a single person applied to him but what was relieved: the rich, the poor, the citizens, the soldiers, and even strangers, experienced the extent of his bounty. It was calculated that he distributed among his own people eighty thousand cori of wheat, each cori reckoned at ten Attic medimni, (which was a measure containing fix bushels) and it was computed that he gave away ten thousand cori to strangers.

The well-timed exertion of Herod's humane plan, in behalf of the public, operated so forcibly on the minds of the people in general, that they seemed universally to have forgotten all his former negligence and mismanagement, and said not a single word respecting his encroachments on their laws, and violation of their discipline: as they conceived that his late provident care of, and liberal provision for them, ought to be deemed an ample atonement for all his misconduct in preceding times. Neither was his character become more estimable at home than abroad; since, in the event of things, it happened that his reputation had been advanced in one place in proportion as his misfortunes had increased in the other; and, from the benevolent exertion of his humanity towards strangers, a general judgment was formed of him, not from what he had been in former times, but from the feelings it appeared that he had been capable of in cases of extreme distress.

About the time of these transactions Herod selected, out of his own guards, five hundred men, who had served, with the greatest degree of reputation, under Elieus Gallus, in the Arabian war; and these he presented to Augustus. A state of composure having now succeeded the late distressful posture of affairs in Judæa, Herod conceived a design of building a spacious and elegant palace on the high grounds of Jerusalem. The rooms of this building were large enough to contain great numbers of people; and in them were seats and other ornaments composed of gold and marble most curiously carved, and bearing the names of the persons for whose accommodation they were intended: one of them being inscribed the apartment of Cæsar, another that of Agrippa, and so on.

While Herod was giving the necessary directions for the raising of this edifice, he formed a design of marrying a second wife, as the most probable means of diverting his attention from illicit amours. Now it happened that at this time there was in Jerusalem a citizen named Simon, (the son of Boethus an Alexandrian,) who was a priest that had his origin from a noble
noble family. This Simon had a daughter whose beauty was so abundantly celebrated that no other woman was deemed to bear any comparison with her. The reputation of the beauty of this lady had struck Herod in an uncommon degree; but when he came to see her, he was perfectly enamoured: yet he determined not to make a tyrannical use of the power that his rank and station gave him, but to demand her hand in the honourable way of marriage, and take her legally to his bed. It is true that a match of this kind was greatly beneath his dignity; yet not so much so as to have any thing mean or contemptible in it: to balance, however, in some degree, the inequality of his own rank, and that of the family of his intended bride, and to gratify his passion without derogating from the respect due to his station, he could think of no method more rational than to bellow some great and distinguished dignity on Simon, preparatory to the honour he proposed to confer on his family: and for this purpose he divested Jesus, the son of Phæbes, of the office of high-priest, and elevated Simon to that station; soon after which the marriage took place.

Not long after the celebration of the nuptial ceremonies, Herod caused a most magnificent castle to be erected on the spot where, in his former wars with Antigonus, he had overthrown the Jews in battle. The distance of this fortress from Jerusalem was about sixty furlongs; its situation was extremely strong by nature, and capable of being rendered altogether impregnable. The figure of the hill on which it stood was circular, rising with a gradual ascent, and so regularly that it appeared to have been the work of art. The castle was surrounded by a number of towers, and was entered by a flight of two hundred stone steps: the apartments within it were very superb and magnificent, and the whole edifice at once strong and elegant. At the foot of the mountain were situated a number of buildings well worthy the inspection of the curious; and particularly several fine aqueducts, by means of which the water was brought from a very great distance, with incredible labour and expense. The plain which surrounded the hill was covered with such a number of houses, that they might well be deemed to form a city of no inconsiderable magnitude; over which the castle had the appearance of a citadel, equally adapted to command and protect all the adjacent buildings.

By this time Herod had adjusted his affairs so much to his own satisfaction, that he had no present apprehension of any danger from further tumults or insurrections. His subjects were held to their obedience, partly from motives of fear, and partly from those of interest and affection: for in cases that demanded the punishment of an offender he paid the most rigid and inflexible regard to justice; yet the benevolence of his disposition was equally remarkable, in instances where the general welfare of the subject could be promoted by it. He constantly kept such a guard on himself, and every thing around him in such a posture of security, as if he meant to insinuate that the safety of the prince and people were mutually involved in that of each other. He was equally polite and easy in his address to all men, whether strangers or his own subjects; and, on particular occasions, most singularly generous to persons of distinguished rank; for he was truly of a most
moft princely disposition. By this kind of conduct he obtained an universal regard and esteem, which tended greatly to promote his designs, and forward all his views. But so great was his ambition to obtain the favourable regard of Augustus, and other distinguished Romans, that he was imperceptibly tempted to depart from the custom and discipline of our ancestors, by the vanity of erecting cities and temples in honour of his illustrious patrons. It is true that these erections were not made in the interior parts of Judæa; for the Jews would not have submitted to the gratification of an ambition so contrary to their laws; since it tended to promote the worship of idols and images, according to the idolatry of the Greeks: for which reason Herod caused these cities to be built on the confines of the province, and not within its immediate jurisdiction: and his excuse for the whole of this proceeding was, that it was not so much in consequence of any will of his own, as the result of the orders of those who had a right to command him. By this proceeding, however, he obtained the favour of Cæsar and the Romans, as he appeared to have renounced the principles and discipline in which he was educated, in compliment to them; but of this I will take no farther notice than to observe, that his ultimate view was the promotion of his own interest, and the rendering himself distinguished in the opinion of posterity, by these lasting monuments of his splendor and benevolence.

C H A P. XIII.

An account of Straton’s tower, or Cæsarea, a port of equal size with the Pyraæum between Dora and Joppa. The model of a mole which Herod built there. A temple erected to Cæsar, which serves as a sea-mark. Herod builds a stone theatre and an amphitheatre, and compleats the whole work in twelve years. Herod sends his sons Alexander and Aristobulus to Cæsar, who grants him three provinces, and the right of choosing either son to succeed him. Zenodorus goes shares with the free-booters of Trachon. Their dens and their manner of living described. Herod drives them from their retreats. Zenodorus complains of Herod to Cæsar, but in vain. The Gadarenes complain against Herod: he defends himself. Zenodorus dies at Antioch. Cæsar’s generosity to Herod. Herod restores the Tetarch in Judæa. Herod erects a temple to Cæsar. Herod makes himself popular. Herod’s civility to the Pharisees and Essenes. A prediction of an Essene, named Manakem.

ADJACENT to the sea coast was situated a place which had been heretofore denominated Straton’s tower; and this Herod deemed to be a spot most admirably adapted for the building of a city. Having drawn the model of the intended erections, he employed a number of hands, to construct it, and compleated the whole. The private houses, as well as the palaces of this city were all built with marble; but the most distinguished part of the whole was the port, which was erected on the same scale as the Pyraæum, and, exclusive of all the other conveniences that attended it, was protected from all danger from wind or weather. The completion of this work was the more extraordinary, as every article of the materials for finishing it was conveyed thither from distant parts, at an expence almost incredible.
The situation of this city is in Phoenicia, near the passage into Egypt, between Joppa and Dora, two most miserable sea port towns; in the harbours of which there is no riding with any degree of safety, if the wind blows from the south-west; for it beats upon the coast with such fury, that the merchant-men are often obliged to keep out at sea for a considerable time, lest they should be driven on shore. To obviate these dangers arising from the situation he had chosen, Herod gave directions that a mole should be formed in the shape of a half-moon, and of size sufficient to contain a complete royal navy. In this place he gave orders for the sinking of stones of immense size, in twenty fathom of water. Some of these stones were fifty feet long, eighteen feet broad, and nine feet thick, and many others of them of various dimensions, some being even more than this size. The extent of the mole was no less than two hundred feet, one half of which was defined to the breaking of the surf of the sea, and the other was appropriated to form the foundation of a stone wall on which a number of fortified turrets were erected: and the largest and most beautiful of these Herod called by the name of the tower of Drusus, in honour of the memory of Drusus, the son in law of Cæsar, who had died in his youth. Adjacent hereto were several arched vaults, which served as cabins for the sailors. There was also a quay, or landing place, with a broad walk around the port, proper to retreat for the benefit of the air, and as a place of recreation. The opening of this port was to the northward, whence the wind blows with its mildest influence. On the entrance of the port to the left hand, a turret was built with a large platform, and beneath it was a descending bank to prevent the sea from washing it: on the right hand, and opposite to the tower, were erected two pillars of stone, and of an equal height. The houses adjacent to the port were all built with the finest kind of marble, and with the most exact uniformity to each other. A temple dedicated to Cæsar, was erected on a mount in the middle, which became a famous sea-mark, and proved of the utmost use to mariners. In this temple were placed a representation of the city of Rome, and a statue of Cæsar, which were not less distinguished for the beauty of the materials they were made of, than for the elegance of the workmanship; and thence the city obtained the name of Caesarea. Nor was less ingenuity exerted in the contrivance of the vaults, and common sewers, which were placed at equal degrees of distance from each other, and discharged their contents into the sea: but there was one conveyance, which intercepted all the rest, which, while it carried off all the fifth from the various parts of the city, was so disposed that the tides entered by it, and washed the passages, by which the whole was kept in an uncommon state of cleanliness. Exclusive of all the erections above mentioned, Herod built a theatre of stone; and on the south side of the harbour constructed a very large amphitheatre, which afforded an elegant prospect towards the sea. In fact, nothing that money could procure, or diligence effect, was wanting; and the whole of this magnificent work was completed in about twelve years.

Herod having now totally finished the two cities of Caesarea and Sebasti, sent his two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, on an embassy, to pay his respects to Cæsar. Pollio, who was the particular friend of Herod, had or-
The lands of Lyfanius having been rented by one Zenodorus, he could not rest satisfied with the lawful profits of his farm, but went shares with the free-booters of Trachon, a kind of people that, in a great measure, subsisted on the pillage that they obtained from the inhabitants of Damascus. Now Zenodorus, whose business it was to have punished these invaders of their neighbours property, made no scruple of accepting his proportion of the stolen effects. Hereupon these people who had been the principal sufferers by their violent proceedings, made application to Varro, who governed the province at that time,requelling he would grant a letter to Cæsar, against Zenodorus. This being done, Cæsar signified his royal pleasure that the thieves should be skimmed out of their holes like hornets; and he likewise conferred on Herod the government of that province, in expectation that, for the future, the Trachonites might be kept in subjection. These disorderly people possessed neither towns, houses nor lands, but inhabited caves and dens like beasts; but in these they were provided with such stores of food, and plenty of water, that it could not but be very difficult to drive them out; nor was it an easy matter to explore their recesses: besides, as they lived by their unlawful depredations, they would be very unwilling to quit their irregular course of life. It was not possible for more than one person at a time to enter into their hiding-places, as the passage was so extremely narrow; but the apartments in the inside were more spacious than can be imagined, and the whole were covered with flat and plain roofs. Upon the whole, their retreat consisted of one immense rock, that was almost impassable; the turnings and different passageways in it were innumerable, and it was necessary to have a guide to find the right way into it. The abandoned inhabitants of this place were desperate beyond the power of description; and would rob each other, rather than not gratify their natural propensity to theft.

Herod had no sooner entered on the possession of the government of his new province, than taking with him a number of guides and agents, he explored the recesses of the thieves, drove them from their retreats, and re-established peace and security in the country. Zenodorus was so enraged at the late events, partly, perhaps, through mortification on account of having lost his government, and partly through its being given to Herod, that he lost no time in complaining of the latter, for which purpose he made a journey to Rome; but all his accusations produced not the effect he desired.

During this situation of public affairs Agrippa was commissioned by Cæsar to go into Asia, to assume the command of the tranmarine provinces in that country. Now Agrippa being a particular friend and old acquaintance of Herod,
Herod, he went as far as Mytilene, to meet him on his journey, and then returned into Judea. No sooner was he arrived, than the Gadarenes instant ly repaired to him, exhibiting very extraordinary complaints against Herod: but they were immediately confined in chains, and sent away to Herod, without so much as being admitted to a hearing.

About this time the Arabians began to exhibit tokens of their enmity against Herod, on the foundation of an ancient animosity that had subsisted between them; and in fact this affair was not without some plausible appearance of reason. Zenodorus, of whom mention has been already made, finding his influence and authority began to decay, came to an agreement with these Arabians, that they should pay him a rent of fifty talents annually, for a certain district of his estate in the province of Auranitis. Now this being within the limits of the government which Cæsar had granted to Herod, the Arabians expressed great unwillingness to submit to the payment. They at one time disputed the matter in a legal way, and at length entertained thoughts of taking up arms, having engaged in their service a considerable number of indigent soldiers, who, copying the example of other persons in distressed circumstances, were not unwilling to promote their own interest by what might tend to the ruin of others. Herod was by no means unacquainted with the nature of these proceedings; but thought it would be more prudent to conciliate the affections of these people by gentle methods, than to irritate them by harsh proceedings, lest new troubles should be the consequence of the procedure.

During the seventeenth year of the reign of Herod, Cæsar made a journey into Syria, where he was no sooner arrived than the Gadarenes approached him, with the bitterest complaints against Herod, whom they represented as an oppressive and most insupportable tyrant. These complaints and accusations against him, arose, however, principally from the instigations of Zenodorus who, as history informs us, had bound himself by a solemn oath, never to leave the possession of Herod, till they (the Gadarenes) should be released from all subjection to him, and once again under the immediate authority of Cæsar. This extravagant promise of Zenodorus instigated the Gadarenes to be still the more presumptuous in their behaviour, especially on their reflecting that those prisoners whom Agrippa had heretofore delivered to Herod still remained free from those punishments which it was expected would have been inflicted on them.

Now though Herod had in many instances distinguished himself by his severity towards the Jewish offenders, yet no man could be more backward in the punishment of such injuries as he received from those of other countries. He was now charged by the Gadarenes with a variety of crimes, such as plundering and oppressing the people, and violating and demolishing of their temples. Notwithstanding the violent importunities of the multitude, Cæsar did not treat Herod with the least degree of respect less than usual; though there was a kind of examination into the nature and cause of their complaints for one day, after which nothing more was done in the affair; for the Gadarenes, by this time, observing how glaring the partiality of Cæsar was to Herod, seemed to entertain well-grounded fears that when the
By this time the good fortune of Herod was advanced to so great a height, that as Caesar and Agrippa were the two supreme governors of the empire, so he was equally a favourite with them both; for Agrippa loved him better than any other man except Caesar; while the affection that Caesar entertained for him was next to that esteem which he had for Agrippa.

In consequence of this weight of interest, Herod prevailed on Caesar to grant the commission of a tetrarch of Judaea to his brother Pheroras, to whom he likewise allowed a revenue of a hundred talents out of his own private fortune, that he might not be destitute of a resource in case of a change in his affairs; nor obliged to apply to his children for support.

This matter being adjusted, Herod paid a constant court to Caesar, whom he attended till he saw him embarked, and then he returned to his own abode. On the estate which had belonged to Zenodorus, Herod now set about erecting a magnificent temple of white marble, in honour of Caesar, and in grateful remembrance of his benefactions. This building was erected near the cave which is called Panias, situated at the bottom of a mountain which is celebrated for the river Jordan taking its rise there. At the bottom of this mountain is a cavern of prodigious depth, in which are springs of water that are continually bubbling. The prospect from this mountain is remarkably delightful; but the mountain itself is still more remarkable for this temple in honour of Caesar, than for any other circumstance.

On this occasion Herod sought the means of ingratiating himself with his subjects; and to this end he released them from a payment of a third of their taxes, under pretence of relieving them from the distresses occasioned by the famine: but his true motive was to conciliate their affections: for he had done so many things scandalous to religion, and in violation of the laws of good manners, that the people in general were extremely disgusted with him; nor did they scruple to speak against his conduct in the most public manner. This laid him under a necessity of taking yet other methods to keep his people in subjection; the principal of which were, the commanding that every man should attend only to his own business, and that there should
should be no private cabals or clubs, or public meetings. He likewise appointed spies to watch the motions of all companies, and commissioned officers to take into custody all those who should act in disobedience to these orders: in consequence of which many persons were publicly committed, and others privately conveyed to fort Hyrcania, where they were punished in the most exemplary manner. The streets, lanes, avenues, and even roads, were all beset with spies; and not a meeting was held on which there was not the closest guard and observance: nay, so jealous was Herod in his fears, that he would frequently disguise himself, and go out alone in the night among the people, to found their inclinations, and learn what was the general opinion concerning him. When he encountered any man that was violent in censures of his conduct, he took care that the party should find the most serious effects of his resentment; but for those who were the more cautious, in the expressing of their sentiments, it was his custom to dismiss them, after having administered to them an oath of allegiance. By this mode of conduct the greater part of the people were soon reduced to submission, from motives of fear; and with regard to such as had the resolution to justify their own conduct, and to deny his right to act as he had done, some mode was still devised to remove them out of the way, and thereby prevent all cause of future complaint. The oath of allegiance abovementioned was offered to Pollio, the Pharisees, and to Simeas, as likewise to their respective disciples, as well as to other people; but on their refusing to make the deposition, Herod declined to urge them any farther on the subject, owing to the sincere regard that he entertained for Pollio. Nor was he less generous in his conduct towards the Essenes, a sect that bore a great resemblance to the Pythagoreans among the Greeks. In several other parts of this work, much will be found respecting the Essenes; but there can be no impropriety in our speaking of them in this place; especially as it will account for the predilection that Herod had in their favour, and tend to elucidate the motives of his present conduct.

At the time that Herod was a boy, there lived one Manahem, an Essene, who was not only remarkable, beyond other men, for the regularity of his life, and all the virtues of his moral character, but was likewise happy in the possession of the spirit of prophecy. Now this person observing Herod playing about with his school-fellows, approached him, and saluted him with these words, "Hail king of the Jews!" Hereupon the youth said that he was not descended from a family from whom he might hope to inherit any of the honours attendant on royalty; and told Manahem either that he did not know him, or that he meant to make a ridicule of him. To this Manahem, smiling, and laying his hands on the boy's shoulder, said, "Yes, yes, it is determined beyond a doubt that you shall be a king, and that you may govern your people happily; for that you should do is the will and pleasure of Almighty God: but I beseech you to remember these words of Manahem, and to reflect on the uncertainty of that elevation to which you will be elevated. It will become your dignity, and be a part of your duty, to distribute equal justice to all men, and to govern according.
"ing to the laws of conscience, and the rules of equity; but I am secretly impelled to tell you, that I fear these maxims will not be the rule of your conduct. I foresee that you will neither obey God, nor serve your fellow-creatures as you ought: though, in other respects, you will be remarkably fortunate, and acquire an unusual degree of renown. Rely on it, however, that none of your transactions will be hid from the Most High, but that a most deplorable judgment will bring you to your end."

This prediction was paid but little attention to by Herod, nor for a considerable time did it again enter into his mind; but in process of time, when he came to be advanced to the throne, and was in the utmost splendor of his circumstances, he caused Manahem to be brought to him, and questioned him how long he thought his reign would continue. To this Manahem returning a dubious reply, Herod again closely questioned him whether it was his opinion that he would reign ten years; "Yes (replied the other) twenty, and even thirty;" on saying which words he stopped, and declined to mention the precise period. Herod, however, appeared to be satisfied with what he had said, dismissed him in the most affectionate manner, and, ever after that period, held the Effenes in the highest degree of esteem. If any part of this narrative should seem to exceed the just bounds of credibility, the reader will recollect that there are innumerable instances of righteous men having been favoured with particular revelations of the secret counsels and purposes of the Divine Will.

C H A P. XIV.

A resolution being formed by Herod to build a new temple, he harangues the people on that subject, and promises not to disturb the old temple, till the materials for the new one are provided. Description of the front of the temple, its galleries, and walls. Account of the tower, and the fort Antonio. Description of the first, second, and middle enclosure of the temple. The work finished in eighteen months. The temple dedicated. Account of a private passage of communication from one fort to another.

HEROD having now signalized himself by a great number of very distinguished actions, and completed many buildings of uncommon pomp and magnificence, conceived an idea, in the eighteenth year of his reign, of erecting a temple to the honour of God, which he proposed should be a much larger and more splendid building than the former. This work he intended should redound more to the credit of his own name, and tend more effectually to perpetuate his memory, than all he had ever done before; which proved to be actually the case: but least the people should conceive that he proposed a plan which would be too difficult in its execution, he caused them to be summoned together, to try what the force of reason would do towards the removing of that objection: and when they were met, he addressed them to the following purport:

"Friends and countrymen! It would be superfluous in me to attempt to lay before you the particulars of all my proceedings since I was elevated..."
THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

"to the throne; wherefore let me assure you that, on the whole, I have been abundantly more anxious for your advantage and security, than for the advancement of my own honour. You are no strangers to the care I have taken of you in the utmost extremities, evermore preferring your happiness to my emolument. I need not tell you that of the important works which, by the blessing and affluence of Almighty God, I have brought to perfection, the principal advantages have returned to you: so that Judæa is, at this time, in a better state than it has been at any former period. For these reasons it will be wholly unnecessary to recite the particulars of all the cities, castles, palaces, and other places, that I have either built, fortified, or repaired, in Judæa, or the provinces thereon dependant. My present business with you, however, is of a different kind: it relates to the promotion of the true worship and religion, and the reputation of our country is concerned in it. It may not be unworthy your observation that this temple, which our ancestors erected on their return out of Babylon, is sixty feet lower than that of Solomon: yet are not our ancestors to be cenfured on account of this circumstance; for it was no fault of theirs that it was not built in proportion to the original: as it was erected according to a particular model given by Cyrus, and Darius the son of Hystaspes, under whose government our forefathers then lived, as they did afterwards under that of the Macedonians: so that it was altogether out of their power to make this modern instance of their piety and zeal of equal extent with the original. But now, since the gracious providence of Almighty God hath so directed affairs, that the government hath fallen into my hands, and at the same time supplied me with proper means of carrying my plan into execution; such as peace, leisure, an ample supply of ready cash, a large revenue, and, what is more valuable than all the rest, the sacred and inviolable friendship of the Romans, who are the masters of the world; I will therefore be particularly careful to supply those defects, which our predecessors, in consequence of the peculiar circumstances they laboured under, were unable to prevent: and it shall be my business to advance the glory of that God of whom we have hitherto taken too little notice: all proper respect shall be paid to his holy name, and we will shew our gratitude for the mercies he has bestowed, by the obedience of our future lives."

There was something in this address and declaration so totally unexpected by the people, that they were astonished at the hearing of it, and filled with apprehension what would be the consequence. Exclusive of this they were extremely afraid that the old temple would be pulled down before they were certain of having another to supply its place: nor, the having any other at all, was rather the object of their hopes than of their expectations: for they thought it almost impossible that such a work should be completed. While they were revolving this business in their minds, the king finding what it was that gave them uneasiness, desired that they would not indulge their anxiety any longer, for they might rest assured that the old temple should remain altogether in its present situation, till the materials for the new one should be provided.
provided; and in this circumstance his performance, kept pace with his promise.

For the completion of this work a hundred carriages were provided to remove stones and other materials; of handicraftsmen of all sorts there were ten thousand artists, and of thefe the best in each kind that could possibly be procured; and for the superintendance of them, a thousand priests that understood the business of masonry and carpentry; and these priests were supplied with robes and vestments at the king's expense. When the workmen were engaged, and the stones, timber, and other materials all provided, the first work they began upon was to clear the old foundation, and lay a new one in its stead; and on this they elevated a superstructure of a temple, the length of which was a hundred cubits, and the heighth one hundred and twenty; but as it afterwards happened that the odd twenty cubits sunk, it fell so much short of the original design; and our fore fathers, in the time of Nero, had an intention of supplying the defect. The whole building was a composition of durable white stone, each stone being eight cubits high, twelve broad, and twenty-five in length.

The principal front of this extraordinary building had very much the appearance of a palace, the center part of which was much higher than the sides. The prospect it afforded towards the fields was extremely agreeable, and this prospect extended into the country several furlongs; nor was the view of the building itself less pleasing to those who had their residence opposite to it, or such as were travelling towards it. The porch of the temple was a curiosity no less singular than the rest of the building; the upper part of it being adorned with an abundance of the richest tapestry hanging, variety of beautiful purple flowers, and pillars appearing to be interwoven; round the pillars a golden vine crept and entwined itself, the branches of which suspended clusters of grapes that descended in elegant negligence from the cornices of the room; the whole exhibiting a piece of workmanship no less valuable for the materials with which it was formed, than the admirable skill with which it was executed.

Large galleries extended round about the temple, which were equally superb and magnificent with the rest of the work; but, for the elegance and beauty of their structure, greatly surpassing any thing that had been seen before of that kind. Two strong walls formed the support for two of these galleries, and were of themselves deemed pieces of work of a very remarkable degree of excellence.

Near this city nature had placed a steep rocky hillock, but on the eastward side of it the descent was gently sloping. Now Solomon, in former ages, had, by the particular command of God, surrounded this hillock with a wall, and the lower extremity of it was encompassed by another wall, under which, towards the south, was a deep valley. This was composed of stones of immense size, cramped together with irons round the whole work, and extending down to the bottom of the hill. This work was built in a square form, and was deemed a most extraordinary piece of architecture, allowance being made for its depth and magnitude. The best opinion could be
be formed of the size of the stones wherewith it was built; by viewing it on the outside, since, on the inside, they were jointed together, one within another, to prevent the inclemency of the weather from seperating them.

When this wall was built up to its proper height, the space between that and the hill was filled up with earth so as to bring the ground to a level with the wall; and then were erected four galleries, each gallery being deemed a furlong in extent. Within the square, likewise, there was another stone wall, which extended round the top of the hill, and was ornamented with a double porch, on the east side, which was opposite the portal of the temple which stood in the middle. Several princes contributed to adorn this portal, by many tokens of their royal bounty; and round about various parts of the temple were hung the spoils and trophies which had been acquired in battles with the barbarians: these Herod caused to be again dedicated, and added to them many others of a later date, which, in his battle with the Arabians, he had brought off as proofs of his own victories.

A strong and well fortified building stood on one of the angles of the north side, which had been erected by some of the line of the Antiochans, a family that had executed the joint authority of prince and high-priest, for a long succession of years. To this place they gave the name of Baris, or the Tower; and herein they deposited the pontifical habits, which, agreeable to ancient custom, were never to be brought forth but when the high-priest wanted them for his immediate use, in the exercise of his office. To this purpose Herod likewise defined the building; but on his decease it fell into the hands of the Romans, with whom it remained till the time of Tiberius; and during his reign the government of Syria was given to Vitellius. Now this Vitellius, on going to take possession of his government, was received in to distinguished a manner at Jerusalem, that in grateful return for the respect and esteem shown him by the Jews, he solicited that Cæsar would submit to their earnest entreaties that they themselves might take possession, and have the keeping of the sacred vestments. Now Cæsar having graciously complied with their request, these valuable effects remained in their custody till king Agrippa had paid the debt of nature: but, upon his decease, Cælius Longinus, the governor of Syria, and Cælius Fadus, the lieutenant of Judæa, issued immediate orders that these sacred vestments should be deposited in the fort Antonia, assigning for a reason, that as they had formerly been in the keeping of the Romans, they ought to be restored to their custody again.

Upon this proceeding the Jews immediately dispatched away messengers to Claudius Cæsar, to entreat his authority on their behalf. The young king Agrippa, who had succeeded his father, being casually at Rome at this time, solicited the favour of Cæsar that these Vestments might be committed to his care, which Cæsar complied with, and sent orders that Vitellius should deliver up the charge of them. In former times these holy robes were kept under the seal of the high-priest, and the treasurer of the temple: and on the day preceding any solemn festival, these officers used to apply themselves
to the person who held the chief command of the Roman fort, producing
their seal, and taking out the vestments: and when the sacred services of
the day were ended, they used to carry them back to the place from whence
they had taken them, and there leave them, having first sealed them up, in
the presence of the governor. It would not have been necessary for me to
have been so particular in the description of this ceremony, but that there
have been many alterations from time to time in the mode of proceeding.
The fort abovementioned was already a place of no small degree of strength,
but very considerable additions were made to its fortifications by Herod, who
while he was engaged in this work, likewise fortified the temple, on which
he afterwards bestowed the name of Antonia, in testimony of respect to An-
thony, heretofore emperor of the Romans, who had honoured him with very
distinguished marks of his friendship.

The following is a description of the temple, which was called the first en-
closure. There were four gates on the west side of the wall, one of which
led across a valley to the court that lay on the opposite side. Another of
these gates led to the city, and two to the suburbs: from each gate was a
large flight of steps down into the valley, and there was an equal number by
which to ascend on the opposite side. There was another gate in the mid-
dle of the square, precisely at an equal distance from the two angles: a mag-
nificent triple gallery extended from the east side of the gallery to the west,
which was the greatest extent of length that the place would admit. It is im-
possible to conceive an idea of any thing more astonishing than this view
afforded: for so very great was the depth of the valley, and so great the
height of the building that was erected immediately on the borders of it, that
it was almost impossible for a person to look from the top to the bottom,
without his head swimming so that he would imagine his brain was turned.
The galleries were supported by four rows of pillars, equally distant each
from the other; and between those of the fourth rank a stone wall was built
up. The pillars themselves were built on a double base, were twenty-seven
feet in length, and so large that three men could not just encompass them.
The whole number of these pillars was no less than one hundred and sixty
two, the chapters of which were beautiful and elegant beyond description;
and the carved work was of the cornithian order. There were three galle-
ries between these four rows of pillars, two of which bore an exact resem-
bance to each other, being each of them thirty feet wide, above fifty in
height, and in length no less than a furlong; but the middle gallery
was double the height of the other two, and forty five feet in width. An
abundant variety of curious figures were wrought in the wainscotting. A
piece of stone-work so admirably formed, cemented, and compacted togeth-
er, as to have the appearance of one entire stone, supported the roof of the
middle gallery.

Having said thus much by way of describing the first enclosure, we must
now remark that not far from it was another, formed by the erection of a
stone wall, towards which the ascent was by two steps; and there was a par-
tition of stone, on which was an inscription, intimating that if any strangers
presumed
presumed to enter there, they would be punished with death: this division formed an inward enclosure, to which were three gates, towards the north and south, at equal distances each from the other. To the eastward there was another gate, considerably larger than the former, at which such men as had been purified were permitted to enter, if they came in company with their wives; but it was not lawful for the women to proceed any farther.

Between the two enclosures abovementioned there was a third place, where it was lawful only for the priests to enter; and this was called the middle enclosure. In this place the temple was erected, before which was placed the altar where the priests offered up their sacrifices. This place was so sacred that even Herod himself durst not enter into it, since the law prohibited him from doing, as he was not a priest. For this reason Herod committed the care of this part of the sacred work to the priests; and they completed it in the space of eighteen months; whereas Herod himself, in superintending the completion of the rest, employed no less a time than eight years.

The finishing of the sacred part of the work in so short a time, afforded matter of such extreme joy to the people, that they united in returning thanks to the Almighty for the blessing he had bestowed on their endeavours, and likewise spoke in the highest terms of the king, for the laudable zeal he had shewn in the promotion of the worship of God.

The temple being thus restored, the circumstance was celebrated by every demonstration of the sincerest joy. On this occasion three hundred oxen were sacrificed for the king’s account, and a proportionable number for persons of all ranks and degrees; so that the whole of the sacrifices exceeded in number what could possibly be imagined. There was a very great degree of solemnity in this dedication of the temple, beyond, indeed, what any person could have formed an idea of; and this solemnity was doubled by its happening on the very day of Herod’s accession to the throne.

While we are reciting an account of Herod’s building these works, it may not be improper to take notice of a vault which he constructed underground, from the fort of Antonia to that gate of the temple which led to the east, near which gate he caused another fort to be erected: this vault was built with a view, that in case of any treasonable proceeding against the government, himself or his successors might have an opportunity of making a secure and private retreat. A tradition is prevalent amongst us, that during the whole time of the building the abovementioned temple no rain fell in the day, but only in the night; which was deemed to be owing to the peculiar interposition of Providence, that the progress of the work might not be impeded. Be this as it may, the story hath been communicated among us from father to son; and we conceive that in instances where the worship of God is concerned, such an interposition is by no means inconsistent with the laws of divine Providence.

End of the Fifteenth Book.

FLAVIUS
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK XVI.

Containing the transactions from the year of the World 3955 to 3961.

CHAP. I.

A law is established for the punishment of house-breakers, which proves offensive to the people. Herod goes to Rome, whence, after being entertained by Caesar, he is accompanied to Jerusalem by his two sons. The malevolence of Salome towards the princes.

HEROD considering it a principal branch of his duty to provide for a due administration of justice, both in the city and country, enacted a law, purporting that offenders convicted of house-breaking should be sold into slavery, either to natives or foreigners, without exception. The people judged this law to be an insult upon the customs and institutions of their nation rather than as proceeding from a regard to public justice, and that the subjecting men to the jurisdiction of people living under different laws and regulations was not meant so much as a punishment to the criminal as an affront and injury to religion. It is enacted by our ancient laws that a felon be condemned to four-fold restitution, provided he be possessed of property; that,
that, in case of being insolvent, he be sold into slavery, but not to strangers; and that he be released on the expiration of seven years. The new law was considered as a deliberate act of injustice and oppression, established in contempt of the ancient practice.

About this time the king made a voyage to Italy, in order to visit his two sons whom he had sent to be educated in that country, and to pay his respects to the emperor. He found that his sons had acquired a great proficiency in the knowledge both of literature and business; and they were delivered into his care by Caesar. The youths were tall and well proportioned; and their conversation proved the excellency of their minds to be equal to the gracefulness of their persons; and all their actions were accompanied with a peculiar dignity which seemed to speak them of the royal line. Herod having paid his compliments to Caesar, returned with his sons to Jerusalem, where they were received with great joy by the Jews, who were struck with admiration upon observing the eminent accomplishments which the princes had acquired. The favourable reception which the young princes experienced from the people proved a circumstance extremely disagreeable to Salome, the sister of Herod, and to the several persons who had united with her in effecting the destruction of Mariamne; and they considered these youths as the instruments preferred by Providence by which they were to be punished for having caused the death of their mother. Influenced by these suggestions, they determined to endeavour to alienate the affection of the king from his sons by slanderous insinuations; they propagated a rumour among the multitude that the sons must necessarily entertain an implacable aversion to the father who had bathed his hands in the blood of their innocent mother. Though they ventured not to address these and other calumnies immediately to Herod, they doubted not of their reaching him in the end, and of giving birth to an irreconcilable hatred against his sons.

CHAP. II.

Through the negotiation of Herod, Aristobulus is married to Berenice, and Alexander to Glaphyra. Herod is visited by Agrippa.

HITHERTO the conspiracy of Salome and her adherents had proved ineffectual; and Herod continued unremitted and tenderly affectionate to his sons. He applied himself to negotiate matrimonial alliances between them and princely families; and effected an union between Aristobulus and Berenice, daughter of Salome, and between Alexander and Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, sovereign of Cappadocia.

Being informed that Marcus Agrippa was now returned from Italy into Asia, Herod repaired to him, and with great earnestness entreated that he would confer upon him the honour of a visit. Agrippa accepted the invitation, and Herod exerted his utmost power to give a generous reception to, and contribute to the satisfaction of, his guest. He conducted him to the several magnificent cities and palaces, which he had built or repaired,
THESE being the port of Cæsarea, the forts of Alexandrian, Herodion, Hyscania, &c. at which places he entertained Agrippa and his friends with the greatest splendor that can be conceived. Having made this expedition, Herod conducted Agrippa to Jerusalem, where the people received him with expressions of joy, and the acclamations and other ceremonies usual on a solemn festival. On this occasion Agrippa dedicated to the Lord an hecatomb, which is a sacrifice of an hundred victims, and feasted the multitude. The behaviour of Herod proved so agreeable, that Agrippa was desirous of prolonging his visit; but as the winter approached, and the seas were dangerous in that season, he embarked, after having received many honours and valuable presents, and returned with his troops to Ionia.

CHAP. III.

Herod embarks for Lesbos, and is driven by adverse winds to the isle of Chios. He directs his course to Pontus, and meets Agrippa at a city called Sinope. The friendly interview of these sovereigns, who go in company to Samos.

HEROD having passed the winter in his own dominions, embarked on the opening of spring for Lesbos, where he expected to join his friend Agrippa, who he was advised had led an army towards the Bosphorus. Having passed Rhodes and Cos, he was forced by the northern winds upon the isle of Chios, and detained there several days. During his residence in this place, he received visits from many persons of distinction, whom he complimented with magnificent presents: and observing that, from a scarcity of money, the public edifices which had been destroyed in the Mithridatic war still remained in ruins, he gave the inhabitants credit for a sum sufficient to defray the expense of the necessary reparations, expressly charging them to compleat the work with all possible expedition.

Upon the wind changing to a favourable point, Herod embarked; and failed to Mitylene, and thence to Byzantium. Having received intelligence that Agrippa had passed the Cyanean rocks, he made all possible speed in pursuit of him, and at length joined him at a city of Pontus called Sinope. Agrippa was no less rejoiced than surprized at the unexpected arrival of Herod; and on the meeting of these princes, they gave every possible demonstration of an honourable and reciprocal friendship. Agrippa made grateful acknowledgments to Herod for the singular instance of kindness he had shewn in postponing the concerns of his own government, and joining him with a powerful fleet at a point of time when his affairs were in the most pressing exigency. Agrippa reposed an unlimited confidence in Herod; to whose advice in council he paid the greatest deference; and these princes were so strongly united, that they jointly partook of labours, dangers and difficulties, as well as the pleasurable relaxations from the arduous concerns annexed to their situation.

Having
Having dispatched the business which had called him to Pontus, Agrippa, accompanied by Herod, returned over land. They directed their course through Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, and the greater Phrygia, and having arrived at Ephesus, they took shipping for Samos. During their progress, the generosity of Herod was displayed on a variety of occasions, both by liberal donations on his own account, and by soliciting Agrippa in favour of the inhabitants of the places through which they passed. Agrippa was naturally of a humane disposition, and was never backward to perform acts of kindness, except when rendering service to one man would be attended with injury to another. This benevolent temper operated more extensively through the mediation of Herod, to which nothing was refused by Agrippa, who studied to anticipate him in offices of kindness and generosity. On the interference of his friend, Agrippa granted a pardon to the Illyrians, whose conduct had given him great offence. He discharged an arrear which the people of Chios had incurred to the emperor, and put them in possession of divers privileges: and he was distinguished by many other instances of virtue.

C H A P. IV.

At the instance of Herod, Agrippa grants a hearing to the Jews of Ionia, who complain of the tyranny of the natives. Nicolaus being entertained as counsel for the plaintiffs, enumerates their grievances. Decrees of the Senate of Rome in behalf of the Jews. The conduct of Cæsar applauded. Agrippa espouses the cause of the Jews.

Upon the arrival of Herod and Agrippa in the province of Ionia, they found a great concourse of Jews assembled, who vented the most bitter complaints against the natives for interrupting their religious worship and the exercise of their laws. They represented that the officers broke in upon their public meetings, and forcibly hurried them to the courts of justice; prevented the holy treasure being conveyed to Jerusalem; compelled them to take up arms, and exacted duties out of their subsistence money; urging that these oppressions were inflicted upon them in direct violation of the privileges granted to them by the Romans. Herod availed himself of this favourable opportunity to render service to the Jews, and interceded with Agrippa to allow them to submit their complaints to him. Agrippa consented to grant the Jews a hearing, and Herod retained his friend Nicolaus as counsel to plead their cause. On this occasion a court was summoned to meet, at which were present Agrippa, a bench of honourable Romans, several princes, and other persons of distinguished rank. The advocate in behalf of the Jews pleaded their cause in the following manner:

"To whom, most illustrious Agrippa, should those who labour under the heavy hand of oppression apply for redress but to the princes who have power to afford them relief? We entertain a full confidence of your impartial administration of public justice, and to that we presume to appeal;"
the royal goodness which we have already experienced inspires us with
the pleasing hope of success in the cause now submitted to your determi-
nation. We have nothing further to supplicate than that we may be con-
formed in those privileges which you have yourself granted, and which we
are in danger of having wrested from us by our fellow-subjects. We doubt
not your judging us as worthy to retain the advantages we enjoy as we were
to have them conferred upon us. We are not more injured than you are
insulted by the subject of our present appeal; for your judgment is ar-
raigned, and your pious intentions are disappointed. It is with a due
submission I say, there is good reason to believe that the complainants
would with greater willingness lose their lives than part with their laws,
customs, discipline, sacrifices, festivals and other institutions established
in honour of their religion. It frequently happens that wars are com-
menced in support of religion: but does not the great blessing which man-
kind at present enjoy under the protection of the Roman empire consist in
the happy circumstance of every individual being allowed the liberty of
worship according to the dictates of his own conscience? Can any justifi-
cation be offered for those who confine others within limits which they ob-
serve not themselves? And is not the guilt equal, whether we impede
other men in the exercise of their duty, or neglect that which we our-
selves bound to perform? It is to be held in recollection that there is no
city, nation, or society of people whatever, whose happiness does not de-
pend on the power of the Roman senate. Will any man, then, who is
under the government of reason, consider it as his interest to frustrate
your bounties, when every individual must share in the common loss?
Our enemies do not foresee, that while they study to effect the destruction
of our privileges, their machinations must, of necessity, equally operate to
invalidate their own; for there is no reason to pretend that we should be
abridged of those liberties, of which they are allowed the full enjoyment;
and that, among other inestimable privileges, we have not an equal right
with them to congratulate ourselves on the advantage of being allowed the
protection of the Roman emperors, and to are in the possession of liberty
and safety, while many other nations live in a state of intolerable slavery to
tyranical sovereigns. We have at present nothing further to solicit than
that we may be permitted to continue in the mode of religious worship
established by our ancestors, and to share in common with our fellow-
subjects in those benefits which are granted to our nation. On one hand
this worship is, in the nature of its institution and practice, perfectly in-
ocent; and on the other it argues a merit in those who afford it counte-
nance; for the Almighty looks with pleasure on those who encourage the
worship of him in others as well as those who in their own persons pay a due
regard to his holy name. In the exercise of our religion there is nothing
that can prove offensive to sedate and sober people; or that it is not in every
instance perfectly consistent with justice and piety. We make no scruple
publicly to profess the rules and precepts in conformity to which we regu-
late our lives. On the seventh day we desist from every kind of labour;
and it is a day on which we apply ourselves to the study of the law, whereby

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it is considered that a great reformation is effected in our lives and manners.

Upon the most minute inquiry into the customs to which we adhere, it
will be found that no part of them can be reasonably subject to reproach;
and that in consideration of their antiquity they are entitled to veneration
and respect. The laws which have stood the test, and received the sanction
of so many ages will indisputably supersede every objection advanced in
contempt of their authority. The grievances on the score of which we
now supplicate redress, are these: We are exempted from the payment of
taxes, and yet they are injuriously exacted from us; we are violently and
fairely injuredly deplored of the money dedicated to holy uses; on the days
set apart for the solemnities of our religion, we are compelled to attendance
upon the courts of justice and at other places, from no other motive than
that of showing contempt to our religion: thus are we harrassed by people
who are conscious that their oppression is unjustifiable and without cause.
To prevent feuds, establish peace, and promote the common happiness of
your people, are the great objects, most illustrious sovereign, to which
your attention is directed. We earnestly petition for a redress of the
grievances already enumerated; that we may be continued in possession of
the rights heretofore granted us, and that we may remain on terms of
equality with our adversaries. Our claim is founded on the principles of
justice, and your compliance will be but a confirmation of the rights which
have been already bestowed upon us, as will appear from the tables of
brass which remain in the capitol, whereas are engraved the several de-
crees passed in our favor by the senate; these tables being intended to
transmit to posterity a perpetual memory of the privileges we have a right
to enjoy. It was undoubtedly on proof of our loyalty, faith, and steady
attachment to the government, that the records in our behalf received the
sanction of the senate. Had we been unworthy the bounty extended to
us, yet our privileges would be inviolable; for, to have once enjoyed
them is ample security for their being held sacred, since so far from re-
voking the obligations you have conferred, the natural generosity of your
dispotion prompts you to additional acts of benevolence towards our na-
tion and mankind in general. That I may not appear to be influenced by
vanity arising from the recollection of the services rendered by our nation
to the people, I shall not recur to former times, but content myself with
adverting to the friendly offices which you have experienced from our
royal master, now present, conscious that they will bear testimony in our
favour. Has he not afforded repeated proofs of his zealous attachment to
your interests, and made the honour of your nation one of the first con-
cerns of his life? In the most distressful state of your affairs has he not
been the first to support your cause? And has he not shewn an unremitting
affinity to support your dignity? We conceive that, on account of the
approved friendship of our sovereign, we may reasonably lay claim to
some consideration. Besides the services of our present sovereign, we
may plead those of his father Antipater, who, when Cæsar was engaged
in prosecuting the war in Egypt, led to his assistance an army of two
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thousand
 thousand auxiliaries, and manifested a conduct by which he obtained the
reputation of being equal to the most celebrated of his cotemporaries,
either in the naval or military command.

On this occasion, Cæsar presented him with magnificent gifts, and dis-
patched letters powerfully recommending him to the senate, in conse-
quence of which he obtained the privileges of a citizen of Rome, and
other honourable marks of distinction. That the bounties of which, we
presume, illustrious prince, to solicit a confirmation, were not unworthily
beflawed, the last argument alone may be understood as a sufficient proof.
The league of amity subsisting between yourself and our royal sovereign,
induces me to hope for an increase, rather than fear a diminution of your
favour. I might avail myself of this opportunity to expatiate on the holy
vows and sacrifices you made at Jerusalem, the magnificence with which
you entertained the multitude, and the satisfaction you were pleased to
express on the interchange of acts of hospitality, in proof of the recipro-
cal friendship between the Romans and the Jews. The object of our peti-
tion is, that the good and powerful king Agrippa will interpose his royal
authority in our behalf, that our adversaries may not divest us of the
proper effects of his benevolence and generosity.

The Greeks made no attempt to invalidate what had been advanced by
Nicolaus; for the matter in agitation was not a judicial trial of right, but a
petition for redress of grievances. They urged, however, that the Jews
were foreigners, and a burthen upon the natives. On the other hand, it
was contended that being entitled to the privileges of citizens, the Jews
could not come under the description of foreigners; that they were a people
under the regulation of their own laws, living in conformity to the will of
the Almighty, and at peace with mankind.

Convinced of the justice of their cause, Agrippa declared himself in fa-
vour of the Jews, and signified, that if their deires had not been confined
within such moderate bounds, he should have complied with them, provided
he could have done it consistent with a due regard to the dignity of the state
of Rome. Since the requisitions of the Jews (said Agrippa) are so rea-
sonable, from a regard to common justice, and a respect to their sovereign,
I pronounce a full ratification of the privileges, which, by a previous
grant, they have an undoubted right to claim; and I promise that as long
as they continue within the limits of good order, the necessary measures
shall be taken for guarding them against future vexations of this kind.

Having delivered this speech, Agrippa dissolved the assembly; and, in the
name of the whole nation, Herod expressed the warmest acknowledgments
to him for his generous conduct. After a mutual profession of friendship,
these princes departed from Lesbos.
CHAP. V.

Herod returns to Jerusalem, where he gives public information of the privileges confirmed to the Jews resident in Asia.

HE Rod embarked for Cæsarea, and having the advantage of a favourable wind, he soon reached that place; and in a few days afterwards he arrived at Jerusalem. He issued a proclamation for an assembly of the people, at which the strangers as well as citizens were to attend. He related to the multitude the principal incidents which had occurred during his late expedition, representing the resolutions whereby Agrippa had secured the personal liberty of, and the free exercise of religion to the Jews inhabiting Asia. He observed that during his government, the people had been in a state of prosperity, and that their future welfare superseded every other consideration. As a proof of his regard, he excused them from one fourth part of the tribute which they had been used to pay. The loud and unanimous acclamations of the multitude proved that they were gratefully sensible of their sovereign's generosity.

CHAP. VI.

The conspiracy of Salome against the princes Alexander and Aristobulus. In conjunction with Pheroras she raises the indignation of Herod against them by plausible insinuations, in consequence of which he resolves that his son Antipater shall succeed him in the government. Antipater endeavours to possess his father with an enmity against Alexander and Aristobulus, and succeeds. Herod sends for the mother of Antipater to court. Antipater accompanies Herod on a visit to Agrippa at Rome.

SALOME, the sister of Herod, entertained an irreconcilable enmity towards Alexander and Aristobulus, the sons of Herod by his wife Mariamne, and inspired with confidence by the successful manner in which her injurious representations had operated with regard to their mother, she determined to prosecute a design she had conceived for effecting the destruction of the princes, lest they should revenge the death of the queen. The conspiracy was carried on against the young princes with the greater appearance of justice as they had shewn many infinances of disrespect towards their father, being induced thereto partly by an abhorrence of the cruelty exercised upon their mother, and partly by the ambitious desire of supplanting their father in the government.

The sons openly vented the most bitter reproaches upon Salome and her brother Pheroras; and, on the other hand, they uttered reflections equally rancorous, but conveyed in a more artful and cautious manner. The princes being inflamed with passion, in the natural simplicity of their hearts, declared their sentiments without reserve: but the others exercised their malice
lice with more circumspection, employing every stratagem they could suggest for betraying their adversaries into such extravagance of expression as they might take advantage of. The princes declared that they considered it an honour to have derived their existence from so excellent a queen as Mariamne, whom, they insisted had been barbarously murdered. This declaration was taken advantage of by their enemies, who propagated it so affi

The absence of Herod was a circumstance exceedingly favourable to the conspiracy. A short time having elapsed after the return of the king, Salome and Pheroras, with a well affected plausibility, intimated to him, that it was necessary he should guard against the danger which threatened him in the persons of Alexander and Aristobulus, who had publicly denounced vengeance against the murderers of their mother; and they falsely represented, that through the interest of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, they expected to compel Herod to abide the event of a judicial enquiry before the emperor. Herod was induced to place more confidence in these insinuations as they were frequently repeated, and communicated to him through a variety of channels. He reflected on the unhappy situation to which he had already been reduced by dissensions in his family, and lamented that these disagreements had proved destructive to his most valuable friendships, and deprived him of a wife towards whom he entertained the most tender affection. He recalled to his imagination the events which had occurred, and thence pictured in idea what might probably ensue in the present instance; and the prospect was so alarming as nearly to drive him to a state of distraction. His foreign concerns proved successful to the utmost extent of his most sanguine hopes, while those of a domestic nature were involved in all the difficulties which could unite to render him completely miserable.

It is to be questioned whether his splendid station in the world was a sufficient counterbalance to the disorders which prevailed in his family, and whether he would not have enjoyed a greater share of happiness in a private station, than he experienced while surrounded with all the magnificence annexed to the regal character.

Herod remained some time under great embarrassment, not knowing what course it would be most eligible to pursue in the distracted state of his affairs; but at length he resolved to receive into his family a son, named Antipater, who he had caused to be privately educated, and to entertain the youth with particular respect; judging that such conduct would prove a check to the ambition of his other sons. Agreeable to this intention he inve
eled Antipater with considerable authority, and repose great trust in him, signifying by his whole behaviour towards him, that he meant the youth
youth to be his successor in the government. In the particular distinction which Herod shewed to Antipater, his whole view was to reduce the influence of MARIANNE's sons, who he imagined would, when they were convinced that there was no want of a successor to the government, be more obser vant of their duty: but, contrary to his original design, he afterwards conferred upon him the regal dignity. The respect which was shewn to Antipater served to inflame rather than appease the passions of the brothers, who considered the deference paid to him as an affront offered to themselves.

Antipater determined to preserve the consequence he had so unexpectedly attained; and for effecting this purpose he had recourse to malevolent insinuations, expecting thereby to alienate from his brothers the still remaining affection of Herod. He assumed the utmost appearance of candour and good-will, but at the same time laboured to effect the ruin of the brothers, by means of agents who were esteemed by the king, and who he was convinced would easily prevail upon his credulous temper to put full confidence in their misrepresentations: and this design was attended with the desired success; for Herod was inspired with an aversion which soon encreased to an implacable degree. Alexander and Aristobulus being greatly affected by the indignities they endured, with tears lamented their unhappy fate; at other times, in the anguish of their hearts, they appealed to the manes of their innocent mother, and bitterly reflected upon their father as the author of the grievances they sustained. The adherents of Antipater availed themselves of the advantage which the ungovernable passions of the princes afforded, and, with every possible aggravation, represented their intemperate behaviour to Herod, who being still more violently inflamed against them, resolved to convince them of his indignation by heaping additional honours upon Antipater. The artifices which Antipater employed, prevailed upon Herod to send for his mother to court, and to write letters on behalf of himself, recommending him to Cæsar in terms of the greatest respect.

Agrippa, after having held the administration for the space of ten years in Asia, set out on his return to Rome; and Herod embarked in order to meet and compliment him on the way, taking with him many valuable presents, and being accompanied by Antipater; the other sons being denied the honour of engaging with him in this voyage. Herod requested Agrippa that Antipater might be permitted to accompany him to Rome, and that he would present him to Cæsar, to whom he sent rich presents for the purpose of obtaining for his son a favourable reception. Herod's conduct on this occasion was with a view to give Antipater a distinction above his brothers.
CHAP. VII.

Herod repairs to Caesar at Aquileia, and exhibits accusations against his sons Alexander and Aristobulus.

Herod having furnished him with recommendatory letters to his friends at Rome, Antipater derived additional consequence from his voyage to that capital. In his present situation, however, he was unhappy in having no longer the opportunity of gratifying his rancour against the sons of Mariamne by injurious representations to Herod, who apprehended might be prevailed upon to treat them with less rigour. He was determined to omit no measures which he supposed would operate to the disadvantage of Alexander and Aristobulus; and, therefore, under the pretext of an extreme importunity for his father's safety, he wrote letters containing such malicious charges, as induced Herod to consider the unfortunate brothers as his most inveterate enemies: and the ultimate view of his iniquitous proceedings was to obtain possession of the government.

Herod, determined, left the violence of his displeasure should transport him into any rash or unjust proceedings against his sons, to repair to Rome, and exhibit complaints against them before Caesar. Upon his arrival at Rome, he found that Caesar was not in that city; he therefore proceeded to Aquileia, and having obtained permission to submit his unhappy cause to the decision of the emperor, he produced his two sons, and accused them of disobedience, and an attempt to deprive him of life by poison, urging that the ambition of obtaining possession of the government had inspired them with the horrid and unnatural design of putting their father to death. He said their malice was so inveterate that, though defeated in their rebellious attempt upon the crown, they would still enjoy a cruel satisfaction in the inhuman murder of their father. He mentioned the space of time he had endured the disobedience of his sons, saying that now, in the last extremity, he was compelled to the cruel necessity of submitting his cause to the determination of Caesar. "What act of my life (said he) has rendered me deserving the treatment I have experienced from these young men? Towards whom have I been guilty of injustice? On what pretext can any man presume to dispossess a prince of the authority in the due exercise of which he has been so long established, and which he has obtained by such unwearied affiduity, and imminent hazards? Is it reasonable that I should be denied the liberty of nominating my successor? Especially since Caesar has been pleased to grant me the right of bestowing the crown upon such of my issue as shall approve himself most worthy the regal dignity? The power which I have an undoubted right to exercise of exalting the fortunes of that son who shall distinguish himself by a pious regard to his duty, must surely be considered as a motive to a generous emulation in worthy deeds. But whoever desires to obtain the authority of his father, must with that father's death, because while he survives he cannot succeed to his station. They cannot pretend that I have been deficient in my duty towards
towards them, either as a gracious prince, or an indulgent parent. Can
they affect that I have not been liberal in my allowance of every gratifi-
cation they could reasonably require, either in point of magnificence
equal to their station in life, amusement, and every other matter that
might contribute to their happiness? I have not endeavored to promote
their fortunes by expounding them to princelies of the most distinguished
rank? I have married Alexander to the daughter of Archelaus, king of
Cappadocia, and Aristobulus to the daughter of my own sister. As a still
more remarkable instance of kindness to these refractory youths, I have
waved my authority both as a king and father, and putting, myself on
terms of equality with my children and subjects, thus appeal to the im-
perial majesty of Cæsar, requesting that his wisdom will award a due
punishment to such enormous offenders, and thereby relieve me from the
apprehension of passing the remainder of my days in the dreadful anxiety
occasioned by the reflux of ambition of these youths, who have merited to
be forever excluded from beholding the light of the sun, as an equitable re-
tribution of the daring violation of the rights of human nature and so-
ciety, of which they justly stand accused."

Herod delivered the above speech with considerable warmth; and while
he was speaking the princes frequently wept; but upon the conclusion of
his address, their grief was expressed by a torrent of tears; it is not, how-
ever, to be understood that they were affected by a conscientiousness of guilt,
but rather by an honourable sense of filial piety upon being so heavily ac-
cused by their father, and by the consideration that their afflictive situation
compelled them to the necessity of opposing their father, or to the no less
unhappy extreme of forking every pretention to a rectitude of principle.
Thus grievously distressed and embarrassed, they lamented their fate in sighs
and tears, but made no attempt to plead in their own defence. Cæsar put
a just construction upon their behaviour, attributing their diffidence not to
a sense of criminality but to their being unused to address so formidable an
assembly: and the same sentiments were entertained by the auditors, who
unanimously compassionated the young princes, and even Herod himself was
greatly affected.

C H A P. VIII.

Alexander pleads in behalf of Aristobulus and himself: and Cæsar pronounces them both
innocent. Herod makes valuable presents to Augustus, who liberally gratifies him
in return. Herod, accompanied by his sons, departs, and on his way to Judea
meets the king of Cappadocia at Elea. He assembles a council at Jerusalem, and
appoints Antipater to succeed him in the government.

When the grief of the princes was somewhat moderated, they observ-
ed that Cæsar was greatly affected, that many of the auditors wept in
pity of their calamities, and that even the heart of their father was softened
towards
towards them. Judging this to be a favourable opportunity, Alexander, who was the eldest, spoke to the following effect:

"You have afforded, Sir, a signal instance of kindness in dispensing with the exercise of your authority as a king and father, and submitting our cause to the determination of so great a prince and so equitable a judge. In calling us to Rome, and making a judicial appeal to Caesar, it is evident that you seek not our destruction: for it is the glory of the prince in whose hands the dispoal of our fate is entrusted to administer impartial justice. We are conscious that we should highly merit the sentence of death had our lives been stained by any action that could bear the interpretation of disloyalty or disobedience to a father of such exemplary virtue; and be assured, Sir, that we would more willingly yield up our lives in innocence than prefer our them, under the imputation of such enormous guilt as that exhibited against us. If providence shall prove so favourable as to enable us to establish the proof of our innocence, that circumstance will afford us far greater satisfaction than a deliverance from the danger by which we are now threatened; but we shall with infinitely less reluctance submit to death than to preserve our lives under the load of infamy which defraction has heaped upon us. We stand accused of treacherous designs upon the crown; and we are aware that the enterprising dispositions natural to young men are apt to give a degree of authenticity to charges of this nature, and that the unhappy fate of our mother may afford some confirmation to the suspicion of our guilt. Are not all princes, Sir, circumstances as we were, liable to similar imputations; and who among them, I beseech you, can be secure if suspicion be admitted as proof of guilt. In the present instance, a heavy accusation is made, but to support it there appears neither presumptive evidence nor the least shadow of probability. Neither accomplices, poison, or other deadly instruments are produced. Can it be proved that a conspiracy has existed, or that letters of a dangerous or even-suspicious import have been written? The accusation, in short, is the effect of calumny, and destitute of corresponding circumstances to give it credibility. What you have been pleased to call an incentive to a noble emulation is frequently productive of the worst crimes: but with confidence we rely on the rectitude of our conduct and defy the utmost malice of our enemies to prove us guilty. Injurious reports cannot be disproved while confidence is given to slander, and the opportunity of defence refused. To have reflected upon you, Sir, would have been an unpardonable offence; but if we have delivered our sentiments with freedom, our meaning was to reflect upon the mischiefous propagators of the falsehoods by which you have been deceived. In the zeal of our hearts we may have passionately regretted the death of our dear mother, but it was from a tender regard to her memory, which has been maltreated, cruelly traduced. Wherefore should we aspire to obtain possession of the government during the life of our father? Already enjoying the honours and advantages annexed to the royal line, wherefore should we be dissatisfied? If we are not in the actual possession of our desires, does

"not
"not the hope remain of being fully gratified in future? Is it probable
"that we should conceive the idea of murdering him from whom we derived
"our existence, and then exalting ourselves to his throne? In a case of so
"flagitious a nature the earth and sea would combine to extirpate the per-
"petrators of such enormous guilt. To acknowledge participles for love,-
"reigns would be inconsistent with the piety of the people and the established
"religion of the country; nor would your subjects permit a profanation of
"the temple, dedicated to the honour of the Almighty, by the most execrable
"murderers. Exclusive of all other considerations, can it be supposed that
"any man could effect the destruction of Herod, and yet hope to escape
"the just vengeance of Caesar? We are neither so abandoned nor so senseless
"as we are represented, but deserve to be considered as the misfortune
"rather than the disgrace of our family. Why are we exposed in the in-
"famous situation of murderers, when there appears no reasonable ground
"for the cruel accusation? The unhappy fate of our mother is an event
"that should teach us cautiously to moderate our conduct, rather than in-
"tire us to outrage. It is unnecessary to multiply arguments in extenu-
"ation of a crime of which we are perfectly innocent, since no evidence ap-
"pears to the contrary. We supplicate, most powerful and illustrious Caesar,
"that if you are persuaded of our innocence, we may be permitted to live,
"though in misery; but if we are to remain under suspicion of the most
"horrible guilt, the torments of conscience will soon put a period to our
"lives, which we desire not to preserve to give unhappiness to the author
"of our existence."

When the charge was exhibited against the princes, Caesar judged it to
be of too extraordinary a nature to be founded in justice, and this opinion
was confirmed by Alexander’s address, during the delivery of which he ob-
erved Herod to be greatly affected. The auditors entertained very unfa-
vourable sentiments of Herod for proceeding to so violent an accusation;
and being greatly prejudiced in favour of the youths by their engaging per-
fons, the moderation of the reply, and the exact propriety of their whole
deportment, they unanimously resolved to render them every friendly office in
their power. After a pause, during which the princes waited the issue of their
cause with their eyes cast down and other instances of a depression of spirits,
Caesar addressed the assembly in a speech purporting, that the sons were de-
serving some degree of censure for the intemperate expressions which had
given rise to their father’s jealousy; but that he pronounced them innocent
of the offence alleged against them. He mentioned dissensions between a
father and his children as a misfortune of great magnitude, and recom-
mended the parties to sink all animosities in oblivion, and manifest their
entire reconciliation by mutual confidence and a constant interchange of
friendly offices. Caesar now intimated by a sign that the sons were to come
forward; and, with features which expressed the anguish of their minds,
and the utmost humility of deportment, they obeyed, and were preparing
to throw themselves at the feet of their father, but he prevented them, and
taking them in his arms, embraced them with great tenderness and affection.

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This instance of tenderness in Herod was equally unexpected and satisfactory to the whole court. Having made due acknowledgments to Cæsar, Herod departed, accompanied by Alexander, Aristobulus and Antipater, the latter afflicting an excuse of joy on occasion of the happy agreement.

Some days subsequent to the reconciliation between Herod and his sons, Augustus gave an entertainment to the people; and at this time Herod made the emperor a present of three hundred talents, in return for which Cæsar granted him a moiety of the profits arising from the mines of Cyprus, and full power of disposing of the residue of the income: he also confirmed the right of appointing a successor to the government in the son who he should most approve, or dividing the government between them, at his own discretion: but these liberties were granted on the condition, that he should maintain the natural authority of a father over his children, and the sovereignty of his kingdom, during the period of his life.

Thus were matters circumstance when Herod and his three sons proceeded on their return to Judea. During the absence of Herod, the people of Trachonitis, who formed a considerable part of his subjects, engaged in a rebellion: but the vigilant and spirited behaviour of the officers to whom the king had entrusted the management of public affairs, restored them to allegiance. At Eleusa, a city in Cilicia, now called Sabaste, Herod and his sons met Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, who expressed much satisfaction on the re-establishment of a friendly understanding in the family of Herod, and the honourable acquittal which his son-in-law Alexander had experienced on his trial. The reception which Archelaus gave to Herod was truly hospitable and generous; and these kings parted after an exchange of presents, and reciprocal professions of friendship.

Upon the arrival of Herod at Jerusalem, he summoned the people to assemble in the temple, and related to them an account of his late expedition, particularizing the several honours which had been conferred upon him by Cæsar, and dwelling upon other passages which he was desirous to impress upon their minds: he then adverted to his sons, and recommended unanimity and moderation to the court and his subjects in general. He then pronounced Antipater to be his successor in the government, which was to devolve from him to Alexander, and then to Aristobulus. "During the term of my life (said he) you are to acknowledge myself only as your king; I make this declaration to the several persons of my family, my officers civil and military, and my subjects in general. Age produces experience, whereby men are instructed in wisdom; my increase of years, therefore, rather than proving an obstacle, will render me more equal to the important duties of administration." He concluded with exhorting his people steadily to preserve their allegiance, as the most certain means of security and happiness. He now dismissed the assembly. The majority of the people were perfectly satisfied with his conduct, but many were apprehensive that the desire which they conceived the sons would respectively entertain of being advanced to the throne would prove the source of future troubles.

C H A P.
CHAP. IX.

The city of Cæsarea finished. An account of the dedication of it. Caesarea finished with other places built by Herod. Herod built the temple of the Pythian maid. An annual allowance made out of his own revenue, for the support of the Olympic games. Herod’s general character.

In the tenth year after laying the foundation of Caesarea that city was compleatly finished, which happened in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Herod, and in the Olympiad one hundred and ninety-two. No degree of splendor or magnificence was omitted to celebrate the dedication of this city; persons who professed the several faculties and exercites of all kinds, and those too the most excellent in their various ways, were procured from different parts of the country. Among these were musicians, wrestlers, swordsmen, and others of like kinds; and these were appointed to play for prizes in their several arts and professions. There were likewise a number of horse-races, and exhibitions of various kinds of wild beasts, together with a great variety of other shews and entertainments, such as were then in fashion, either in Rome or other places. It was to the honour of Cæsar that this solemnity was instituted, and it obtained the name of Cæsarium Quinquennale, as the exhibition of the ceremony was to be repeated every fifth year. The expence that the king incurred, in the procuring of curiosities of all kinds and bringing them from places more or less distant, for the furnishing out of this splendid spectacle, was astonishingly great; exclusive of which, Julia, the wife of Cæsar, contributed very largely towards it on her own account, and caus’d a variety of curiosities to be brought out of Italy; so that the whole of her gifts on that occasion were reckoned at about five hundred talents. Motives of curiosity induced incredible numbers of people to flock thither on this occasion: many ambassadors came from distant places to pay their respects to Herod, all of whom were splendidly entertained, genteelly treated, and every way accommodated at the king’s expence; their diversions consisting of public shews by day, and in the evening, of the most elegant feasting and exhibitions of mirth, all which was conducted in such a manner as to do the highest honour to the character of Herod, as a prince of splendid taste, and the most liberal disposition. In a word, he affected, on this occasion, to exceed all preceding instances of his liberality; and to eclipse the glory of all his former actions, by the singular splendor attendant upon the latter. In remark on this part of Herod’s character, both Cæsar and Agrippa have frequently said to their surrounding friends, that it was to be lamented that both Syria and Egypt were not under his jurisdiction; for that the ambition of his mind was too great to be gratified with the government of Judæa, and the limited revenues arising from the command of that province.

After the close of all the mirth, gaiety, and pomp attendant on this festival, Herod applied himself to the building of another city, on a plain nam-
ed Capharpsiba, a situation most elegantly chosen; for it had all the advantages arising from the happy combination of wood and water: being almost surrounded by a delightful river, and having a fine grove with a plantation of the most curious trees, in its neighbourhood. To this city he gave the name of Antipatris in honour of his father Antipater: and not long afterwards he caused a castle to be erected beyond Jericho, on which he bestowed the name of Cypron, in pious remembrance of his mother: this place was exceedingly well built and fortified, and was singularly pleasant and agreeable in its situation. Nor did Herod forget to celebrate his regard for his beloved brother, since he erected several splendid and monumental structures, which he dedicated to his memory; and among the rest he caused a tower to be constructed within the city, to which he gave the name of Phaæcl; and this was as strong, and as extensive a building as the Pharos of Alexandria: in the next place he built a town on the north side of the valley of Jericho, which likewise received the same name. Hitherto the adjacent country, which had been altogether abandoned, was soon stocked with a competent number of inhabitants, and received the name of the province of the Phaæclites.

To recite the history of the bounties of Herod would be a most tedious task. He was, in every place, and on all occasions, a pattern of liberality. In Syria, in Greece, and in fact, wherever his business or inclination led him, he used to furnish aids to some persons, to promote the advancement of public works for others; and to supply money where it was wanted, for the perfecting of such schemes as had been begun, and could not otherwise be completed.

One of the most superb and magnificent of all his undertakings remains yet to be spoken of; which is the temple of the Pythian Apollo at Rhodes. This Herod rebuilt at his own particular expense, and presented the people of Rhodes with a very considerable number of talents of gold, to be by them expended in the building of a number of ships. He gave likewise an immense sum of money towards the repairing and beautifying several public buildings in the city of Nicopolis near Actium, which had been originally built by Cæsar. In Antioch, which is the largest city in all Syria, he caused two galleries to be erected, which had a walk between them, and extended the whole breadth of the city. These galleries were ornamented in the most curious manner, and a pavement of smooth polished stone covered the streets. The convenience of the inhabitants, and the splendid appearance of the city were equally consulted in these elegant improvements.

When the several works abovementioned were completed, Herod allotted a considerable sum annually, out of his own revenue, towards supporting the expenses of the Olympic games, which for some time past had been evidently in a declining state, as they had not been supplied with sums equal to the defraying the charges of sacrifices, and other expensive ceremonies, proper on the meeting of such numbers as used to assemble on occasions of this kind: and Herod acquired the name of a perpetual master of the revels, on account of the liberality he exerted in this particular instance.

Notwith-
Notwithstanding this seeming greatness and dignity of Herod's conduct, his general character appears to be a compound of the most absolute contradictions: perhaps no man ever was, in all respects, so perfect an opposite to himself. If his liberality in general causes be considered, and the external appearance he made of an inclination to do good to all mankind, it would seem but reasonable to conclude that he was one of the most generous men that ever existed. On the contrary, if we reflect but for a moment, on the extreme rigour, and even barbarity, of some of his proceedings, even towards his nearest relations, as well as in respect to his subjects in general, it will scarcely be denied that he acted as if he was void of pity and shame, and lost to all the finer feelings of humanity. Now considering Herod in these various lights, it seems but natural to conclude that he was a man actuated by different, and even opposite passions; but I own that I rather incline to the opinion that he had one uniform and steady principle, by which all his actions were regulated. As he was exceedingly ambitious of honour, a passion which seemed to absorb all the other faculties of his soul, he had recourse to every species of magnificence, in order to procure the end he fought for, which was nothing less than the possession of singular renown in this life, and the hope of leaving an immortal fame behind him.

The wish to be thus singularly distinguished, made him extravagant beyond the bounds of his income, and, of course, he loaded his subjects with heavy burdens; for the equitable and legal mode of taxation was by no means equal to the support of his extravagant and superfluous expences. He soon became sensible that his oppressions were a source of perpetual ill-will to himself, and that it was not easy to allay the seditious discontents which rankled in the breasts of his people: he plainly saw that in order to do this, he must either retrench his expences in a very considerable degree, or be contented with a much more limited revenue; neither of which was agreeable to his inclinations; so that the only method he now had left, was to improve the ill-will of his people to his own advantage; and this he effected, first by provoking them beyond all the bounds of patience, and then punishing them for complaining, as if they had been his most inveterate enemies: and he proceeded in this tyrannical manner, equally with regard to friends or foes, to relations or to strangers: being firmly resolved to support and maintain his authority in every instance whatever. It is likewise remarkable in his conduct, that he intended to hint by the honours and distinctions he paid to others, what kind of treatment it was that he expected himself: to influence in the cafes of Caesar and Agrippa, and the rest of his friends of high rank; his view was to insinuate that his behaviour towards them, should furnish an example of the adulation he wished his own subjects to pay him. The turn and disposition of his mind is sufficiently marked in this particular part of his conduct. Now Herod's mode of proceeding in the homage he paid to his superiors, was by no means proper to furnish a precedent for the Jews to copy; since it was a mode of acting diametrically opposite to their laws and practices; for the turn of their education was such, that they were taught obedience from motives of conscience.
without any regard to their own interest, or any wish for the gratifications that the possession of power could bestow. By this restraint they were very considerable losers: for could they have submitted to the vulgar arts of flattery, they would not have failed to have infuriated themselves into the good graces of the king, by the pompous dedications of statues and temples, by which they might easily have gratified the vanity of a man whose whole soul was absorbed in views of ambition. What has been urged above, I conceive, will enable us to form a true judgment of Herod's character, and explain the cause why he behaved with such extreme liberality and benevolence towards strangers, while his own subjects felt the weight of that cruelty which he was perpetually exercising towards them.

**CHAP. X.**

Caesar is petitioned by the Greeks against the Jews. The privileges of the Jews confirmed by Caesar. Several decrees highly in favour of the Jews.

At this time the Jews residing in Asia, and likewise those who dwelt at Cyrene in Africa, were treated in the most cruel manner by the Greeks; nor was there either end to their oppressions, or moderation in their proceedings; and the whole was done in the pretence that the Jews carried away their money out of the country, and were exceedingly troublesome to the Greeks in other respects. Now as the Jews had been favoured by former kings with the free privileges and rights of citizens, having been granted the same immunities to which the natives themselves had a claim; the Greeks laid hold of this opportunity to send ambassadors, with a complaint and petition to Caesar, appealing to him against the Jews. In answer hereto Caesar sent back a letter to the provinces, importing that,

"It was his sovereign will and pleasure, that all the privileges the Jews had heretofore enjoyed, should be still continued to them." However to shew the authority that we have for this distinction, and to make known to the world, what sort of opinion the emperors of former times entertained of the Jews, I have procured a copy of this edict in our favour, which is hereunto subjoined.

*It is thus decreed by Caesar Augustus, high-priest, and tribune of the people.*

"Forasmuch as the fidelity and affection of the people called Jews towards the Romans, is not to be doubted; and as they manifested particular proofs of this towards Caesar, my royal father, during the time that Hyrcanus executed the office of high-priest; and as they still continue in the same sentiments of good faith and friendship as they formerly did: now by the advice, and with the consent of the good people of Rome, we have thought it but just and equitable to allow unto the said Jews the full exercise of all their own laws, customs, and ceremonies, in as ample, and in the same manner, as they possessed the enjoyment of them heretofore;"
in the time of Hyrcanus, the high-priest of the Great God, and we like-
wife farther hereby permit and ordain that their temples shall still continue
and remain as sanctuaries and places of refuge: and that what money they
may contribute towards sacred uses and purposes, shall be by them trans-
mitted to the treasury of Jerusalem, by such persons as shall be by them
appointed, without any hindrance or molestation whannsoever. We like-
wise ordain and command that they shall not be compelled to appear be-
fore the magistrates on the day of their sabbath, or later than nine o'clock
on the evening preceding that day; and it is hereby decreed that the
fealing any of their religious books, or the treasure, from their sacred
places, shall be deemed sacrilegious, and punished by a confiscation of goods.
And it is hereby further ordered and required, from the tender love and
regard that we bear to all ranks and orders of men, that the petition and
address in behalf of the Jews, now presented to us by Caius Marcus
Censorinus, together with this decree in their favour, shall be fixed upon
that distinguished place at Anyra, which the whole body of the people
of Asia combined to dedicate to the honour of our name. And we far-
ther declare that it shall be at the peril of any man who shall presume to
do any thing contrary to the tenor of these orders and commands.
On one of the pillars of the temple there was likewise put up the fol-
lowing inscription:

"Caesar sends greeting to Norbanus Flaccus. Let not any person, in
any place whatsoever, presume to prevent or interrupt the Jews from re-
mitting their money to Jerusalem, for sacred purposes, according as they
have been accustomed to do in former times."

Having now recorded what was done by Caesar, it may not be improper
to take notice of the following letter, which was written by Agrippa, in
like manner in behalf of the Jews.

"Agrippa wishes health to the magistrates, senate, and people of Ephesus.

Whereas the Jews of Asia have of old time been accustomed to have
the custody and disposal of the money which they send up to Jerusalem
for the service of their temple, and the advancement of their worship,
it is our will and pleasure that the same custom be still continued: and in
case any person shall rob them of any part of their sacred treasure, and the
offender shall fly to the altar for sanctuary, we hereby command that he
shall be taken away therefrom by violence, and shall be delivered up to
the Jews, that he may be banished as a sacrilegious person, and one
that ought not to meet with protection."

The abovenamed Agrippa wrote likewise to the Prætor Syllanus, to forbid
his permitting the Jews to be taken before the courts of justice on the day
of their sabbath. He also wrote the following letter.

Marcus
"While they die contradicting neither, my me 8 hereby for a much letter of their, be I the who manil, do; J UPON concur A"gtift's laid with, was or heretofore; Julius bench Having but who monies the Ephefus, give S take, am former the former Auguftus, that feftefruit; take to the Jews all such proportion of their treasure as shall be found to have been misapplied or concealed."

The following papers are likewise equally in favour of the Jews.

Caius Norbanus Flaccus, proconfull, witheth health to the magiftrates of Sardis.

"Having received an express from Cæfar, by which I am commanded to take care that no moleftation or hindrance be given to the Jews, either in the collecting, or in the fending up their money to Jerufalem, for the fame purpofes as they have been heretofore accustomed to do; you are hereby to take notice that fuch moleftation is contrary to the will and pleafure of Auguftus, and that I expect an absolute obedience to his commands."

Julius Antonius, the proconful, in a letter to the magiftrates, fenate, and people of Ephesus, writes to the following purport: "While I was on the bench in a court of justice at Ephesus, on the ide of February laft, I was informed by certain Jews of Asia, that Auguftus Cæfar and Agrippa had permitted unto them the free exercise of their own customs and ceremonies; with full liberty to ufe their own diferetion in the difpofal of the firft fruits among themselves; and also that they fhould not be interrupted or controuled in the carrying up of their money to Jerufalem, there to dedicate it in the temple of the moft High God: and they have applied to me to ratify and confirm the privileges thus granted unto them. Whereupon I give you this notice, that I concur moft heartyly in the resolution and determination of Cæfar and Agrippa; and it is farther my absolute command, that the Jews shall be neither, molefted in any way whatsoever; but that they fhall be allowed the free exercife of their liberty, and the peaceable enjoyment of their juft rights."

These infances and, precedents have been the rather, cited by us, to convince the Greeks, when they fhall come to perufè thefe writings, of the honour that hath been conferred upon us in the remote ages of antiquity, and how far our privileges, customs, discipline and worship, have been from time to time permitted and allowed of by a number of sovereign princes; who
who have gone so far as to tolerate the free exercise of our religion, and permit us to serve the true God in our own way. I am the more particular in what I say on this subject, because I would willingly root out the prejudices that strangers may have conceived, and destroy, if it were possible, that aversion that hath its source in the most unreasonable preposterous. It is by no means an uncommon circumstance for whole nations, as well as the inhabitants of particular places, to change their disposition, and undergo an alteration in their manners; but justice is in its nature unchangeable, and remains the same with all people, and in all times and places. The Greeks and Barbarians have equal reason to boast of this supreme blessing: all our laws have this great article for their foundation: so that if we do but hold these laws sacred, that virtue alone will endear us to mankind, and make all the world our friends. It is therefore my particular request to my fellow-creatures in general, that difference of opinion should never operate so as to create enmity: it is unreasonable to hate others for living in a different manner from what we do, while the great ends of existence are equally consulted by us all. Virtue may be the pollution of all men, and it is impossible that human society can long subsist in any degree of happiness when we deviate from her laws.

C H A P. XI.

Several sepulchres rifed by Herod, of plate and vessels, but he finds no ready money. A flash of fire destroys two of his guards in the sacrilegious attempt. Hereupon Herod erects a monument of marble, to bar up the entrance of the sepulchre. Herod and his family punished for the sacrilege. The artificer and hypocrite of Antipater. Herod's daughter offered to Pheroras, who refuses to accept her. He next offers his other daughter Cypras. An oath and promise of Pheroras broken. The sons of Mariamne discharged by Salome, who dives into the secret confidences of man and wife. A story of Herod's being in love with Gaphyra. Alexander grows jealous thence, and mentions the circumstance to Herod, who charges Pheroras on the business. Pheroras declares that he heard it from Salome, who utterly denies every circumstance respecting it. A suspicion falls on Salome, as the propagator of the report. Syllaeus, prime minister to Obodas, king of Arabia, falls in love with Salome. An intrigue observed between them, on which Herod sets a spy, and is convinced of the amour. A match proposed by Syllaeus, to which Salome gives her consent, but religion breaks it off. Herod's daughter married to a son of Pheroras. The declaration of three eunuchs respecting Alexander. The jealousy of Herod. Justice executed upon the false witnesses. The banishment of Antisthenes and Gemellus. Herod governed by the counsels of Antipater. A man being tortured, informs against Alexander. The bravery and constancy of Alexander. He defies Herod in a noble manner. Salome charged with insurrection. Ptolemy and Sapinmus named among the conspirators. Herod unhappy, and weary of his own life.

HEROD'S taste for splendor and magnificence in buildings, and other expensive works had occasioned his squandering away immense sums of money, both at home and abroad, and he was in want of more to supply...
his demands, when he was informed that his predecessor Hyrcanus had paid a visit to the sepulchre of David, and had at one time taken away from thence no less a sum than three thousand talents of silver; but that there was still a sufficient quantity left to answer the purpose of any future visitor.

Herod reflected on this circumstance for a considerable time, and often revolved it seriously in his mind, before he formed any resolution of what he purposed to do in the affair: but having at length come to a determination, he communicated his intentions to a few persons, in whole care and fidelity he could place the most absolute confidence, and taking these trusty friends with him, he proceeded by night to the sepulchre, which they entered with all possible secrecy and circumspection, to keep the knowledge of this adventure from the people. In this depository he found immense quantities of rich plate, and variety of vessels, both of gold and silver, all which his companions carried off with them: but as to the ready money that he expected to have met with, his search after it was in vain, for this had been previously made booty of by Hyrcanus.

Herod's success, however, was considerable enough to induce him to make a stricter search than he had at first intended; on which he proceeded still farther into the vault, till he came to the place in which were deposited the coffins containing the bodies of David and Solomon. The history which we have of this affair informs us, that a flash of fire suddenly broke out of the reeds, and killed two of Herod's guards on the spot; which was looked upon as an evident denunciation of the vengeance of Heaven, and sent as a punishment for the wicked temerity, and glaring impiety of the action. Herod was so astonished and terrified at this apparent token of the divine wrath, that partly through his fear, and partly from motives of conscience, he immediately abandoned the farther prosecution of his design. He likewise came to a resolution to atone, in some measure, for the sacrilege of which he had been guilty, and thereupon determined to erect a most superb and stately monument of white marble, to block up the very entrance into the sepulchre; and soon afterwards he gave orders for the forwarding of this work, which was accordingly carried into execution.

A writer who lived when these things happened, named Nicolaus, makes mention of the erecting of the abovementioned monument of marble, but he does not recite a single circumstance of the king's decent into, and robbery of the vault, which it is probable he looked upon to be so disgraceful, profane, and impious an undertaking, that he was unwilling or afraid to make it publicly known; for as he was a contemporary with Herod, who was not acquainted with what he wrote, he was under a kind of necessity of recording only such circumstances as might gratify the king; such, in fact as redounded to his honour; and of omitting such as would have proved only the testimony of his vices. The method, then, in which this writer proceeded, was either to omit all account of the king's most glaring, notorious, and extravagant cruelties; or, when that could not be so properly done, to disguise and palliate them; so that the enormity of the crime seems to be lost by his mode of relating the circumstances of it. In this manner it is that he speaks of the murder of Mariamne, and the outrageous and unprecedented indignities that were offered to her sons; for he artfully infinuates that the queen had
had been guilty of a violation of her husband's bed; and intimates that the princes had concerted the destruction of their father's life! And this is his method of proceeding in every part of his writings; either to extenuate the king's crimes, or pass over in total silence whatever he did amiss, and to extol his more worthy actions beyond all the bounds of credibility. Nicolaus, however, has this to boast; that if he did not write a faithful and authentic history, he compiled an admirable volume of panegyric: to sum up all in a few words, it may be said that his writings were all rather calculated to gratify the disposition of his patron, than to convey to posterity a faithful account of the transactions of his times.

Having said thus much in censure of a former writer, it becomes me to declare respecting myself, that having the honour to be descended in the royal Almonian line, and being likewise in the race of the priesthood, I shall scorn to report matters otherwise than as I find them recorded on the faithful page of history; with all proper respect and reverence, however to the descendents of Herod; but yet with a greater and more perfect respect to the sacred and immutable laws of truth: for I would by no means forfeit my character for integrity, nor willingly stain the page of this history by the infection of a single falsehood.

From the period abovementioned, when Herod broke into, and sacrilegiously robbed the sepulchre of the valuable treasure there deposited, he became daily more and more unhappy in his domestic concerns: every thing went wrong in his family, as if a judicial vengeance had taken place against that part of it that had previously shewn the baseness of their disposition; and as if heaven was determined to punish the flagitious and enormous wickedness of which the king had been guilty, by new and unusual distresses. A kind of civil war raged throughout the whole house, and while some were open and outrageous in their violent opposition, the rest carried on and promoted their treacherous designs by all the secret arts of calumny and destruction. But the most extraordinary conduct was that of Antipater, whose artifice and hypocrisy were of the most finished kind: for while, on the one hand, he suborned practices against his brothers, which might make them appear obnoxious in the eyes of Herod, he on the other hand, became an advocate with the king in their behalf, endeavouring to palliate what they had done, and, under this double disguise, more effectually to work their ruin. So refined was this dissimulation of Antipater, and so artfully did he work on the passions of the king by his wily conduct, that Herod soon began to consider him as the only faithful friend he had in the world; in fact, the only one who wished to serve him from motives purely disinterested. Impressed with this idea of the worthiness of Antipater's conduct, Herod gave directions to his prime minister Ptolemy to consult with Antipater, and take his opinion in all affairs respecting the state of the government: and the latter was no sooner furnished with the necessary secrets, than he used immediately to impart them to his mother; and then they concerted matters together, so as to dispose of all affairs as best suited their own inclinations: by this kind of management the enmity and esteem of the king were made to answer the
fame purpose; and, whatever his intentions might be, the interest of Antipater and his mother were sure to be promoted.

On the contrary, Alexander and Aristobulus, who were men of ambitious spirits, and extremely jealous of their honour, lost all patience when they reflected on these proceedings; nor could they for a moment endure the idea of being degraded so exceedingly below their birth, and the being insulted by those who were in all respects their inferiors: nor were their wives agitated with passions less violent than those which rankled in the breasts of their husbands: and Glaphyra conceived a mortal enmity against Salome, not only on account of the love that she entertained for her husband Alexander, but through the pique natural to a female mind, on seeing the daughter of Salome, who was married to Aristobulus, advanced to a level with herself, and qualified to rank with her on all occasions.

These were only a part of the distresses of Herod's family; for about the same time there happened another very unfortunate circumstance, by which Pheroras, the brother of the king, became engaged in the disagreeable contention: and this was at length improved to such a degree, that in the end it increased to the utmost jealousy and animosity. Herod applied himself to Pheroras, to whom he voluntarily made an offer to give him his daughter in marriage: but the latter excused himself from accepting the intended favour, alleging as a reason this very extraordinary circumstance; viz. that he was violently in love with his own servant-maid, and he could not bring himself to think of forming another attachment.

The king was exceedingly mortified at this refusal, which affected him in much the greater degree, as it came from a brother to whom he had given very uncommon marks of his kindness and benevolence; and had even proceeded so far in the proof of his fraternal regard, as, in a great degree, to share his government with him. Herod, however, finding all the instances of his generosity thus required, the proposed offer he made his brother absolutely rejected, and his own good intentions frustrated; and conceiving that there was no other way of reducing the brother to reason, he thereupon offered his daughter to the son of Phaæcl, his elder brother, to whom, in a short time afterwards, she was married.

Some considerable time after this, Herod applied himself again to Pheroras, and having represented to him the indignity that had been offered him, by his refusal of the former match, resolved to give him yet another proof of his affection, by offering him in marriage his other daughter Cypras. Pheroras, having reflected for a while, as if to consider how he ought to act, went to consult Ptolemy on the subject: when the latter without hesitation, told him that, if he had the least regard to his own interest, he would not act so much like a madman, as to refuse such an offer from his brother and king: which refusal would not only hazard his future fortune and peace of mind; but would occasion the loss of the king's favour, and make him an enemy, who had so long been a friend; and all this for the gratification of a lawless passion his one who was so greatly for inferior in point of rank. The counsel given by Ptolemy was too reasonable for Pheroras not to accede to it: he therefore
therefore readily embraced his advice, and going to the king, besought his pardon; engaging immediately to dismiss the woman with whom he was connected, and by whom he had one child. He likewise pledged his word of honour to the king, that within a month from that time, he would marry his daughter; offering to bind himself by an oath to the ratification of his promise; and likewise that he would never have any farther connection with the woman with whom he had heretofore cohabited.

In the course of this month, however, Phedoras altered his sentiments, relapsed into his former fit of fondness for the girl whom he had kept, and took her home to live with him as before. He went even farther than all this; for at the expiration of the month, he broke his good faith and pledged promises with his brother, in the most shameful manner, without the least regard to all the oaths he had sworn, and promises that he had made.

The scandalous treatment offered to Herod by this mode of proceeding inflamed his passions to so violent a degree, and left him so little the matter of his own actions, that he could not forbear breaking out into the most intemperate language against his brother, whom he loaded with invectives suitable to the enormity of his crime: nor were there wanting a number of persons malicious enough to lay hold of this circumstance, which they improved to such a degree, as to produce farther mischief from an event already sufficiently unfortunate. In a word, such were the disorders and unseasonables perpetually arising in this unhappy family, that scarce a day or an hour passed, that did not produce something to inflame the passions, pique the jealousy, or raise the resentments of the nearest, and most intimate friends, and relations, who had every reason to live together in the most perfect love and harmony. One striking instance of this occurs in the following circumstance: so inveterate and rancorous was the hatred of Salome to the sons of Mariamne, that she would not even permit her own daughter to enjoy in peace and quietness, the conjugal conversation of her husband Aristobulus: but was perpetually endeavouring to extract from her a particular account of the most intimate connections that had passed between them; in defiance of all the laws of decency and good manners: or if it happened at any time that they had not been on terms of the utmost cordiality, (a case by no means uncommon in the married state) she never failed of doing all in her power to aggravate the differences between them, and making serious quarrels of what might have been otherwise deemed trifles. By a constant procedure of this kind she dived into the bottom of all their secrets, and, as opportunity offered, never failed to encrease the discontent which already raged between them in too great a degree. She learnt from her daughter what her brothers had reported of Mariamne in private conversation; what severe reflections they made on the conduct of their father; and how they threatened that if ever they came to the throne, the sons of their father by any other women should be disposed of to mean and vulgar occupations, as most compatible with the inferiority of their education. The daughter likewise declared farther, that she had heard the
brothers say, that if ever they should see any of Herod's wives adorned with the jewels that had belonged to their mother Mariamne, they would, without the least degree of ceremony, put them up in sack-cloth, and deposit them in such security that they should never again see the light.

Salome having made herself acquainted with all these particulars, was anxious till she had imparted to the king the result of her enquiries: she therefore lost no time in seeking for Herod, to whom she communicated every thing that had passed. Herod was exceedingly disgusted with the information that she gave him, but was yet willing to see if matters might not be rather adjusted by amicable means, than carried to disagreeable extremities. The different branches of the family inspired the mind of Herod with such a number of jealousies and whims of various kinds, that at length he became fond of hearing their idle tales and calumnies of each other; and grew to be of so very credulous a disposition, that he paid an almost implicit confidence to everything that was told him: however, he contented himself, in the present instance, with severely reprimanding his sons for the unwarrantable liberties they had taken; and, on their making a proper submission, he was tolerably reconciled.

But the domestic distresses in which this unhappy family were involved, were still farther aggravated by the following circumstance. Pheroras sought an occasion of addressing himself privately to Alexander, the husband of Glaphyra, to whom he related an odd kind of tale, which he said Salome had told him, the substance of which was that Herod had become most violently enamoured of Glaphyra, and that the passion preyed upon his mind to so great a degree, that he found it altogether impossible to live at ease. Now Alexander, who was by nature of a jealous disposition, and subject to the impulse of the most violent passions, was inflamed beyond all description at this unexpected piece of information; so that, from that time forward, the slightest circumstances furnished fresh food for his jealousy; and every little favour that Herod thereafter conferred on Glaphyra, though for the sake of his son, was by him construed into a full proof of the reality of what Pheroras had told him.

This imagination wrought so powerfully on the mind of Alexander, that at length, unable any longer to bear the weight of his own reflections, he repaired immediately to his father, and told him all the circumstances of which he had been informed by Pheroras, while the tears flowed plentifully down his face as he related the melancholy tale. Previous to this Herod had met with family misfortunes sufficient to harrow up the peace of his mind, but this piece of information drove him almost to distraction. To be traduced by the imputation of so enormous a crime, and this by one of his own family too, was such an ungrateful return for all the favours he had conferred upon them, that he could not think of the circumstance with the least degree of patience. In the first emotions of his grief, therefore, he dispatched a messenger to Pheroras, commanding his immediate attendance: and he was no sooner arrived but Herod addressed him to the following purport.

"Most
"Most base and ungrateful of all the sons of men, what worse than dia-
bolical disposition could inspire thee with the idea of my being guilty of
so enormous a crime; or by what phrenzy couldst thou be impelled to
report a thing so much to my dishonour? But I perceive the malice of
thy design to be simply this: under pretence of becom ing the confidenti-
al friend of my son, thou hast sought to impress his mind with sentiments
that may induce him to conspire against the life of his father: for is it
possible for me to conceive that any son, unless his actions were restrained
by the particular providence of heaven, could submit to such an indignity
from a father, without seeking the proper means of revenge? But there
appears to me to be no difference between thy present proceeding, and
that of putting a sword into the hands of my son, to take away the life
of his own father. But let me ask further, what particular end thou couldst
have in view? For I know that thou art equally an enemy to us both;
and that while thou art seeking by fair words to my face, to obtain my
friendship, thou art calumniating me in my absence in the basest manner,
and endeavouring to represent me as one of the most abandoned wretches
exiling. Begone from my sight, thou most ungrateful of men, who hast
been capable of behaving in so perfidious a manner to a brother that has
been so kind to thee. I shall seek no other revenge than that of leaving
thee to the stings of thy own conscience, which will not fail to upbraid
thee more effectually than I can do. I will endeavour to obtain the nobility
of superiority over my relations by returning good for the evil they do me,
and not follow thy example in returning evil for the good that has been
received."

Pheroras being thus charged with the infamy of his conduct, in so open
and explicit a manner, conceived that he had no way of exculpating him-
self, but by transferring the blame of the whole affair to Salome, and ac-
cusing her with being, as in truth she was, the original propagator of the
scandalous story. Now it happened that, at this time, Salome was within
hearing of what passed: and finding herself thus accused, she burst forth
into the most violent exclamations, attended with correspondent actions
and gestures, saying that the whole tale was an infamous forgery, a malicious
conspiracy and contrivance, calculated to take away her life, in revenge for
the affectionate zeal and regard she had always expressed for the preservation
of that of the king, whom she asserted to be, at that present moment, in a
greater degree of danger than at any former period. "Pheroras (said she)
"is my most implacable enemy; for it was through my advice that he
"abandoned the worthless woman on whom he had fixed his affection, and
"was prevailed upon to marry the king's daughter: and this is the cause
"of his inveterate hatred against me." While she was making this speech,
she tore her hair, beat her breast, and otherwise acted as if inspired by the
most frantic rage, so that it was impossible not to conceive her very much
in earnest in what she said.

During this address of Salome, the pain of Pheroras is not to be ex-
pressed: he was agitated by a variety of contending passions, and involved
between two difficulties that seemed equally great. He could not with any
degree
degree of confidence deny what he himself had said to Alexander, nor was it in his power to prove what Salome had really said to him. The disputes between the contending parties were very violent, and continued for a considerable time; till at length Herod was tired with their debates, and as the evening began to advance, he dismissed them both, and retired to his supper.

When Herod came to reflect on all the circumstances attending the above affair, he highly extolled his son's mode of proceeding, and conceived that the coming to him so frankly with a recital of the whole story displayed something of a candour and integrity of conduct that was very praiseworthy. The effect of the above dispute was, that Salome was universally reputed to have been the author of the calumny; and the king's wives were very ready to propagate the report that this was really the case: for her disposition was such that she had few friends; she was of an unequal temper, sickle and changeable; sometimes in good humour, and sometimes violently angry, agreeable to the ruling influence of her passions: so that the women were very much her enemies; and being disgusted by her conduct, were perpetually influencing Herod by stories to her disadvantage: and an accident happened at this time, extremely favourable to their machinations against her.

At this period it happened that Obodas was king of Arabia. This prince was distinguished by nothing but the sloth and idleness of his disposition. He paid no regard to any kind of public business; making the gratification of his own ease the whole care and consideration of his life. Now the prime minister, who transacted all affairs under Obodas, was named Syllæus, who was a man of very distinguished abilities, of admirable skill and address, in the prime of life, and remarkable for the grace and elegance of his person. Syllæus having been sent to Herod on affairs of public concern, had the honour to sup with the king when Salome happened to make one of the company. Struck with her person, and the manner of her behaviour, he conceived a particular affection for this princess; and having made some inquiries respecting her, and finding that she was a widow, he soon afterwards ventured to address her with a proposal of marriage.

Salome, finding that her life grew daily more and more disagreeable in her present situation, and being well pleased with the person and behaviour of Syllæus, took some time to reflect on the affair, and then seemed well-disposed to listen to the proposal. From this time forward the parties were frequently in company with each other, and as they became more intimately acquainted, all that passed between them seemed to be closely regarded by others. Their looks, their hints, their actions, and many other little circumstances were construed as proofs of the growing amour. All that passed was immediately made known to the king; and the ladies of the court entertained themselves highly with the particulars of the affair. Herod, however, was not fully convinced by what the women said to him, conceiving that malice might have some share in their insinuations. He therefore directed Pheroras to keep a watchful eye on the supposed lovers; and after a very careful regard to their proceedings, he informed the king that, as far as
as he was able to form a judgment from the intelligence of looks and signs, he had no doubt but that the parties were inspired with a mutual passion for each other. Herod had now no farther doubt of the existence of the fact; and soon after this Syleneus took his leave, and departed into Arabia.

Not above two or three months after this departure, Syleneus returned, to transact farther public business with Herod, and took this opportunity to treat with the king on the subject of marriage with his sister; representing how much such a match would promote the interest of Herod in point of commerce, and that it would likewise validate his own right and pretensions to a considerable district of the country. Herod took some little time to consider of the affair, and then sent for his sister, of whom he immediately demanded whether the proposal met with her approbation, and she was willing to marry; to which she instantly answered in the affirmative. This circumstance was reported to Syleneus, who was informed that if he would embrace the Jewish religion he might marry the lady; but that otherwise she could not wed him, consistent with the laws of her country. To this Syleneus replied, that he was bound by ties equally strong; for that if he should depart from the rules and ordinances of his religion, he should be forced to death by the Arabian; and on this declaration the treaty of marriage was at an end.

From the circumstances above-mentioned, Pheroras took frequent opportunities of hinting to the king how greatly Salome had exposed her reputation: but the king’s wives were much more free in their reflections; for they made no scruple to affirm that the liberties in which Salome had indulged herself with Syleneus, would justify a charge of incontinence against her.

Salome now became very importunate with Herod, to consent to marry that daughter of his who had been refused by Pheroras, to one of her sons by her late husband Costabaeus; and Herod was much inclined to accede to this proposal: but Pheroras prevented this match, by representing to Herod, that the young man would never forgive him who had been the occasion of the death of his own father. Pheroras therefore advised Herod to give her in marriage to his own son, who was to succeed him in the government. This advice was embraced by Herod, who gave his daughter one hundred talents for her marriage portion; and from that time all animosities between him and Pheroras were obliterated and forgotten, as though they had never existed.

The disorders, however, that reigned in Herod’s family were so far from being adjusted after what had passed, that they increased day after day, from one degree of distress to another; and what was only scandalous and dishonest in its beginning, turned out to be most fatal and tragical in the end. This melancholy truth will be properly evinced in the sequel. Herod had in his service three handsome young eunuchs, of whose fidelity he had the highest opinion, and for whom he entertained a singular regard. One of these acted as his cup-bearer, the second served him in the office of a steward, and the third attended as a gentleman of his bed-chamber; but, exclusive of these services, he frequently consulted them respecting affairs

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of state. Now it happened that some person had given intelligence to Herod, that Alexander had been endeavouring to prevail on those eunuchs to betray him, in consideration of their receiving asum of money from him. Herod having acquired this information, had not long reflected on it before he gave orders that they should be put to the torture, in order to extort from them a confession of what had passed between them and Alexander. At the first they acknowledged that they had been in company together; but denied all knowledge of any treacherous design that Alexander might have on the life of his father, declaring that he was wholly innocent, for any thing they knew to the contrary. Now the persons who were employed to torment them being of Antipater's faction treated them with such unusual rigour and severity, that at length, in the extremity of their pain and anguish, they made a declaration to the following purport; viz. "That Alexander, who entertained the most inveterate hatred to his father, had exerted all his influence to seduce them from their allegiance to the king, whom he represented as old and worn out, and worthy of no further notice; and that he sought to appear younger than he was, by repairing the decays of time by paint and other artifices." They said farther, that Alexander had promised, "If they would come over to his interest, it should be his particular care to provide for their advancement in a very short time; for he had not only a right to succeed to the government as a matter of course, but that things were so contrived that it was not in his father's power to prevent the succession: for that exclusive of the prerogative of his title, all things were so ordered and disposed as to put him into immediate possession of that government to which he had the most unquestionable pretences: that the officers of the army, and the king's friends had formed a considerable party in his favour; and that they were determined, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, to support him in the plan he had laid down for his advancement."

Herod was no sooner made acquainted with the substance of this confession than he was seized with a most violent fit of rage and trembling: rage on account of the contempt, and trembling on account of the threats that were expressed in it. He remained for a while in a most distracted state of mind, and in utter uncertainty how to behave in case of immediate surprize: he doubted whether he should endeavour to avoid the danger that threatened him, or bravely defy it. After a long deliberation he came to a resolution not to bring the matter to a judicial enquiry, but to employ spies and informers to bring him such intelligence as he thought it import to be acquainted with.

Herod was now in such a state of mind that whatsoever he suspected he consequently hated; and his suspicions frequently fell on those who did not deserve them, as well as on those that did; for he conceived that his own security depended on the extent of his suspicions. In a word, his jealousies were without end, and without bound. With regard to those who were nearly related to him, he conceived the greater apprehension of them, as of those who had it in their power to do him more important mischief than strangers.
gers could. As to persons with whom he was wholly unconnected, nothing farther was necessary to effect their certain destruction than the slightest hint from the mouth of an informer; for the most trilling circumstance made him apprehensive for his personal safety.

His domestic servants were in a situation still more pitiable than all his other subjects: for such was the king’s jealousy of them, that the only way they had to save their own lives was by traducing each other. Indeed it frequently happened that their lives were thus preferred: but those that had been successful in this practice, never failed to draw on themselves a full measure of envy and detestation; and it generally happened that in the end they suffered by the means they had employed to ruin others, falling sacrifices to arts similar to those by which their companions had been destroyed. With regard to private animosities between man and man they frequently informed against each other, and each fell a sacrifice to the malice of the other. It sometimes happened that the king was struck with a remorse of conscience, for being the occasion of the death of so many innocent persons, without even the ceremony of trial, or the form of conviction: but notwithstanding all his feelings on the occasion, he was perpetually recurring to the same practice, and repeatedly committing the crime, which his conscience condemned. In the issue of this whole business, however, there was an appearance of equity in Herod’s conduct; for after having destroyed so many persons in violation of the common rights of humanity, he had the justice to direct that the false witnesses themselves should be punished in the most exemplary manner.

The court of Herod was at this time in such a state of distraction and consternation as it is not in the power of language to describe: a number of the king’s friends and most intimate confidants were banished from the royal presence, and even from the palace. Those who were dismissed were the men who were reputed to have merited more from Herod than any other persons had done; and among these were Andromachus and Gemellus, who had long been ranked among the number of his favorites. Nor were the pretensions of these ministers ill founded; for they had served their sovereign both abroad and at home, having been distinguished as ambassadors, and as members of his council. They had likewise had the honor of superintending the education of his sons; and the discharge of various other important and confidential trusts had been committed to them; in all which they gave indisputable proofs of their fidelity. Andromachus, was dismissed by Herod, on account of the affection that Alexander manifested towards his son Demetruis: and he then dismissed Gemellus, on the pretence of the regard he had to Alexander, to whom he had heretofore been a kind of preceptor and governor, and had attended him when he went to Rome, as the companion of his travels. It is not very reasonable to conclude but that Herod’s severity towards Andromachus and Gemellus would have been carried to a greater length, but that the high reputation they held with the people kept him in a kind of awe, and operated as a restraint on his conduct: for these reasons he thought it prudent to content himself with dismissing them from their situations, and commanding them to leave the court; that, in their absence, he
might be more at liberty to act without controul, and indulge himself in all the favourite wishes of his heart.

Antipater was the principal author and contriver of all these unaccountable proceedings; for observing that Herod was filled with suspicions, and alarmed by his fears, he endeavoured, by a crafty compliance with his disposition, to infinuate himself into his councils; which being done, he instigated him to acts of cruelty and inhumanity, constantly inculcating to him, as an infallible maxim of state, the absolute necessity of working the destruction of those who were poftiffled of power to do him any injury: and on the principles of this savage policy it was that Herod proceeded; for he had no sooner dismissed Andromachus, and such of his friends and adherents as had the honour and resolution to speak the true sentiments of their minds, than he gave orders that all the partizans of Alexander should be put to the torture, and examined as to what plots or contrivances they were privy to: but these died under the severity of their sufferings, as it was impossible for them to confess what they were totally unacquainted with.

This constancy and uniformity of behaviour being interpreted into a contumacious obstinacy, their torments were greatly increased, and much wonder was expressed that such variety of aggravated punishment should not be able to extort from them the slightest confession, or even a hint that expressed the least disloyalty towards their sovereign. Hereupon Antipater conceived a new method of solving the difficulty, and intimated that they considered it rather as a point of honour to deny than to confess the truth; as by such confession they should violate that faith and good confidence that had been repose[d] in them by their friends. He therefore alleged this as a reason why others should be put to the torture, and pretended not to entertain the least doubt but that, in the end, some one would be found that would confess the truth of what they wanted to be informed of.

At length it happened that a poor wretch, oppressed with the weight of torture, and sinking under the extremity of his pain, declared that when the people extolled Alexander as a man of uncommon elegance, an excellent marksman, and one possessed of other superior qualifications, he had frequently heard him declare, that he had every reason to consider these natural endowments rather as a misfortune than an advantage to him; for that his father's disposition was such that he hated him for his very perfections: that when they were walking together he was obliged to stoop low; he should appear taller than the king; and that when they were engaged in hunting he was compelled to refrain from shooting at the mark, for that his father bore so great an antipathy to him, that he could neither endure to see him excel in any action, nor hear him praised for such excellence.

This pretended discovery being made, the torments of the poor sufferer were refpite[d] for a while; and then he proceeded with his narrative, relating that Alexander and Aristobulus had on a former occasion entered into a conspiracy against the life of their father, when he was out on a party of hunting; and that it had been determined between them, that if they should be successful in their enterprize, Alexander was immediately to repair to Rome, to claim to succeed Herod in the government. A number of letters were like-
wife produced, written by Alexander to his brother, the general contents of which were a complaint against his father for giving to Antipater an estate in land, valued at two hundred talents annually.

These circumstances laid together, operated so forcibly on the mind of Herod, that he deemed them to be sufficient evidence to confirm that suspicion which he had heretofore entertained of his children. He now, therefore, grew outrageously angry with his son Alexander, whom he immediately ordered to be sent to prison: yet it is not supposed that, in his cooler moments, he himself gave credit to the information he had received: for it is inconsistent with common sense to suppose that the sons could have any interest in the destruction of their father: or supposing his ruin to be once completed, what favourable expectations could they form from making a journey to Rome, after so detestable a parricide? I confess that there might exist somewhat of a turbulent and ambitious disposition in the young people, respecting the favours that had been heaped upon Antipater; but I cannot think that there was any farther ground for complaint.

But as Alexander was at this time under confinement, and the public were unacquainted with the cause of it, Herod did not think himself in a state of absolute security, without taking some step that might seem to convince the world that there was a plausible reason for his imprisonment: and, thus situated, he gave orders that divers persons of quality, who were the warm friends and adherents of Alexander, should be put to the torture, and afterwards to death; which was done with a view of infinuating the guilt of Alexander; but it did not answer the desired effect, for the parties died without making any confession.

At this time the whole palace was in the utmost distress and confusion: nothing was to be seen but tumult, nothing heard but the voice of terror and lamentation.

It now happened that a certain young man, whose strength and resolution had been totally exhausted by the torture, related a story, importing that Alexander had written a letter to some of his friends at Rome, requiring that Cæsar might be informed that a conspiracy against him had been set on foot; and that if he were but commissioned to attend the emperor at Rome, he would make an ample discovery of the circumstances; for that the interest of Rome had been abandoned by his father, who was engaged in treaty with Mithridates, the king of the Parthians; adding likewise, that he had given orders for the preparation of a poison at Aklan, which was actually in readiness. Herod had so much faith in this improbable story, as to take the whole for a matter of fact; and he accordingly gave orders for an enquiry to be made after the supposed poison; but after the most diligent search, no such thing could possibly be found. All this time Herod was surrounded by a number of flatterers, who endeavoured to soothe his afflictions, and tried to convince him that his conduct was regulated by the sentiments of justice, and the measures of prudence.

In the interim, Alexander was so far from sinking under the weight of his oppreessions, that he utterly disdained either to deny the charge that was exhibited
exhibited against him, or seek to defend the propriety of his own conduct. This he did, partly to inspire his father with a detestation of the violent outrages that had been committed; and partly to prevent his listening to such idle and improbable tales as had lately been told him: and he privately determined that if his father should still persist to give credit to the absurd reports that were daily propagated, neither himself nor his family should want ample food to exercise their credulity. Hereupon he dispatched to Herod four pieces of writing, in which he informed him that there could be no kind of necessity for the putting any of his people to farther torture, in order to make them answer such questions as might be put to them, by way of discovering the truth: for he might rely upon it, as an indubitable fact, that there was a conspiracy in agitation against his life; and that Pheroras, and several other persons of whom he had not the least suspicion, were among the principal conspirators. He farther informed the king that Salome had stolen in secrecy to his bed one night, and had lain with him; absolutely insisting that she would not be rejected. He likewise acquainted Herod that the people in general were clearly of opinion that it was absolutely necessary he should fall a sacrifice to their resentments; without which neither happiness nor freedom were to be expected: and he named Ptolemy and Sappinius (two persons in whom Herod placed the most implicit confidence,) as principally concerned in the conspiracy.

By this time the court of Herod was distracted with such a variety of turbulent passions, that it had more the resemblance of a mad-house, or a den of wild-beasts, than the habitation of rational creatures: Such was the strange variety of their dispositions, that they were one day in the utmost appearance of friendship, endeavouring to exhibit all possible tokens of mutual regard; and on the following, prepared to destroy each other without the least grounds of provocation. Nor, when their passions were excited, was time given for enquiry or proof of guilt; for the punishment constantly preceded the examination. Some of these unhappy people were confined in chains; others were sacrificed to the immediate impulse of malicious jealousy; and a third sort remained in a painful suspense and despair, than which death itself could not have been more intolerable. Nothing now remained in the palace that might indicate the splendor of its former state: but in the place of that gaiety and elegance by which it had been heretofore distinguished, there was only to be seen the most melancholy proofs of dejection of mind, and a weight of sorrow that admitted of no consolation. Herod himself was at this time so totally abandoned to despair, that he grew as weary of his own life, as the cruelty of his conduct had rendered others of theirs. He had not a single person near him in whom he could confide: his present situation was miserable beyond the power of language to describe, and his future prospects were replete with intolerable horror and confusion. It was impossible for him to take any rest. His sleeping and his waking hours were equally attended by the most disagreeable sentiments, and frightful imaginations. At one time he used to conceive that his son was planting a dagger at his heart; and at others he would be impressed with sentiments if possible still
still more shocking. To sum up the whole of his distress in a single phrase, his life was a continued scene of torment and distraction.

C H A P. XII.

Archelaus pays a visit to Herod, to reconcile him to Alexander. Archelaus mediates the matter, with great skill and address. Theronas asks pardon of Herod, who is thereupon reconciled to him. Herod highly sensible of the good offices of Archelaus. Herod goes to Rome, and effect a reconciliation between Archelaus and Titus.

During the time that Herod continued in this extreme torment and anxiety of mind, Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia, conceived it would be consistent with his duty, and becoming his character, both as a relation and a friend, to pay him a visit, and to exert his good offices towards the effecting a reconciliation between Herod and his daughter and son-in-law, for whom he entertained the most unbounded good-will, and the sincerest affection. He had heard that affairs went very unhappily in the family; and, on his arrival, he found that report had fallen short of the truth: but he conceived it would have but a strange appearance to quarrel with Herod for the impropriety of his conduct, and for his giving credit to so many ridiculous stories, on the mere confidence of idle report. He thought if he began to contest the matter with him, it would look like reproaching him for his conduct, and be productive of more mischief than benefit. For these reasons, instead of levelling a direct cenure at the behaviour of Herod, he artfully intimated that Alexander was to blame. The king, he said, had acted in all respects consistent with the laws of honour and justice; and that, for his own part, he would immediately dissolve the marriage, and never afterwards own Glaphyra for his daughter, if he should discover that she was acquainted with the plot, and did not instantly make the circumstances of it known.

This seeming warmth on the part of Archelaus, and his apparent zeal for the vindication of Herod, brought the latter to a proper recollection, to a sense of the impropriety of his conduct, and, by degrees, revived in his mind all those tender sensations consistent with his character as a father. Before this alteration the king would have deemed any man his enemy that but spoke a single word in favour of Alexander: but now, that his nature was softened by hearing what Archelaus said against him, he burst into tears, begged that he would not say any more to his disadvantage, nor entertain the least thought of breaking off the match; or be farther enraged at the inconsiderate conduct of the young man. When Archelaus found that he had such an influence on Herod as to pacify the rage of his mind, he artfully shifted the discourse, palliating, in the best manner he could, the mistakes that might have been committed by Alexander, attributing his conduct to bad advice, and the evil example of the company he kept. He said that the young man was of an easy, yielding disposition, but he had never found that there was any thing of malice in his nature: he intimated that
that he might have been misled and corrupted; and, during the whole of his address, obliquely hinted that Pheroras was principally to blame.

By this time Pheroras, having reflected on his situation, was sensible that he had totally lost the good opinion of Herod; and considering that Archelaus was the most proper person he could apply to for the effecting of a reconciliation, he dressed himself in a suit of deep mourning, and went to him with the air of a most penitent petitioner, beseeching him, in all humility of submission, to intercede for him to the king.

Archelaus did not fail to treat him with all the respect due to his rank; but informed him that greater difficulty would, probably, attend the removal of Herod's displeasure than he might possibly conceive: yet if he might presume to advise him as a friend, he would recommend that he should go and make a proper submission to his brother, and humbly solicit his pardon, having first confessed himself the original cause of all the misfortunes that at present attended the family. A confession and behaviour of this kind, he said, would very probably pave the way to a perfect reconciliation.

Pheroras acted in pursuance of this advice, and the success answered the most sanguine expectation; for Alexander was exculpated from all suspicion of the crime alleged against him; and Archelaus speaking in behalf of Pheroras, the king was likewise reconciled to him. The obligations that Herod now conceived himself under to Archelaus, made so sensible an impression on his mind, that he deemed him one of the most valuable friends he had in the world. Things being thus happily adjusted, Archelaus returned into Cappadocia, loaded with valuable presents, and pleased that the purpose of his voyage had been crowned with success equal to his warmest expectations. It was now determined that Herod should repair to Rome, in order to lay before Caesar, an account of the present state of his family; as he had formerly written to the emperor on its distracted situation: he therefore accompanied Archelaus as far as Antioch, where he reconciled a difference that had subsisted between him, and Titus, the governor of Syria; and then Herod returned into Judæa.

C H A P. XIII.

During the absence of Herod, the Trachonites revolt, and a few of them escape into Arabia, the main body of them being overthrown by the king's troops. Those who fled received and protected by Syllaus. Herod makes an incursion into Trachon, and applies to Saturninus and Volumnius, to deliver up the rebels. Syllaus denies the having any in Arabia. Saturninus and Volumnius order the fugitives to be delivered up.

A F T E R Herod had been at Rome, dispatched his business there, and was returned back again, to discharge the affairs of his own government, a war broke out with the Arabsians, which took its rise from the following circumstance. It hath been mentioned in a former part of this work,
work, that Cæfar took the government of the province of Trachon from Zenodorus, and bestowed it on Herod. Now the Trachonites, finding they were no longer at liberty to carry on their former trade of robbery, turned their thoughts to planting and tilling the ground; but this course of life did not agree with their dispositions; and being but very indifferent husbandmen, they reaped neither much pleasure nor advantage from this new kind of business.

For a considerable time after they were under the government of Herod, he so managed, very much to his credit, as to maintain tolerable good order among them; and prevented their making those barbarous incursions on their neighbours, which they had been heretofore accustomed to do: but soon after Herod had taken his departure into Italy, to recommend Antipater, and accuse Alexander, a report was spread that he was dead; whereupon the Trachonites revolted from their allegiance, and began to live in the same irregular manner they had heretofore done; but the king’s troops being called forth to suppress them, they were soon subdued and dispersed; only about forty of the principal people among them made their escape, and fled into Arabia for protection. Now Syllaæus being in Arabia, and not being as yet reconciled to the circumstance of Salome having been refused him for a wife, he received and entertained these Trachonites, allowed them a safe retreat, and gave them a strong and well fortified place in which to reside. From this retirement they frequently issued, infesting the countries of Judæa and Cæle-Syria, and carrying off numbers of cattle, and considerable booty to their lurking places: nor was any step taken to prevent their proceeding in these outrages and depredations. Herod, on his return from Rome, being informed of the transactions of these notorious robbers; and considering that he could not, with any propriety, interfere to punish those who were under the protection of the Arabians, he was extremely enraged at the circumstance; and without allowing himself much time for reflection on the indignity that had been offered him, he made an incursion into the country of the Trachonites, and put whole families of those people to the sword without distinction. Hereupon the rest of the people of Trachon were transported with the most violent rage; and as the laws of their country required that they should not let such an attack on their brethren pass unre pedig, they bid defiance to all opposition, and to every species of danger, making perpetual inroads upon Herod, who could never remain unmolested by their attacks.

Thus circumstances, Herod made application to Saturninus and Volumnius, the two governors of the Arabian provinces under Cæsar, requesting that they would deliver up the fugitives into his hands, that they might be punished according to their demerits. The Trachonites were so irritated and enraged by this demand, that they assembled in a body, not less than a thousand in number, and then dividing into smaller parties, ranged from place to place, ravaging the towns and country, and killing and destroying wherever they came; so that these encounters, though they might properly be called only skirmishes, had all the fatal effects of a devouring war.
Herod still continued to insist that the thieves should be delivered up; and on this occasion he likewise demanded the payment of sixty talents, which he had lent to Obodas, by the hands of Syllaus, the payment of which had now become due a considerable time.

By this time Syllaus had taken upon himself, through usurpation, the government which had been in the hands of Obodas; and he not only hesitated to pay the sixty talents abovementioned, but absolutely insisted that not any of the thieves had taken refuge in Arabia. Hereupon Saturninus and Volumnius directed that the fugitives on both sides should be immediately given up, and that the money which was due to Herod should be paid within the space of thirty days. These orders discovered the treachery of the conduct of Syllaus, for a great number of the free-booters had taken refuge with the Arabians, while Herod had not so much as a single Arabian under his protection.

C H A P. XIV.

Syllaus refuses to deliver the men, or pay the money. Herod obtains permission to do himself justice. He takes the castle of Repta by assault. The defeat of the Arabians. Their general, Nacebus, slain. Herod marches to Trachon, with three thousand Idumæans.

At the expiration of thirty days, when the money ought to have been paid, Herod demanded it, and likewise insisted on the giving up of the fugitives; but Syllaus would not abide by his agreement; refused to comply with either of these demands, and immediately proceeded on a voyage to Cæfar. Herod finding this want of fidelity on the part of the Arabian, and perceiving that he could not recover his right by an equitable mode of proceeding, applied to Saturninus and Volumnius, for permission to do himself justice by the law of arms: and those governors having complied with his request, he immediately collected an army together, proceeded into Arabia, and marched seven stages in the course of three days. At length he arrived at a castle which bore the name of Repta, to which the robbers had retreated. He lost no time in assaulting this place, which he was fortunate enough to take on the first attack. The conquest being made, he demolished the several fortifications, but abstained from doing any farther mischief to the inhabitants. While these transactions were going forward, Nacebus, the general of the Arabians, marched to the relief of his countrymen; and was no sooner arrived than a battle ensued, in which very few, if any, of the troops of Herod were lost: but the Arabian general was slain on the spot, together with five and twenty of his people; and the rest of them were dispersed, and compelled to seek their safety in flight.

Herod having now revenged himself on the free-booters for the insults that had been offered him, he proceeded to Trachon, with an army of three thousand
thousand Idumæans, in order to keep the irregulars in those parts within the bounds of subjection. To justify himself with respect to the above-mentioned proceeding, Herod dispatched a faithful narrative of the facts to the Roman governors presiding in Phœnicia, in which he acquainted them that in his late battle with the rebellious Arabians, he had done nothing but what he was authorized to do by full permission: and the governors having made an enquiry into the affair, found that Herod’s allegations were consistent with truth.

CHAP. XV.

A false report transmitted to Syllæus at Rome. Syllæus tells a melancholy story to Cæsar. The contents thereof. Cæsar writes a menacing letter to Herod. Account of the insolence of the Arabians. Herod’s ambassadors are denied audience of Cæsar. The death of Obodas, who is succeeded by Areias. Syllæus endeavours to engraft the power of Areias. This latter sends ambassadors, with letters and presents to Cæsar, who likewise refuses audience to these ambassadors. Niclaus of Damascus sent on a third embassy, by Herod.

The above is a fair representation of the truth: but the Arabians sent a very different account of the particulars to Syllæus at Rome, in which, by disguising some circumstances, and magnifying others, they made the whole appear totally contrary to the matter of fact. Now Syllæus had by this time so artfully inflamed himself, that he had obtained a personal knowledge of the emperor.

As Syllæus was walking one day before the royal palace, he received a packet of letters by an express, containing the account above-mentioned. When he had read the dispatches, he immediately changed his cloaths, put on a suit of deep mourning, and went away to Cæsar. Having obtained admittance, he told his melancholy story, which was interrupted by frequent tears and lamentations. The substance of it was, that Herod had entered Arabia with a large army; that he had overturned the form of government, and spread devastation throughout the country; that he had slain on the spot no less than two thousand five hundred noble Arabians, and that their general Næcebæus, who was his friend and relation, was among the slain; and that he had plundered the castle of Repra of an immense treasure which had been there deposited. He likewise represented that this arose from the advantage that Herod had taken of the weakness and neglect of Obodas, who was not furnished with a proper number of troops to make opposition to him, nor, during his (Syllæus’s) absence, had a general fit to take the command of those with which he was provided. Syllæus having mentioned these particulars, said farther, that he never should have thought of undertaking his present journey to Rome, but in the full confidence that Cæsar would make ample provision for all his people: and he boasted that if himself had been upon the spot, Herod should have severely repented the rashness of his undertaking.

Cæsar
Caesar, being exceedingly unhappy in his mind, on account of these unfortunate circumstances, made a number of enquiries among the friends of Herod, as well as among his own friends who had lately come out of Syria, demanding to know if Herod had marched his army any where without the limits of his own jurisdiction. These questions being answered in the affirmative, Caesar entertained no doubt of the truth of all the rest that Syllaëus had told him. He therefore, without farther hesitation, sent an angry and menacing letter to Herod, which was directed in the following singular manner: "To Herod, formerly my friend, hereafter my subject."

At the same time Syllaëus wrote letters to the Arabians, informing them of the particulars of what had passed. When the Arabians, on the information of these letters, found that Herod was in disgrace with Caesar, their insolence exceeded all bounds, and they became much more untractable than they had heretofore been. They absolutely refused to deliver up the malefactors, or even to pay their debts; nay, they went farther; they denied the payment of their rents, and refused to discharge all these common obligations which, by the mutual faith of society, one man owes to another.

The Trachonites likewise took advantage of the particular situation of affairs, and joined with the Arabian ravagers against the garrisons in Idumæa which belonged to Herod. They destroyed, pillaged, and plundered wherever they went; and this more from motives of revenge than from those of advantage.

Herod having now lost the friendship of Caesar, was compelled to submit to those and many other indignities; for by this time his credit began to fail him, and he was abandoned by his natural courage. On two several occasions did he send ambassadors to Caesar, to endeavour to exculpate himself of the charges against him: but the first time the emperor refused to admit the ambassadors to his presence, and on the second application he would not receive their dispatches. During this time Herod had every thing to apprehend from the arts of Syllaëus, who sought all opportunities of turning to his own benefit the anxiety of mind in which he found Caesar involved. Syllaëus, fortunately for his own purposes, was near enough to Caesar to take every advantage of the change of his disposition; and finding that he was credulous, and easy to be wrought upon, he disposed him to give such directions as were consistent with his own interest; and, exclusive of all this, Syllaëus had a prospect of affairs of still farther importance.

In the interim king Obodas departed this life, and was succeeded by Æneas, who took the name of Aretas. Syllaëus was no sooner informed of this circumstance than he exerted himself in a singular manner to get Aretas turned out of his office, and to engross the whole power to himself; and the methods he made use of were the propagation of calumnious reports, the giving bribes at court, and the making large promises to Caesar. What principally encouraged him to an attempt of this kind was a indignity that Caesar had conceived at Aretas for entering on the administration of government without obtaining his consent, or even making him acquainted with his intentions.
Aretas, the new king, now sent ambassadors to Cæsar, to pay his compliments of respect to the emperor, and to carry him letters, and presents of large value, one of which, in particular, was a crown of gold, which had been purchased at an enormous price. The letters thus transmitted contained a direct charge against Syllaus for having usurped the authority of Obodas in his life-time, and the causing him to be poisoned: he was likewise charged with violating the chastity of the wives of the Arabian; and with obtaining large sums of money, in order to pave the way to his pretensions to the government. But as Cæsar had heretofore denied audience to the ambassadors of Herod, so now he treated them in the same manner, rejecting their presents, and sending them away without an answer to their dispatches.

While matters were in this situation at Rome, the affairs of Judæa and Arabia grew every day more perplexed and disagreeable: a general confusion ensued, and there was no one who had ability or authority to allay the ferment. One of the kings was yet insecure in the possession of his new government; and the other was very far from being master of his subjects: for such was the situation of Herod, that he had it not in his power to do himself justice, without offering an offence to Cæsar; so that he lay under a necessity of submitting to all that might be offered to him: at length, however, being reduced to the most disagreeable extremity, he came to a final resolution to exert all his own interest, and that of his friends, with Cæsar, and determined to try the event of a third embassy to Rome; and Nicolaus was appointed ambassador on this occasion.

C H A P. X VI.

The animosities in Herod's family increase. Eurycles contracts an acquaintance with Herod, and becomes the confident of Alexander. He commences tale-bearer in the family. Herod makes him a present of fifty talents. He obtains money from Archelaus. At length Eurycles is banished from Laodicea. The enmity and jealousy of Herod. Tyrannus and Jucundus dismissed from the court, and compelled to accuse Alexander by the force of torture. The governor of Aemathians put to the torture. Letters produced, pretended to be of Alexander's writing. The brothers, and the witnesses against them, conveyed to Jericho. The witnesses stained by the people. Aristobulus betrayed by Salome. The brothers bound and examined on Salome's information. Gaphyra and Alexander examined. They agree in the denial of the charge. Herod sends Olympus and Volumnius with letters to Archelaus. His answer. Cæsar's reconciliation with Herod. A formal accettation against Syllaus. The articles of the charge against him. Syllaus charged by Nicolaus, who defends Herod. Syllaus binds himself by an oath, but forfeits his word. Syllaus ordered to be put to death. Instructions given to Olympus and Volumnius. A letter of condolence written by Cæsar to Herod.

The family of Herod had been at all times rendered exceedingly unhappy by its intrinsic commotions; a case by no means uncommon in courts: but at present the animosities ran higher than at any former pe-
period, and were principally occasioned by the following circumstance. There was a certain Lacedaemonian, named Eurycles, a man of noble defect, but of the most malicious turn of mind; prone to acts of sensuality, and vain beyond the power of language to describe; but he was so confinuate an hypocrite, that it was not an easy matter to discern that he possessed any of these faults. Now Eurycles, by that admirable address of which he was matter, had insinuated himself into an acquaintance with Herod, with whom he interchanged presents, and to whom he rendered several good offices in the house of Antipater. By these means, and by being frequently in company with Alexander, he became familiarly acquainted with that prince also. Now Eurycles would be frequently hinting what an extraordinary degree of friendship there subsisted between him, and Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and how profound a respect the latter entertained for Gephyra. Thus, by rendering himself an entertaining companion to every one about him, and by acting the part of an easy and general friend, he had an opportunity of hearing all that was said, and seeing every thing that was done; so that he failed not of picking up a number of idle stories, which he applied to his own purposes whenever he found it convenient. In a word, he had so happy a method of applying himself to the passions, and so grateful a mode of complimenting the persons of those with whom he had to do, that to whomsoever he addressed himself, he was artful enough to persuade the party that his or her interest was the chief object of his wishes, and that all the correspondence he held with others was simply with a view to the service and gratification of the person with whom he was conversing.

By a mode of address thus artfully managed, he so far insinuated himself into the esteem and affection of Alexander, that he placed the utmost reliance on him, and confided in him as the keeper of all his most important secrets, and thought him the only man in the world that he could trust in the full assurance that he should not be betrayed. In this perfect confidence of friendship he related to him the whole history of his misfortunes; made him acquainted with the unkindness of his father, informed him of the death of his mother, and the credit that Antipater had obtained with the king. He said that the oppression of mind which he laboured under was become altogether too severe to be endured; and that the family aversion was at length arrived at that height, that he could no longer eat or converse with his children.

Alexander entertained no kind of doubt but that these secrets would be safely deposited in the breast of his friend: but Euryclus was no sooner master of any part of the subject, than he went to Antipater, to whom he related, from time to time, all that had passed in the conversation. When he communicated these circumstances to Antipater, he used to say, "It is true these matters are no immediate concern of mine; but in an affair which may be attended with such dangerous consequences, I cannot but think it my duty as a friend to advise you to consult your own safety, and have a cautious eye on Alexander: for I have observed that he hath of late assumed a very great degree of confidence, so that he thinks it no
longer necessary to disguise the sentiments of his mind; but, without any
kind of scruple, declares, in the most explicit language, the malice that
ranks at his heart, and openly avows the design that he has entertained
"to the prejudice of his father."

This discourse of Eurycles gave Antipater so high an idea of the sincerity
of his esteem, and the disinterestedness of his friendship, that he acknowled-
ged the favour by making him some presents of great value; and having reflected on the nature and importance of the information, he came to
a resolution of acquainting the king with what he had heard, and taking
his opinion on the subject. He therefore introduced Eurycles to Herod,
who was already so prepossessed against Alexander, that it was no difficult
matter to make him believe anything to his disadvantage: so that partly
through his former prejudices, and partly from the hints of several circum-
stances that were thrown out in the course of this conversation, his hatred
to him became more violent and implacable than ever; a circumstance with
which Alexander was soon afterwards made acquainted. Herod conceiving
that the good office which had been done, him demanded a recompence,
made a present of fifty talents to Eurycles, in gratification of his trouble:
and this the latter had no sooner received, than, in the true spirit of con-
fummate hypocrisy, he went immediately to Archelaus, to whom he ex-
tolled to the skies the virtues of his son Alexander; nor did he forget to
hint that he had done himself the honour to endeavour to adjust the dis-
putes betwixt him and his father; and that he thought himself extremely
happy in the success with which his negociations had been attended. The
artfulness of this address so pleased Archelaus, that he likewise presented
him with a sum of money: and being thus enriched by the success of his
villainies, he departed with his booty before there was an opportunity of
detecting the imposture. By this time Eurycles had retired into his own
country, where he still followed the same artful course of life, till at length
a discovery being made of the iniquity of his conduct, he was brought to
justice, and banished from Lacedæmon.

By this time the passions of Herod were wrought to such a height, that
he was not disposed, as he formerly had been, to be satisfied with only
lending an ear to the calumnious reports against his sons, or to wait with
patience till the voice of slander reached him in its common course; but his
suspicions were of such a nature that they precluded the necessity of any one
executing the office of a tale-bearer; and he made so many particular en-
quiries and scrutinies in search of his own unhappiness, as rendered it un-
necessary for any other person to take the trouble of carrying accusations to
him. Notwithstanding this disposition, however, he was still as eager as
ever to listen to any informations against the brothers, from whatever quar-
ter they were brought; nor did any thing afford him so high a satisfaction
as the lending an attentive ear to these malicious stories.

The affairs of the family were at length in such an unhappy situation,
that the only ambition and contention seemed to be who should be the author
of the greatest degree of mischief. The more malice that was evinced with
regard to the sons, the more acceptable the intelligence appeared to be to
the
the father: and in all these informations the chief pretence seemed to be a generous concern for the safety of the king.

At this period there arose a circumstance more fatal to the repose of the young princes, than any which had yet befel them. There were two persons, the names of whom were Jucundus and Tyrannus, who had heretofore been of Herod's life-guard, who were remarkably distinguished by their extraordinary stature and uncommon strength; but they had been lately banished from the court, on account of some offence that they had given. Now Alexander, being apprized of the singular merit of these men, took them immediately into his service, as a guard on his person, and treated them with the utmost degree of liberality. This circumstance gave such extreme offence to the king, that he gave orders that they should be immediately put to the torture. This being done, they bore up, under the severity of the torments as long as human nature could sustain the extremity of the pain: but being at length unable to endure any more, they made a confession to the following purport: "That Alexander had fol-

cited them to feel some favourable opportunity, of killing the king;

"while he was engaged in a party of hunting: that he said this matter "might be the more easily effected, under pretence, that the king had fal-
"len from his horse upon his own arms; a pretence, that would have the "greater weight, because that, on a former occasion, he had very narrowly. "escaped with his life from a similar accident." The sufferers farther declared that a sum of money was secreted in the stable; and they said, that in pursuance of an order given to the principal game-keeper, by Alex-
ander, his servants had received a number of the king's darts and lances.

The governor of Alexandrion was the next man that was put to the tor-

ture. The charge exhibited against him was, that he had given his pro-
mise to the brothers to receive them into the castle, and likewise to deliver, into their hands all such of the royal treasure as was therein deposited. During the time that the governor was under the torture he positively de-
nied every particular of this charge; but, on the contrary, his son said that it was founded on fact, and produced a writing to the following effect, which he pretended was under the hand of Alexander. "If God permit, "you need not entertain the least doubt of hearing from us, as soon as we "have prepared matters so as to be ready for you; therefore remember your promise, and do not fail to be ready, to receive us into the castle." Herod having perused this paper, had now no farther doubt of the real ex-
istence of the conspiracy: but Alexander, during all this time, positively insinuated that the whole charge was founded on a mere fiction and contri-
vance of Antipater, and that the writing was forged by the secretary Dio-
phantus, who had heretofore distinguished himself by exploits of this na-
ture; and who was afterwards apprehended while perpetrating a similar act, and received the punishment due to his crime.

At this time, Herod was at Jericho; and after the witnesses had been tormented, he had them conducted to that place, in order to accuse his sons publicly before the people; but before they could have an opportu-
nity of doing this, they were stoned to death by the multitude, who, during,
the first transports of their rage, would have treated Alexander and Aristobulus in the same manner, but that Herod, by the assistance of Ptolemy and Pheroras, prevented their falling a sacrifice. However, they were committed to close custody, and spies were appointed to guard them; and took up the closest watch on all their words and actions. Thus situated, they had no doubt but that their lives would fall a sacrifice; and the people in general were of the same opinion.

In this great and utter distress, Aristobulus, after mature reflections on his situation, thought it might be prudent to try if he could inspire his aunt and mother-in-law, Salome, with proper resentment of his sufferings, and a just indignation against the author of them. To this purpose he wrote to her, demanding, "If she could think herself safe under a charge of holding "a private correspondence with Syllenus, respecting the king's affairs, in "the hope of obtaining him for a husband." This paper Salome immediately carried to her brother; who, being transported with rage, gave instant orders that his sons should be confined separately from each other, and that they should themselves put down in writing, the particulars respecting the treasonable design in which they were supposed to have been concerned. This was done, agreeable to the orders that were given; and both their accounts exactly corresponded: they declared that they had not been concerned in any kind of conspiracy; and that they had never entertained the least idea of such a circumstance. They confessed that they had entertained thoughts of making their escape from their present confinement; for that death itself was preferable to the life they were obliged to live, surrounded as they were by perpetual jealousy and suspicion.

At this period, Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, sent in the character of an ambassador to Herod, a person named Mela, a man of great rank and distinction in that country. Now Herod was displeased with something in the conduct of Archelaus; and being willing to let him see that he resented his behaviour, he gave orders that Alexander should be brought out of the prison, and re-examined in the presence of Mela. The prisoner being brought, was interrogated respecting his intended escape; he was asked whether he proposed to have gone, and in what way he intended to have disposed of himself. To this he replied, that his determination was to have gone to his father-in-law, Archelaus, in consequence of his promise to conduct him in safety to Rome. "Nor (said he) was my brother or myself ever "guilty of any thing farther than this with regard to our father, notwith-"standing all that the false witnesses, and others of our enemies may have "pretended to the contrary." Alexander then expressed his earnest wish that Tyranus and his associates had been examined in a more careful and particular manner; but he said that the principal thing Antipater had in view was to get them disposed of as soon as possible, in such a manner as that it should not be in their power to make any disagreeable discoveries; wherefore his agents were employed to spirit up the mob against them, in consequence of which they put them to death.

This examination being ended, Herod gave immediate orders that Alexander and Mela should be conducted to Glaphyra, and that the likewise...
should be strictly interrogated, to discover what she knew respecting the horrid treason supposed to have been in agitation. No sooner were they come within sight of this most unfortunate princess, than seeing her husband bound in chains, she began to tear her hair, attempted to offer violence on herself, and wept and groaned as if her heart would have broke: nor did the prince give less signal proofs of the extremity of his grief: so violent, in fact, were the effects of their affliction, that those who had the care of them flood in astonishment, as persons who had lost their senses; and seemed to far rapt in wonder at the scene before them, that they neither knew what they were doing, or what business had brought them thither.

At length Ptolemy, to whose care the prince had been committed, interrogated him, requiring to know whether his wife had been concerned in the plot; to which Alexander, in a kind of ironical manner, replied, “How “can you entertain the least doubt of that? Wherever I am, she must un- “doubtedly be present.” And then, in a more serious tone, he said, “She “is a woman dearer to me than my own existence; she is one of the wor- “thief of wives, and the most excellent of mothers; nor can the whole “world produce her superior in both those characters.” He had no sooner pronounced these words, than the princes declared that her conscience acquitted her of all idea of guilt; but that if the acknowledging that she had been culpable would tend, in any degree, to the preservation of her husband, she would not hesitate to make such acknowledgment, even though she was sure to die without an opportunity of retracting her declaration. But Alexander, hearing what he said, eagerly exclaimed, “No, no! We are “not guilty of a single circumstance that hath been alleged against us; “and we have merited a very different kind of treatment from the hands of “those who have been base enough to injure us by their suspicions. With “regard to the resolution we had formed of getting away to our father, and “then of escaping to Rome, if that is to be construed into treason, we have “nothing to do but to plead guilty.” What Alexander had said was confirmed in all its particulars by Glaphyra.

Now in what had passed during the above examination there was sufficient matter to exercise the thought of a man already jealous of injuries done him; and Herod hereupon fixed his suspicions till more strongly than ever on Archelaus; wherupon he immediately dispatched Olympus and Vol- lumnus with letters to the supposed offender, giving them directions to drop at Eleusâ, a city of Phoenicia, and there deliver their dispatches. They were likewise instructed to expostulate with him on the subject of the conspiracy, on a presumption that he had been engaged in the confederacy with the sons of Herod.

After they had delivered their letters, their orders were to sail forward to Rome; and to enquire of Nicolaus of Damascus, if Cæsar was more disposed to favourable sentiments than he had heretofore been. If this happened to be the case, they were to present other dispatches to him, which gave an account of the proceedings against Alexander and Aristobulus, and likewise copies of the evidence on which their conviction had been founded. When
When the ambassadors came to Archelaus, he told them, without hesita-
tion, that he had exprest his readiness to receive the young princes; which
he had done, in the zeal of his heart, as the most probable method of con-
ferring an essential obligation both on the father and the son: for he con-
fessed his apprehension lest Herod, yielding to the impetuous force of his
passions, might have compleated their destruction; but on the whole, he
declared that he had not entertained any thoughts of sending them to Caesar,
or of protecting them in any illegal proceedings to the prejudice of their
father.

When Olympus and Volumnius arrived at Rome, they found Caesar so
much reconciled to Herod, and so extremely well-disposed towards him,
that they made no scruple of delivering their dispatches, according to the
orders they had received. These letters were put into a proper form by the
management of Nicolaus, who had conducted the previous busineses of his
commission in the following manner. On his first arrival at Rome, and be-
ing introduced to the palace of the emperor, exclusive of the instructions
with which he was charged, he drew up a formal accusation against Syllaes,
accusing him of practices of the most flagitious nature imaginable; ample
materials for which accusation he had obtained from the Arabians them-
selves, who were at that time greatly divided in their sentiments of their own
affairs. One of the charges against Syllaes was the murder of Obodas,
and many persons of the same family, for proof of which many letters of
his own writing, which had been intercepted, were produced. Now Nic-
olaus, a principal part of whose commission it was to induce Caesar to think
more favourably of Herod than he had done, made all proper use of the
providential discovery of these intercepted letters, to promote the interest
of his employer. Reasoning with himself, he considered that if he should
commence his application by endeavouring to palliate or defend the conduct
of Herod, the emperor would at once be struck with the whole design of
his commission; but that if he introduced what he had to say, by proper
reflections on the conduct of Syllaes, it would be an easy matter to justify
Herod in the course of the conversation.

At length a day was appointed for the hearing of this busines, when Nic-
olaus, being assisted by some agents of Aretas, proceeded to allledge the
following accusations against Syllaes. He was charged with "Having oc-
"asioned the murder of his king and sovereign; with murdering many
" persons of his subjects the Arabians; with taking up enormous sums of mon-
"ey, for the purpose of disturbing the public peace; with having been
"a notorious violater of the chastity of women, both at Rome, and in
" Arabia; and, finally, with having imposed on the emperor himself by
"the propagation of the most improbable lies, and calumnious reports,
"which was evidenced by the account he gave of the conduct of Herod,
"the whole of which was totally foreign from the truth." He was pro-
cessing to make good his allegations on all these charges, but Caesar in-
terrupted Nicolaus with respect to this last article, and desired him to pass
over all the rest and to speak to that single circumstance. "Make me ac-
"quainted (said the emperor,) with this particular part of the conduct of
"Herod.
Herod. Did he not go into Arabia with an army? Did not two thousand "five hundred men fall there, by his arms? Did he not ravage the country, "and carry off a number of prisoners?" In answer hereto Nicolaus said that he himself was as well able to give a proper account of the matter as any man existing. Having mentioned this, he averred that there was very little of truth in the whole story, as it had been reported; and he asserted that Herod had been much less to blame in the whole conduct of the business than was generally supposed.

Caesar was astonished at what Nicolaus had said, and declared he would pay the utmost attention to what he had farther to advance; he thereupon related things in order as they had happened: he recounted the circumstance of the five hundred talents which Herod had lent Sylla upon his bond: said that the time of payment had elapsed, and that Herod had a legal right to recover the debt from the country. He farther urged that the body of men to whom Sylla had given the name of an army, did not deserve that name, as it consisted only of such a number as was sufficient for putting in execution the legal claim of Herod: that the latter did not proceed in a rash or violent manner, though, the time of payment being more than expired, he had an undoubted right to sue for his bond whenever it might be agreeable to him. On the contrary, he chose rather, in the first place, to make application to Saturninus, and Volumnius, who were then governors of Syria: and this appeal being made to them, Sylla, in their presence, at Berytus, bound himself by the sacred obligation of an oath, and swore, by the fortune of Caesar, to pay all the money due to Herod within thirty days, and likewise to deliver up all the fugitives: but when the time was expired, neither the money was paid, nor were the fugitives restored. Hereupon Herod again made application to the governors, who gave it as their opinion, that he had a right to chuse his own mode of redress. This therefore was the occasion of Herod's going into Arabia, and gave rise to the war which his enemies had so illiberally censured, with every circumstance of aggravation. "But is it possible (said Nicolaus) that this can be deemed a war, which was undertaken by the permission and approbation of the governors; that had its justice founded in the prosecution of a lawful demand, when the detention of right had been endeavoured to be defended by the violation of a solemn oath, which had been sworn before the gods, and ratified by the name of Caesar?"

"Let us now (said Nicolaus) speak with regard to the prisoners. At first they consisted of about forty of the principal leaders of the Trachonite robbers, and these were followed by many others, who having made incursions into Judea, and ravaged the country, making great spoil wherever they came, at length fled from the vengeance of Herod, and took sanctuary in Arabia; where, when they were arrived, Sylla not only gave them entertainment, though they ought to have been considered as the common enemies of mankind, but protected them, granted them lands, and accepted a share of the booty which they so unjustly acquired. Now Sylla had bound himself by a solemn oath to restore these very men, as well as the money that he had borrowed, within the limited time
of the Antiquities of the Jews.

Of the Antiquities of the Jews.

The time before-mentioned; and, Sir, I dare confidently assert, and call on any person living to contradict me, that Herod took no other prisoners in Arabia than these robbers: and even of these some made their escape.

One story more regarding these prisoners is well worthy the notice and attention of Cæsar, because respecting that he has been imposed upon in a more glaring manner than with regard to any other circumstance. I can with truth declare that at the time when a band of the Arabians attacked our troops, and a few of our men fell a sacrifice, Herod found himself under a necessity, in his own defence, of repelling force by force; during the conflict Nacebus, their general, was killed, and with him fell twenty-five of his forces, but not a man beyond this number. Now Syllæus's account has made every man a hundred, and swelled these twenty-five to two thousand five hundred.

This speech of Nicaulus seemed to have the wished-for effect upon Cæsar, who turning towards Syllæus with a countenance in which was expressed the utmost vehemence of rage, demanded how many Arabians were slain in the action he had mentioned. Syllæus hesitated for a while, as if to recollect a circumstance that he had forgot, and then acknowledged that he had been somewhat mistaken with regard to the number.

Matters having proceeded thus far, the next business was to read the conditions of the bond given by Syllæus to Herod, the arbitrations of the governors, and the remonstrances that had been made by the several cities and towns, complaining of the various robberies that had been committed.

Nothing now remained to convince Cæsar of the iniquitous practices of Syllæus, against whom he passed sentence of death; and restored Herod to that share of favour which he had formerly held, confessing that he had been mistaken with regard to his conduct, or he never should have listened to those calumnious reports that had influenced him so much to his disadvantage, and provoked him to such unreasonable severities against him. He further told Syllæus that nothing less than his atrocious impudence, the lies he had been guilty of telling, and the slanders he had propagated, could have induced him to fail of the usual respect for his best of friends.

The event of the whole matter was, that orders were given for conducting Syllæus back to Arabia, where he was first to pay the debts he had contracted, and then to suffer an ignominious death. With regard to Aretas, his presuming to usurp the royal authority without having obtained the approbation and full consent of the emperor, Cæsar was extremely displeased at the circumstance, and conceived an idea of transferring to Herod the government of the province of which he was possessed; but Cæsar changed his intentions, on reading the letters which were delivered him by Olympus and Volumnius, which letters were filled with the most bitter invectives against his own sons. Now the instructions that had been given to Olympus and Volumnius were, that if they found Cæsar in a mild and placable disposition, they should deliver their letters, which they did in pursuance of that order; but Cæsar, upon the perusal of them, having made

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made proper allowance for his age, the violence of his passions, and the weight of his misfortunes, altered his resolution, which he had no sooner done than he ordered the ambassadors from Aretas to be admitted. To these he gave audience, and reprehended them for the rash conduct of their master in assuming to himself the sovereign power without permission so to do. Having talked to them for a while in this strain, he received their presents, and confirmed Aretas in his authority, to the utter astonishment of the ambassadors.

Being thus reconciled to Herod, Cæsar wrote him a letter of condolence on account of the trouble he met with from his sons; allowing him free permission, and investing him with full power to proceed against them as parricides, if he should be convinced that they were engaged in the unnatural and infamous plot of which they were suspected: but if, on farther enquire, he thought that there was nothing more to be alleged against them than simply a contrivance to effect their escape, he advised him to moderate his wrath, and let a more gentle reprehension take place of severer punishment. Upon the whole, the substance of his advice was, to assemble a council at Berytus, in which place a great number of Romans resided; and there to demand the assistance of the governors of the adjacent provinces, and to request the attendance of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, together with that of a number of persons of high rank; who having heard and concluded on the whole matter, should give their opinions, and finally decide the business.

CHAP. XVII.

The extraordinary behaviour of Herod in his prosperity. A convention summoned by him at Berytus. Herod accuses his sons before one hundred and fifty persons. His speech on the authority of parents over their children. It is determined that Herod may dispose of his children at his pleasure. Saturninus advices punishment, but not that of death. Volumnius urges that they should be put to death, and they are condemned accordingly. Herod proceeds to Tyre, meets Nicæus, and takes him with him to Cæsarea. Tyro’s generous vindication of the unfortunate princes, and his remonstrance to Herod. Tyro and those of his sentiments committed to prison. The information of Tryphon against Tyro. Some persons put to the torture. Tyro, his son, and three hundred persons torn to pieces by the populace. The death of Alexander and Aristobulus by strangulation. The cruelty of Herod.

The receipt of the letter from Cæsar afforded the highest satisfaction to Herod, not only as it assured him of being restored to the favour of the emperor, but as it gave him full permission to dispose of his sons in such a manner as might be most agreeable to himself. It is something singular, and worthy of notice in the character of Herod, that whereas in former times, when he was in prosperity, though he had been a severe and rigid father towards his children, yet he had never shewn so bloody a disposition as to seek their lives; yet now, on this happy change and improve-
ment of his circumstances, he became, from what cause it is hard to say, more severe and cruel than ever, and indulged this disposition to a most extravagant degree.

Agreeable to the advice of Cæsar, he summoned a council to meet at Berytus, consisting of all the persons recommended in the emperor's letter, excepting only Archelaus, which might be owing to an antipathy to the man, or to the fear that he might frustrate his designs. The parties being all met according to the summons, Herod did not think proper to bring his sons to the council, but left them at the village of Plantane in Sidon, which was but at a small distance, that they might be brought up if it should appear to be necessary.

When the council were assembled, which consisted of one hundred and fifty persons, Herod went into the council-chamber without any attendants, and there, without reciting any part of the history of his own misfortunes, which might properly have introduced what he had to say, he began to exhibit an accusation against his sons. This charge was delivered in a very extraordinary manner, with equal vehemence and acrimony, and in language that very ill became his character as a father; it was accompanied with looks and behaviour of the most violent and menacing kind; and had more the appearance of the ravings of a madman, than the sober declamation of a man in his senses. His arguments were inconsistent and confused, and his discourse incoherent, unconnected, and almost unintelligible. He brought no proofs in support of what he said, by which the judges could form their opinion; but they were obliged to place implicit confidence in every thing the accuser advanced: thus, instead of being judges, they were made a kind of parties in the business, and rather took part against the prisoners than in their behalf. It is true that some letters which the young princes had written were read; but no proof arose therefrom that they had been guilty of disloyalty, or harboured any evil intentions towards the king. All that appeared from these letters was, that they had confided on the means of effecting their escape, and there were some few intimations that they were dissatisfied with, and had taken offence at some part of their father's conduct. When Herod, in the course of his charge, came to remark on these parts of the letters, he, in the most violent and indecent manner, sought to exaggerate the crime, intitling that a clearer proof of a conspiracy could not exist; he likewise swore, in the most vehement manner, that death itself was not so dreadful in his idea as the language of those letters. "It is true (said he) that I might claim and assert that power over my children which hath been given me by the laws of nature, and ratified by the favour of Cæsar, not to mention the authority I derive from the express laws of my own country, which say that 'If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son, which will not obey the voice of his father, or the voice of his mother, all the men of his city shall stone him with stones, that he die,' (Deut. chap. 21.) But I would rather decline the exercise of my undoubted authority in this case, and submit the matter to your opinions; not that I wish you to determine on an affair that is already determined in its own nature, but I would have your sentiments coincide with
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS UPON

"with mine, in order to ratify the sentence: which will serve as a lesson of instruction to posterity, intimating what kind of punishment ought to follow such enormous crimes."

It was now indisputably evident to the council, what were Herod's views: they saw by the manner in which the business was hurried forward, without even permitting the brothers to speak in their own defence, that the king had determined how he would act: wherefore, though very unwillingly, they voted, "that Herod might dispose of his children in the way most agreeable to himself." This vote being passed, Saturninus arose to give his opinion. He was a man of great dignity, and one who had discharged various offices of trust and consequence. He declared that he thought the prisoners ought to undergo some kind of punishment, but that of death would be too severe; saying that he felt the case the more sensibly, as he was himself the father of children. "I should be unhappy (said he) after such a variety of misfortunes as Herod hath suffered, that he should at length be oppressed with one so much more calamitous than all the rest." The three sons of Saturninus, who acted as deputies to their father, were the next who spoke, and they concurred with him in opinion. Volumnius now arose to deliver his sentiments, which were, that nothing less than death could atone for a crime of such enormous magnitude; and the majority of the company coinciding with him; the matter was decided to the prejudice of the brothers.

As soon as the sentence was passed, Herod took his two sons with him, and proceeded to Tyre, where meeting Nicolaus, who was on his return from Rome, he informed him of the proceedings that had taken place at Berytus, and enquired, in his turn, what opinion the people of Rome had formed with respect to his sons. To this Nicolaus answered, that they were universally cenured for the impropriety of their conduct; that the people said they ought to be confined in chains for what they had been guilty of; nay that death itself would not be too great a punishment if the fact were clearly proved against them: since in case they were punished in a higher degree, the public voice would declare that the prosecution was not so much founded in justice and reason, as in spleen and resentment: yet that, if Herod seemed more disposed to extend his mercy to them, he would do well to grant them their liberty, rather than by perverting in an act of severity, to perpetrate a deed which he might hereafter wish he had taken place. Having received this information, Herod continued for a considerable time in thoughtful meditation, totally silent, and as not knowing how to act; at length he invited Nicolaus to proceed to sea with him, and they took their departure for Caesarea.

On their arrival at that place, they found that the general conversation turned on the story of Herod and his sons: the people seemed to be extremely anxious to know the event of the prosecution: it was the universal apprehension that the death of the brothers would be the consequence of the hatred that had been conceived against them. Pity for their situation seemed to penetrate every heart; but no one dared to speak his own sentiments, or to listen to those
those of others; so that the general resentment appeared to be smothered, and every emotion, whether of grief or compassion, to be suppressed.

There was one objection, however, to the truth of this observation. Among the king's troops there was a person named Tyro, an old soldier of very distinguished bravery, who had a son about the age of Alexander, that had been honoured with the friendship of the young prince. This man made no scruple to speak his mind with freedom, nor hesitated to deliver those truths which were indubitably concealed by others. He made frequent and public declaration that all sense of honour and justice were banished from the face of the earth; that chicanery and ill-will had usurped their places, and so deluded the minds of the public that all ideas of right and wrong, of good and evil, were equally confounded. This freedom of behaviour could not but be attended with danger: but there was something so nobly disinterested in this generous proof of courage and virtue, in so critical a juncture, that it attracted the regard of every one; and those that would have been fearful to have proceeded so far themselves, could not but esteem the man who risked so much in the public cause: and, in fact, the man must have wanted all feeling and sensibility, who, in such a situation, could have failed to express the common sentiments of humanity.

Tyro, not content with what he had publicly said, went to the king, with whom he demanded the honour of a conversation; which being granted, he expressed himself to the following purport: "If, Sir, I do not give vent to the sentiments of my heart, I must be wretched. I am not insensible of the danger of the office I have undertaken, nor of the language I am about to utter. The danger will be my own; but service and advantage will accrue to Herod, if he please to pay a proper regard to what I say. Will you give me leave to ask, Sir, if you retain your former understanding, and the sense of things you heretofore entertained? Where is that greatness of mind, that dignity, that resolution, which carried you through great difficulties in time past? Recollect you what is become of your friends and relations? Are they all lost? For it is impossible that I should include in that number, those who can behold the accumulating miseries of your court and family, once so happy, and express no concern for the melancholy change of affairs! Are you totally blind, Sir, to your own interest? Cannot you perceive what an unhappy turn your circumstances are taking? Are you determined on the destruction of the children of a wife who was once so dear to you, and who have themselves so many virtues to recommend them? Is this, Sir, a time of life for you to think of trusting yourself to the direction of an ambitious young man, and to submit to the conduct of those among your relations whom you have heretofore, more than once, doomed to punishment for their crimes? Do you not perceive, by the utter silence and profound astonishment of the people, that your own conduct is tacitly condemned, and the fate of your sons lamented, by the public? And let me inform you, Sir, that with regard to the military in general, officers and common soldiers included, they have the utmost commiseration for the
While Tyro was speaking with respect to his master's misfortunes, and representing the treachery of the conduct of those who ought to have served him with fidelity, Herod heard him with a tolerable degree of patience; but when he exceeded the bounds of discretion, and violated the laws of politeness, by the bold, intrepid, and expostulatory manner of his discourse, his freedom began to be very disagreeable. Herod, reflecting the supposed insult, demanded to know the names of those officers and soldiers in particular, who had spoken with the freedom that Tyro had mentioned. Tyro made no scruple of giving up their names; on which the king gave immediate orders that the informer, and all the persons accused should be apprehended and committed to prison.

This event had no sooner taken place than Tryphon, the king's barber, repaired to Herod, to whom he said that Tyro had repeatedly made him offers of money, and promised him the friendship of Alexander, if when he went to have the king, he would take an opportunity of cutting his throat. As soon as this information was given, Tyro and his son, together with the barber, were all put to the torture. Tyro's son observing the severity of his father's sufferings, and the fortitude with which he bore them, together with the little hope that there was of a mitigation of his pains, called out to those who tormented them, to take himself and his father from the rack, in consequence of which he would relate all that he knew which might lead to a discovery of the truth. On the promise of present ease, he declared that his father had resolved to murder Herod with his own hands, as he had private access to him; and that he had determined to do this for the service of Alexander, at whatever hazard of his own safety. In consequence of this declaration the father was delivered from the extremity of his torture; but whether the confession that the son had made was founded on fact, or only an artifice to obtain present ease, has always remained a matter of doubt.

By this time Herod was come to a resolution (if he had not formed this resolution before) to carry the purposes of his design fully into execution, without entertaining any further doubts on the subject, or leaving room for repentance. Wherefore he convened an assembly of the people, and ordered that three hundred captains, with Tyro and his son, and the barber that had been evidence, should be brought forth. This being done, the barber accused them to the multitude, who tore them all to pieces, not leaving a single man alive. With regard to Alexander and Aristobulus, they were sent to Sebaste, where they were strangled, in consequence of an order given by their father; after which their bodies were deposited in a sepulchre at Alexandrion, near their grandfather on the maternal side, and several others of their ancestors.

It may not appear a matter of any great surprise to a reflecting mind, if an aversion so deeply rooted, and of such long continuance, should have rendered Herod insensible to all those finer feelings that would have done honour to his humanity; but it is yet doubtful on which party the blame ought
ought to fix: whether it should be imputed to the natural severity of the
king's disposition; to his unbounded ambition, that could not bear the idea
of any apparent rival of his power; or whether there might not be some-
thing reprehensible in the conduct of the young princes, who, by a con-
tinued course of provocation, might have impelled the father to act in an
implaceable a manner. After all that can be said on this subject, is not the
whole determinable on the principles of that irresistible power which can
not be controlled by human wisdom? If I were to deliver my private sen-
timents, I should say that I think all human actions are determined by a
necessary chain of consequences, and over-rulled by that providential power
which we distinguish by the name of Fate, by which all our proceedings
are directed; though not in so absolute a manner but that our own endeav-
ours may be allowed to contribute much to the determination of that fate,
since the freedom of action undoubtedly remains with ourselves. But this
is an affair enveloped in mystery, of which I shall say no more, especially
as the subject is particularly treated of in the books of our laws.

Let us now enquire into the motives by which the sons might possibly be
actuated: perhaps by that heat of blood by which the passions of youth
are impelled, they might act in too bold and imperious a manner; they
might be too ready to listen to evil reports to their father's prejudice, and
too partial judges of his life and conduct. They were probably malicious in
the sentiments they entertained of him, and too free in their conversation,
which would of course expose them to the arts of spies and informers, who
were seeking for every opportunity to procure evidence against them. But
then, on the contrary, can we conceive any thing more atrocious and inex-
cusable than the conduct of Herod, who, without being able to adduce any
positive proof of a traitorous intention, without evidence to convict them,
and even in failure of strong presumptive evidence that they had conspired
against him, could indulge the vehemence of his passions to such a degree
as to take away their lives? One would imagine that their merit would have
argued strongly against such a procedure; for they were princes admirably
accomplished in the perfections of body and mind: they were skilful in all
the various exercises of youth, trained in the art of war, and deeply read in
human learning: Alexander, in particular, was uncommonly perfect in
these qualifications. If Herod could not have been satisfied without their
being condemned; why did he not banish them, or cause them to be kept
in prison? If they had been disposed of in either way, he need not have been
under apprehension of farther treachery; nor need he have suspected that
the Romans would have expounded their cause, and enabled them to have
attacked him with an open force.

The taking away their lives, therefore, with such an impetuous haste,
to gratify his own intemperate frenzy, was an outrage of the most impious
and tyrannical kind. Nor is any thing to be urged in mitigation of the
delict: nor could ignorance or want of experience be pleaded; for Herod
was well acquainted with the world, and of an age to have exercised the
calm dictates of his sober reason. Nor does the long delay in the execu-
tion of the intended vengeance, in the least excuse or palliate the crime;
on the contrary, it is rather an aggravation of it: for if the deed had been done during the sudden impulse of an impetuous passion, arising from the present sense of some atrocious injury, the enormity of the offence would have been in some degree extenuated. But when we reflect how long a time he took to consider on this daring violation of the laws of God and nature, and that at length he determined to perpetrate it, we shall be compelled to acknowledge that the action must have arisen from the most abandoned profligacy and depravity of heart. Herod, however, during the remaining part of his life, proved its consistency with this melancholy specimen; for he shewed no mercy on the rest of his relations, even those for whom he had formerly entertained the tenderest affection: but the less compassion was due to them, because they deserved the punishment they underwent: yet the cruelty of Herod is not the less to be censured, as will appear in the course of the following pages.

End of the Sixteenth Book.
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK XVII.

Containing the history of the transactions from the year of the World 3961, to 3973.

CHAP. I.

The murder of the father a probable consequence of the death of the sons. The hatred of the people to Antipater. The name of king belongs to Herod, but Antipater has the power. The arts of Antipater to advance his interest. He is counter-acted by Salome; who is violently in love with Syllaeus; but Herod compels her to marry Alexas. Herod sends Glaphyra, and her marriage-portion, back to her father; but takes care of the education of her children. Antipater hates these children, in proportion as they are favoured by the king and people. Certain contracts dissolved by Herod.

The arts of Antipater having at length produced the execrable murder of the brothers, he conceived that he had made a considerable progress towards his intended design on the life of the father: but there were many obstacles yet in his way; for though his ambition prompted him to proceed in the most rapid manner, yet the natural order...
of things would not yield to the impetuosity of his desires. It is true that after the death of the princes, there was no immediate impediment between, him and the crown; at least he was freed from all fear or danger of other competitors; but he had one very great difficulty to surmount, which was the implacable hatred that the people bore to him; to which was super-added the enmity of the army, which he considered as of more consequence than the other circumstance, as princes depend upon their troops for protection and defence against the insurrections arising from faction and tumult.

He was himself, however, the occasion of these misfortunes, by having, with an equal degree of folly and wickedness, conspired the destruction of the princes: but if the excretes of power would have satisfied his ambition, he ought to have been content; for though Herod sat on the throne, Antipater was the acting governor, all affairs were committed to his management, and he was king in every thing but in name. The very crime for which he ought to have suffered death, was deemed an instance of his loyalty and regard, as if in taking away the lives of the princes, he had consulted the honour, welfare, and preservation of the king: whereas, in fact, in the injury he did the sons, he gratified his ill-will against the father; and his antipathy was of so rancorous a kind, that it was principally on account of the father that he entertained such an inveterate malice towards them. In a word, Antipater conceived it would tend to promote his interest to complete the destruction of every person who could either give evidence respecting his treason, prevent his carrying it into execution, or that might be able to assist Herod in the frustration of his designs; and as he was now deeply embarked in the plot, he thought it would be dangerous for him to leave any part of his intended design unfinished.

It is a fact that, after the death of Herod, he considered the government as his own of course; but then he was apprehensive of the danger that might arise from delay, because that if, in the interim, his real designs should by any means be made known to his father, his ruin would undoubtedly be completed. For this reason he was exceedingly solicitous to obtain the good opinion of his father's friends, which he courted by every possible civility he could shew them, by making presents of great value, and by loading them with such favours of every kind, as he thought would obviate any impression they might have received to his disadvantage: and he was particularly attentive to Saturninus, governor of Syria, and his brother, and other friends who resided at Rome. He even conceived a hope of bringing over Salome to his interest. Now Antipater was a person of a most singular good address, and admirably skilled in the art of conferring an obligation; beside that he exceeded almost every man existing, in a plausibility of behaviour which disguised the real sentiments of his mind: yet all the artifice of his conduct was insufficient to impose upon his aunt, Salome, who penetrated the depth of his designs; kept an attentive eye on all his motions, and countermined one artifice by another. He so managed affairs that the daughter of Salome, the widow of Aristobulus, was espoused to his uncle by the mother's side; and the other daughter was married to Callæus; but neither of these connections, however artfully contrived, was sufficient to disguise
ignor the wickedness of his design, or to render him less odious than his con-
spired crimes deserved.

During all this time Salome was most distractedly in love with Syllaus; but Herod recommended it to her to marry Alexas, in which he was re-

corded by the advice of the empress Julia, who was, indeed, very peremptory

with her not to act in opposition to this advice, unless she was determined to

forfeit the good opinion of her brother for ever; as he had most not only

sworn, that if the refused to accept of this match, he would never afterwards

acknowledge her as his sister. Salome having reflected on the affair, ac-

knowledged that the advice they had given ought in reason to be complied

with, and contented to give her hand to Alexas.

Soon after this event took place Herod sent Glaphyra, the widow of his

son Alexander, and the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, home

to her father, and with her he returned the fortune that had been received

in marriage; that no complaint might arise with respect to pecuniary matters:

and he gave particular instructions that great care should be taken with re-

gard to the education of his grandchildren. Now Glaphyra had borne two

sons to Alexander; and Berenice, the daughter of Salome, and wife of

Aristobulus, had three sons and two daughters.

Herod would frequently address his friends respecting these children, of

whom he would speak with singular kindness, lamenting the ill fate that

had attended his own sons, and offering prayers to heaven that the children

might be prevented from encountering the like misfortunes; that as they

grew in years they might encrease in goodness, and live to confefs the obli-
gations that they were under to their parents. He proposed that the eldest

son of Alexander should hereafter marry the daughter of his brother Phe-

roras, and that the eldest son of Aristobulus should wed the daughter of

Antipater. He intended to give one of the daughters of Aristobulus to the

son of Antipater, and the other daughter to his own son Herod, whom he

had by the daughter of the high-priest; for polygamy is allowable among

our people.

The chief view that Herod had in these intended alliances was founded in

motives of pity to the orphan children; since he thought that these bonds

of affinity would induce Antipater to treat them with a greater degree of

humanity. But this intention fell short of the proposed effect, as Antipater

now entertained no more regard for the children than he had heretofore done

for their parents. In fact, the tenderness of Herod in this particular was so

far from making a proper impression upon Antipater, that, on the contrary,

it encreased his anger and jealousy to the highest pitch. The greater the

degree of favour the king showed to these children on the one hand, the

greater was Antipater's hatred to them on the other: in fact, he was afraid

of what might hereafter happen, when they came to be of an age to assert

their own rights; especially if they should be afflicted by Archelaus, and

Pheroras, the tetrarch, whose son, according to the present appearance of

things, would probably become the husband of one of the daughters.

Antipater, likewise, suffered no small degree of mortification, from the

consideration of the compassion the people entertained for the fate of the

unfortunate
unfortunate princes; the veneration in which they held their memory; and
the rooted antipathy they bore for those whom they considered as the authors
of their ruin. He knew likewise the anxious wish of the populace, for an
opportunity to expose him for his treacherous and murderous practices with
regard to his brothers. Nor was he less unhappy in mind when he reflected
that, according to the present situation of affairs, his nephews had a very
probable chance of acquiring a future share in the government: nor could
he devise any method to secure himself, but by prevailing on Herod to set
aside the marriage-contracts above-mentioned. He therefore made application
for this purpose; and, with some difficulty, obtained the favour; and
likewise that the daughter of Aristobulus should be given in marriage to
himself, and the daughter of Pheroras to his son: and upon this all the
former plans of marriage were totally laid aside.

At this time king Herod had no less than nine wives: by the first he had
his son Antipater; the second was the daughter of Simon the high-priest,
who bore him a son, that was called by the name of Herod; the daughter
of his own brother was the third; the fourth was his cousin-german; but by
these two he had no children; a woman of Samaria was the fifth, by whom
he had two sons, called Antipas and Archelaus, and a daughter named
Olympia, who afterwards became the wife of Joseph, a relation of the
king. The sixth wife was Cleopatra, of Jerusalem, who was the mother
of Herod and Philip, which latter received his education at Rome. Ballas
was the name of the seventh wife, who made Herod the father of Phaæl, the
eighth was named Phædra; and the ninth Elpis, by which last he had
two daughters, who received the names of Roxana and Salome. With
regard to the two other daughters of Herod, the children of Mariamme, and
sisters of Alexander and Aristobulus, (those who had been refused in mar-
riage by Pheroras) he wedded one of them to Antipater, the son of his sister
Salome; and the other to the son of his brother Phaæl, as hath been
already mentioned.

CHAP. II.

A Jew, named Zamaris, goes and settles in Syria. He is invited by Herod to
Batanaea. The Jews secured in their professions and the enjoyment of their li-
berties. Certain small taxes levied by Philip. The death of Zamaris, who leaves
a virtuous family. The death of J acimus, whose son Philip is appointed general
of the army by king Agrippa.

At this time Herod devoted his attention to secure the country from
the incursions of the Trachonites; for which purpose he came to a
resolution to build a large and extensive village in the centre of the country;
and to fortify it with a strong garrifon, that might equally serve for the con-
venience of falling forth on the enemy, or securing that part of the country
from their inroads.
At the time that Herod was projecting the above scheme, a person informed him that a certain Jew, named Zamaris, had left the country of Babylon, attended by five hundred horsemen, armed with lances and arrows, near a fifth part of whom were related to him; and that he had marched his troops over the river Euphrates, to settle in the country adjacent to Daphne in Syria, where a castle named Valatha, not far from Antioch, had been given him by the governor Saturninus, as a place proper for his residence.

On receiving this information, Herod sent to invite Zamaris, and all the people who attended him, to come into his part of the country, promising them the possession of lands, and all other accommodations, in the district of Bathamea, which bordered on the land of the Trachonites; together with an exemption from the payment of all duties, taxes and tributes, as well those for their lands, as personal taxes, only on the condition of their protecting that quarter of the country against the invasions and inroads of the robbers and plunderers. Zamaris considering these terms as advantageous, was very well disposed to accept the offer, which he accordingly did; and on the land that Herod set apart for his accommodation, he erected a number of forts, and built a town, to which he gave the name of Bathyr. Being settled in this situation, he not only protected the inhabitants from the incursions of the Trachonites, but likewise maintained the Jews from Babylon to Jerusalem in the free exercise of their professions, agreeable to the practice and duty prevalent among that people.

Zamaris being thus happily provided for, was joined by immense numbers of those among the Jews who made it a point of principle to adhere to the religion and laws of their ancestors: by this means the country was soon peopled to a degree that is scarcely to be conceived; and the immunities, rights and advantages above-mentioned, the inhabitants were permitted to enjoy without dispute or molestation, during the whole of the remainder of the reign of Herod: it is true that in the reign of Philip, who was his successor, some small taxes were laid upon them; but these were of very short continuance. In the reign of Agrippa the great, and in that of his son, who succeeded him, by the same name, the taxes laid on them were very burdensome; nor were those imposed by the Romans afterwards more favourable: still, however, their personal freedom remained unviolated; of all which more will be said in the subsequent parts of this work.

The Babylonian, Zamaris, to whom the command above-mentioned had been given by Herod, lived a long life, distinguished by the exercise of every virtue, and the exertion of every law of honour; and dying, left his children in possession of those amiable qualities for which their father had been celebrated. Among these children was one named Jacimus, who was a man remarkable for his bravery, and he had the reputation of being one of the most accomplished persons of his age. This Jacimus served among the guards of the kings of Babylon; and died at a very advanced age, leaving behind him one son, named Philip, for whom king Agrippa conceived a great esteem, and made him general of his army, in reward of his singular valour, and the unexampled integrity of his conduct.

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DURING the time that the affairs of Herod were in the situation above-described, the chief management and conduct of the public business was in effect in the hands of Antipater, for whom Herod entertained the greatest regard, and placed the utmost confidence in his loyalty and affection. This trust, however, Antipater abused in the most shocking manner: but he had the art of disguising the hypocrisy of his conduct by such crafty and specious pretences, that Herod paid the most implicit confidence to all he said, taking it for granted that he would not deceive him in a single circumstance: so that the subtility of his conduct did not render him less dangerous than the exertion of his power.

Now between Pheroras and Antipater there was the utmost appearance of a cordial intimacy; the former being deceived, and induced to be on friendly terms with him, by the arts of the women, who were in the faction of Antipater. Now Pheroras did not dare to act in opposition to the sentiments of his wife, his mother in law, or his sister; though in fact he had an utter aversion to them all, on account of the indignities they had heretofore offered to his virgin daughters. But it would have been a point of great imprudence to quarrel with people so necessary to the principal business, who were likewise acquainted with so many secrets of importance, and consequently bound to keep those of each other. Exclusive of all this, Antipater maintained the most intimate correspondence with them, both on his own account and on that of his mother; for between these women there was a most perfect coincidence both of sentiments and conduct.

At this time, however, there were frequent quarrels about trifles, between Pheroras and Antipater; but this happened chiefly at the instance of Salome, who was perpetually exciting their jealousies of each other. Salome was exceedingly well informed of the nature of the plot from the beginning to the end; and had nearly resolved in her own mind to make a discovery to Herod of the whole conspiracy. Now at this time the conspirators had observed that their meetings were watched, that their correspondence was suspected to be carried on in a mysterious manner, and that the king was jealous of, and displeased with their proceedings: wherefore they had a conference together, and resolved that, for the future, their meetings should not be held in so public a manner, but that they would pretend to have disputed and quarrelled, and would frequently mention each other with disrespect.
respect in company; but particularly when Herod himself was within their hearing, or any other person whom they supposed would carry the news to the king: and this was to be the constant rule of their conduct; but the plot was to be privately carried on as if no such agreement had taken place. It hath been before observed, that Salome was privy to the whole contrivance, all the steps of which she had traced from its beginning, to its present state, through every part of its progress. Her method was, that as soon as she had gleaned any intelligence by which she could inflame the quarrel, she carried it immediately to her brother, and made such additions to the tale as her present invention could supply. She used to relate to him every circumstance of the correspondence they held; reported the substance of their secret consultations, and advised Herod to take proper steps for his security; for that there could be no doubt but his life was in imminent danger. With regard to their quarrels and opprobrious language when they were in the presence of other company, she said that these were only artifices to blind the eyes of others; for that when they were by themselves they were extreme good friends, through undoubtedly enemies to those to whom she wished that friendship might be kept a secret. In a word, what discoveries she made left nothing in the relation: she carried every circumstance to her brother; who, by this time, began to think that there was some foundation for what she advanced: but Herod concealed his sentiments with great care: nor did he pay implicit confidence to every thing that his sister said, for he was not unacquainted that her disposition was sufficiently malicious to make an exaggerated report of every thing that she had heard.

The ladies of Herod's court were extremely devoted to a set of men among the Jews who took a singular pride in what they deemed legal righteousness, and were very ostentatious of being thought more holy than other people. This set bore the name of the Pharisees: they were an assuming and artful set of men, equally remarkable for their cunning and arrogance; and being instigated by no small share of vanity and pride, they made no scruple of affronting kings, and of despising all kinds of regal authority. It may not be improper to give an instance of this. When the whole body of the Jewish people received orders to take an oath of fidelity to Herod and to Cæsar, these people, to the number of above seven thousand, alone refused to comply with the injunction. Some time afterwards a fine was levied upon them for this refusal; upon which the wife of Pheroras paid the money for them. Now it happened that the Pharisees had acquired a reputation for the spirit of prophecy; and the people believed that they received the special afflittion of divine revelation: in return, therefore, for the singular favour that had been done them in paying the fine, they propagated a report that the kingdom should be transferred from Herod and his family, to the issue of the princess and her husband Pheroras. This circumstance coming to the knowledge of Salome, she immediately intimated it to the king, and informed him what arts of bribery and corruption had been made use of in order to procure such a prediction.

Hereupon a strict search and enquiry was made, in consequence of which several Pharisees were apprehended, and put to death, as having been the chief
chief abettors of the seditious prophecy; and among these was Bagoas the eunuch, and a youth named Carus, who was a particular favourite of Herod, on account of the singular beauty and elegance of his person. Exclusive of these, several persons belonging to Herod's own family were convicted of being concerned in the conspiracy; and these convictions arose from the testimony of the Pharisees themselves. Now, previous to this, the Pharisees had flattered Bagoas that he should be considered as the parent and benefactor of the prince that was hereafter to fill the throne: they predicted too, that the new king should be prosperous in all his undertakings, and that the government should be established in his family by the perpetuity of a race of legal descendants.

Within a little while after the Pharisees had been tried, convicted and executed, Herod cau'd a number of his friends to be summoned in council before whom he exhibited a complaint against the wife of Pheroras, in which it was alleged that "It was owing to her council and advice that his brother "had rejected the offer of the royal virgins to him in marriage, in so con-"temptuous a manner as he had done; that contrary to all law, and in a "most unnatural manner, she had, to the utmost of her power, promoted a "quarrel betwixt brethren, not only by her words, but by her actions: "that she had taken part with the obstinate and rebellious Pharisees, by dif-"charging for them the fine which Herod himself had ordered them to "pay: and that she was, in a greater or less degree, concerned in the "whole conspiracy." For these reasons Herod was of opinion that Pheroras would but act agreeable to his duty, if he were to dismiss so abandoned a woman, one that had fomented such differences between those who were nearly related: and this he thought ought to be done without farther difficulty or entreaty; especially as affairs were now advanced to such a length, that Herod would never hereafter acknowledge Pheroras for his brother, if he did not disown that woman for his wife.

Pheroras could not but be very sensibly affected by what Herod advanced on this occasion: but nevertheless he made a public declaration, that though he was willing to pay all possible duty and respect to his prince and brother, yet he could not entertain the least thoughts of abandoning his wife; that nothing in the world should induce him to part with her, and that death itself was preferable to the idea of living without her. This refusal gave great uneasiness to Herod; but for the present he concealed his resentment, and contented himself with enjoining Antipater and his mother not to have any correspondence with Pheroras, and forbidding the ladies of the court to indulge themselves in their accustomed conversations. They readily promised to pay obedience to the orders of the king; but nevertheless met privately, and conferred in the usual manner: and Antipater and Pheroras were more frequent in conversation than ever. A report was propagated at this time, that a love-intrigue subsisted between Antipater and the wife of Pheroras; and that their acquaintance and connection was promoted by the mother of Antipater.

C H A P.
CHAP. IV.

Herod's anger causes uneasiness to Antipater, who procures himself to be sent for to Rome. Herod dismisses him with magnificent presents, and with his last will and testament. Syllaus being charged with treasonable practices, the informations are sent to Rome, where the cause is to be determined.

The offence that Herod had taken at the conduct of Antipater, and the resentment that he had expressed against it, began now to give him great uneasiness; and apprehensive of what might happen, in case the king's anger should encrease, he immediately wrote to his friends at Rome to procure him an order to wait upon Caesar without loss of time. This favour being granted, Herod dismissed Antipater, loaded with presents of great value, and likewise with his last will and testament, in which Antipater was declared his successor; and in case of his death the government was to descend to his son Herod, whose mother was the daughter of the high-priest.

At this period went likewise to Rome Syllaus, the Arabian, who had left unperformed some affairs which Caesar had commanded him to transact. When Syllaus was at Rome, Antipater accused him before Caesar, in the same manner that Nicolaus had heretofore done. He was likewise accused by Aretas, with having, contrary to his will and command, put to death, at Petra, several persons of unquestionable character, among whom were Sohemus, a man distinguished by the eminence of his virtue, and Tabatus, a servant of Caesar. The following were the particulars of the affair. Among the number of Herod's guards was a certain Corinthian, in whom the king repose a very great degree of confidence. Syllaus offered this person a considerable sum of money to kill the king, and the affair had so far proceeded that they were come to an agreement. Now Syllaus having told the particulars of this intended assassination to Sabatus, he repaired to the king with the intelligence of it. Hereupon the Corinthian was immediately put to the torture; and being strictly questioned respecting the design, he at length acknowledged it, and charged two Arabsians with being concerned in the plot, one of whom was a person of very distinguished rank, and the other a man in whom Syllaus repose the utmost confidence. These parties being also put to the torture, they acknowledged that they had come thither with a view to urge the Corinthian to carry his intended design into execution, and also to give him their assistance if it should be found necessary. Informations being taken of all that was said, Herod transmitted them to Saturninus, and he sent them to Rome, where the affair was to be further enquired into, and the merits of it finally determined.
Pheroras being sent back to his government, makes an oath that he will not return during the life of Herod. Herod being taken ill, sends for Pheroras, who apologizes for his non-attendance on account of his oath. The sickness and death of Pheroras.

Herod finding that Pheroras had so much tenderness for his wife, that he was obstinately resolved not to renounce her, gave orders that he should return immediately to his government; and this he did with great readiness; but was so much chagrined at the manner of his being dismissed, that he solemnly swore he would never come back while the king lived: and he held his resolution firmly; for Herod being soon afterwards taken ill, sent for Pheroras to pay him a visit, and receive some necessary secret instructions previous to his death: but the latter declined his attendance, saying that he was bound by a solemn oath, which he could not think of violating. Herod, however, still retained a very tender affection for his brother, as will appear by the following circumstance; for Pheroras being in his turn seized with a fit of sickness, the king went, without the ceremony of an invitation, to pay him a visit. Pheroras dying of this disorder, the king issued orders that his body should be carried to Jerusalem, where it was interred in a very distinguished manner.

Now Antipater was at this time at Rome: but this misfortune was productive of great mischiefs to him; for in a course of time the divine justice summoned him to a full account for the death of his brothers. I shall now relate, in the proper order, all the particulars respecting this affair, as they will tend to prove an example to mankind, and may serve as a caution to after ages, for persons to conduct themselves, in every event of life, agreeable to the rules of virtue, and the strict laws of justice.

Enquiry concerning the death of Pheroras. A confident of Syllæus’s mistress conveys a poison to him, on the application of the mother and sister of Pheroras. Several women put to the torture, one of whom charges the mother of Antipater. She is stripped of her jewels, and expelled the palace. Confession made that Antipater intended to poison the king. The widow of Pheroras makes a full discovery respecting this matter. The dying declaration of Pheroras. Other witnesses put to the torture. Herod dismisses one of his wives. Baithylus, being put to the torture, confesses the bringing poison from Rome for Pheroras and Antipater’s mother.

After the death of Pheroras, two of his freemen, of the Trachonite nation, for whom he had conceived a very singular regard, made earnest application to Herod, requesting that a careful enquiry might be made into the cause and manner of their master’s death, and if it appeared to have been the consequence of any unfair practices, that ample vengeance might
might be taken on those to whose arts he had fallen a sacrifice. They acquainted Herod (who paid a very particular attention to all they advanced) that on the evening in which Pheroras was seized with his illness, he had supped with his wife, when a mixed liquor was given him, that seemed to have a particularly disagreeable taste, and was extremely nauseous to him on the first swallowing of it. They said that this was carried to him by an Arabian woman, and that it was disguised under the name of a love-poison; but was, in fact, a most subtle poison; and in the preparation of such draughts these women excel all others in the universe. On enquiry it appeared that the woman on whom this crime was charged was the intimate friend and confident of Sylleus's mistresses, and that the mother and foster of Pheroras's wife had been to her to prepare the poison; and that they returned from her but the very day preceding that on which the fatal draught was administered.

Herod was so agitated with passion at the hearing of this melancholy tale, that he gave immediate orders for a number of women, those who were free, as well as slaves, to be put to the torture. They bore their sufferings for a considerable time, and no discovery was made; but at length one of them, in the extremity of her pain, made an exclamation to the following purport: "Would to God that the mother of Antipater was now in my situation; for that wicked woman hath been the cause of this extreme distress that we suffer." Herod conceiving that he had now a clue to guide him in his enquiries, immediately came to a resolution to search the whole affair to the bottom. In pursuance of this design, he learnt every particular of the intrigue, dived into the whole mystery of their management, and acquired a knowledge of the particulars that passed at all their secret meetings, consultations and cabals. He now heard the substance of several discourses which had passed between himself and Antipater, which were subjects of common conversation among the women, who were even acquainted with the circumstance of his having given a talent to keep secret some particular affairs from the knowledge of Pheroras. These female evidences farther mentioned the hatred which Antipater entertained for his father, and that, in conversation with his mother, he would very frequently say, "I believe the old fellow will never die." Yet at this period Antipater himself was so far advanced in years, that if the government had then descended to him, he could not have expected any great, or long-continued enjoyment of it: besides, there were so many children and grand-children, that his prospect of succeeding to the throne was at best but very remote and uncertain: and, as affairs were at that time situated, in case himself was to die, the right of succeeding to the throne would remain with his brother, and not with his son. The evidences farther said that it was a common practice with Antipater to confine his father for his cruelty and inhumanity to his own sons; and say that his barbarities went such lengths, that he himself was obliged to go to Rome, and Pheroras to retire to his own government, by way of consulting their personal safety.

As this account corresponded, in almost every particular, with what Herod's sister had heretofore acquainted him, he made no farther doubt or ceremony
remony with regard to the giving orders respecting Doris, the mother of Antipater, who was now considered as convicted of the most material part of the treason: directions were therefore given that she should be immediately stripped of all her jewels, which were of very considerable value, and turned out of the palace; and these orders were punctually complied with. Respecting the women of the family of Pheroras, the king behaved in a more favourable manner to them, in consequence of the information they had given.

No degree of evidence was now wanting against Antipater; but that part of the charge respecting his conduct which appeared to criminate him in the highest degree, and to be the least worthy of forgiveness, arose from the confession of a Samaritan likewise named Antipater, who held an office of trust under the other Antipater. This man, exclusive of other charges against his master, declared that he had left a most venomous poison in the hands of Pheroras, to be administered to the king during the absence of Antipater, when least suspicion would attend the perpetration of the deed. The informer declared that this poison was brought from Egypt, by a person named Antiphillius, a friend of Antipater, whose uncle Theudion, the brother of Doris, his mother, sent it to Pheroras, who committed it to the care of his wife.

Hereupon Herod sent for the widow of Pheroras, in order to examine her respecting the particulars of the affair: she confessed the circumstances, and pretended as if she would go and fetch the poison; but threw herself from one of the galleries of the palace into the court; but happening to fall on her feet, the hurt she received did not prove mortal: As soon as she was tolerably well recovered, Herod again sent for her, and promised pardon both to herself, and every branch of her family, on condition that they would make an ample discovery of the whole truth: but he threatened that, if either through obstinacy, or any other cause whatever, they should secrete any part of the intended plot, he would punish them in the severest, and most exemplary manner. Hereupon the widow of Pheroras made a solemn oath that she would relate the whole affair, with all its circumstances; nor seek to conceal a single particular; and it was the prevailing opinion that she did not falsify her word. The particulars of her story, as it was addressed to Herod, were as follows:

"The poison in question was brought out of Egypt by Antiphillius, where it had been prepared by a brother of his, who practised as a physician. It was purchased by Antipater, for the purpose of destroying your majesty. It was delivered by Theudion to Pheroras, who committed it to my care. Some time afterwards, when my husband fell ill, he was so deeply impressed with a sense of your kind and generous behaviour, in the friendly visit you were kind enough to make him on that occasion, that he sent for me to attend him, and addressed me as follows: "---Antipater has seduced me to be concerned in a most horrid and inhuman plot to poison both my brother and his father. Now I am impressed with so deep a sense of the king's unalterable regard and tenderness to me, and of my own situation as one on the verge of eternity, that..."
I am determined, by the blessing of God, not to depart this life loaded "with the guilt and infamy of having been concerned in a conspiracy big "with such aggravated enormity: therefore, I charge you, let the poison "be immediately brought hither and thrown into the fire in my presence. "On his giving these directions, I instantly fetched the poison, and dif- "posed of it as he had commanded me; excepting only a very small quan- "tity of it, which I referred for my own use, in case it should happen, "that after the death of my husband, I should be reduced to such an un- "happy situation, as to think of having recourse to so desperate an alle- "vior of my pains."

Having said this, she produced the remainder of the poison, which was contained in a box, and submitted it to the examination of all present. Not long after this, the mother of Antiphilius, and likewise one of his brothers, were put to the torture, and confirmed some circumstances that had been advanced by the wife of Phocoras, particularly that respecting the box of poison. An accusation was likewise exhibited against one of the king's wives, who was the daughter of the high-priest; but she confessed not a single circum- circumstance. Notwithstanding this, Herod totally disclaimed and dishonored her, and struck her son, who was likewise named Herod, out of his will, though he had designed him for his successor, in case of the death of Antipater previous to his own. He likewise deposed from the office of high-priest his father-in-law, Simon, the son of Boethus; and promoted to that dignity, in his stead, Matthias of Jerusalem, the son of Theop- philus.

In the mean time there arrived from Rome, Bathyllus, one of the freemen of Antipater: and this man being put to the torture, acknowledged that he had brought poison to Phocoras, and the mother of Antipater, which was intended to be used in case what had formerly been provided should fail. About this time Herod received a number of letters from Rome; but these were all sent by the contrivance and direction of Antipater, and the management of his friends, whom he gratified by presents, and in other ways, for the share they had in this business. These letters were filled with remarks on the freedom taken on all occasions by Archelaus and Philip, in their conversation respecting Herod, with whom, it was intimated they took great liberties respecting the murder of Alexander and Aristobulus, for whose unhappy fate they pretended to have the most generous compassion: and suggesting that themselves were now only summoned back, in order to be treated with the same severity as those who had hitherto fallen sacrifice to the resentment of the king. Now these things (as hath been hinted above) all arose from the contrivance of Antipater, who managed the whole business, and in order to put a plausible face on the affair, wrote complimentary letters on this occasion to Herod. In these letters he intimated that the young men were of warm dispositions, and therefore, perhaps, the more excusable, though they had not behaved or conversed with so much caution and respect, as might have been wished and expected: and the letters contained much other matter to a similar purpose.
Antipater had sought to obtain a number of friends at court, by writing obliging letters, and distributing to the amount of three hundred talents in presents. Now it was a circumstance deemed very extraordinary, that, in the space of seven months, (for the enquiry had been going on during all that time) Antipater should never receive the least intimation of the business in hand; but so great was the care taken to watch and guard all the avenues of the palace; and so universal the ill-will that the people bore to Antipater, that not a man was to be found who chose to risk his own safety, by giving him the necessary information to prevent his destruction.

C H A P. VII.

Letters post: between Herod and Antipater. The latter receives intelligence of the death of Pheroras. Antipater proceeds to Sebaite, where the people receive him only with curses and imprecations. Herod in council at Jerusalem is attended by Quintillus Varus. Antipater goes in his robes to the gates of the palace. He is admitted, but his followers are excluded. Herod charges Antipater with treason and fratricide. Varus appointed his judge, and the following day fixed for his trial. Salome, with other witnesses, and the discoverers of the conspiracy appear. Herod aggravates the ingratitude of Antipater. The defence of the latter. He offers to submit to the torture. Nicolaus of Damascus takes up the cause, adjures Varus to do justice. Antipater is charged with dealing with wizards. Instance of his hypocrisy. An experiment made of the poison. Antipater is ordered into custody. A letter from Antiphilius to Antipater is intercepted. Substance of a letter from Aene. Account of forged letters. Aene a servant of Julia, and penitent to Antipater. Antiphilius mentioned as a conspirator. An account of the whole affair sent to Rome by Herod.

LETTERS having been sent to the king from Antipater, intimating that he was on the point of adjusting his business at Rome, and making proper preparations for his return, Herod sent him, by way of answer, a complaisant and artful letter, in which he advised him, by all means, to make what expedition he could towards home, left, during his absence, any thing should happen that might prove disagreeable to him. This letter contained: not a single word that might tend to make him uneasy, other than a few reflections on the conduct of his mother, but he said that all disputes would be easily adjusted on his arrival. Herod’s letter was likewise replete with professions of kindness and friendship, apprehending that if Antipater had supposed any artifice had been used, he might have delayed his journey, and then it was doubtful if he might not have made interest at Rome, to have got Herod removed from the government, and himself established in his place.

The letter from Herod came to the hands of Antipater, while he was at Cilicia, on his journey; and when he arrived at Tarentum he received other letters, giving him advice of the death of Pheroras, a circumstance that gave him great uneasiness, not on account of any affection that he bore to the deceased.
decayed, but because the poisoning of the king, which the other had engaged for, had failed. When he came as far as Celenderis, a city of Cistern, the guilt of his confidence, or rather the fear of punishment, made him hesitate if he should proceed forwards, or return. The odium that had been cast on his brother’s character filled his mind; and debating with his friends on the situation of affairs, they were divided in opinion how he ought to act. Some thought it would be prudent to wait awhile, and see what would be the event; while others conceived it might be right to advance with all possible expedition, as they made not the least doubt but that, on his appearance, he would be able fully, to justify his conduct. They urged that it was nothing but his absence that gave his enemies so great an advantage over him, by affording them an opportunity of propagating a number of idle reports. Being determined by those arguments, he continued his journey to Sebaste, the port which Herod had built, at a most enormous expense, in honour of Caesar.

The fate of Antipater began now to be predicted by the people in general. He, who when he went from home, was attended by the blessings of the public, the most fervent vows being offered for his prosperity, had now no single person to bid him welcome, or to pay him the respect that was due to his rank: on the contrary, the multitude combined to heap curses on his head; the people universally imploring Heaven to avenge the death of his brothers by the punishment of the murderer.

Now it happened at this juncture that Quintilius Varus, who succeeded Saturinus in the government of Syria, was at Jerusalem, and Herod and he were at this time in council. While they were in the actual discharge of public business, Antipater advanced to the gates of the palace, dressed in purple robes. The gates were at once thrown open to him, but immediately closed, to prevent the admission of his attendants. As Antipater knew not precisely what was intended, this circumstance affected him in so great a degree that he was almost insensible to every thing that passed around him. When he was admitted to his father, and was going forwards to embrace him, he was rejected with the utmost indignation; and reproached with having been guilty of treason, and the murder of his brothers; and he was farther acquainted by the parties present, that on the following day he was to take his trial for these aggravated crimes; and that Varus, who was then in the company, was appointed to preside as his judge. The shock of this information was greater than what he had before felt: and on his retiring from the apartment, his mother and his wife met him in the passage (the latter being the daughter of Antigonus, the predecessor of Herod;) he held a conversation with them on the situation of his affairs, and then departed to prepare for the approaching solemnity.

On the following day a numerous council assembled, Varus presiding, assisted by Herod and a great number of their friends. Salome, the sister of the king, was also conducted to the court, as were many other branches of the royal family. Those who had discovered the conspiracy were likewise present, with the witnesses that had been put to the torture, and, finally, several of the domestics of Antipater’s mother, who had been apprehended but
but a short time before his return from Rome. On these persons were found copies of cautionary letters which had been intended for Antipater, and were to the following purpose: advising him “not to think of returning by any means; for that the king was acquainted with the whole business, and it would be a circumstance of the utmost danger if he came within his power;” concluding that “the most probable step he could take to ensure his safety would be to cast himself on the clemency of Cæsar, and to solicit his protection.”

Antipater now humbly solicited that Herod would permit him to make his defence, and not proceed to his condemnation till he had been heard. Hereupon the king directed him to rise, and stand forth to take his trial; and then spoke in the following manner.

“I consider myself as a singularly unfortunate man, after having been the father of such amiable children, that I should at length, in the decline of life, be subject to the artifices of such a wretch as Antipater. I always took the most tender and anxious care of his education, and his appointments were such as became his rank and my dignity. Well doth he know that he never asked, or even wished any thing within the limits of my fortune but what was readily granted him. And how am I now requited for all the favours I have bestowed on him, but by an artful conspiracy against my life, and an impious endeavour to seize by violence that crown which would soon have descended to him of course, as it was his by the double security of title and free-gift! For my part, I am utterly at a loss to conceive what happiness he could propose to himself by the gratification of so lawless an ambition; since I had already, by my will, appointed him my successor, and had, in effect, made him a partner in my dignity, and a sharer in my power during my lifetime. Exceptive of all this, I had settled upon him an annual revenue of fifty talents, and had made him a grant of three hundred talents more, by way of defraying the charges of his late journey to Rome. With regard to the accusation against his brothers, if they were guilty, he was not less so; since in that case he imitated them in their crime, and then became their accuser: on the contrary, if they were innocent, then he can be considered in no other light than as the informer, and the murderer. But the truth is that he had no evidence against them but what came immediately from himself; so that he occasioned the sentence, after having given the information. Upon the whole, I cannot but conceive that his conduct has acquitted his brothers, and drawn down the whole iniquity on his own head.”

The subject on which he was speaking, truly affecting as it was, now so agitated the mind of Herod, that he was seized with such a violent fit of weeping as prevented his proceeding any farther: wherefore he requested Nicolaus of Damascus, his old and affixed friend, who was a perfect master of the whole subject, to proceed in the business that lay before them, by examining the witnesses whose evidence would tend to convict his son.

Antipater, to prevent their proceeding farther, began to make a defence of his conduct, in which he intimated that his father’s kindness to him was a tacit
a tacit acknowledgement of his own merit; and affirmed to himself the credit of having discharged his duty in every instance: "What probability "(said he) can there be, that after having prevented the effects of the trea- "chery of so many other people against my father, I should myself act the "part of those very traitors whose conduct I had condemned, and bring so "much just disgrace on a reputation obtained by so many acts of firm and "unshaken loyalty? What with, what ambition could I have to become "greater or more distinguished than I was already? Is it to be supposed I "could be so weak as, the dignity of my situation considered, to act the "part of a villain, only to be a loser by such conduct? For the succession "was already settled upon me, and ratified by all the forms that law could "give it; and, through the goodnes of the king, I was admitted to such "a proportion of the exercise of the royal power, that I was in actual "possession of the government, rather than in the view and expectation of "it: nor did any person dare to control my actions, or presume to con- "trovert my right. Why, then, should I and weakly struggle through im- "minent danger, for the obtaining of that which had already devolved to "me, and of which I had the peaceable possession, in consequence of my fu- "rior virtue? Why should I expose myself, in the hope of an uncertain "gain, to the utmost degree of certain infamy? It is still less likely that I "should have acted thus, when I saw the consequence of false ambition, in "the trial, convict, and execution of my brothers. I acknowledge my- "self to have been accessory to their fate; and I pride myself in my con- "duct in that affair, of which I shall never repent, as I conceive it was "the strongest proof that I could have given of my filial regard, and the "inviolable love and duty that I bore to my father. With regard to my "conduct while I was at Rome, I dare make my appeal to Caesar himself, "whole wisdom is such that he cannot be imposed on; and I could like- "wise appeal to a number of letters under his own hand, in my favour, "which I am able to produce. Now I would wish to ask if it would not "be a bad precedent to credit the calumnious reports of abandoned men, "who are my professed enemies, against the authority of such respectable "evidence? Men who are a disgrace to their nature, and are never so happy "as when they are involving the royal family in difficulties? These people "have now taken the advantage of my absence to propagate false and scan- "dalous reports to my prejudice, which would never have been listened to, "or had the least regard paid to them, if I had been on the spot to have "defended my own conduct."

When he had almost finished his speech, he made an observation on the absurdity of the custom of examining people by means of the torture, which he said was still as probable a method of extorting a falsehood as a truth: since the extreme pain that was inflicted on the sufferer would induce him to assert any thing the tormentor pleased; especially as the torments were continued till such confession was made. Norwithstanding this, Antipater himself offered to submit to the torture, and rest the credit of his cause on the event. He delivered his speech in so emphatical a manner, attended by
such force of action and expression, and accompanied it with such a profusion of tears, that the council were greatly concerned, and those who were his most professed enemies seemed to lament his situation: even Herod appeared to be affected, and to pity his case, though he endeavoured all he could to conceal the emotion of his mind.

Antipater having made his defence, and the witnesses having given their evidence, Nicolaus of Damascus resumed the cause, enquired into every particular article, recited the names of the witnesses, summed up the proofs, and remarked on the confessions of those who had been put to the torture. He then proceeded to make remarks on the king's bountiful temper, the care and tenderness he had exhibited in the education of his children, and how ill that care had been required. With regard to Alexander and Aristobulus, he said that though they were not influenced by motives of interest, they were actuated by ambition, and impelled by the ardour of youth, and the heat of blood; it was therefore the least to be wondered at, if the evil advice and example of bad company had seduced them to a departure from the strict line of their duty: but with respect to the conduct of Antipater, he said that it was worse than brutal; for these beasts, even of the most ferocious kinds, entertained a sort of natural gratitude to those who fed and protected them: whereas the young man in question was so far from being influenced by the kindness and indulgence of a tender parent, that even the unfortunate examples that had been made of his brothers, could not deter him from copying their vices; but, on the contrary, he seemed to pride himself on the cruelty, and exemplary wickedness of his conduct.

Nicolaus now addressed himself to Antipater in the following manner.

"Was it not you that first discovered the design of your brothers? Who but yourself was the prosecutor? Did not you direct the sentence, and of course occasion the punishment? I do not mean, in the present instance, to reflect on that zeal and indignation by which you might be supposed to be inspired in so just a cause; but I am astonished to find that you should have been so inveterate against your brothers, for a crime of which you yourself are now guilty. This is to me an undoubted proof that you did not so much consult the preservation of the father, as the destruction of the sons; that you fought, by acting the part of a severe brother, to obtain the credit of an affectionate and dutiful son, by which means you flattered yourself, that, with the greater security, you might make an interest with the king. And this, in fact, is the plot that you have been conspiring: else, how should it happen that the brothers were doomed to death, while their accomplices were spared? What could be the intention, what the view in this proceeding, if you and the accomplices had not a perfect understanding of each other? That, after they had affisted you in one scheme of villainy, they might be at your command to lend their aid towards the perpetration of another? By this mode of proceeding you had a double pleasure in contemplating the intended wickedness; for, in the first place, you thought to make a most impious transaction pass on the world, as an honourable deed of virtue and filial piety; and, in the second instance, you intended to have caused the exe-
"evision of a horrid scene of barbarity, and subjected suspected persons to that
punishment which would have been due to the actual perpetrators of the
crime. If you had been a severe detester of the proposed malicious proceed-
ing, you would not have been so ready to have given it the sanction of your
imitation. However, you have had the address and contrivance to de-
stroy those first whole enormities were less than your own, by which means
you have disclaimed all competitors in the action, and determined to have
neither rivals nor witnesses of your conduct: and this being done, it was
your resolution to have added the murder of the father to that of the
brothers; by which kind of management you thought not only to escape
the punishment you merited, but to transfer the weighty consequence of
your crimes to your parent, by the perpetration of such a particide as is
almost unexampled in the annals of history: for it was not your inten-
tion to have acted this horrid treason against a parent of only common
feelings and humanity, but against one whose tenderness and indulgence
had been manifested in a very superior degree: for you, the conspirator,
had been already chozen to succeed to the government; you already pos-
seffed a kind of half property in the crown; you had a previous share in
the enjoyment of your father's dignitics, and his will had secured to you
the reversion of the whole. But (continued Nicolaus) too immoderate and
unreasonable were your desires, that it was impossible for his goodness to
preferibe any bounds to them, since you meant to regulate them only by
the meafures of your own perverse will, and ungrateful sentiments. You
could not be contented with your own half of the legal rights, without the
posseffion of that which more immediately belonged to your father. You
made an artful pretence of being his protector from the insults of others,
when, in fact, your plot tended to work his immediate destruction. Nor
was this horrid contrivance to be carried into execution simply by your-
self; but your mother was to be made accessory to the scheme, your bro-
thers were to be fet at variance, and the whole family were to be involved
in the bloody business."

"Let me farther ask of you, what idea you can form of yourself after
having called your father a hecal, since by such language you gave no
small proof of your own brutality? But the scandal and malice of your
conduct seem to have been defined to reach your relations and bene-
factors. Nay such has been the artifice of your management, that as if
your own ill-will was insufficient to incite to a proper degree of revenge,
you have demanded the assistance of your guards and counsellors; you
have suborned witneffes of both sexes, and all of you have united to seek
the destruction of one ancient man. And now, after having caufed to
many of both sexes, free as well as slaves, to be put to the torture on
your account, and after a variety of inconceivable evidence to your con-
viction, you are yet hardy enough to contradict the truth, and to add to
the crime of attempting to take away the life of your father, that of deny-
ing the authority of those very laws by which criminals are punished:
and this conduct of yours is not only an insult on the equity of Varus,
your judge, but a contradiction to the principles of natural justice. For
what reason should you discredϊt these testimonies that have been ob-
tained by the force of torture, but that you would destroy the credit that
is due to the proofs of your accumulated crimes, and which, at the same
\times, have tended to save your father’s life?"

Nicolaus then, addressing himself to Varus, the judge, said, “Sir, I ad-
jure you by the dignity of the Roman empire, and by that regard you
would have to your own honour, that you vindicate our sovereign from
the insults offered him by those of his own kindred, by adjudging to death
this most atrocious hypocrite, who under the pretence of respect to his fa-
thers, sought after the blood of his brothers, and if he had not now been
detected before his scheme was compleat, would have devoted his father
to destruction, to pave his own way to the possession of the regal dignity.
I am sure I need not inform you, Sir, that parricide is a crime of the
deepest dye; that it is not only a private offence against the party imme-
diately injured, but a public insult to the laws of life and existence.
I here seems to be so much of infamy even in the thought, as well as in
the perpetration of this deed, that the very idea of permitting it to pass
unpunished is an insult to human nature, and to those laws to which we
are all equally indebted for the preservation of our existence.”

Having said thus much, Nicolaus adverted to some idle words, which, in
disposition to talk at random, had fallen from the mother of Antipater,
with regard to prognosticators and wizards that had been consulted, and sa-
crifices that had been offered, respecting the life of the king, and the know-
ledge who was to succeed to the crown. He then mentioned several cir-
cumstances relative to the debauched life which Antipater had lived in the
family of Pheroras; his drunkenness, and his immoderate attachment to
women. Many particulars were urged against the prisoner, every article of
which was proved, some by voluntary evidence, some by extorted con-
fession, and a third sort on the recollection of the accusing parties, who
thought it their duty to stand forth on this occasion; and this sort of evi-
dence was deemed of the most credible kind. Every circumstance now
tended to the conviction of Antipater; and those spoke with freedom on
this occasion, who while he was in power, did not dare to utter their senti-
ments. In a word, being universally detected by the people, they were free
to reveal every ill action of his life.

The situation of Antipater was now wretched beyond description; but the
horrors of his mind aggravated every other calamity; since, (in the sight of
God, to whom his intention was known,) he had not only the murder of
the brothers to answer for, but the malice and rancour that had prevailed
through the family, and the proposed treason they were to have combined
in committing. His interest seemed to direct all his actions, whether of
friendship, or enmity, so that through the whole course of his life he was
never known to gain or to lose a friend, but from motives that were selfish in
the highest degree: and this contractedness of sentiment by which he was
acted was so well known, that he seemed to be opposed by every honest
man, as if it had been a matter of the most absolute impossibility for virtue
and Antipater to exist together. This resentment was carried to such a
height,
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heighth, that as soon as it was known that his friends at court had abandoned his interest, and that he was left to the common course of justice, public informations were brought against him in great numbers, every one exclaiming that vengeance ought to take place: nor was it necessary, in this case, to stubborn witnesses, since, on the one hand, they could receive no advantage by flattering the court, nor, on the other, did they run the hazard of danger by a suppression of the truth. From all parts was intelligence brought of the villenefs of the conduct of Antipater, who was represented as a villain whose death was not so necessary through the single view of preserving the life of his father, as for the sake of mankind in general, since so infamous a wretch ought not to exist in the world. His accusation was not founded merely on interrogatories, whither the witnesses answered in consequence of being put to the torture, or as matter of their own free choice; for, in fact, great numbers came voluntarily to give evidence against him, and brought such clear and convincing proofs of his guilt, that, notwithstanding his unusual share of effrontery, he found it impossible to make any reasonable defence.

No sooner had Nicolaus ended his speech, than Antipater was informed by Varus, that if he had any thing to urge in his own favour the court was ready to hear him, and that Herod and himself would be happy beyond description to find him innocent. Immediately on this Antipater threw himself on the ground, and uttered this short exclamation; "Thou, O Lord, art the searcher of hearts; and I most humbly implore thee to testify my innocence with regard to any intention of evil to my father, by exhibiting some distinguished signal from heaven, that may be deemed a proof of the purity of my conduct."

Thus it is with men who are abandoned to wickedness, and hardened in guilt: they first prove by their behaviour that they have lost all fear of God, and then renounce or affront him by their language: yet, when by a course of impiety, they are brought into danger, they still presume to call upon the name of God, appeal to his righteous determinations, and make pretensions of the most perfect obedience and submission to his divine will. Antipater had unhappily acquired a habit of proceeding in this manner; and having, for a long time, lived the life of an atheist, disregarding of that power and providence which directed all around him, it was his fate at last to be oppressed by the weight of just vengeance: then indeed, when the laws had condemned, when friends failed him, and when no human aid was left, he could pretend to call himself on the power and goodness of that God, who, according to his insinuations, had spared him to preserve and protect the life of his father.

Varus, finding that he could obtain no direct answer to his questions, but that Antipater made perpetual invocations and appeals to heaven, conceived that by this mode of proceeding there would be no end to the business in hand wherefore he gave orders that the poison intended for Herod should be brought out, and some proof made of its efficacy. It was produced without loss of time, and given to a man who lay under sentence of death,
who immediately fell a sacrifice to its power. This experiment being made, there seemed to remain no farther doubt; on which the court arose; and, on the following day, Varus departed to Antioch, the place where he generally lived, because that was the common residence of the kings of Syria.

A consultation respecting the past proceedings having been held between Herod and Varus, Antipater was committed to prison: who had determined his fate was unknown; but it was generally imagined that the advice of Varus influenced the conduct of the king. Not long after Antipater’s confinement Herod dispatched a messenger to Caesar with a verbal history of the trial, and another with a written account of the case and crimes of the delinquent.

It happened at this juncture that letters from Antiphilius, then in Egypt, directed to Antipater, were intercepted, the substance of which was as follows. “Herewith I transmit to you a letter written by Acme, and you are not unacquainted with the danger I encounter in so doing, as I may be left to the mercy of two powerful families, both of which are my in-veterate foes. Pray be cautious least any accident should happen.” Nothing farther than this appeared in the letters; but Herod was extremely at a loss for the letter mentioned to have been written by Acme; and gave orders for the strictest search and enquiry to be made after it; but after much trouble had been taken, no such letter was to be found; and the servant who brought the dispatches from Antiphilius being examined, denied the having any knowledge of such letter being sent.

After doubting and reflecting a great while on the business, a friend of the king happened to see a seam in the under coat of the messenger; (for he wore two garments,) on which he imagined that possibly the letter of which they were in search might be enclosed within that seam; and this conjecture happened to be well founded, for in this place the letter was discovered; of which the following is the substance: “Acme to Antipater. Agreeable to your direction I have written to your father, and have enclosed a forged copy of a letter, appearing to be a letter of Salome to my mistress the empress; and I have no doubt but that when Herod comes to see it he will, without further ceremony, consider and treat her as a traitress.”

Now the letter which appeared as if written by Salome, was of the contrivance and management of Antipater, who had affixed her name to it; but it was afterwards copied by Acme, who wrote to the king, to the effect following. “Acme to king Herod. From a sincere and ardent desire I have to do you service, by making you acquainted with every thing that may concern your personal safety, I have copied, and herewith send you, a letter to your prejudice, which I found as written by Salome, to the empress my mistress, requesting her permission that she may be married to Syllaus; I beg that this letter may be effectually destroyed, since the discovery that I had written it would endanger my life.”

Now the above-mentioned letter from Acme to Antipater, seemed to reveal the whole contrivance, by shewing that she acted under his immediate direction, in the letter she wrote to Herod, and in sending a copy of the supposed
supposed forged letter from Salome to her mistress, intimating that there was a plot to his prejudice. The above-named Acem was but a Jew; she lived in the service of Julia, the wife of Cæsar, and was bribed by a very large sum of money to declare to the interest of Antipater, and to assist him in his contrivances to the prejudice both of his aunt and his father.

In consequence of this discovery there remained no doubt of the turbulence of Antipater's disposition: for exclusive of his attempt to corrupt the honour, and overturn the discipline of Cæsar's household, he had proved to infamous and dangerous a wretch to himself, and his father, that Herod could scarcely so far refrain his indignation as to prevent giving orders for his being immediately put to death; nor was Salome backward to provoke him to this exigency: for to induce him to this determination, she beat his breasts, and acted otherwise in the most violent and frantic manner, declaring that she was ready to suffer death on the spot, if a single act of dilatoriness, or the slightest ground of suspicion could but be proved against her.

On this occasion Antipater was sent for by Herod, who made him freely declare if he had anything to offer in his own justification. Having reflected for a considerable time, without speaking a word, and appearing to be in great confusion, Herod again desired him to offer any thing that might look like an excuse, or at least to name who were his accomplices. Hereupon he hesitated a while, and then named Antiphilus, but said no more. Herod conceived that there was so much infirmity in this trifling kind of behaviour that he was debating whether he should not send him to Rome to take his trial before Cæsar: but on further reflection, he was apprehensive either that the prisoner might be refused in the course of his journey, or be acquitted on his arrival at Rome: on which account he remanded him to prison: but he drew up a state of the case, and transmitted it, by his ambassadors, together with the articles and copies of letters that had been given in evidence; and, in particular, he sent an account how far Acem had been concerned in the business.

CHAP. VIII.


At the time that the ambassadors above-mentioned were on their journey to Rome, Herod being taken extremely ill, made his will, and having though the aspersions of Antipater, lost all good opinion of Archelaus and Philip, he appointed, his youngest son to succeed him. He bequeathed a thousand talents to Cæsar, and five hundred more to Julia the empress, his children
children, friends and freemen. To his sister Salome he bequeathed a large fortune, in consideration of her unceasing affection for him; and the rest of his possessions, in money, lands and revenues, he left to his sons and grandchildren. Herod was now on the verge of seventy years of age, and as his illness encroached greatly, his recovery was despised of: he was exceedingly passionate and furious, and his disposition was so much foured by his illness, that it was impossible to do any thing which would afford him satisfaction. In fact, what gave him the most uneasiness was his own pride, in consequence of an idea which he entertained that the people had taken an antipathy to him, and hated him to such a degree as to take satisfaction in whatever made him unhappy; and he was the rather confirmed in this opinion than otherwise, by a disturbance which happened during his illness, occasioned by the instigations and artful management of certain men of eminent distinction, who took the lead in the affairs, of which the following are the particulars:

Among the Jews there were two men who had acquired a singular degree of reputation, for their distinguished knowledge in general, and their singular skill in the practice of the law in particular. These persons were likewise very great favourites with the people, in consequence of the care they took in educating their children to the knowledge and practice of their several duties, and the professions for which they were intended, to which the preceptors devoted almost the whole of their time. The names of these men were Judas, the son of Sariphaus, and Matthias, the son of Margolothus. These two eminent persons had no sooner received information that the king's friends depauperated of his life, than they immediately impressed the young men with an idea of letting about the business of reformation: advised them to destroy all those new creations and structures which Herod had caused to be built, contrary to the ancient laws of the country; and they assured them that they should infallibly meet with an ample reward, if they approved themselves, valiant champions in defence of the truth: they advised them likewise to reflect, that all the disturbances and contentions which had happened in the royal family, as well as the desperate deficits under which the king laboured, were simply depredations of the divine vengeance against him, for having violated the ancient customs; and this point was particularly insisted on by Judas and Matthias.

Among others a singular instance of superstitions magnificence was the dedication of a golden eagle, of extraordinary weight, and immense value, which was placed over the portal of the temple. Now this being clearly contrary to the directions contained in our laws; which positively prohibit the use of such ornamental figures in such situations, Judas and Matthias advised their followers to pull down the eagle, in an address to the following purport:

"We confess that it will be an enterprize attended with some danger; but an honourable death is to be preferred to a life of ignominious ease. You cannot forfeit your lives in any way that will redound more to your credit, than in the assertion of the laws and rites of your country, which will immortalize your names. If this distinction be not sought for, the brave
brave and the ignoble will be equally undistinguished in the same com-
mon grave: wherefore persons of unfulfilled honour, and superior virtue
would act well even to court death, which is but a common fate, by
seeking a proper, and glorious opportunity to embrace it; and thus de-
part from a troublesome world with satisfaction. The dread of morsality,
and even the pain of dying are taken away, when a man departs this life
in the consciouiness that he has acted a proper part in it, and hence once
transmits both the fame and the reward of his actions to those that may
succeed him.

This address was no sooner ended than a report was spread of the death
of the king; which added to what they had just heard, had such an effect
upon the people, that they were animated in the highest degree, and though
it was now noon-day, they got upon the portal, pulled down the eagle, and
cut it to pieces with their axes, in the presence of an immense number of
spectators who were assembled in the temple. The news of this outrage
had no sooner reached Herod's commander in chief, than he assembled a
large body of troops, and hastened away to the spot, to prevent the per-
petration of farther mischief; though, in fact, he found what had happened
to be much less considerable than he had imagined. When he came to
the spot there was no appearance of an enemy to be seen, except a rabble
of people might be deemed such, who had neither arms, nor were under
discipline, and were easily dispersed, on the first attack made upon them:
the leaders, however, Judas and Matthias, with about forty of their ad-
herents, maintained their ground, as they made it a point of honour not to
fly on this occasion.

These being immediately taken into custody, were conducted to Herod,
who demanded of them how they dared to commit such an outrage upon
the sacred figure of the eagle; on which they made a reply in substance as
follows: "We have for a considerable time past entertained thoughts of this
affair, and having at length come to a resolution of carrying it into exec-
cution, we conceive that we have acted as men of honour and spirit
ought to have done. As to the deed we have done, it was in affection
of the honour of Almighty God, in pursuance of that great teacher whose
disciples we are proud to be thought. We beseech you, Sir, not to deem
it an act worthy your astonishment, if we have given a preference to the
laws which were transmitted to us by Moles, and which he received from
God himself, to any other laws or commands whatsoever. We cannot
conceive of ourselves as sufferers for any criminal action; but for having
done our duty, and obeyed the dictates of our consciences: and, in a
cause of this kind, we are ready to submit to death, or to any other
punishment that may be inflicted." It was evident that in all they said
and did respecting this matter, there was a perfect correspondence between
their sentiments and actions, and that they were as ready to abide the con-
sequence as they had been to tranfact the deed.

Soon after this Herod sent them in bonds to Jericho, where he convened
a large assembly of the Jews, and being himself at this time very much in-
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disposed by illness, he was carried into the council-room in a chair, where he
delivered the following speech on the occasion: "You are not infensible of the
unabating ardor, and unwearying pains with which I have consulted the
interest of the public; you know that at an imminent charge, I have re-
constructed the temple, for the accommodation of the people: a work
which in the space of an hundred and twenty-five years, the whole race of
the Ammonian family were unable to accomplish. You are apprized that
I did not only rebuild this fabric, but endowed it, and enriched it with
ornaments, and presented it with ample donations, correspondent with the
magnificence of the work: yet at length, when I conceived that, after
my decease, my memory would have been preferred by the distinguished
splendor of my works, and that the good offices I had done would have
perpetuated my glory, I am inflamed while living: for benefits conferred,
indignities are offered: the people are witnesses of the affronts given to me.
At noon day: the gifts and ornaments I have bestowed on the temple are torn
from thence: and merit is the consequence of a pre-determined malicious
proceeding: but it is not to me so much as to God, that the affront is
offered.

The principal people of the council, unable to judge how far Herod
might be transported by the impulse of his cruelty, thought it the most prudent method to secure themselves by an early declaration of their opinion. This they did by averting, that they were wholly innocent of the fact complained of, and that, according to their sentiments, the rioters merited the severest punishment. This declaration was very pleasing to the king: but he deprived Matthias of the office of high-priest, presuming that he was concerned in the contrivance, and bestowed it on his brother-in-law Jozar. While the above-named Matthias exercised the pontifical office, it happened on a particular night, preceding a day appointed for fasting, that he dreamt he slept with his wife: by which circumstance he became unqualified for the discharge of his duty the next day, on which occasion his near relation Joseph, the son of Eleazar, was commissioned to supply his place for that day. Herod having deprived Matthias of the office of high-priest, issued orders that the other Matthias, the principal in the late tumultuous proceedings, should be burnt alive, together with all his associates. There happened to be an eclipse of the moon on the night these orders were car-
ried into execution.

Herod's illness now encroached to a shocking height, and was universally deemed to be a judgment on him for the excess of his crimes. He had an inward fever which parched him to such an excessive degree that it seemed as if his insides were burned. His appetite was voracious as that of a dog: he was tormented with a cholic, and ulcers in the bowels; his feet and groin were swelled with tumors; his secret parts were filled with worms, and putrefying, he had a pestilential and painful tetter, with cramps, contractions of the nerves, and an asthma: in a word, so extraordinary were his sufferings, that men of skill, philosophy and religion, combined in the opinion that he was visited by the immediate hand of God. Yet though his pains were as severe as his disorder was hopeless of cure, he himself
was the only person who did not despair, but still continued to send far and
near for fresh physicians, and to enquire for new remedies.

At length he passed over the river Jordan to the hot baths at Callinthus,
which make their way into the lake of Alphalitis. These waters are very
agreeable in taste, exclusive of the mineral virtue they possess. When he
was at this place his physicians gave orders that he should be placed up to
the shoulders in a vessel of oil; which being done, he was seized with such
a fainting fit, that his attendants, supposing him to be dead, buried out into
such orisons and lamentations that he was, for the present, recovered by the
noise they made.

Herod by this time began to see that he had but flattered himself with
that continuation of life which was not to be expected; whereupon he or-
dered a donation of fifty drachmas to be given to each of his soldiers, and
having directed larger sums to be distributed among his officers and friends,
he returned to Jericho: but he had not been long at that place before the
wickedness of his disposition tempted him, to think of taking leave of the
world, by an act more dreadful and diabolical than perhaps ever entered
into the mind of any other man to conceive. He issued a summons to all
the Jews of the greatest distinction in the country, to attend him at Jericho;
without loss of time, and denouncing the penalty of death on the omission.
Having made their appearance agreeable to the order, he directed that they
should all be shut up together within the circus, or tilt-yard, without the
least enquiry as to their guilt or innocence.

This being done, he sent for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexas,
and on their attendance addressed them in the following manner: "I am
now drawing towards my end. My pains are very great; and I must
yield to the inevitable stroke of death, the fate which is allotted to men.
kind in general. I must acknowledge that it would give me some kind of
concern, to think that I should be deprived of those funeral honours
which it is customary to pay to sovereign princes. I am not inflexible
what kind of treatment I am to expect at the hands of the Jews. They
have detested me during my life, and will rejoice to hear the news of my
death: but it is yet in the power of you two to afford me some satisfac-
tion even in my last moments; and I think that you owe me this obli-
gation, in return for all the favours I have conferred on you. There-
fore beseech you to attend to the orders I give, and I yet promise myself
one of the most honourable funeral solemnities by which any prince was
ever distinguished: the thought even now glads my heart, that at the
conclusion of my life there should be a general mourning, in which
every tear that is shed shall proceed from the unfeigned dictates of the
heart. That this purpose may be effected, I direct that as soon as
ever my body shall be breathless, the circus be encompassed by soldiers,
and the word of command being given, let every man within it be put
to death. But let no mention be made of my decree till this work be ac-
complished. By the careful performance of this order you will doubly
oblige me: in the first place by the execution of my will, and in the fe-
cond by occasioning a general mourning to celebrate my death." Herod
accompanied
accompanying this speech with inceffant tears, and befought Salome and
Alexas, by all the sacred ties of friendship, mutual confidence, and con-
fanguinity, to be punctual and faithful in the discharge of what he had com-
mittetl to their care; and they solemnly promised him an unreserved obe-
dience to all his commands.

I am aware that some persons, on recollection of the horrid barbarities of
Herod to his nearest relations in former instances, will be of opinion that
the steps taken may be in some measure justified by the necessity of his being
cruel in his own defence, to prevent the ill effects of their mutual jealous-
ies and competitions: but his character, in this last act, marks him for
one of the most unnatural savages that ever was distinguished by the human
form. When he found his life advancing haftily to a period, he left orders
to doom others to destruction, taking effectual care that the whole nation
should mourn for him, since, in obedience to his commands, it must hap-
pen that at least one in each family would fall a sacrifice to the rigid order.
What adds to the infamy of this proceeding is, that there was no provocati-
on, or injury intended, nor any plausible reason or pretext for the perpetra-
tion of it. Among persons actuated by any fenee of religion or the common
feelings of humanity, the greatest enemies are reconciled by the approach of
death, and all animosities are buried in the grave.

CHAP. IX.

Cæfar writes to Herod that Acme is put to death, and Antipater left to his own dis-
posal. Herod prevented from killing himself by Abiab. Antipater, supposing the
king dead, offers to bribe the keeper to let him escape. The keeper gives the
king intelligence of this circumstance, who orders one of his guards to kill
Antipater.

At the period that Herod was giving his final orders to his relations,
his ambassadors arrived from Rome, with an answer to the letters they
carried to Cæfar, the purport of which was in substance as follows: "That
" Acme had been put to death by the order of Cæfar, for having held a
" correspondence with Antipater, but that the emperor left the death or
" banishment, or other punishment, of Antipater to the discretion of the
" king his father." Herod seemed to be greatly pleased at the consideration
that Acme had received condign punishment, and much gratified by the
permission to act as he thought proper with his son. But the pains of his
illness soon encrusted to a great degree; and in a kind of greedy fit of hun-
ger, he asked for a knife and an apple, as it was his common custom to pare
his own apples, and eat them by degrees, as his inclination demanded them.
He was no sooner supplied with the knife than he was observed to look
about him as if he entertained an idea of stabbing himself; but being atten-
tively watched by his nephew Abiab, he was prevented from perpetrating
the deed just as he had lifted his right hand to make the stroke; Abiab
seizing it, and making a loud exclamation. The noise occasioned by this
circumstance
circumstance alarmed the court a second time; and the people in general entertained no doubt but that the king was at the point of death.

Antipater being informed of this circumstance, was confident in his own mind that his father was dead; and as he had no doubt but that he should now procure his liberty, he likewise entertained sanguine hopes of obtaining possession of the throne. Impressed with this idea, he spoke to his keeper to admit of his discharge, making him ample offers of gratification, at present, and promising that he should be preferred when he came to the crown, if he would comply with his request: but the keeper, so far from acceding to the terms, went immediately and informed the king of all that had happened. Now Herod entertained no small degree of enmity to Antipater before this circumstance, which, however, inflamed his passions to such a degree that, though he was in the agonies of death, he started up in a violent rage, and with the utmost bitterness of language, and vehemence of action, gave orders to one of his guards to go that instant, and dispatch Antipater, and commanded that his body should be buried in the castle of Hyrcania, in a private manner.

CHAP. X.

An alteration in the will of Herod, who appoints Archelaus to succeed him. The character of Herod. His death secreted till the persons in the circus are discharged, and then made public. Archelaus acknowledged king. The funeral of Herod. Archelaus declines assuming the name of king, till the will of Herod is ratified by Caesar.

On a change of his mind Herod gave orders for an alteration in his will, by which he gave the kingdom to Archelaus; and having in his former will declared that Antipas should succeed to the government, he now appointed him tetrarch of Galilee and Perea. He gave to his son Philip, the brother in law of Archelaus, the provinces of Trachon and Gaulon, with those of Batanaea and Panias, under the denomination of a tetrarchy. To his sister Salome he gave Jamnia, Azotus, and Phaæolis, with fifty thousand pieces of coined money; and to his other relations he bequeathed cash or land as legacies. He left ten millions of pieces of ready coin, with gold and silver plate, and variety of all kinds of rich furniture to Cæsar; and to the empress Julia and her friends five millions in coin. This will being executed, Herod died, in the thirty-seventh year after he had been declared king of the Jews by the Romans, thirty-four years after Antigonus had been expelled; and five days after the death of Antipater.

Herod was distinguished by the cruelty of his disposition; he was greatly influenced by the violence of his passions; arbitrary in his conduct; yet generally successful in his undertakings. He arose from the condition of a private man to that of a king; he encountered many difficulties, but got through them in an extraordinary manner, and lived to a full age. With regard to his disturbances with his children and family, though I should deem...
deem him unhappy, yet he was far from being so in his own opinion, as he generally prevailed against all opposition.

Salome and Alexas made a point of keeping the death of Herod a profound secret, and going immediately to those eminent persons who were confined in the circus, told them, in the name of the king, that they were at liberty, and might immediately depart and follow their lawful occupations, for there was no farther reason to restrain their conduct: and this generous device was extremely acceptable to the Jews in general.

As it was now deemed proper to make the king's death public, the troops were ordered to assemble at the amphitheatre at Jericho, where Herod's letters to the army were read. These contained the most liberal acknowledgments of the zeal and fidelity of their past services, and they were requested to continue the same affectionate obedience to Archelaus, who was now appointed to succeed to the throne. This being done, Ptolemy, the keeper of the king's seals, now read the will of Herod, in which was this particular clause, "That the will itself was not to be allowed valid, or of force, till it had received the sanction of Cæsar's approbation." As soon as the will was read the people shouted, with loud acclamations of "God save king Archelaus!" the officers and soldiers uniting in with him a happy reign, and promising that the same degree of duty and fidelity which had been paid to his predecessor, should be continued to the new king.

It now remained to take proper care of the funeral solemnity, and this was the particular business of Archelaus, who directed that it should be conducted with the utmost pomp and grandeur, and determined to appear himself in the character of principal mourner. The body was placed on a litter adorned with gold and embellished with precious stones of great value: it was covered with purple, and on the head was a diadem, over which was a crown of gold, and in the right hand was a sceptre. By the side of the corpse marched the sons and relations of Herod: these were followed by numbers of soldiers in different divisions: the royal guards going first; next to them the troops of Thrace: then the Germans, and after them the Galatians: all of them dressed and armed as if going to battle. These were followed by the rest of the army, each division commanded by its proper officers; and five hundred domestics of the court, carrying spices and perfumes, brought up the rear. In this funeral pomp they proceeded to Herodium, eight furlongs distant from Jerusalem, where the body was interred, according to former orders given for that purpose.

Archelaus having, agreeable to the custom of the country, devoted seven days to the celebration of the funeral rites of his father, and the customary term of mourning being now ended; he entertained the people assembled on the occasion, and then departed to the temple, where being seated upon a throne of gold, he received the congratulations and good wishes of the public. These he answered in the most affable and respectful manner, saying that he deemed it a proof, (after the ill treatment they had received from his father,) of their great good-will, that they received him so favourably; and assuring them that he would never forget this instance of their friendship. "For the
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"present (said he) I do not pretend to affume the name of King, as I think "that I have no right so to do till Cæsar has ratified my claim by an appro,"bation of the contents of my father's will. The want of Cæsar's authority "prevented me from affum ing the dignity, when the army at Jericho pressed "my acceptance of it, as I was not lawfully invested with the postition: "but when the time shall arrive when my title to govern shall admit of no "farther dispute, it shall be the business of my life to consult your pleasure "and advantage in all things, and to give you occasion to acknowledge that "my reign over you is more agreeable than ever you found that of my "father."

The modesty and affability of discourse and behaviour by which the new prince appeared to be distinguished, was extremely acceptable to the people, who seemed to rely (as is common in such cases) with the most implicit confidence, on the sincerity and veracity of every thing that he said. Indeed such was their apparent confidence in him, that they determined to make an immediate trial of his liberality by a request of various favours. Some of them entreated a remission of taxes, others requested the liberty of their friends, many of whom had been apprehended, and confined a long while in prison, by the command of Herod; and a third fort exclaimed vehemently against several duties and impositions which had been laid on such of the necessaries of life as were brought to the public markets. Archelaus having considered the nature of their demands, and the critical juncture in which they were made, thought it a point of prudence to comply with them all; and after the sacrifice was ended, he invited his friends home with him, where a splendid entertainment was provided.

CHAP. XI.

A faction seek to emblur the government. The people demand satisfaction of Archelaus for Herod's misconduct. A rumour approaching to rebellion. The temple crowded by fustious Jews. A party bent to quiet them, and almost all of them are destroyed. Archelaus cuts off three thousand. Archelaus going to Rome, Philip governs in his absence. Salome an enemy to Archelaus. Sabinus met as an enemy, on the way to Judea. Varus being met, declines his journey, and leaves everything to the conduct of Archelaus, till Cæsar declares his opinion. Archelaus departs for Rome, and Varus for Antioch. Herod's books and keys entrusted by Sabinus; but they are detained for Cæsar, by the officers. Antipas repay to Rome, and claims the succession, being supported by his friends. Archelaus informed against by Sabinus. He gives in his defence, which Cæsar compares with the charge. A council summoned by Cæsar. Cæsar, the son of Agrippa, presides. Antipater speaks against Archelaus, who is charged with his father, and arbitrary proceedings. Antipater appeals on the matter of fact. The speech of Nicomaus. Cæsar's behaviour to Archelaus.

At this period there was a faction of Jews, who being discontented with the measures of government, used to hold frequent and private meetings, in which they concerted schemes of opposition to the public proceedings...
After some consideration they could not fix on any more proper subject of complaint, than the affair of Matthias and his companions, whom Herod had executed for destroying the golden eagle. While the king lived, they were afraid to make any open attempt to vindicate the honour of the reformers, or to justify their conduct; but now he was dead, they were outrageous in their invectives, and clamorous in their abuse, loading his memory with every opprobrious epithet. They would frequently assemble in the most tumultuous manner, demanding that Archelaus should give them satisfaction by a rigorous execution of justice on those friends of Herod who were most instrumental in procuring the death of the reformers; as if the dead could be benefited by punishing the living: and they particularly required that the high-priest whom Herod had promoted should be removed, and some man of character be advanced in his stead.

Archelaus was far from being pleased with this peremptory behaviour; but as he was on the point of departing to Cæsar, for the ratification of his power, and instructions for his conduct, he thought it prudent to accommodate matters on the best terms possible; wherefore he sent a principal officer to try what effect a moderate conduct and reasonable arguments might have on the people; who addressed them as follows:

"This is certainly an improper time to think of revengeful measures. The persons who were punished were lawfully convicted; and your interest in the present manner is an assumption of power to which you have no right. You will do well to reflect that Archelaus is now on the point of his departure for Rome; and on his return with a ratification of his commission, there is no doubt but that every grievance will be redressed: in the interim it is requisite that you should live in peace and friendship with each other, and not incur the penalties of seditious practices."

So violent an opposition was made to this speech, and it was followed by such outrageous exclamations, that the man who should have attempted to quell the tumult, would have done it at the hazard of his life. The multitude said that they had the law in their own hands, and as Herod was dead, they would be revenged for the destruction of those friends whom he had assassinated while living; and they were astonished that any hesitation should be made on this subject. So violent were their passions, that they confounded all ideas of right and wrong, conceived that their present humour ought necessarily to prevail, and seemed to forget the means of consulting their own safety, while they fought the destruction of others. In the interim, the king himself, and several other persons, made proper application to them, to soothe their passions; but an effect was constantly produced contrary to what was wished; they became more violent than ever; and if their numbers had been equal to their spirit, a rebellion would have concluded what commenced only in a tumult.

At this time the feast of the passover, or unleavened bread (which is the memorial of the deliverance of the Israelites from the land of Egypt) being near at hand, an immense number of people more than was usual, from contiguous as well as more distant parts, came up to Jerusalem, to worship God, and
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and offer sacrifices on the occasion. A number of factious Jews now crowded into the temple, and there remained, declaring that they would not abandon their situation, though they had no other resource to prevent their starving than begging their bread. It was found that their intentions in taking up this situation was to confine the multitude for the loss of their two favourite teachers Judas and Matthias, and to infuriate the people to revenge their death. This tumult seemed to wear a threatening aspect, when, in fear of ill consequences, Archelaus sent an officer, with a party of the guards, to suppress it in time, before the rebellious disposition had spread among the people in general; orders being given, that if any obstinate resistance was made, the ringleaders of the mutiny should be seized, and carried before Archelaus, that they might be punished by way of example to the rest.

Immediately on the appearance of the soldiers, the factious crew abused them in so clamorous and outrageous a manner, that the whole multitude seemed to be inspired with a general spirit of revenge, assailed them with stones, and other weapons, and killed them all except the commanding officer, and a few wounded men, who made their escape with him. This being done, the people proceeded with their sacrifices as before. At length the contest grew to such a height, that Archelaus was under a necessity to suppress the insurrection, or he must have fallen a victim to its rage: wherefore he sent all his troops to encounter the rabble, infusing particular orders to his cavalry to prevent any succours being sent in, and to put to the sword every person who should attempt to make his escape. Three thousand of their men were cut off by this body of horse during the action, and the rest of them fled to take shelter in the adjacent mountains. This contest was no sooner ended than proclamation was made that every man should peaceably return to his own habitation; and notwithstanding the boasts of the mutineers, they now appeared to be all happy to save themselves by a compliance with these terms; and in the fear of worse consequences, they were contented to abandon the celebration of the festival.

Archelaus now departed on his journey to Rome, taking with him his mother and Nicolaus, and Ptolemy, with many others of his friends: the care of the kingdom, and the management of the household being left to his brother Philip during his absence. Salome and her family were likewise of the train, and a number of his other relations, who went under the pretence of uniting their interests with his, in order to infure him the succession to the government; but, in fact, their design was rather to hinder than to promote his interest; for they had come to a previous resolution to exhibit a complaint against him, respecting the business of the temple. However, all the company set out together, and when they arrived at Caesarea they met Sabinus, who was procurator for Cæsar in Syria; and who was travelling with all expedition towards Judæa, to take charge of the money that had belonged to Herod; but Varus happening to meet him on the way, prevented his journey, as he himself was going on the same business, Ptolemy having given him an invitation, by the command of Archelaus. Sabinus therefore, in respect to Varus, gave himself no concern with regard to the

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forts of Judæa, nor sealed up their treasure; but left every thing as he found it, in the possession and under the control of Archelaus, till Cæsar should finally determine on the business: but soon after this, when Archelaus had embarked for Rome, and Varus set out on his journey towards Antioch, Sabinus proceeded immediately to Jerusalem, where he took up his residence in the palace, and having given orders for the king's officers, civil and military, to attend him, he demanded their keys and their books; but they told him that, by the command of Archelaus, all was made secure, for the use and emolument of Cæsar, and every article was to remain in the state they received it till Archelaus should return.

About this period, Antipas, another of the sons of Herod, set out on a voyage to Rome, in the hope of obtaining possession of the kingdom for himself. Salome exerted her influence to persuade him to this measure, pretending that he had a prior right to the government, arising from the tenor of Herod's former will, and insinuating that the first will ought to remain in force. Antipas took with him in this expedition, his mother, and Ptolemy, the brother of Nicolaus; a man who had been, for a long time, the intimate friend of Herod, and was always particularly attached to his party. But the person who, above all others, encouraged Antipas to this ambitious pursuit, and who had the greatest degree of interest with him, was Iræneus, a man famous for the arts of persuasion, and who had been greatly concerned in the king's business, and for a long period of time. Other persons were not wanting in their advice to the prince, desiring him to recollect that Archelaus, as his elder brother, had the right of seniority, exclusive of that which had been conferred on him by the will of his deceased father: but the arguments of Iræneus, added to the impulse of his own ambition, bore down all other considerations, and determined him to proceed to Rome. When he arrived at that city, his relations universally joined his interest; not out of any particular regard they had for him, but for an aversion they entertained for Archelaus: though in fact, what they principally wished was the possession of their liberties under a Roman governor; at any rate, however, they conceived that they should be more agreeably governed by Antipas than Archelaus, and for this reason they employed their interest for the former.

By this time an information against Archelaus had been presented to Cæsar by Sabinus; and hereupon Archelaus commissioned Ptolemy to present the emperor with a memorial of what he had to urge in his own favour. This memorial contained the foundation of his claim; the heads of his father's will; an account of what cash he left behind him, and with it was sent the ring with which the money was sealed up: Archelaus referring himself, on the whole, to the good pleasure of the emperor. When Cæsar had read these writings, perused the letters of Varus and Sabinus, considered what value Cæsar had left in money, what the annual revenue of the government amounted to, and what arguments Antipas had urged in behalf of his own claim; he summoned an assembly of his friends to meet in council, and deliberate on the whole matter; and then gave audience to the claimants.
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The president on this occasion was Caius, the son of Agrippa, by the emperor's daughter Julia, whom Cæsar had adopted. The first person who stood up to speak was Antipater the son of Salome, an admirable orator, and an irreconcilable enemy to Archelaus. He delivered his sentiments in terms to the following purport:

"I confess I am not a little astonished that Archelaus should be at this time seeking to ratify his title to a kingdom, over which he hath already exercised so absolute and sovereign a power, without having previously applied for, or given himself any concern about the obtaining the ratification or consent of Cæsar. What I refer to is his late massacre of such a number of the Jews on one of their solemn festivals. If we should, for the sake of argument, allow that the punishment itself was merited; yet that must be considered as murder in an usurper, which, in a lawful prince, would have been but an act of justice. If he took upon him to exercise regal authority without permission obtained from Cæsar, it was an insult to the emperor; and his conduct was yet more atrocious if he presumed to behave in this manner in his character of a private man: so that he has now no right to expect a delegation of power from Cæsar, after he has done what ought to deprive him of the original right of dispensing that power. He has taken on himself, at his own will and pleasure, to change the officers of the army; he has placed himself on the throne, and, as a sovereign prince, has heard and determined causes; he has received public addresses and petitions, and given answers to them; and in all these matters he has acted without that proper warrant of authority which could have been granted to him by no one but Cæsar. Exclusive of all these matters, he likewise discharged from the circus those that were committed thither, and on his own single authority."

Antipater, on this occasion, made many other objections to the conduct of Archelaus, some of which were undoubtedly true, and others not altogether improbable, if we reflect on his youth, and allow for that ambitious heat by which he might be impelled by a sudden rise to the summit of power and fortune. Among other things to his disadvantage was mentioned the extravagant impropriety of making a sumptuous entertainment on the very night succeeding that of the death of his father; which the people themselves deemed so ungrateful an insult on the memory of so kind a parent, that they were struck with horror on the occasion, and were on the point of breaking into an outrage, from a consideration that he could so far impose on the public, as to perfonate so perfect a grief in the day-time, and immediately spend the night in all the licence of unbounded riot and luxury.

Antipater having urged these particulars, continued his speech as follows: "Is it possible that Cæsar can imagine that a man of this wicked turn of mind will evince any greater share of gratitude to the emperor for the possession of a crown, than he has shewn to a father, who has acted so tenderly towards him? What proof could be given of an unfeeling heart, greater than that of finging, feasting, revelling and rejoicing on the death of a parent, as he might have done on the destruction of an enemy?"
enemy? What pretence can this man have to solicit Cæsar to make him
"a king, after he has already presumed to invest himself with the regal
"authority, without the emperor's permission? The horrid murders per-
"petrated in the temple are greatly aggravated by the sacredness of the
"place in which they were committed; nor lets so that they were done on
"a solemn festival, when strangers and citizens were equally offered up as
"so many sacrifices to brutal rage: the holy place was filled with human
"bodies; nor was this atrocious crime committed by a stranger, but by
"one who had usurped the dominion, and acted as invested with royal
"power, to give the better countenance to his savage and inhuman pro-
"ceedings. His father was so well acquainted with his disposition, that he
"never entertained a thought of him for a successor, while he continued in
"the possession of his rational faculties: on the contrary, he had devolved
"the government to Antipas, by his former will, made when he was in
"his full senses, and in perfect health both of mind and body. Or let us
"but suppose that the opinion which Herod entertained of Archelaus, was
"the same when he made his former will, as when he made the latter; has
"he not since been guilty of crimes sufficient to show that he will make an
"execrable king, since he has presumed to act by a self-delegated power,
"and has not scrupled to murder people, even in the temple, when he was
"only a private man?" Antipater having said thus much, concluded his
discourse by appealing to several of his relations, who attended on this oc-
casion, for the truth of what he had advanced.

This speech being ended, Nicolaus stood up on the behalf of Archelaus,
and argued in the following manner. He said that the tumult in the temple
was carried to such a height, that there was no other way of suppressing it
but by the destruction of the rioters; and therefore that the blood of those
who were slain on that occasion rested on their own heads: that the beha-
viour of the rioters might seem an act of insolence to Archelaus; but, in fact,
the affront was offered to the authority of Cæsar, when, contrary to the law
of nature and nations, and in violation of the sacredness of the place and oc-
casion, those men were murdered, who were only sent thither in a regular ma-
nner to put an end to the mutiny. "Now (said he) these are the men that
"Antipater (equally void of honour, and destitute of shame) would seek to
"defend, provided that, in so doing, he may but gratify the rancour of his
"malevolence against Archelaus. It is evident that those who first began to of-
fend are to answer for the crime, and not those whom necessity compelled
"to take arms in their own defence. With regard to the remainder of the
"articles that have been charged on Archelaus, the accusers themselves are
"equally blameable with respect to them, since they themselves confected
"to the very deed against which they now complain; exclusive of all
"which, they have represented the affair as much worse than it really was;
"through envy to the principal person concerned, though he was a near
"relation, one that had merited every bounty his father could bestow, and
"had conferred many favours on the family in general. With regard to
"the authority of the king's last will, I cannot help remarking, not only
"that he was in his full and perfect senses when he caused it to be written,
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but that second wills, equally with second thoughts, are generally the "best. One full proof that Herod was deliberate in the making this will, "arises from his having submitted the validity of it to the determination of "Caesar; and Caesar polemics too liberal a mind to think of entertaining an "ungrateful behaviour in a set of people, who having, during the lifetime "of Herod, been under innumerable obligations to his bounty, now seek, "on his death, to destroy the effects of his will. It is to be presumed that "Caesar will give full scope to his benevolence in favour of a faithful friend "and ally, who submits to his imperial determination with the utmost liance; and not permit that personal and justice by which he has hitherto "distinguished through the whole world, to be insulted by envious and calumnious reports. Is Antipater equally ready with us to pay a proper deference to the will and authority of Caesar? I confess it would be no easy "matter to form a judgment how Herod could be so mistaken as to the "person on whom he intended to bestow the government, and yet to perfectly right in the disposition of it."

As soon as Nicolaus had ended his speech, Archelaus cast himself at the feet of Caesar, who immediately raising him from the ground, said, with an air of singular humanity and kindness, that he had approved himself worthy of a crown; which was deemed a kind of tacit acknowledgement of his right to the sovereignty. Caesar, finding that the young prince was happy in his present reception, dismissed the assembly, declining for the present to give his final resolution on the business, and allowing himself time to consider whether he should establish Archelaus alone in the government, or divide it among the whole family, since they all equally depended upon the imperial bounty.

C H A P. XII.


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WHILE the above-mentioned affair remained unsettled, Malthace, the mother of Archelaus, was seized with a fit of illness, which deprived her of life. About this time intelligence arrived from Varus, the governor of Syria, that the Jews, who from the time of the departure of Archelaus, had been exceedingly disposed to acts of mutiny, had lately revolted; but that Varus, by suddenly attacking them with his troops, before they had time to assemble in very great numbers, had the happiness to suppress the sedition; and having punished the principal mutineers in an exemplary manner, he returned to Antioch, leaving at Jerusalem only one legion, to prevent farther commotions.

It appears, however, that this provision was insufficient for the purpose: for no sooner had Varus departed, than Sabinus, the deputy-governor in Syria for Cæsar, thinking the above-mentioned reinforcement would enable him to be at least on equal terms with the multitude, determined to turn his arms against the Jews. Thus resolved, he worried and provoked them in every possible instance, rendering them impatient of such cruel treatment: he made attacks on many of their castles and forts; and under pretence of rendering service to the public, made a general search to discover the deposits of concealed treasure; but his real intentions were to obtain money sufficient to enrich himself.

At this time the feast of the passover (which is the most distinguished festival kept by our nation) drew nigh; and on this occasion many thousands of Jews, from all parts of the country, repaired to Jerusalem: some of them came with an intention of paying their religious adoration, but great numbers were inspired only by motives of revenge. They assembled together, not only from the adjacent country of Judæa, where their sufferings had been the most severe, but from Galilee, Jericho and Idumæa, and likewise from the towns beyond Jordan, with a resolution to punish the conduct of Sabinus in the most exemplary manner. Being assembled, they parted their troops into three divisions, one of which took possession of the circus; the second placed themselves on the north-east side of the temple; and the third took their station in the west, adjacent to the royal palace. Being thus situated, they had enclosed the Romans between them, and began to make preparations for the attack.

This intrepid behaviour of the people furnished no small degree of surprise to Sabinus, who perceiving that there was no doubt but that they were resolutely determined either on death or conquest, he instantly dispatched messengers to Varus for reinforcements, urging that if the expected relief was not immediately sent, the legion that he had left in the city would be infallibly destroyed.

In the interim Sabinus ascended to the top of a high turret, a part of the castle of Phasæl, which was built in honour of the brother of Herod, who was killed in battle by the Parthians. From this place he made signals with his hand, that the Romans should sally forth, and make an attack upon
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upon the Jews; insensibly expecting that others should venture their lives in support of measures brought about by his avarice, while he was afraid to make one of the number, and take his share of the common danger. Nor-withstanding the unreasonableness of this expectation, the Romans obeyed the orders, and a smart engagement ensued. The soldiers behaved in a manner that did great honour to their personal courage; but the Jews were by no means dismayed, though their people fell in considerable numbers. At length the Jews took possession of some of the outward galleries of the temple, which having ascended, their archers and slingers annoyed the enemy with stones and arrows, appearing in safety, rather as spectators of the battle than actors in it; for such was their situation that the Romans could not do any execution on them in return. For a considerable time the battle was continued under these disadvantages; till at length the Romans made a large fire under the galleries, which being built of wood, the flames spread with great rapidity, and soon ascended to the roof; the pitch, wax and oil, that had been used in those parts that were gilt, contributing greatly to the increase of the fire, the whole was soon in such an universal blaze that there was no prospect of escaping; death surrounded them on every side: great numbers met their fate by the fall of the building, others were put to the sword on the ground; so that, upon the whole, of all those who had taken possession of the galleries, not a single person escaped. Several, atho' they had been abandoned even to distraction, devoted themselves to the flames in mere despair: others threw themselves on the points of their swords; a number thought to save themselves by retiring to holes and corners; but these were all put to death by the soldiers; for being totally unprovided with arms, it was impossible they should make any defence. When the fire began to abate, the Romans made their way through the ruins till they came to the place where the sacred treasure was deposited; a great part of which the soldiers stole and carried off; but Sabinus pretended that not above four hundred talents of the whole booty came to his hands.

The difficulties of the Jews were now aggravated in a very high degree; numbers of them having lost many of their dearest friends and relations; and all of them having occasion to lament the sacrilegious robbery of the temple. Yet notwithstanding the reason they had to abandon themselves to despair, a considerable number of the most resolute among them assembled together, and surrounding the palace, they threatened that they would set fire to it without los of time, and if any one should attempt to escape from the flames, he should be instantly put to the sword; but this vengeance was not to take place, if they would immediately abandon their station, and depart; and they likewise promised indemnity to Sabinus and all his adherents, if they would instantly retire: and the majority of the court was on the side of Sabinus.

At this period Rufus and Gratus departed to the Roman interest, having with them three thousand of Herod's select troops, exclusive of a party of horse that was under the immediate command of Rufus; which afforded a considerable and well-timed relief. Still, however, the Jews continued their operations with unceasing ardor: they mined the walls, threatened the enemy,
enemy, yet advised them to depart while there was any degree of safety in so doing: nor run the risk of driving to desperation a people who were resolved, whatever might be the consequence, to maintain their liberties inviolate, and to preserve those laws and rights sacred which their ancestors had transmitted as their inheritance. Sabinus seemed not ill-disposed to have complied with these injunctions, but he was afraid to trust to the promises of the Jews, from a consciousness how ill he had deserved at their hands: besides, he thought that the terms which were offered him were too advantageous to be ratified: and for these reasons he resolved to attempt the maintenance of his present poll, in the hope that Varus might send him assistance before he should be compelled to abandon it.

While affairs at Jerusalem were thus situated, many other insurrections took place in different parts of Judæa, and in the adjacent countries, partly arising from motives of revenge, and partly from a view to advantage. On this occasion a number of the forces which Herod had disbanded, amounting to about two thousand, assembled in a body, under the command of Ahiab, a nephew of Herod, with a resolution to attack a party of the troops of Archelaus: but Ahiab, not insensible that those he had to cope with were veteran soldiers, and men of approved valour, did all in his power to avoid coming to action, by retreating to secure places, where it was not an easy matter to encounter him.

Nor were these the only disturbances that happened: for Judas, the son of Ezekias, the famous robber that formerly gave so much trouble to Herod, (though in the end he subdued him) occasioned fresh scenes of confusion. This Judas, having put himself at the head of a number of desperate men, whom he had raised at Sepphoris, a city of Galilee, caused all his adherents to take arms, and made an incursion into the king's country, where he made seizure of the magazines and military stores, took possession of the money belonging to the king; rendered himself an object of terror to the inhabitants; ravaged and destroyed the country wherever he came, and at length aspired even to the regal government: this, however, he did not by the usual arts of ingratiating himself with the people, or by giving any proof of his attachment to the laws of honour, (for of these he had no idea,) but by the wanton perpetration of every mischief that lay within his power.

During the confusion occasioned by this state of public affairs, there came into notice one Simon, heretofore a servant of king Herod, who was remarkably distinguished by his uncommon strength, the height of his stature, and the singular grace and comeliness of his person. The vanity and impudence of this man impelled him to aspire to the crown. He procured a number of guards to attend him, and was everywhere received as a prince, by the undiscriminating multitude, who saluted him with exclamations of "God save the king!" In fact, he considered himself as the most fit person in the world to be advanced to the regal government. That he might give a proper specimen of his dignity, he began by burning and rifling the palace at Jericho, ravaged several others of the king's houses in the same manner, and permitted his adherents to make booty of whatever they found therein. Nor would his depredations have ended here, if his career had not
been prevented in time; but Gratus, one of the king's captains, who was at that time associated with the Romans, advancing with his troops against Simon, a most violent and obstinate engagement happened between them. The forces under the command of Simon, which came from the other side of the river Jordan, exhibiting much greater proofs of courage than skill in the action, were soon routed and cut in pieces: Simon, who attempted to make his escape over some difficult passes, was taken prisoner, on which Gratus gave orders for his being beheaded.

This rage for a new mode of government was every where prevalent among the common people. A licentious multitude, not unlike those who followed the fortunes of Simon, burnt to the ground the royal palace of Amatha adjoining to the river Jordan. The people appeared to be universally inspired with a violence of sentiment that approached even to madness; occasioned principally by the absence of their king, who by the arguments of reason, and the enforcements of law, might have kept them within the bounds of their duty. It is true that foreigners were brought in, to recompense them: but so insatiable was their avarice, and so unbounded their pride, that the people at large were only sufferers by what was intended for their advantage.

At this time there appeared a man named Athronges, who was undistinguished either by birth, virtue or fortune, being a shepherd of the lowest rank; but he was remarkable for the enormous size of his person, and the uncommon strength of his limbs. Thus qualified, he sought to obtain a share in the government, and resolved to risk his life that he might acquire to himself the prerogative of doing as much mischief as might be agreeable to his own inclination. Now Athronges had four brothers, neither of which were less remarkable than himself for bulk and stature; and under the command of each of them was a number of soldiers, which they deemed an essential circumstance towards obtaining the principal point which they had in view. Great numbers of people flocked to the standards of these five brothers: Athronges sent out his four brethren on different parties, to act as deputies to him, while himself acted the part of a sovereign, sitting in council with a crown on his head, making resolutions and issuing orders respecting affairs of state.

This mock-monarchy continued for a considerable time, during which the royal style and title were kept up, and he seemed to have more obedience paid to him than was requisite; for Athronges exercised unlimited authority, and his decrees were not to be controverted. When the Romans or the king's soldiers became subject to his will he acted with the utmost cruelty, for he was equally an enemy to them both; to the one party for the freedom they had taken during the time of Herod, and to the other on account of injuries of a later date. Animosities now grew daily to a greater height; one enormity made way for another; the resentment became implacable; cruelties were committed for the sake of cruelty, and the destruction made with the view to the obtaining of booty was so great, that no person could possess his own life in safety.
The partizans of Athronges, issuing from an ambusc near Emmaus, attacked a Roman convoy that was bringing corn and arms to the camp, and killed on the spot Aretas the captain, with about forty of his troops, all men of distinguished bravery; and it is probable that the rest of the forces would have shared the same fate, if Gratus had not joined them with a party of soldiers, and relieved them just in the very moment of danger: but, as it was, they were obliged to leave their dead behind them, so narrow was their escape. The brothers of Athronges and himself still kept fighting for a considerable time, doing material injury to the Romans, but inflicting much greater themselves; and in the end they were all taken prisoners in the following manner: one of them was made captive in a battle with Gratus; a second by Ptolemy; Archelaus took the eldest into custody; and the other two finding their case desperate; that their men were worn out with toil and sickness, and that they had no hope of redress, or prospect of receiving fresh recruits, at length likewise surrendered themselves to Archelaus, who pledged his honour, and took an oath for the performance of certain stipulated conditions: but this happened a considerable time after the surrender of the other brothers.

While things remained in this state of licentious confusion, every party of malecontents wished to impose kings of their own choice on the public; by which the government was greatly disturbed, and the Jews, in particular, were perpetually dividing into fresh factions; but things were not altogether so unhappily situated among the Romans.

The intelligence that Sabinus had conveyed to Varus respecting the danger of his situation, made the latter extremely apprehensive for the safety of the third legion, which was all the force that they had in Syria; wherefore he assembled the other two legions, with four troops of horse, and the auxiliary forces of the king and the tetrarch, and proceeded immediately towards Judæa, to give succour to the besieged, appointing a rendezvous at Ptolemais, in his way to which he took fifteen hundred men with him from Berytus. Exclusive of this reinforcement Aretas the Patroclus (the same who, through a misunderstanding with Herod had gone over to the Romans) furnished him with a large body both of cavalry and infantry. When all these united forces were met together at Ptolemais, Varus deputed a command of part of the army to his son, in conjunction with one of his particular friends, directing them to march into Galilee, which is in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais. On this incursion into the country, the son of Varus met with some opposition; but he was everywhere successful: he took Sepphoris; sold the inhabitants thereof as slaves by public auction, and reduced the city to ashes. In the mean time Varus proceeded with his army towards Samaria, but he did no injury to that city, as he knew the inhabitants were disposed to acts of loyalty, and of a very peaceable disposition. He now encamped in the village of Arus, which was the property of Pompey: but this village was burnt by the Arabians, who fought to do every injury to the friends of Herod, in detestation of the memory of that prince. The army proceeded to Sampho, but that place, though exceedingly well fortified, was rifled by the Arabians, who afterwards set fire to it: in fact, great ravages were
were made, both by fire and sword, during the whole of this expedition. Varus gave orders for the burning of the city of Emmaus, in resentment on account of a number of his soldiers having been there slain; but he first permitted the inhabitants to quit the city. Proceeding from this place towards Jerusalem, his army no sooner came in sight of that place, than the Jews, who had besieged the legion stationed therein, abandoned their situation, and every one began to consult his own safety. Varus sentenced the Jews of Jerusalem with the utmost severity on account of the past transactions; but they urged in their defence that the circumstance happening at a time when such immense multitudes of people had crowded to Jerusalem, the inhabitants had not occasioned the war, but the strangers; and that the former, so far from having acted in opposition to the Romans, had run an equal risk with them in the consequence of the encounter. With regard to Sabinus, he had left the city privately, and retired towards the sea coast, so that Varus could not by any means get him into his possession.

Things being thus situated, Varus sent messengers through the country, to enquire who were the principals in the late revolt; and having convicted a great number on the clearest evidence, he caused about two thousand to be executed on this occasion; but others he pardoned and dismissed. The troops under Varus having, contrary to his intentions, and in the violence of military rage, committed many very unjustifiable actions, he now dismissed the greater part of his army, for which he had little farther occasion. After this, however, being informed that ten thousand Jews had collected themselves together, he gave orders that a large detachment should attack them in their quarters; but this attack was unnecessary; for they delivered themselves prisoners at discretion to Ahiab, without offering to make the least resistance. Varus now gave the common people their liberty, and pardoned all the rioters in general, except the principal persons concerned in the commotion, among whom were some persons related to Herod, who had engaged in the contest, in defiance of regard to their affinity, and the laws of honour and conscience. The public disturbances being thus in great measure composed, Varus returned to Antioch, leaving the same legion in garrison at Jerusalem that was there before.

The insurrection in Judaea was no sooner ended, than Varus found a fresh scene of difficulty by a circumstance that happened at Rome, of which the following are the particulars. Varus had given permission to the Jews to apply to Cæsar, for leave to live amongst themselves, and act according to their own laws. In consequence hereof fifty of them were joined in a commission to make the necessary request, and above eight thousand more were to second their application. On this occasion Cæsar gave orders that several of his particular friends, and other persons of the greatest eminence in the city, should attend him in the temple of Apollo, a sumptuous edifice which himself had built. To this place the deputies repaired, followed by a great number of Jews; and Archelaus and his friends likewise attended: but the relations of the king knew not how to act in this emergency; for as, on the one hand, they had an utter antipathy to Archelaus, and therefore could not espouse his interest, so, on the other, it was impossible that they should take
take part with the deputies, without making it apparent to the emperor that they were enemies to a prince to whom themselves were related. Philip, the brother, likewise attended on this occasion, having, in consequence of the advice of Varus, come out of Syria, with a view to affid Archelaus, for whom he entertained the most singular esteem and regard. Philip, however, was not at this time destitute of hope, that if the deputies should succeed in their application, and the children of Herod should be adjudged to share in the dignity, he might himself obtain a portion of the kingdom.

The deputies began their address by making an humble and earnest application that, for the future, kings might no longer reign over them, whose power was intolerable. They recounted the history of the iniquity and mismanagement of Herod, who, they said, though a king in name, was a tyrant in the exercise of his power. They urged that he was not only an adept in the vulgar modes of oppression, but artful in new contrivances to improve on the wickedness of those who had gone before him. "It would be needless (said they) to attempt the making a calculation of the number of lives that have fallen sacrifices to his inhumanity, since those who survived were yet more wretched than those who were destroyed; for terror and danger perpetually surrounded them, under a master devoid of every principle of humanity, who equally disposed of their persons and fortunes as his humour directed. Wherefore did his vanity inspire him to lavish such an uncommon expense on strangers? Why did he repair, rebuild, beautify and enrich such a number of their cities, but that he had devised a mode, peculiar to himself, of distressing his own subjects in the highest degree, in order to gratify his vanity by the applause of foreigners; and prided himself by making a desert of what had been a flourishing and plentiful country? What numbers of the nobility has he doomed to death, on the flighted pretences, and in violation of all law and equity, simply to reap the advantage of their forfeited estates? And has he not received the fortunes of many others as a compensation for their lives, which he pretended were forfeited? With regard to the collection of the customary taxes, he could not be satisfied with the payment which each person made, according to the sum for which he was taxed, but bribes and farther gratifications must be given to collectors and other dependants of the court, as well as to those who were their agents, to prevent their being otherwise ill treated. We say nothing of the horrid insults offered equally to virgins and to married women; but chuse to let them rest in oblivion, in tenderness to the reputation of those that sustained the injury: but, in fact, the most savage beast of the forest could not have ruled over us in a more tyrannical manner than Herod did. The misfortunes consequent on his reign were indisputably the greatest that ever were endured by the people of our nation; wherefore they might very reasonably be permitted to pay their compliments to Archelaus on the death of his father, since they were certain that it was impossible a worse prince should succeed him. The people too, to shew the respect they entertained for the son, were not less forward to promote the funeral honours of the father; and were anxious, by every instance of obedience
and affection, to testify the desire they had of obtaining the favour of the reigning prince: but it was not long before they had melancholy occasion to know that Archelaus was the true son of such a father: for he was not even established in his government before he gave them a specimen of what they were hereafter to expect, when they should be wholly at the disposal of his mercy. For the present his whole torture was dependant on the bounty of Cæsar; yet willing to give his new subjects an instance of his regard to justice, his modesty, and his virtue, he caused three thousand citizens of his own tribe to be sacrificed, and this even in the temple, with as little remorse as if they had fallen victims to the rigid laws of their country. It now remains that the public should form an opinion of the insolvency of this wicked man, who with the most shameless effrontery, after having been guilty of committing so violent an outrage, can think of charging the crime upon others, and at the same time of making pretensions to the government.

In a word, the deputies concluded what they had to say by making a short request to Cæsar, the purport of which was that he would alter the form of their government, and no longer permit them to live under the oppression of a monarchy: they entreated that they might be annexed to Syria, and ruled by such persons as Cæsar should think proper; saying that it would then be evident whether they were a people who fought to make innovations, and to live in the perpetration of acts of turbulence; or were disposed to obey the laws of order, and to pay a proper deference to the authority of legal government.

As soon as the deputies had concluded their address to Cæsar, Nicolaus began to speak in defence of Herod and Archelaus; and what he said was to the following purpose: "I would wish to ask, that if Herod was guilty of all the crimes that have been charged upon him, how it happened that his accusers never thought fit to call him to an account for it during his life-time, when the justice of Cæsar would so readily have afforded them satisfaction. With regard to what is charged on Archelaus, the act was not so properly his own, as impelled upon him by the violence of a turbulent faction, which had first infected the laws by the most seditious kind of behaviour, and then destroyed those who were delegated to quell the uproar. And to what does the crime of Archelaus amount, more than that, by being at the head of a stronger power, he has supplanted a dangerous insurrection?"—Nicolaus now turning to those who had made the complaint, said, "No peace is to be expected during the prevalence of the present spirit of confusion; and while these people are permitted to judge for themselves, and direct as they please, they will never acknowledge that they are satisfied with any grants in their favour."
Cæsar, having heard what arguments were advanced by each party, diminished the assembly, and having taken a few days for consideration on the business, declared that Archelaus should succeed to the half of Herod's dominion, under the title of an ethnarch, though not of king; but yet that he should come into possession of the kingdom when his merit should entitle him to so honourable a distinction. The other half of the kingdom was divided between the two sons of Herod, Philip and Antipas, the latter being the name which opposed Archelaus with regard to the government of the whole. The share allotted to Antipas was the country beyond Jordan, and the district of Galilee, with an annual revenue of two hundred talents. To Philip was given a yearly revenue of one hundred talents, with the lands of Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and part of the palace which bore the name of Zenodorus. To Archelaus were given the countries of Judæa, Idumæa and Samaria, to which last Cæsar remitted a fourth part of the duty customarily paid, on the account of the inhabitants having remained loyal, when those of the other districts rebelled. The tower of Straton, with Sebaste, Joppa and Jerusalem, likewise came to his share; but the inhabitants of Gaza, Gadara and Hippon, having conformed to the Grecian mode of living, Cæsar had annexed them to Syria, and they were no longer considered as dependencies on the kingdom. On the whole, six hundred talents was deemed to be the revenue of Archelaus.

This was the adjustment of the patrimony of the sons of Herod. With regard to Salome, Cæsar granted her a palace in Ascalon, within the dominions of Archelaus, exclusive of the cities of Jamnia, Azotus, and Phasaelis, which her brother had bequeathed to her by will, together with five hundred pieces of minted money; so that her whole revenue was estimated at six hundred talents annually. The rest of the legacies which had been left to the relations of Herod, were likewise confirmed to them by Cæsar, agreeable to the tenor of his will. Exclusive of what Herod had bequeathed to his two unmarried daughters, Cæsar made them a present of two hundred and fifty thousand pieces of silver each, and caused marriages to take place between them, and the two sons of Phæronas. But what distinguished the conduct of Cæsar for a generous magnificence beyond every other circumstance, was the division which he made of his own legacy among the sons of Herod, of all which valuable bequest he retained only a few pieces of plate, and these rather as a remembrance of the giver, than of any particular regard he had to the articles bequeathed.
A Jew personates Alexander the son of Herod. The method in which the imposture was managed. Many of the Jews give credit to the imposture. The impostor obtains several sums of money. He goes to Rome in great state and splendor. The Jews flock to him from various parts. Celadus, the freed-man of Caesar, dispatched to bring him. The imposture is discovered by Caesar, and the man confesses the cheat. He is condemned to the galleys, and the person by whose advice he assisted put to death.

All matters respecting the will and legacies of Herod being now adjusted, the public attention was engaged by a singular circumstance. There was a young man, of the nation of the Jews, who had been educated at Sidon with a freeman of Rome. Now this young Jew happened to hear a perfect likeness to Alexander, the son of Herod (whom his father had ordered to be put to death) that those who recollected the former could not discern any difference in their persons. The Jew, thinking to make advantage of this circumstance, would frequently throw out hints that he was related to the royal family; and intimate, in an artful manner, that he had some prospect of obtaining the possession of the crown.

While he was ruminating on this business, he happened to fall into conversation with an artful man of his own nation and tribe; one who understood the nature of court intrigues and contrivances, and was admirably calculated for the carrying on any scene of extraordinary wickedness. Having deliberated together on the subject, the substance of the sharper's advice was, that the young fellow should assume the name and character of that very Alexander who was said to be dead; and they agreed to propagate the story in this manner: that the person to whom the care of the execution of the two brothers (Alexander and Aristobulus) had been entrusted, had substituted two other persons in their stead, and by this means preserved both their lives. This device not only pleased the imagination of the impostor, who was happy in the thought of the part he had to act; but the people in general seemed to give a ready assent to the imposture; insomuch that in going to the isle of Crete, and from thence to that of Melos, the Jews placed the most implicit confidence in his story, and on the supposed credit of his affinity to the royal family, advanced him several considerable sums of money. By this time the young adventurer was so impressed with the idea of his imaginary consequence, that he formed a hundred romantic schemes, and began to consider whom he would take into his favour, and what places and preferments he would bestow.

Filled with these great, but airy imaginations, he proceeded towards Rome, being accompanied by a number of his new courtiers and adherents. Having reached Puteoli, he had no sooner landed at that place than immense numbers of Jews crowded about him, and all those who had any acquaintance with, or knowledge of Herod, acknowledged and received him as their king. The credulity of the populace had now ample matter to work on, and
and strong presumption in its favour; for the likeness between this person and the prince was so very extraordinary, that many of the intimate friends of the latter, on the very first sight of the impostor, did not only say, but swear that he was Alexander, and could not possibly be any other person.

Intelligence of this extraordinary affair being conveyed to Rome, all the Jews in that city came out to meet the supposed prince, offering praises and thanksgivings to heaven, for that providence which they thought had decreed a deliverance so truly surprising. No expense was spared to celebrate his arrival: he was carried in a litter, with the state and magnificence of a prince, and followed by immense crowds of people, who shouted for joy, and offered up their prayers and vows for his safety and prosperity, as is common in cases of such a nature: but their honours took their rise chiefly from the respect they bore to Mariamne, his supposed mother.

Caesar, having reflected on the matter, could not be induced to believe the story, for he thought Herod was not a likely person to have been imposed on in an affair of such importance. However, not to determine too hastily, he dispatched a freeman of his, named Celadus, who had been a contemporary and companion of the two princes, to bring to him the supposed Alexander, that he might see and converse with him. But when Celadus came to him, he was as much deceived as to his identity as the rest of the world had been. Notwithstanding this, however, Caesar could not be imposed upon in the affair; for though the two persons bore as strong a resemblance to each other as imagination can conceive, yet, upon a clear inspection, some circumstances were discernible in which their persons disagreed; particularly with regard to the hands of the supposititious Alexander, which had become hard and callous through labour; and his skin was observed to be coarser than that of persons generally is who are brought up in all the refinements of courtly delicacy. Caesar likewise remarked that the supposed prince and his tutor agreed exactly in their tale; yet he was still convinced that the whole was an imposition. He enquired of the youth what was become of his brother Ariflobulus; and since they both obtained their liberty at the same time, how it happened that they did not make their appearance together, and put in a joint claim to the crown. To this the impostor answered, that Ariflobulus remained at Cyprus, being apprehensive of danger on the voyage, since, if it had happened that they had both been lost, there would have remained no one of the race of Mariamne; for which reason care was taken for the safety of Ariflobulus, to prevent such a contingency.

The impostor continuing positively to affirm this, and his coadjutor agreeing with him in every part of the story, Caesar took the young man into another apartment, and addressed him in the following manner. "Remember that it will be at your peril if you impose upon me by falsehood; but if you speak the truth your life shall be spared. Therefore I desire that you will immediately inform me who and what you are, and who it was that incited you to this procedure; for you are yet too young to have engaged in so diabolical a plan, if you had not been encouraged by the artifice of others."
When the youth found that he was thus hard pressed, and that evasions would no longer answer any good purpose, he recounted to Caesar the whole history of the affair, and gave up his adviser; and told all the manner of their proceeding. Hereupon Caesar condemned the adviser to death; but kept his promise with the impostor, whom he condemned to the gallies, as he was of a flout habit of body, and well able to endure such labour. With regard to the Jews of Melos, they were deemed to have been sufficiently punished in the expence they had sustained by way of supporting the imposition.

\[\text{CHAP. XV.}\]

Account of Archelaus when possessed of his ethnarchy. He is banished, and all his goods confiscated. Recital of a dream of Archelaus, which is expounded by Simon an Effene. The dream of Galphryra, respecting her former husband.

The ethnarchy having been bestowed on Archelaus, he took possession of it on his return to Judæa; and not long afterwards removed Joazar, the son of Boethus, from the office of high-priest, having been charged with being concerned with a seditious faction; and Archelaus now conferred the office on his brother Eleazar.

The ethnarch now, at a very great expence, rebuilt the palace of Jericho; and a fine stream watering the village of Neara, he conveyed the half of it to a grove of Palm-trees, which he had lately planted in a meadow adjacent thereto. He likewise caused a new village to be erected, which he denominated Archelais, in imitation of his own name. Soon after this, in opposition to the laws of his country, he married Galphryra, the daughter of king Archelaus, and the widow of his brother Alexander, though intermarriages with the wives of brothers are expressly forbidden by the laws of the Jews; and by this wife he had several children. Eleazar, the high-priest, was but a short time in possession of that elevated station; for he was deposed from the office, and Jesus, the son of Sias, appointed in his stead.

When Archelaus had held the reins of government about ten years, the principal people among the Jews and Samaritans were so greatly displeased with his mode of administering public affairs, that they united in an address to Caesar, complaining of his conduct. They were the more emboldened to make this complaint, because they knew that the rigorous execution of justice was contrary to the will and inclination of Caesar, who had given him the most positive commands to rule over his people by the laws of equity, impartiality, and benevolence. When Caesar became acquainted with this complaint, he sent for Archelaus, who was his agent at Rome, commanding his attendance without loss of time, and directing him to go immediately, and bring to him the other Archelaus; without even honouring him with a letter to notify his business. Archelaus had no sooner received his com-
mission, than he hastened into Judæa, where he met with the other Archelaus at an entertainment with his friends, told him the command of Cæsar, and desired he would instantly come with him. On their arrival at Rome, Cæsar heard the charge and defence, and then sentenced Archelaus to be banished to Vienne, a city of Gaul, and ordered that all his goods should be confiscated.

Not long before the above-named Archelaus was sent for to Rome, he had a singular dream, the particulars of which he recited to several of his friends, and which are as follows. He imagined that he beheld ten ears of wheat, all ripe and full, and some oxen devouring them. When he awoke, this dream so strongly impressed his mind, that he could not refrain asking the meaning of it from some persons who were eminent for their skill in the explanation of such kind of mysteries. However, the interpreters, differing in sentiment, Simon, an Essene, obtained permission of the rest, to give his explanation of the above-mentioned dream: and his determination was that it foretold some misfortune that was to happen to Archelaus; for he said that the dream of oxen, which are animals destined to flavius labour, implied misery; andlikewise a change of affairs, because when the ground was turned up the situation and appearance of things were changed. He said that the ten ears of corn seemed to intimated an equal number of years, which revolve in a regular course; and that it was apparent that the reign of Archelaus was nearly concluded. Thus did Simon explain the above-mentioned dream; and on the fifth day after it happened, Archelaus the agent of Cæsar, arrived in Judæa, with orders for the other Archelaus to wait upon the emperor.

Glaphyra, his wife, the daughter of Archelaus the king, had likewise a dream of a singular kind. This Glaphyra (as hath been before observed) was first married to Alexander, the son of Herod, and the brother of Archelaus. After her first husband was put to death by the order of his father, she was married to Juba, king of Mauritania; and after his decease she remained a widow with her father in Cappadocia, till Archelaus fell violently in love with, and married her, having first discharged his former wife, Mariamne. It was while she was the wife of Archelaus that she had the following dream. Her imagination painted the figure of her first husband, Alexander, advancing towards her; and then, when she intended to have clasped him in her arms, with every demonstration of love and joy, he began to expostulate with her in the following manner. "Alas! Glaphyra thou hast verified the "old observation, that there is no confidence to be placed in women. Was "I not the husband of thy virginity; and had we not children, the pledges "of our mutual love? How then, couldst thou so far forget the mutual ob- "ligations we were under to each other, as to engage in a second marriage; "and after that to be wedded a third time, and even then to my brother "Archelaus; thus violating the honour of my family in a most shameful "manner? However, our former love shall not be forgotten, and it shall "be my care to deliver thee from the ignominy of this last connection." Glaphyra repeated the particulars of this dream to several of her female acquaintance, and died within a few days after it happened.
As the course of my history led me to speak of these princes in this place, I thought it might not be amiss to mention this circumstance; especially as the recital may not be without its proper use. It may be considered as a kind of proof of the divinity of the soul, and an assertion of the wisdom of divine providence. Those who hesitate to give credit to these things, are at liberty to judge for themselves; but let them all allow equal liberty to others to attend to discourses which have in view the advancement of morality. With regard to the lands belonging to Archelaus, Caesar annexed them to Syria, and sent Cyrenius, a man vested with the dignity of a consul, to tax the province, and to sell the palace of which Archelaus had been possessed.

END of the FIRST VOLUME.