THE

WORKS

OF

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

CONTAINING,

1. 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, L.L.D.

En arxī estoivein ὁ Θεὸς τῶν Ἱερεῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς.

VOL. II.


MDCC.LXXVIII.
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK XVIII.

Containing the history of the transactions from the year of the World 3973, to 4003.

CHAPTER I.

The government of Syria committed to Cyrenius, who is attended by Coponius, the governor of Judæa. A tax levied by Cyrenius, at which the Jews murmur, but are appeased by Joazar. Dreadful outrages, under pretence of the public welfare, committed by Judas, a Gaulanite, and Sadducus, a Pharisee. The burning of the temple. The consequence of innovations. A fourth sect set up by Judas and Sadducus.

At this period Cæsar sent as a governor into Syria, Cyrenius, a man distinguished by the eminence of his character, a senator of Rome, and one who had arrived at the dignity of a consul, after having gone through all the offices of honour which lead to that eminent station. He was attended by Coponius, the master of horse, who went with him in the character of governor of Judæa: but as Judæa was at this time annexed to Syria, Cyrenius was charged with the business of taxing the people, and likewise
likewise directed to seize on the money and effects that had belonged to Archelaus.

For some time, at first, the Jews were extremely uneasy at this mode of taxation; but they were at length induced to submit to it, and comply without giving any farther trouble, partly by the advice, and partly by the authority of Joazar, the high-priest, and son of Boethus. About this time, one Judas, a Gaulanite, of the city of Gamala, began to distinguish himself. This man combined with a Pharisee, named Sadducus, to entice the people to revolt. They urged that taxes were only badges of slavery; and that it would become the dignity of the whole people to unite in an affersion of their liberty: they said that one fortunate and well-timed stroke would render them independent for ever; and would contribute no less to the security of their possessions than the advancement of their reputation.

There were but few arguments necessary to induce the multitude to acts of violence; nor is it in the power of language to describe the havoc that was made in the country by these outrageous depredators: friends and enemies were equally robbed and murdered without distinction: massacres and affiactions were dreadfully frequent; and all this was done under the pretence of promoting the common good; of advancing liberty, and securing property; but the fact is, that malice and private interest were the leading motives. While the people were thus mutually seeking the destruction of each other by all the severities of an intestine war, they were likewise engaged in a foreign war, and had to struggle with all the aggravated calamities of a severe famine: yet, for a considerable time, nothing could put a period to the course of destruction in which they were engaged, till at length a fire seized the temple, and burnt it to the ground.

Such was the unhappy consequence of seeking after new laws and customs, and endeavouring to destroy those established. Judas and Sadducus were the authors of this confusion, who, from a particularity of disposition, were inclined to add a fourth sect to the three former: and the idea of innovation so charmed the multitude, that a great party joined them; which not only occasioned the present disturbances but laid the foundation of much future calamity: In this place, therefore, it will be proper to treat of those mischievous principles and opinions from which such fatal consequences have arisen.

**CHAP. II.**

The opinions and practices of the Pharisees. They are in great credit with the people. The opinion of the Sadducees. The mode of living, and sentiments of the Essenes. Their doctrine and government. Account of a fourth sect, who are for absolute liberty, and assert that God alone is their superior.

In ancient times, among the Jews, there were three distinguished sects of religion; known by the names of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes; of each of which it may not be improper to say something in this place, though
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though a farther account of them will be found in my second book of the wars of the Jews.

The manner of living among the Pharisees is simple and austere: they indulge not in any luxury. They are extremely conscientious in an adherence to the dictates of their reason; and listen to their elders without preferring to contradict them, for they pay the highest veneration to their advice. They hold that Fate governs all things; but yet not in so absolute a manner as to exclude the operations of free will: for they say that though God orders and appoints every thing that is done; yet that, in matters which have a regard to good and evil, this does not prevent the concurrence of the will. The immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments in another world, form a part of their faith. They say that the righteous will arise to the possession of happiness, and the wicked be condemned to endless chains and darkness. Their reputation was highly advanced among the people by the propagation of these doctrines; and agreeable to their ideas and advice, all things were transacted in the solemn offices of prayer, and other acts of devotion: so great was the opinion that the people entertained of the equity, temperance, and wisdom of these men.

On the other hand, the opinion of the Sadducees was that the soul and body die at the same time; and that the only obligation people are under, is to observe the law: with these sentiments, they pride themselves on a right they have to dispute with their teachers on matters of the highest importance. There are but few of these people, but they are generally persons of distinction. Now when these are advanced to bear public offices, they are compelled, though against their sentiments, openly to adopt the opinion of the Pharisees, or otherwise the common people would not permit them to hold their stations.

The third sort, the Essenes, say that the world is absolutely governed by the providence of God, without any other interference. They acknowledge the immortality of the soul, and say that justice is the chief of all virtues, which they affect by their practice as well as doctrine. They send gifts to the temple, but do not attend in person, as they sacrifice in a way peculiar to themselves, and with a greater degree of religious ceremony. They are singularly strict in their morals; rigid in conversation: husbandry is the only business they follow. They are more distinguished for their love of justice than either the Greeks or barbarians; and boast of it as a virtue to which they have unceasingly applied. They enjoy their effects in common, knowing no such thing as the distinction of rich and poor. They neither marry nor keep servants; considering marriage as an encroachment on the natural rights of mankind; and the other circumstance as attended with more trouble than convenience; wherefore they rather incline to give assistance to each other, by a mutual interchange of good offices. This is the mode of living among these people, who are deemed to be above four thousand in number. From among their priests they choose their treasurers and commissaries, who are men of fulfilled honour; and it is their business to distribute the fruits of the earth sufficient to feed and support the whole people. On the whole, their living resembles that of the Phili among the Dacians.

Judas
Judas Galilæus was the founder of the fourth sect of religion, which did not differ in any great degree from that of the Pharisees; principally, indeed, in their holding the maxim of uncontrollable liberty. They asserted that there was no other Lord or superior than God; and rather than call any man by the name of Master, they would expose themselves and their nearest relations, to any degree of punishment, though ever so severe. But this fact is so well attested, and has been confirmed by such repeated observation and experience, that it is unnecessary to urge any thing in proof of it: besides, no language can convey a tolerably adequate description of the fortitude which those people evinced in their contempt of pain.

The animosities mentioned in the former chapter were greatly enflamed by the tyrannical cruelties of Gessius Florus, at that time governor of Judæa; the consequence of which was, that the people at length absolutely revolted from the Romans.

CHAP. III.

The estate of Archelaus sold by Cyrenius. The people revolt against Joazar, who is deprived of his dignity, and Ananus supplies his place. Herod and Philip being settled in their tetrarchies, the former fortifies Sepphoris, and Betaramphiba; and the latter beautifies Pæleaæ, which he calls Cæsarea. He likewise enlarges Bethsaida, to which he gives the name of Julias. The holy temple profaned by the Samaritans. Cephas returning to Rome, is succeeded by Marcus Ambivius. The death of Salome, and her bequests in favour of Julia. Ambivius succeeded by Rufus. The death of Augustus, who is succeeded by Nero. Judæa governed by Valerius Gratus. Iamaa appointed high-priest, instead of Ananus. Eleazar succeeds Iamaa; Simon advanced instead of Eleazar, and Joseph in the room of Simon. Gratus succeeded by Pontius Pilate. A city built by Herod, and called Tiberias. Phraatases murders his father Phraates. An insurrection occasions the destruction of the murderer. Herod killed. An embassy sent, recommending one of the hostages as king. Artabanus beaten by Verones, who is himself routed in a second battle. He is pursued by Artabanus, and flies into Armenia. Caesar denies him assistance. The Armenians assist Artabanus. Syllevus receives Verones. The death of Antiochus king of Comagena. The form of government disputed. Germanicus sent to settle it. Piso poisons him.

The forfeited effects and estates of Archelaus having been sold by Cyrenius, he adjusted a mode of taxation, agreeable to the orders he had received. This happened in the thirty-seventh year after the battle of Actium, in which Anthony was conquered by Caesar. At this time a violent insurrection happened among the people, in opposition to Joazar, the high-priest, whom Cyrenius deprived of his dignity, and directed that he should be succeeded by Ananus, the son of Seth.

Herod and Philip had now taken possession of their tetrarchies, and adjusted affairs in the best manner possible. Herod fortified Sepphoris, encompassed it with a wall, and made it the capital bulwark of Galilee. This being
being done, he fortified a town, which had borne the name of Betaramphtha; but, ambitious to do honour to the empress, he changed its name to that of Julia. Philip employed himself in enlarging and beautifying Aelia, which was situated at the head of the river Jordan, and he called it by the name of Caesarea: likewise the village of Bethsaida, on the bank of the lake Gennefareth, which he encroached till it was equal in size to a capital city. This place grew populous and rich, and in respect to Julia, the daughter of Caesar, it likewise received the name of Julia.

Previous to this (as hath been remarked) Coponius was sent with Cyrenius into Judaea: and during his government the following disturbance arose. On the feast of the paschal, otherwise called the feast of unleavened bread, it is customary for the priests to let open the doors of the temple after midnight. Now it happened that a number of Samaritans had come privately into the city of Jerusalem, and having waited till the doors were opened, they immediately rushed into the temple, and taking up the bones of the deceased, threw them about into the galleries, and other parts of the building. For the future the priest directed that a better guard should be kept, being warned by the insolence of this proceeding.

Not long after this Coponius returned to Rome, and was succeeded in his government by Marcus Ambivius, during whose administration died Salome, the sister of Herod. She bequeathed to Julia, exclusive of her territory, the city of Jamnia, Phaælis on the plain, and Archelais: together with several plantations of palm trees, famous for the admirable fruit they produced.

Ambivius was succeeded by Annius Rufus, during whose administration Augustus departed this life, at the age of seventy seven years. He had ruled the common wealth fifty-seven years, six months, and two days, having been an associate with Anthony in the government for the space of fourteen years of that time. He was the second of the Roman emperors.

Augustus was succeeded by Tiberius Nero, his son in law, and the son of his wife Livia, being the third emperor of Rome. Now Nero bestowed the government of Judæa on Valerius Gratus in the place of Annius Rufus. From Ananus he took the office of high-priest, and bestowed it on Issachar, the son of Fabius, who, in a very short time afterwards was removed, to make way for Eleazar, the son of Ananus, the late high-priest. Eleazar held the office for about a year, when he was deprived of it, and it was bestowed on Simon, the son of Camith; who had likewise possessed it about a twelvemonth, when he was directed to resign it, in favour of Joseph, who was surnamed Caiaphas. At this time Gratus, having been eleven years in possession of the government, returned to Rome, and was succeeded by Pontius Pilate.

Nero was now the particular friend of Herod, the tetrarch, to whose honour the latter built a city, to which he gave the name of Tiberias. He caused this city to be erected near the hot-baths of Emmaus, on the borders of the lake Gennefareth, the most commodious spot of ground in the whole country of Galilee. This city was peopled partly by the people of Galilee,
and partly by strangers: some being compelled to go and reside there, and many persons of some distinction fixing on this place for their habitation by choice. It was peopled much sooner than it would have been, because great numbers flocked thither from all parts of the country; people of all ranks and degrees, down to the meanest; some of whom were thought to be slaves. Several considerable privileges and immunities were bestowed on them by Herod, to encourage them to settle in this place: to some of them he gave houses, and to others lands, that the violation of the laws might be the less regarded: for as the place was filled with sepulchres, and polluted by dead bodies, the inhabitants were deemed unclean for seven days after their residence there.

About this period Phraataces, the son of Phraates, king of the Parthians, treacherously murdered his father. The circumstances hereof are related in the following manner. Caesar having sent to Phraates a variety of presents, among the rest was an Italian woman, whose name was Thermusa. Phraates took this woman to his bed, and had by her a son, to whom he gave the name of Phraataces. At length being enamoured of her beauty and conversation, he married her, though he had several legitimate children of his own before. Now Thermusa entertained an idea of putting her son in such a situation that he should stand a chance of becoming king of Parthia; but she was conscious that it could not be effected unless the legitimate sons of Phraates were removed out of the way. She therefore applied to her husband on this subject, and he readily agreed to yield to her request; for she was so great a favourite, that he found it impossible to refuse any thing that she asked. The young princes were therefore dispatched to Rome as hostages, and Phraataces was educated at home, as heir-apparent to the throne. But he grew uncafe in this situation; and being impatient to wait for the reversion of a crown, which he thought he might have in possession, he entered into a conspiracy with his mother, to pave an easier way to the government by the murder of the king; and this was accordingly effected: and the suspicions arose that Phraataces lived in a course of incestuous familiarity with his mother. The consequence was such as might have been expected; for the people were so enraged against Phraataces, for the known murder, and the supposed incest, that, before he had taken possession of the government, an insurrection happened among the people, by which he was destroyed.

Now the lascivious conduct of the above-named Thermusa being deemed sufficient to have polluted the blood of Phraates; and the Parthian nobility considering that their nation could not well be governed without a king; they determined that they would place any king upon the throne, who was not of the family of the Arsacidæ; and in consequence of this resolution, they sent ambassadors to invite Herod to accept of the government. It is true he was of the royal line; but the singular cruelty of his disposition had rendered him so obnoxious to the people at large, that he was attacked by a band of conspirators, and killed on the spot: the Parthians being always provided with their swords. Different accounts have been given as to the way in which he fell: some say at a sacrifice, others at a banquet; but the most generally
generally received opinion is, that he was hunting when he met with his fate.

Hereupon the Parthians sent an embassy to Rome, requesting that one of their hostages might be appointed their sovereign, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the late death; and having fixed their choice on Vonones, preferably to the rest of the brothers, a recommendation was given of him, as a prince every way deserving of the honour that was offered him, in the command of two of the most distinguished empires in the universe; meaning those of Rome and Parthia. But the Parthians soon repented of the choice they had made, being at once of a proud disposition, and fond of variety. They said they had too much spirit to submit to be governed by a slave, which was the feme in which they understood the word hostage; and they were perpetually applying this word to their sovereign, as a term of reproach. They said he was not a king whom the law of arms had compelled them to obey; but one who had been imposed on them, in consequence of the making a scandalous peace. While their passions were agitated by the most violent emotions, they dispatched messengers to Artabanus, at that time king of the Medes, who was of the family of the Arsacidae; and he very readily came to them, attended by a numerous army.

As the greater part of the people of Parthia yet continued unshaken in their loyalty, Vonones immediately attacked Artabanus, and drove him back again to his own country: but the latter soon procuring a considerable re-inforcement to his army, immediately advanced, and attacking Vonones, in a second battle, totally routed him, and it was with great difficulty he saved his own life, escaping into Seleucia with a few horsemen. Artabanus, taking advantage of the confusion into which he had thrown the Parthians, pursued them with uncommon ardour, committing great slaughter; and then retired to Ctesiphon with his victorious troops. The kingdom of Parthia now fell into his possession, in right of this conquest.

In the interim Vonones retired into Armenia, having conceived an idea that he should be able to subject that country to his dominion: and he directly dispatched an embassy to Caesar, entreating assistance to carry this project into execution: but whether the emperor had not sufficient confidence in his personal courage, or whether he himself did not think it prudent to disoblige the Parthians, who at this time threatened to make war upon him, he absolutely refused to comply with the proposal, and would not afford the least assistance. This refusal was fatal to the hopes of Vonones, who likewise found that the principal people of Armenia, which bordered on Niphates, all espoused the cause of Artabanus. Wherefore, having deliberated on his situation, he surrendered himself to Syllanus, the governor of Syria, who, in consideration of a former acquaintance that he had with him at Rome, received and entertained him in the most distinguished manner. Artabanus, having now happily settled his affairs, bestowed the kingdom of Armenia on his son Orodos.

Antiochus, king of Commagena, dying about this time, there ensued, on his decease, a violent dispute between the principal people, and the vulgar: the latter wishing to be governed by a king, as they had heretofore been; and
the former inclining to reduce the kingdom into the state of a province. Hereupon the senate of Rome issued a decree, that Germanicus should depart into the east country, to adjust the differences that had arisen; but Providence ordered that this circumstance should end in the ruin of this excellent prince; for after he had composed the commotions in Syria, he fell a sacrifice to poison, through the management of Pilate; as will be related in another part of this work.

CHAP. IV.

Account of planting standards in Jerusalem, with the image of Caesar on them. They are petitioned against by the Jews. Their request refused by Pilate. He places soldiers in arms to surprize them, and commands them to depart on pain of death, which they absolutely refuse. The images are carried away. Money demanded from the treasury by Pilate. The Jews grow tumultuous. They are dispersed by the soldiers. The author's testimony concerning Jesus Christ. Decius Mundus enamored of Paulina. He determines to starve himself. A woman, named Ide, observing his passion, encourages him to hope. She converts a plot with the priests of Isis. A priest carries Paulina an invitation from the god Ambis; but introduces her to Mundus; who afterwards reflects on her for the favour. Ide and the priests are crucified, and the temple of Isis destroyed.

A body of troops having removed from Caesarea, to take up their winter-quarters in Jerusalem, Pilate, the governor of Judæa, permitted their bringing a number of standards into the city, on which were the image of Caesar, in direct contradiction to the laws of the Jews, which expressly forbid the use of all such emblems and devices: and, for this reason, colours with pictures on them had never been brought into the city by any former governor. This general rule was first transgressed by Pilate; and what added to the offence was, that they were brought into the city in the dead of the night, and there planted, unknown to the inhabitants. In the morning, when the citizens observed what had been done, they assembled in great numbers, and immediately went to Pilate at Caesarea, requesting of him that the obnoxious images might be removed to another place. They continued several days, in the hope that Pilate would comply with their request; but he was peremptory in his refusal, pretending that such a request could not be complied with, as it would be an affront to the emperor.

The Jews still continued importunate in their demands; when at length on the seventh day of their attendance, Pilate gave directions to a party of soldiers to provide themselves with their arms, and take their station at an appointed place. This being done, he ascended a tribunal, which he had ordered to be placed in the circus, as a spot the most convenient from which to surprize the people. All this time the Jews thronged about him, urging him to give an answer respecting the business that so greatly agitated their minds. Hereupon Pilate gave a signal to his soldiers, and ordered them immediately
immediately to advance, and cut the throats of all those who did not depart home, and remain at peace. On this the Jews threw themselves flat on the ground, and stretched out their necks; thereby intimating that the laws of their country were much more dear to them than their lives. This unparalleled instance of resolution had such an effect upon Pilate, that he issued immediate orders for the taking down of the images, and that they should be carried back to Caesarea, from whence they were brought.

At this time Pilate having formed a design of bringing to Jerusalem an aqueduct, from the distance of two hundred furlongs from the city, he demanded that money should be advanced from the holy treasury, to discharge the expence of this undertaking. This gave such great offence to the people, that they assembled in a body amounting to many thousands, thinking that the clamour of an outrageous multitude might prevent his carrying his scheme into execution. It happened (as it frequently does in popular insurrections) that among the immense number of complainants, there were some who abused Pilate personally, and insulted him by the most opprobrious epithets. Provoked by this circumstance, he gave directions to a number of his soldiers to disguise themselves in the dresses of countrymen, to conceal clubs under their coats, and form a ring about the multitude; intimating likewise, that if the former saurilous behaviour should be continued, he would give them a signal, on which they should act agreeable to instructions they had received. All this was done according to order; and the abusive language being renewed, Pilate gave the signal; on which the soldiers began the attack with their clubs, and, in fact, exceeded the commission they had received; for the innocent were equally involved in the calamity with the guilty. The contest, however, proved very unequal; for one party being armed, and the other altogether defenceless, many of the Jews were killed, great numbers wounded, and the whole body dispersed, so that there was a total end of the insurrection.

About this period there arose to notice one Jesus, a man of consummate wisdom, IF INDEED HE MAY BE DEEMED A MAN. He was eminently celebrated for his power of working miracles; and those who were curious, and desirous to learn the truth, flocked to him in abundance. He was followed by immense numbers of people, as well Jews as Gentiles. This was that Christ whom the princes and great men of our nation accused. He was delivered, up to the cross by Pontius Pilate; notwithstanding which, those who originally adhered to him never forsook him. On the third day after his crucifixion he was seen alive, agreeable to the prediction of several prophets: he wrought a great number of marvellous acts: and there remain, even to this day, a sect of people who bear the name of CHRISTIANS, who acknowledge this Christ for their head.

About this period a most disagreeable misfortune befell the Jews: but the account of this I shall postpone till I have related the particulars of a very scandalous transaction that happened at Rome, on occasion of a sacrifice to Isis. At the city above-mentioned was a woman equally distinguished by her birth and her virtue. Her name was Paulina. She was very rich; beau-
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Now it happened that Decius Mundus, a Roman knight, who was himself young and accomplished, fell violently in love with Paulina, whose rank exempted her from all necessity of yielding through the force of money or presents: but this circumstance did but so much the more inflame the passions of Mundus, who proceeded so far as to make her an offer of two hundred thousand drachmas, on the condition of sleeping one night with her. This offer being rejected with the contempt it deserved, he found that his passion increased to such a degree, that life became altogether insupportable; wherefore he formed a resolution at once to end his life and passion by starving himself to death.

Now it happened at this time that there was a freed-woman, a servant of the father of Mundus, an artful creature, named Icle, who was rather more of an adept than was consistent with the character of a person of reputation. This woman, remarking the behaviour of Mundus, and thinking that the arguments of reason would have no weight to influence his conduct, she proceeded in a different manner; encouraged him to hope for a happy issue of his passion, and said that she did not despair of obtaining him the possession of Paulina, which she thought might be procured for the sum of fifty thousand drachmas.

This proposal afforded the highest satisfaction to Mundus, who deposited the money in her hands; but the woman was conscious that Paulina was not to be won by a bribe: wherefore, having considered of the affair, and reflecting on the extreme reverence that she entertained for the goddess Isis, she devised the following contrivance. Having assembled a number of the priests of Isis, she swore them to keep inviolably secret what she had to reveal to them; and the better to influence their compliance, she gave them twenty-five thousand drachmas, and promised them the same sum when the business should be compleated: this being a prevailing argument, she related to them the circumstances of the affair, and warmly solicited their interference, to introduce Mundus to the company of Paulina. The temptation was so great that the priests found that they had it not in their power to refuse it, and promised their best assistance; in pursuance of which, the eldest of them immediately went to Paulina, and having demanded a private audience, informed her that he waited upon her with a message from the god Anubis, who was violently enamoured of her, and could not refrain from requesting that she would pay him a visit. Paulina made the priest extremely welcome; and was so delighted with the idea of the great honour that was to be conferred on her, that she could not help mentioning to the ladies of her acquaintance the singular regard that was entertained for her by the god Anubis. She likewise recounted the circumstance to her husband, told him that an appointment was already made, and that she should eat and sleep with the god. The husband, having had the most indubitable proofs of the virtue of
of his wife, seemed very well pleased with a circumstance so much calculated to raffle his jealousy.

At the time appointed Paulina repaired to the temple, where she supped; and the hour of red being come, one of the priests locked her into a room, where, in the dark, instead of meeting with the god, she found Mundus, with whom she passed the night, without having the least idea but that she had been honoured by the embraces of Anubis. Early in the morning, before the priests who were in the secret had arisen, Mundus got up, and quitted the temple; and some time afterwards Paulina returned to her husband, to whom she related the story of the honour that had been done her; and she likewise recounted it to her female friends, in terms of grateful rapture. There was something so singular in this affair, that they could scarcely credit it; and yet they hardly knew how to doubt it, from the high character that Paulina had acquired for her inviolate modesty.

Three days after this extraordinary adventure, Mundus happening by chance to meet the lady, said, "O Paulina! what obligations am I not under to you, for your kindness insaving me the two hundred thousand drachmas with which I would have presented you, and at length com-"plying without a bribe! It is a matter of indifference to me whether you "entertain a regard for Mundus or not, so you will but permit him to gra-
"tify his passion in the character of Anubis:" and having said this, he departed.

When Paulina came to reflect on what had happened, and to consider how vilely she had been tricked out of her virtue, she tore her garments through vexation, related the affair to her husband, and entreated him, by the love he bore her, to procure some punishment to be inflicted on the offenders. Hereupon Saturninus acquainted the emperor of the affair, who having strictly examined into it, gave orders that the priests should be crucified, together with Ide, who was the contriver of the plot, and the principal occasion of its being carried into execution against a woman of such an amiable character. He likewise ordered that the temple of Isis should be pulled down, and her statue thrown into the river Tiber. With regard to Mundus, he was only banished: allowance being made for the force of passion in so young a man. Thus much with regard to the story of Paulina. I now proceed to give an account of the calamities of the Jews at Rome, agreeable to my promise.
CHAP. V.

Four abandoned Jews assume the characters of doctors of the law. They are followed by the women. They collect money as for the temple, but convert it to their own use. Complaints hereof made to Tiberius, by Saturninus. The Jews commanded to leave the city. Account of a Samaritan impostor. The siege of Tirathaba. Pilate routs the Samaritans. The principal Samaritans justify their conduct, and accuse Pilate. Marcellus appointed governor of Judea, and Pilate ordered to Rome.

There was at Rome at this time a Jew, of the most infamous character imaginable, who had been compelled to leave his country, to avoid the rigour of the law. Now this man, combining with three others of characters equally infamous and abandoned, they assumed the appearance of rabbies, read publicly on the laws of Moises, and pretended to expound them to the people. By this conduct they obtained a number of disciples, and among the rest a woman named Fulvia, who was a person of honour and character, and inclined to the profession of Judaism. Now Fulvia having altogether submitted to the authority and discipline of these men, they prevailed on her to entrust them with oblations of gold and purple for the use of the holy temple at Jerusalem; but as often as they received her bounty they converted it to their own use. Now this abusive practice coming to the knowledge of Fulvia, the wife of Saturninus, she prevailed on her husband to make the affair known to Tiberius; in consequence of which the emperor issued orders that all the Jews should immediately leave the city. Of these, four thousand were entered upon the consul's roll, to serve as soldiers, and sent into Sardinia; exclusive of whom there were great numbers who refused to bear arms, on account of their religion; and these were punished by a variety of torments, and then banished; the whole body of the Jews suffering on account of four men of abandoned characters.

Nor were the Samaritans, at this time, without their share of misfortune. It happened that there was a notorious impostor among these people, who by the most ridiculous stories, and extravagant lies, would frequently assemble a crowd about him. This man told the multitude that if they would but meet him at Mount Garizim, he would give them a sight of the holy vessels, which Moyses had buried in that place so many ages ago. Now such was the credulity of these ignorant people, that great numbers of them assembled in arms, and besieged Tirathaba, expecting others to come and join them; on which they determined to go up to the mountain with a large army. But Pilate having intelligence of their proceedings, got together a body of cavalry and infantry, and took possession of the mountain, whence he attacked the Samaritans who had assembled near the village, gave them a total rout, with considerable slaughter; and took and brought off a large number of prisoners; and among this number he ordered those to be beheaded who were men of rank or interest.
Soon after this defeat the chief persons among the Samaritans made application to Vitellius, a person of the rank of consul, who was at that time governor of Syria, complaining of the conduct of Pilate, and insinuating that he had been guilty of murder. They said that there was no intention of departing from the authority of Rome, by their meeting at Tirathaba; since they meant only to take refuge against the arbitrary conduct of Pilate. Hereupon Vitellius commissioned his friend Marcellius to undertake the office of governor of Judæa, and directed that Pilate should be sent to Rome, to answer, before the emperor, to the complaints that had been brought against him. Pilate had now been possessed of his government ten years; but, on this order, he prepared to depart for Rome: however, Tiberius died before he arrived at that city.

C H A P. VI.

Vitellius honourably received by the Jews. He remits the duty on fruits, and restores to the priests the keeping of the pontifical habits, as in former times. A castle built by Hyrcanus, who calls it Antonia, and deposits the robes there. Caiaphas deprived of the office of high-priest, and Jonathan advanced to it. Vitellius ordered to make a league with Artabanus. He treats with the kings of Iberia and Albania. An inroad made on Artabanus, by the Alanians. The loss of Armenia. Artabanus is betrayed, but recovers his kingdom by reinforcements. A treaty concluded between Tiberius and Artabanus. Darius delivered an hostage, and Eleazar, a man seven cubits in height presented to Tiberius. Vitellius anticipated by Herod. The death and character of Philip.

The feast of the passover, as it is denominated among our people, now approaching, Vitellius departed into Judæa, and going onward to Jerusalem, the Jews received him with a distinction due to his rank; and he was bountiful enough to remit them the whole of the duty on fruits. He likewise restored to the priests the possession of the pontifical robes and habits, which they deposited in the temple, where they had been kept, previous to the castle of Antonia being the place of their reception.

Now the first high-priest of the name of Hyrcanus, having erected a castle adjacent to the temple, resided there the greatest part of his time; and in this place, in his own custody, he kept the robes and ornaments of the high-priest, which were to be worn by no one but himself. As often as he changed his habit he constantly deposited the sacred vestments in that castle; a practice which was followed by his successors for a considerable time. On Herod's accession to the throne, he was so highly delighted with the situation of this place, as well as with its strength and beauty, that he made improvements in it, at a considerable expense, and gave it the name of Antonia, in honour of his worthy friend Anthony. In this place Herod found the sacred vestments, and there he caused them to be kept, from an idea that he had conceived that the Jews would be held in obedience as long as he had those in possession. On the same principle Archelaus, his son and successor acted in
the very same manner: and their example was followed by the Romans, after the kingdom was reduced into a province: for these holy habiliments were constantly deposited in a cabinet which was made on purpose for their reception, and kept under the seal of the priests, and the keepers of the sacred treasury: and a lamp constantly burnt before the place, in consequence of directions given to the governor of the castle for that purpose. These vestments used to be regularly delivered by the governor to the high-priest, on the seventh day preceding the three solemn festivals, and the latter having caused them to be made perfectly clean, wore them in the discharge of his office, and on the following day restored them to the place from whence they had been taken: and this was constantly done on the solemn fast, as well as on the three other annual festivals.

But now it became the will of Vitellius to discharge the governor from being any way answerable for the care of the pontifical habits, which, in favour of the Jews, he committed to the custody of the priests, who had been the ancient keepers of them. Not long after this he deprived Josephus, called Caiaphas, of the office of high-priest, and bestowed it on Jonathan, the son of the high-priest Ananus: and departed to Antioch soon after he had made this alteration.

About this time Vitellius received letters from Tiberius, directing him to make a league with Artabanus; for he was apprehensive that the empire might be endangered, if the latter should make a conquest of Armenia: but Vitellius was directed not to ratify the league, unless one of the sons of the king was delivered as a hostage. Hereupon Vitellius offered considerable sums of money to the kings of Iberia and Albania, on the condition of their immediately engaging in a war with Artabanus. The people of Iberia could not be induced to lend any farther assistance to this plan, than to admit the Albanians to a free passage through their city, that they might pass by the Caspian mountains, and thus obtain easy admission into the kingdom of Artabanus.

This inroad occasioned the immediate loss of Armenia to the Parthians; and this was followed by so violent an incursion into their own country, that most of their nobility were destroyed, together with the son of their king, and such immense multitudes of the common people, that the land was in a great degree depopulated by this invasion. By this time Artabanus began to discover that he was betrayed by those in whom he had placed the greatest degree of confidence; and that Vitellius, by the means of bribes, had induced his friends and near relations to join in a plot for his destruction: wherefore, not knowing in whom to place any confidence, lest, under the mask of friendship, he should be treated in a treacherous manner; and having very good reason to believe that persons of the first rank and quality were engaged in the scheme against him, he instantly made his escape to the interior provinces, where he met with immediate protection; and an army of the Dahi and Saci coming to his assistance, he was not only enabled to vanquish his enemies, but to recover his kingdom.

On this change in the state of affairs, an alliance with Artabanus was proposed by Tiberius; and the proposal being accepted, the two parties consented to meet, each attended by his guards, to treat of the business, on the middle
middle of the bridge over the river Euphrates. As soon as the treaty was concluded, a most sumptuous and superb entertainment was provided for them both by Herod the tetrarch, in a tent which, at a great expense, had been erected over the same river. Not long after this Artabanus sent his son Darius as a hostage to Tiberius, together with a number of presents, among which was one Eleazar, a Jew, known by the name of the giant, remarkable for being of the astonishing height of seven cubits. In a little time Artabanus returned to Babylon, and Vitellius to Antioch.

It was the wish of Herod to transmit the first account of this good news respecting the hostages; wherefore, without loss of time, he dispatched a messenger to Tiberius, with all the particulars relating thereto. Some time afterwards Vitellius, a consular governor, sent intelligence of the same kind to Cæsar; on receiving of which he returned simply this answer; that he had informed him of nothing new, for that Herod had previously acquainted him with every particular. This anticipation of the good news by Herod, gave the utmost offence to Vitellius; but he stifled his indignation for the present, nor took farther notice of the affair till Caius succeeded to the government.

At this period, which was in the twentieth year of the reign of Tiberius, died Philip, the brother of Herod, after having been tetrarch of Trachonitis, Gaulanites, and Batanea, for the space of seven and thirty years. He was a man distinguished by his moderation, and devoted to the quiet enjoyment of his ease; his whole life being spent within the district over which he was appointed to preside. He very seldom left his own house, and when he did, it was in company with a few select friends; and he had a chair which followed him, which, on particular occasions, he used to convert into a seat of justice. As it sometimes happened that he met persons on the road who had need of his judicial assistance, it was his custom not to looe any time, but to hear the cause immediately, and to acquit or condemn the party, according to the strength of the evidence. His death happened at Julias, and he was interred with the utmost pomp and magnificence, in a monument which he had caused to be erected for his reception. As he left no children behind him, the emperor decreed that his estate should be annexed to Syria, but on the condition that the country should not be deprived of the tributes hereafter to be raised in the tetrarchy.
Herod and Aretas engaged in war. Herod the tetrarch, being married to the daughter of Aretas, falls in love with Herodias; and proposes to marry her, and abandon his present wife. This is discovered by the wife, and resented by Aretas. Herod conquered in battle by Aretas. The Jews deem it a judgment on Herod and his troops. The death of St. John the Baptist, by the order of Herod. The march of Vitellius towards Judæa. The images in the Roman colours offend the Jews. Vitellius makes Theophilius high-priest. On the news of the death of Tiberius the people are sworn to obey Caligula. The event of Vitellius’s proceeding foretold by wizards. Account of the family of Herod the Great.

At this period a war took place between Herod and Aretas king of Petra, occasioned by the following circumstance. Herod the tetrarch had been for a considerable time married to the daughter of Aretas; but having business that called him to Rome, in his way thither he visited Herod, his brother in law, who was grandson of Simon, the high-priest, by the daughter’s side. While on this visit he became violently enamoured of Herodias, the wife of his brother, and the daughter of Aristobulus, their brother; and she was also sister of Agrippa who was afterwards king. Impelled by the force of his passion, he proposed to marry her when he should return from Rome, and to part with the daughter of Aretas; and on this condition the match was mutually agreed on.

This contract being made, he pursuèd his voyage to Rome, and having dispatched his business there, returned to the place of his own residence. In the interim his wife, having obtained some information of what had passed between him and Herodias, told him, in a manner that could not give him the least cause of suspicion, that she should be happy if he would but permit her to pass a little time at Machaera, which was a castle on the borders of the dominions of Aretas. Now Herod, not having the least idea of her real intention, readily consented to the journey. It is to be remarked that Machaera, being a place devoted to the wife’s father, every thing was properly prepared for her farther journey: immediately on her arrival the governor of the palace furnished her with Arabian guards, who lost no time in conveying her from place to place, till at length she arrived at the palace of her father, where she related to him the particulars of the new connection that had been formed by Herod.

Great uneasiness arose from this circumstance, and as, previously thereto, there had been a dispute between the parties respecting the boundaries of some lands in Ganalia, and as two armies were already in the field, for the purpose of adjusting this difference, the above affair was made a pretext for an immediate battle, in which Herod’s party was utterly routed; but this was principally owing to the treachery of a number of defectors, who were at this time in the pay of Herod, after having abandoned the cause of Philip. Herod lost no time in acquainting Tiberius with the particulars of the above affair; who being enraged at the conduct of Aretas, directed Vitellius to make
war on him immediately, and either to send his head, or to bring him prisoner to Rome.

It was at this time the prevailing opinion among the Jews, that the above diaster was a proof of the vengeance of Heaven against Herod and his army, on account of John, surnamed the Baptist, whom this tetrarch had caused to be inhumanly murdered. Now the Baptist had not been guilty of any crime. His custom was to exhort the Jews to the love and practice of every virtue: he principally insisted on their lives being regulated by the rules of piety and justice; urged the necessity of regeneration by baptism and a new life; and insisted, that it was not by abasing themselves from any particular offence, but by a constant course of goodness, that they could receive the benefit of such regeneration.

The Baptist had now acquired great credit and authority among the people by the holiness of his life; and this was evident by the number of his disciples, and the veneration they entertained for his doctrine. In fact, they seemed to be so totally devoted to his will, as to be altogether under his influence; insomuch that Herod was jealous lest his high degree of reputation should tempt them to a revolt. To prevent therefore, the dreaded consequences, he determined on his destruction before he could have an opportunity of perpetrating any act of mischief; rather than wait the event, and repent after the act was committed. Urged by this consideration, he dispatched him to Machaera (the place above-mentioned) as a prisoner, directing that he should be immediately put to death; and the sentence was executed agreeable to the instructions; but the impiety of the deed was followed by an almost immediate divine vengeance on Herod; agreeable to the idea of the Jews, that he had been punished for spilling the blood of that holy man.

At this time Vitellius was making preparations for the war in Arabia, and was actually on his march towards Petra, having under his command two legions of horse and foot, of the Roman Auxiliaries. When he had got as far as Ptolemais, and was on the point of crossing Judaea, he was met by the principal people of the country, who most earnestly solicited him that he would take a different rout, for that the Jewish law was insulted, and their religion profaned, by the images that the Romans usually carry in their colours. This reason had its proper weight with the general, who directed that his army should march about, by the way of a large plain; and in the mean time he took with him Herod the tetrarch, and several other friends, and went up to Jerusalem, to offer public worship, on occasion of a solemn festival which was then approaching. He made three days' stay in this city, during which time he was treated with all possible marks of honour and respect; and while he remained there he deprived Jonathan of the office of high-priest, and conferred it on his brother Theophilus; and on the fourth day he received letters which announced the death of Tiberius, whereupon he caused the people to swear allegiance to his successor, Caius Caligula; and this being done, he gave orders for the recall of his troops, and directed that they should go into winter quarters; the change in the government having...
determined him to put a period to the war: and after this he returned to Antioch.

A tradition is current that when this expedition of Vitellius was talked of, Aretas consulted the wizards and fortune-tellers, respecting what should be the issue of the affair; and that the answer which he received was to the following purpose: “That the army then on the march should never arrive at Petra; for that either one of the princes should die, or he that commanded the army, or the person that was deputy in the command, or the party against whom the war was levied.”

At this period Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, had been at Rome about a year, having matters of great importance to transact with Caesar. But before I say any thing farther of him, it will be proper that I mention something with regard to Herod and his family; since in them are exhibited a singular instance of the wisdom and power of the providence of God. In the case of Herod we shall see that the having a numerous family, the possession of a splendid fortune, with royal power and dignity, are of no avail, without the more valuable possessions of piety and justice: since, there was scarcely any remains of the very large family of Herod in the space of a hundred years. This consideration is sufficient to humble the pride of the arrogant, and to raise the contemplation of the virtuous man, on the wonderful advancement of Agrippa, who from a private station, contrary to all human expectation, was raised to a degree of power so very extraordinary.

I have heretofore mentioned something of this affair in the general, but shall now descend to particulars. By Mariamne, the daughter of Hyrcanus, Herod the Great had two daughters, one of whom was named Salamis, who was married to Phaætel, the son of Phaætel, elder brother to the king, by the consent of the father. The name of the other daughter was Cypros, who was married to Antipater, Herod’s nephew, by his sister Salome.

Salamis had five children by Phaætel, viz. three sons, Antipater, Herod, and Alexander, and two daughters, Alexandra and Cypros, the former of whom married Timius, a nobleman of the isle of Cyprus, and died childless; and the latter was married to Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus. Cypros bore to Agrippa two sons and three daughters. The sons were named Agrippa and Drufus, the last of whom died while he was under age: and the daughters were called Berenice, Mariamne, and Drusilla. Agrippa the father was educated under the care of his grandfather Herod the Great, as were likewise Herod and Aristobulus, and also Berenice, who was the daughter of Salome and Coëtbasarus. At this time the children of Aristobulus were infants, when their father and his brother Alexander, (as hath been before noted) were put to death by the command of Herod. On their advancement to years of maturity, this Herod, the brother of Agrippa, wedded Mariamne, the daughter of Olympias (who was daughter of king Herod) and of Joseph, the brother of Herod; and of this marriage Aristobulus was born. Now Aristobulus, Agrippa’s third brother, was married to Jotape, the daughter of Sampficeram, king of the Emesenes; and by her he had two daughters, born deaf, who received the name of her mother. The above is a list of the children of the three brothers: their sister, Herodias, was married to Herod. the
The son of Herod the Great, by his wife Mariamne, the daughter of Simon, the high-priest; and of this marriage was born Salome; but after her birth Herodias, in defiance of all the laws of honour and conscience, did not hesitate to take, for her second husband, Herod the tetrarch of Galilee, though she was wife to his brother by the father's side; and had likewise a former husband living at the time of this second marriage. The daughter, Salome, was married to Philip, the son of Herod the tetrarch of Trachonitis, who died without issue: after which she was married to Aristobulus, the son of Herod, and brother of Agrippa; and three sons were born of this marriage; viz. Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus. Thus much with regard to the family of Phasael and Salamis.

To Antipater Cypros bore a daughter which took her own name, and who was married to Alexas Selcius, the son of Alexas, by whom he had one daughter likewise named Cypros. Herod and Alexander, (as hath been mentioned) were the brothers of Antipater, and died without children. Now Alexander, the son of Herod the king, (the same who was put to death by his father) had two children, named Alexander and Tigranes, by Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia.

The above-named Tigranes died without issue: he was king of Armenia, and the same who had an accusation brought against him by the Romans. Alexander had likewise a son named Tigranes, after his uncle, who was promoted by Nero to be king of Armenia. He had also a son named Alexander, who was married to Jotape, the daughter of Antiochus king of Commagena, and was advanced by Vespasian to the dignity of king of Leus in Gilitia. The family of Alexander soon departed from the laws and customs of the Jews, and embraced those of the Greeks. There were no children left by the rest of the daughters of Herod the Great. Thus having given an account of the posterity of this prince, down to the reign of Agrippa; I shall now recount the history of Agrippa himself, together with that variety of providential incidents, which, in the end, advanced him to so distinguished a station.

C H A P. VIII.

Account of the rise of Agrippa. His extravagance. He retreats to Maliba. Cypros writes to Herodias on his behalf. A pension obtained for him. Flaccus applied to by Agrippa. Aristobulus the enemy of Agrippa. The people of Damascus and Sidon differ. Agrippa being abandoned by Flaccus, and greatly involved in debt, retreats privately from his creditors. He borrows money, for which his wife is security. He visits Tiberius; is charged with defrauding the king, and commanded to absent himself from the court till he discharges the debt. He borrows the money of Antonia. He is appointed governor to Tiberius Nero, and becomes the favourite of Caius. Suspicions of Eutychus, who is sent bound to Tiberius. The dilatory disposition of Tiberius. Caesar, at the request of Antonia, confines to examine Eutychus, who is brought before him, and gives his information. The guards convey Agrippa in chains, to prison. An owl perches over his head. The prediction of a German thereon. Agrippa's imprisonment rendered...
rendered tolerable by Antonia. Tiberius, being seized with a violent illness, orders his children to be brought to him. Caius the favourite of the people. Tiberius has recourse to the oracle respecting his successor, and receives directions, by which Caius is chosen. Fortune-tellers consulted by Tiberius. A singular circumstance respecting Galba. Tiberius bestows the government on Caius, and charges him to act generously by his brother. Caius promises to do so, but afterwards destroys him. The death of Tiberius, who is succeeded by Caius. The character of the deceased. Marjoes carries the news of his death to Agrippa, who tells it to his keeper. The declaration of Caius Caesar, who orders Agrippa to be released. Tiberius carried to Rome, and sumptuously interred. The crowning of Agrippa. Caius presents him with a chain of gold. The government of Judea given to Marcus.

Some small time previous to the death of Herod the Great, Agrippa residing at Rome, and being often in the family of the emperor, became a very great favourite of his son Drusus, and also obtained the good opinion of Antonia, the wife of the elder Drusus, through the interest of his mother Berenice, for whom Antonia had a most particular esteem. Agrippa was by nature rather inclined to extravagance; but during the life of his mother, he restrained himself within some reasonable bounds: her death at length making him master of his own conduct, he began to give expensive treats, and make profuse and costly presents, particularly to the dependants and domestics of the court, where it was that he hoped to raise his fortune. By these means he involved himself in debt to such a degree, that he could no longer make his appearance at Rome: besides, at this time, Tiberius having the misfortune to lose his son, he could not now endure the sight of any of the favourites of Drusus, lest he should be reminded of the loss he had sustained.

Agrippa having thus squandered his money, and destroyed his reputation, by the irregularity of his conduct; and his creditors being anxious with him to discharge their demands, which it was not in his power to do, he returned to Judæa; and when there, seeing no hope of retrieving his fortune, and blushing for the folly he had been guilty of, he retreated to Maltha, a castle in Idumæa, having conceived an intention that, in that place, he would put an end to an existence that was no longer supportable. Cypros observing the desponding humour of her husband, and remarking that his melancholy seemed to forebode the most fatal consequences, exerted her utmost endeavours to prevent the misfortune which she dreaded: and particularly wrote to her sister Herodias a circumstantial account of the calamitous situation in which he lived; and most earnestly urged her, by all the ties of honour and confanguinity, to afford him some immediate relief. She said that she did every thing that was in her own power, and hoped that her example would be followed by her sister.

Herodias was so much affected by this representation, that she joined with her husband in sending a message, declaring that Agrippa would attend them; when they gave him a pension, and bestowed on him the government of Tiberias, for his immediate support: but Herod did not long continue in this generous disposition, nor was Agrippa very well contented with his present
prefent situation. Now it happened that, on a certain time, when they were drinking at Tyre, Herod made many ungenerous reflections on Agrippa, on account of his poverty, and intimated, among other things, that he was supported by his bounty.

This infult was too great to be borne by one of Agrippa’s spirit: he therefore repaired to visit Flaccus, an old particular friend of his when at Rome, who was at that time governor of Syria. Flaccus received him in the most free and hospitable manner: but at this time Aristobulus, the brother of Agrippa, was a visitor in the same house: the former was his enemy, though his brother: yet Flaccus divided his favours and civilities indifferently between them, as if no animosity had subsisted. Aristobulus, however, urged by the most implacable malice, still kept up the quarrel, and would not rest till he had inspired Flaccus with a bad opinion of Agrippa, which was effected in the following manner. The inhabitants of Damacesus, and those of Sidon, had a violent dispute between them, respecting the boundaries of their territories, and Flaccus was fixed upon to hear and determine the cause. Now the people of Damascus being informed that Flaccus and Agrippa were on terms of the utmost intimacy, thought it would be a stroke of good policy previously to engage the interest of Agrippa, by bribing him with a sum of money. The bargain being made, and promises of mutual friendship being given, Agrippa exerted all his interest for the people of Damascus against those of Sidon.

Now Aristobulus, having discovered that Agrippa had received a bribe to transact this business, went to the governor, and complained of the conduct of his brother; and Flaccus, examining into the merits of the affair, and finding proof against Agrippa, disowned him from his favour, and left him to seek a support in the best manner he was able. Hereupon Agrippa went back to Ptolemais; and being in absolute want of the necessaries of life, he came to a resolution to return into Italy. Thus distressed, he gave directions to Marthys, a freed-man of his, to apply to the brokers, to raise a sum of money, on any terms whatever, to answer his present demand. In consequence of these directions Marthys went to Proclus, a freed-man of Berenice, (the mother of Agrippa, his late patroness, who by her last will had recommended him to the service of Antonia;) and proposed to him to advance a sum of money to Agrippa, on the security of his own bond. Proclus said that he was already in his debt: yet Marthys prevailed upon him to lend twenty thousand Attic drachmas, on the security above-mentioned; but of this sum he gave no more to Agrippa, then seventeen thousand five hundred pieces, retaining the other two thousand five hundred to himself, for the trouble taken in procuring this advance: nor was Agrippa in circumstances to dispute about this extortion.

As soon as he was possessed of this money, Agrippa proceeded to Anthedon where he met with a ship calculated for his service, and made preparations for going to sea: but Herennius Capito, the procurator of Jamnia, hearing of this circumstance, sent a number of soldiers to him, to demand the payment of three hundred thousand pieces of silver, the property of the king, which he had borrowed when he was at Rome. This circumstance occa-
tioned some little delay in Agrippa's proceeding; but he amused the soldiers with fair promises, and, when night came on, cut his cable, and slipped out to sea, fleeing his course towards Alexandria. On his arrival at that city, he made application to Alexander, the principal officer of the revenue, requesting that he would lend him two hundred thousand pieces of money on his bond. To this the officer replied, "With regard to yourself, I have not faith enough in you to credit you with such a sum; but your wife appears to be a woman of exemplary character and amiable deportment; and she shall have the money if she will give her security for it." In this manner the matter was settled; and Cypros becoming bound for the sum wanted, Alexander furnished Agrippa with five talents on the spot, and gave him letters of credit, to receive the rest at Puteoli; for he was unwilling to trust the whole sum with him at once, lest he should apply it to improper purposes. By this time Cypros was convinced that there was no possibility of preventing her husband's proceeding; wherefore she and her children went over land to Judæa.

When Agrippa arrived at Puteoli, he sent a letter to Tiberius Cæsar, who was then at Caprea, informing him that he had come so far to pay his humble respects to him; and requesting his permission to wait on him. Tiberius did not hesitate to lend him an answer replete with kindness, in which he informed him that he should be happy to see him at Caprea. Thither Agrippa went, and on his arrival Tiberius received him with open arms, and welcomed him to the palace, where he entertained him in the most generous and hospitable manner, thereby proving his sincerity when he gave him the invitation. But on the following day letters to Tiberius arrived from Herennius Capito, complaining of the conduct of Agrippa, and stating, "That when he demanded payment of a bond for three hundred thousand pieces which had been long since due to the emperor, Agrippa departed in a secret manner, so that the money would probably be lost."

This conduct was so highly offensive to Tiberius, that he commanded the officers of his bed-chamber not to permit Agrippa to depart till the debt was discharged. On the contrary, Agrippa did not seem to remark the displeasure of the emperor, but immediately applied to Antonia, mother of Germanicus and Claudius, who was afterwards advanced to the sovereign power. To her he related his distresses, and told her that he was likely to lose the favour of the emperor, for want of the above-mentioned three hundred thousand pieces: whereupon she lent him the money, in honour of the memory of Berenice, and the mutual friendship they had entertained for each other; exclusive of which, Agrippa had been the companion and play-fellow of her son Claudius, almost from his earliest infancy. Having received this money, he discharged his debt, and was reinstated in the favour of Tiberius. This conduct had such an effect on the emperor, that he committed his grandson, Tiberius Nero, the son of Drusus, to the care and government of Agrippa, requesting that he would be constantly in his company, and regulate his whole conduct. Agrippa, however, had so strong an idea of his obligations to Antonia, that he paid his principal attention and respect to her grandson Cælius, for whom the people in general had the highest esteem,
not only for his personal virtues, but on account of the reverence which they entertained for the memory of his father, Germanicus. At this period a Samaritan, one of Cæsar's freed-men, lent Agrippa a million of pieces, with part of which he discharged his debt to Antonia, and employed the remainder in paying the expense incurred by his attendance on Caius, with whom he had now contracted the utmost friendship.

It happened on a particular day that Caius and Agrippa were riding out in a chariot, without any other company, when Tiberius became the subject of conversation; on which Agrippa exclaimed, "From my heart I wish it " would please God that Caius was in his place!" Now Eutychus, a freed- man of Agrippa, who at that time drove the carriage, heard these words spoken; but took no notice of them for the present. Some little time afterwards Eutychus was charged with robbing Agrippa, and carrying off some of his cloaths. The man was really guilty of the offence; and was apprehended, and carried before Pilo, the governor of the place, to undergo an examination. Among other questions, Pilo asked him how it happened that he ran away; to which he replied, "That the life of Tiberius was in danger, " and he was going to make a discovery of the plot." On this declaration he was sent bound to Capreae, where Tiberius still kept him in chains: for the emperor, in all affairs of state, was certainly the most dilatory man that ever existed. Ambassadors could not obtain an audience of him without a tedious delay; nor would he nominate people to succeed to governments of provinces, till he had certain knowledge of the death of the former possessors. It was his custom, likewise, to permit prisoners to remain a long time unexamined; and when his friends asked the reason of this singular conduct, he would address them in the following manner:

"If I was too easy of access, and gave too ready an admission to ambas- "sadors, I should find that those who were speedily received, would be "speedily dismissed; and that others would soon be sent to supply their "places; so that by this mode of proceeding, I should be perpetually em- "barrassed by giving fresh audiences; and a great part of my life would "be spent in the receiving and dismissing of ambassadors. With regard to "officers, when they are once fixed in their stations, it is more advantageous "to the subject to retain them, than change them for others; for covetous-"ness is the vice of magistrates: now those who imagine they hold their "offices during their good behaviour, will be less rapacious than those who "expect to be speedily dismissed. I will illustrate this matter to you by re- "citing an ancient fable.—A wounded man lay by the side of a road, un- "able to help himself, while numbers of flies swarmed on his fores, and "gave him no small degree of uneasiness. A man of humanity happening "to pass that road, expressed his readiness to drive them away, and relieve "the poor man from his sufferings:—by no means, cried he; leave them "in their present situation; for these flies, whose hunger is satisfied, do not "torment me nearly as much as a new fet would do, that may come half "starved. Now this is precisely the case between subjects, and newly ap- "pointed magistrates, who are to be considered only as fresh flies, come to "fuck the blood of the people."
It is unnecessary to aduce any other proof of this being the true character of Tiberius, than the circumstance of his appointing only Gratus, and his successor Pilate, to be governors of Judæa, during a reign of twenty-two years: and he governed the other parts of his empire in the same manner. The reason that he assigned for the not bringing of prisoners to a speedy trial, was that their sufferings might be so much the more tedious, as a punishment for their former offences; since protracted torments were worse than death.

Eutychus being kept so long in chains was evidently the consequence of this disposition of Tiberius: but the emperor at length coming from Caprea to Tusculanum, distant only one hundred furlongs from Rome, Agrippa requested Antonia to solicit that Eutychus might be examined, that what he had to say against his patron might be known at once. Now Tiberius entertained a singular respect for Antonia, partly on account of affinity, for she was his sister-in-law, and the widow of Drusus: and partly for her steady virtue, in refusing a second marriage, in the prime of her life, to which she had been earnestly pressed by Augustus himself. In fact, her whole life exhibited a pattern of the most exemplary virtue. Exclusive of the above considerations, Tiberius was under personal obligations to Antonia, which he could not forget; since her wisdom, fidelity, and diligence, had saved his life from the desperate machinations of Sejanus; for he was pestified of great power and credit, a captain of the guards, and had engaged in the conspiracy a number of the most eminent senators, many of Caesar's freedmen, several of the favourites at court, and some of the military officers. The escape, therefore, of Tiberius was rather extraordinary, and the effects of the treasonable intention were evidently defeated by the resolute industry of Antonia; for no sooner was she informed of the horrid intention, than she wrote down a narrative of all the particulars of the plot, as they came to her knowledge, and sent them, from time to time, to Tiberius at Caprea, by the hands of Pallas, who was an approved, and confidential servant of the emperor: and in consequence of this discovery, the confederacy and those concerned in it being made known, Sejanus and his accomplices received the reward due to their demerits.

It may be presumed that if Antonia's merit was great with Tiberius before she had rendered him this piece of service, it was much greater afterwards: so that when, at the request of Agrippa, she had repeatedly urged the emperor to hear the charge of Eutychus, he could not refuse to comply with her solicitations: but he addressed her to the following purport: "If this man has reported falsehoods respecting Agrippa, he has been already sufficiently punished in the length of his imprisonment: but let Agrippa beware how he prosecutes this matter with too great a degree of rigor; left, on a clear investigation of the affair, the punishment he intends for Eutychus should fall on his own head." Antonia reported the contents of this speech to Agrippa; but the more earnest she was in advising him to decline all farther thoughts of prosecution, the more resolute he seemed to have the matter determined by a full examination.

When
When he found that he refused to be advised, he took an opportunity, when the emperor was passing by in a chair after dinner, with Caius and Agrippa walking before him, to advance immediately to Tiberius, with a repeated request that Eutychus might be brought to an immediate examination: on which he addressed her in the following manner: “I call heaven to witness, that what I am now about to content to, is contrary to my own inclination, and merely in compliance with your urgent request.” Having said this, he gave orders to Macro, who had succeeded Sejanus, as captain of the guards, to direct that Eutychus should be immediately brought before him.

The prisoner having made his appearance, Tiberius interrogated him in the following manner: “What have you to alledge against your patron, Agrippa, to whose bounty you owe the possession of your freedom?” To this Eutychus made answer; “One day, as I was driving Caius and Agrippa in a chariot, and sitting at their feet in the discharge of my duty, I heard the substance of the conversation that passed between them; and, among other things, I particularly recollect that Agrippa addressed Caius in the following manner: “Devoutly do I wish that the old man was but safely deposited in the grave, and you were left governor of the world; for if he was departed, you might easily dispose of his grandchild, Tiberius; and exclusive of the general advantage that would arise to mankind from this circumstance, I might reasonably hope to share in the particular blessings of the revolution.”

There wanted nothing to induce Tiberius to give credit to this information; and he was inexpressibly chagrined to think that after he had committed the education of his grandfon Tiberius to the particular care of Agrippa, he should totally neglect that important charge, and devote his whole time to an attendance on Caius. The emperor, therefore, turning about to Macro, cried “Put him in chains;” but Macro, not knowing what he meant, (for he could not think of such a circumstance respecting Agrippa) hesitated a while, till he should be more fully informed of his intentions. In the interim Tiberius took a walk in the circus, and observing that Agrippa was still at liberty, he again called to Macro, and said, “Have I not given orders for the putting that man in chains?” To this, Macro cried “What man?”—“Agrippa,” said Tiberius.

Hereupon Agrippa had recourse to the humblest supplications and entreaties, beseeching Tiberius, by the regard he entertained for the memory of his son, who had conferred on him the honour of his acquaintance, and on account of the services he had been happy enough to render his grandson Tiberius, that he would grant him his pardon. But his solicitations had no effect; for he was immediately dragged away to prison by the guards, in his robes of honour, as they had found him. Now the weather being remarkably sultry, and Agrippa ready to perish through intensity of thirst, he observed one Thaumastus, a servant to Caius, who had a pitcher of water in his hand, and requested that he would give him a draught of it. Thaumastus readily complied with this request, and when Agrippa had quenched

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his thirst, he addressed his benefactor in the following manner: "Since you,
almsgivingly, have been so generous as to confer this obligation on me dur-
ing my present disgraceful situation, with the same readiness that you for-
merly served me in a more elevated station of life, be assured that you
shall never have cause to repent the liberality of your present conduct: for
you may depend upon my word of honour, that as soon as my present
difficulties shall be overcome, I will make use of my utmost interest with
Caius, that you shall be restored to your liberty." And Agrippa was
afterwards as good as his promise; for no sooner was he advanced to the
crown, than he begged Caius would make him a present of Thaumastus, to
whom he gave his freedom, and entrusted him with the management of his
affairs; and when his death approached, he recommended him to his son and
daughter, Agrippa and Berenice, advising that he might continue in the
same situation during the remainder of his life; and this he did, with credit
to himself, and puffing of the esteem of all who knew him.

While Agrippa was standing, bound with chains, with other prisoners,
before the palace, leaning in a melancholy manner against a tree, on owl per-
ched thereon; which being observed by a German prisoner, he asked a sold-
dier who was the person dressed in purple; and being told that he was a Jew
of the first distinction, he begged the soldier would let him approach him,
for he wished to know something respecting his country. This request being
complied with, and an interpreter being allowed, the German addressed
Agrippa to the following effect: "I perceive, young gentleman, that you
are dejected by this sudden and amazing change in your fortune: yet it is
not in your power to conceive, nor will you easily credit how very near your
deliverance approaches, under the especial care and protection of that
providence which is your peculiar guard. I now invoke all the Gods
which are worshipped either by your nation or ours, by whose permission
we are thus imprisoned, to witness that I lay not this to flatter you with
idle hopes by which you will be deceived; for I am not insensible that
such prognostications, if the event should not prove answerable to the
prophecy, are productive of more injury than service. But I conceive it to
be my duty, at whatever risk to myself, to inform you that you will see
such a surprizing turn of affairs, as will elevate you from this distressful
situation, and place you on such a summit of honour and power, that you
will become the envy of those who have heretofore affected either to despise
or pity you. The remainder of your days will be prosperous, and your
good fortune will be possessed by children whom you will leave behind you.
I now entreat your particular attention to what I have farther to say. When
you shall again behold this bird, you shall die at the end of five days from
that time. Thus much I am commissioned by Heaven to give you to un-
derstand by this auspicious omen. What I declare is founded in fact, and
I tell you the simple truth, that you may not be borne down by the weight
of your present afflictions; but be happy in the prospect of future events.
All I have farther to desire of you is, that when you shall find these predic-
tions verified by the event, you will not be unmindful of your fellow pris-
oners; but procure the freedom of those you may leave in this place."
THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS. 27

When Agrippa heard this prophecy of the German it appeared to him altogether as ridiculous, as it did afterwards wonderful when it came to be accomplished.

During this time Antonia was exceedingly unhappy on account of the hard treatment of her friend; and conceiving that the inflexibility of the disposition of Tiberius was such, that the making of application or intercession to him would but be a mere loss of time, she therefore took a different method; and applied to Macro to render his confinement as easy to him as possible, by directing that he should be attended by soldiers of a civil and humane disposition, that he should constantly sit down at table with the officer in whose immediate custody he was; that he should be permitted the use of the bath daily, and that the visits of his friends and freemen should be admitted. All these favours were granted: whereon he was visited by his friend Silas; and Marlys and Stychus, two of his freed-men, constantly conveyed to him the food of which he was most fond; and under pretence of carrying blankets to sell, they supplied him with those articles on which to repose in the night; the soldiers, agreeable to the hints they had received from Macro, making no opposition to these proceedings.

At the expiration of about six months from the commencement of Agrippa's imprisonment, Tiberius, on his return from Capreae, was attacked with an illness that was at first but slight; but which gradually encroaching, he grew worse till his life was despaired of. When he came to perceive that there were no hopes of his recovery, he dispatched Evodus, his favourite freed-man, to bring his children to him early on the following day, to take a final leave of their dying parent. When I speak of his children I mean those he had adopted; for Drufus, his only son, was deceased: but Tiberius, the son of that Drufus, was yet living, as was Caius, the son of his brother Germanicus, who by this time was arrived at years of maturity, and was a youth distinguished by his learning, and by every other excellent qualification. He was a very great favourite with the people, on account of the respect they entertained for the memory of the virtues of his father, who was a prince singularly distinguished by the modesty of his deportment, and the ease of his conversation, never pretending to that superiority which was undoubtedly his due. A character thus eminently distinguished could not fail to attract the favour of the senate and people, and of the provinces in general, which owed him many obligations for the repeated good offices he had conferred. In fact, his death was not celebrated with so much outward pomp and mourning, as by a sincere sorrow, and tears that flowed from the real impulse of the heart. The people in general lamented the death of this prince with such unfeigned grief, as if each man had wept for the decease of his own father. Caius was highly advantaged in the public opinion by the reputation of Germanicus; but particularly among the soldiers, who were ready, at the first call, to devote their lives to do him any kind of service.

Orders having been given by Tiberius, that Evodus should bring his sons to him early in the morning, the emperor offered up a prayer to the gods of his country, that he might be directed, by some particular signal, which
of the two he should make choice of for his successor; yet privately wishing that Tiberius might be distinguished by the happy omen: however, he did not dare venture to make a prejudication in a matter of such high importance, but thought proper first to consult his oracle. Wherefore he determined that he would be governed by this circumstance, that the young prince who should first wait upon him in the morning, should succeed him in the government. Having formed this resolution, he gave particular orders to the tutor of his grandchild, to bring the youth to him by daybreak, not entertaining a doubt but that the gods would declare in favour of Tiberius; but the event proved the contrary; for the emperor sending out Evodus, as soon as day-light appeared, to see if the young princes were at the door, and to bring into the palace the first he saw, he found Caius alone, informed him that he must wait on his father, and immediately introduced him. Now it happened that Tiberius, being unapprized of the intention of the emperor, had stayed to breakfast, and thus missed the favourable opportunity.

The emperor was astonished when Caius entered the room, and wondered at that providence which had defeated his design in the disposal of the government, by thus settling it in a way totally contrary to what he had intended. Nor did he deem the present disappointment of his expectations the worst circumstance attending the affair; for he did not consider the loss of the empire as of equal consequence with the personal safety of his grandchild: since, where the acquiring of dominion is the object, the question will be decided by force; ambition is deaf to the calls of humanity, and where there is a rivalship for power, the ruin of one party is generally deemed the security of the other.

Now Tiberius paid great regard to the predictions of fortune-tellers, judicial astrologers, and people of that kind; and he acted, in a great degree, pursuant to their advice and direction. Happening one day to look upon Galba, he turned about to some friends who stood near him, and said, "That man will be emperor of Rome." It must be confessed that not one of the Roman emperors ever had such faith in prognostications as Tiberius; yet some of his ideas were not altogether absurd. Nothing, however, made a deeper impression on his mind than the late determination respecting the two princes, which had such an effect on him, that he already considered his grandson in the light of a man doomed to destruction; and what aggravated his wretchedness was, that himself only was blameable for that inquisitiveness of disposition which destroyed the peace of his own mind: whereas he might have lived at his ease, and in perfect freedom, without seeking to know the hidden counsels of providence, and destroying his repose by perpetual enquiries into the knowledge of future events: but this anxiety to know what in nature must be hidden from him, was the curse of his disposition.

Being disappointed in the wish that he had formed respecting the succession, he was but ill disposed to congratulate the future emperor on the good fortune that awaited him; yet, as, on this occasion, it was necessary that something should be said, he addressed the fortunate prince in the manner following: "It is unnecessary, my son Caius, for me to inform you that..."
THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

Tiberius is more nearly allied to me in blood than you are; yet I now commit the government of the Roman empire into your hands, in consequence of having consulted the will of the gods, and debated on the affair in my own mind. But I command you, that in the exercise of the power with which you are invested, you constantly remember the obligations you are under to him who bestowed it on you; and that your gratitude to your brother Tiberius. All that I have to request of you, in grateful acknowledgment of the honour I have now conferred, (for, next to Heaven, it is owing to me) is that you will in every particular treat him with the utmost kindness, since he is equally endeared to me by nature and affection. I would likewise wish to remark to you, that it is no less your interest than your duty to comply with the injunctions I have given: for on the life and happiness of your brother, the dignity and security of your situation will in a great measure depend; and your unhappiness will speedily succeed the day of his death. The situation of a sovereign prince is equally dangerous and uncertain; he stands on a giddy and a slippery elevation; nor will the divine vengeance fail to follow any actions he may be guilty of, in violation of the laws of nature and consanguinity.

Tiberius having thus made his last address to Caius, he promised a punctual and exact obedience to every article of his commands; but he did not intend that his actions should correspond with his words; for no sooner did he come into the possession of power than he caused his brother to be put to death (as Tiberius had foreseen); but within a few years he himself lost his life by assassination.

In a few days after Tiberius had declared Caius his successor, he departed this life, having reigned twenty-two years, five months, and thirteen days. Caius, who succeeded him, was the fourth in the list of the Roman emperors. The first news of the death of Tiberius afforded the highest satisfaction to the Romans; but they scarcely dared give credit to the report; for though the confirmation of this news was the first wish of their hearts, and there was nothing in the world which they would not have freely given to be ascertained of the truth; yet they were afraid of even seeming to believe the report, or of evincing the happiness they felt on receiving the intelligence, before they were certain of the fact; for so great a number of spies and informers were stationed in different places, that it might have been very dangerous for a man to declare his sentiments. Tiberius was of a most fierce and tyrannical disposition, and behaved to the nobility with a rigour never before experienced. His animosities were not known to have any other foundation than in the influence of the present turn of his mind; and his cruelties were frequently carried to such a horrid length, that death from his hands was often deemed an act of mercy. It was therefore necessary for the people to appear cautious how they credited the news which they wished, as a mistake might have been attended with so much danger.

As soon as Marzyas, the freed-man of Agrippa, received information of the death of the emperor, he instantly hurried away with the good news to Vol. II I his
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his Patron, who was then just going to bathe, and whispered him, in the Hebrew language, "The lion is dead." Agrippa immediately comprehended his meaning, and exclaimed, in a kind of transport of joy, "How is it possible that I should requite thee for this favour, and the many other obligations thou hast conferred on me, provided that thy present intelligence should prove true!" The officer to whose custody Agrippa had been committed, observing in what a hurry Martyas delivered his message, and how well pleased the prisoner was with the news, immediately conjectured that the intelligence was of a satisfactory kind, and therefore desired Agrippa to inform him of the particulars. At first he made some kind of hesitation; but on being urged to discover what he knew, he related the plain matter of fact. The officer having congratulated him on the good news, invited him to partake of an elegant supper: but while they were in the midst of their entertainment, a messenger arrived with an account that Tiberius was out of danger, and would soon arrive in town.

This intelligence astonished the officer in the highest degree; and being apprehensive of his life must pay the forfeit for his having rejoiced with a prisoner on the news of the death of Tiberius, he pushed Agrippa violently from his seat, and exclaimed in a rage, "Is it thus that you seek to impose upon me by lies and artifices, and could you find no other person to amuse with a pretended story of the death of Caesar? Depend upon it that you shall pay severely for the liberties that you have taken." Saying this, he directed that he should be put in chains, and more closely watched than before. Agrippa having passed the night in this situation, the report of Caesar's death prevailed in the morning, and the people offered sacrifices of joy on the event.

Soon after this report, two letters were brought from Caius, one to the senate, informing them that he was appointed successor to Tiberius; and another to Pilo, governor of the city, to the same effect. These letters ordered that Agrippa should be discharged from prison, and allowed to live in his former house; so that, though still in a kind of custody, he was eased of all fearful apprehensions, and considered himself as in a state of enlargement. Soon afterwards Caius came to Rome, and brought with him the body of Tiberius, which was interred in a most sumptuous manner. The emperor would instantly have discharged Agrippa, but this was opposed by Antonia; not for want of affection to the party, but that she thought it would be rather indecent to hasten the discharge, and, as Tiberius had committed the prisoner, would be deemed a kind of insult on his memory. In a few days, however, Caius sent for him to his palace, and having given directions that he should be shaved and properly dressed, he caused a crown to be put on his head, as the successor to the tetrarchy which had been possessed by Philip: he likewise created him king, bestowed on him the tetrarchy of Lyfania, and gave him a chain of gold of the same weight as that of iron which he had worn in prison. Marcellus was now sent as governor of Judæa by Caius.

When Caius Caesar was in the second year of his reign, Agrippa entreated his permission to retire into his own country to adjust his private affairs, pro-
misting to return by a limited time. It was matter of astonishment to his
countrymen to behold Agrippa with a crown on his head; as he appeared
a singular instance of the instability of fortune, and the fluctuation of human
affairs, having so soon changed his situation from one excess to the other.
Some of them considered him as a wife and a fortunate man, who could so
firmly support himself against all difficulties; while others were so astonished
at the revolution that had happened, that they could scarcely credit the evi-
dence of their own senses.

CHAP. IX.

Herodias envies her brother, and advises her husband to solicit favours for
himself. He opposes her at first, but at length yields to her persuasions. Fortunatus com-
missioned by Agrippa to watch their motions. Fortunatus and Herod arrive at
Puteoli at the same time. Herod accused of conspiring with Sejanus, against Ti-
berius, and with Artabanes against Caius. Account of arms for seventy thou-
sand men. Herod acknowledges his guilt, is removed from his government, and
condemned to perpetual exile. The favour offered by Cæsar to Herodias. She re-
fuses to accept of it, and is ordered into banishment with her husband. The modera-
tion of Caius, and his subsequent arrogance.

HERODIAS (sister of Agrippa, and wife of Herod, the Tetrarch of Gal-
lee and Pææa, the country beyond Jordan) was exceedingly chagrined
at the great success of Agrippa. She could not endure the idea that her bro-
ther, who so lately had been obliged to abscond from his creditors, should
now be so greatly advanced above her husband, in honour, rank, and dignity.
The pride of her spirit gave her infinite mortification, when she be-
held him dressed in all the pomp of royalty, shewing himself to the people
who surrounded him in crowds. This sight, and the ideas that it occasioned,
rather so much of envy in her mind, that she was anxious for her husband to
repair immediately to Rome, and solicit the emperor to confer equal honours
on him. "I should be inexpressibly wretched (cried she) to behold my
husband, who was the son of a king, and who by his own personal quali-
fications, and in consequence of the affections of the people, had so good
a right to succeed to the throne, stand tamely looking on, with perfect in-
difference, while the son of Aristobulus, at once a bankrupt and a crim-
inal, who has undergone the rigour of the law, is promoted to a throne."
Then turning to her husband, she said, "If you could partiently submit to
live till this period, below the dignity of your family, certainly no time
is now to be lost in doing credit to the name of your father, nor ought you
longer to think of ranking beneath an abject wretch who, not long since,
was supported by your bounty. Never let it be said that, while you had
every advantage of fortune and reputation on your side, Agrippa borne
down by the weight of his necessities, should have an opportunity of super-
ceding you in the means of advancing his fortune. It will ill become the
dignity of Herod to acknowledge the superiority of that man whom his
own bounty has kept from starving. Therefore, I entreat you without he-

situation, or regard to the expense that may attend the expedition, we im-
mediately depart together for Rome: money has no farther value than in the satisfaction it procures us from the having disposed of it in a proper manner.

Herod was of a disposition calculated to indulge himself at his ease; nor had he formed any favourable opinion of the court of Rome; wherefore he endeavoured all he could to divert his wife from her intention, thinking that abstaining from the journey would be the safest proceeding; but in proportion as he was for declining, she was for pursuing the plan; and urged him in so importunate a manner that he was at length obliged to comply with her request; on which they proceeded together towards Rome, with a splendid retinue. Now Agrippa, having taken care to be informed of all their motions, had laid a plan for the counteracting their design. Having prepared letters, and presents for the emperor, he kept his freed-man Fortunatus ready to sail for Rome, as soon as it should be known that Herod was put to sea; with particular instructions for his conduct on his arrival.

Fortunatus having a favourable passage, arrived at Puteoli at the same time that Herod did; but it happened that the emperor was now at Baiae, a small town in Compagne; five furlongs from Puteoli, a place distinguished by its royal palaces; as the emperors who frequented the hot baths either for health or pleasure, were ambitious of excelling each other in the splendor and elegance of their buildings. When Herod arrived here he paid his respects to Caius; and Fortunatus, almost in the same moment, delivered his letters which the emperor having read, found they contained two charges against Herod; the first of which was his being concerned in the conspiracy of Sejanus against Tiberius, and the other, taking part with Artabanus, the Parthian, against Caius, in proof of which Agrippa urged that he had then a magazine of arms for seventy thousand men.

Caius, inflamed at this news, instantly asked Herod if he was thus formidably provided; nor could he deny so indisputable a fact. The emperor sought for no farther proof of his treasonable designs; but immediately deprived him of his government, and seized on his money, both which he gave to Agrippa as a reward for the discovery he had made. Herod he doomed to perpetual exile at Lyons, a capital city of France; but with regard to Herodias, who was sister to Agrippa, he permitted her to retain all her private property, nor doomed her to a share in her husband’s misfortunes, saying, he would treat her with lenity for the sake of her brother. When Herodias heard this determination, she addressed Caius, saying, “You have decreed like a magnanimous emperor; permit me to behave like an obedient wife. It will be out of my power to enjoy the effects of your liberality; for I cannot deem it just or honourable to abandon my husband in his distress, after having partaken of all the advantages of his more auspicious fortune.” Caius was exceedingly offended at this dignity of mind in a woman, and considering her behaviour as an affront to himself, he seized her effects, and ordered that she should be banished and confined with her husband. Thus was Herodias subjected to the vengeance of heaven, as a punishment for the envy she had entertained towards her brother; and
and Herod was thus afflicted in consequence of having taken her advice in the prosecution of a malicious act.

During the two first years of the reign of Caius, his government was directed by the rules of prudence and moderation, and was equally acceptable to the people at Rome and in the provinces; but, after that period, his arrogance and vanity increased to such a degree, that he became intoxicated with his power, considered himself as something more than mortal, blasphemed the gods, assumed the state of a deity, and demanded that divine honours should be paid him.

CHAP. X.

A difference happens between the Jews and Greeks of Alexandria. Three ambassadors on each side sent to Caius, of whom the principal are Apion and Philo. The Jews accused by Apion, because they would not pay divine honours to Caius. Philo makes a short and animated speech.

An unhappy difference arising at this period between the Jews and Greeks who were resident at Alexandria, they agreed that each party should send three ambassadors to adjust the affair in the presence of Caius; and of these Apion and Philo were the principal. Apion made many objections to the conduct of the Jews, the chief of which was, that "Whereas in all the various parts of the dominions of Rome, temples and altars were erected to Caius, and equal adoration paid to the emperor as to the gods, the Jews alone were refractory, and refused to swear by the holy name of Cæsar, or to dedicate images to his honour." This inflammatory remark having been made by Apion, he said all he could farther, to irritate Caius against the Jews. Now Philo, the brother of Alexander, who was overseer of the customs, and a man distinguished by his learning and other accomplishments, prepared himself to reply to this speech, in behalf of the Jews, as was his duty as their principal ambassador: but Caius, in a transport of rage, commanded him to depart the place; whereupon Philo, turning about to the Jews who were near him, advised them not to despair, addressing them in these remarkable words: "Now God will be our friend, since Caius is our enemy."
C H H P. XI.

Caius offended with the Jews. He orders Petronius to erect his statue in Judea.
The Jews remonstrate against it, expostulate with Petronius, and neglect their busi-
ness. They are supported by Aristobulus and other Jews of distinction, who
specify he will lay the case before Caius. Petronius hesitates, and denominates the
Jews at Sibera. A singular providence follows the speech of Petronius. His
letter to Caius, which arrives when Agrippa is at Rome. Agrippa gives Caius a
sumptuous entertainment, who promises him ample amends. Agrippa is contented
with the friendship of Caius, but he presses him to ask a farther favor; where-
upon he solicits his recalling his order to Petronius. The emperor grants his re-
quest. A disturbance among the Jews. A second letter from Caius to Petronius,
but the news of his death arrives first.

The refusal of the Jews to submit to the orders of Caius, incensed him
in so high a degree, that he immediately dispatched Petronius into
Syria, to supply the place of Vitellius, and gave him orders to enter Judea
with a powerful army, and there erect his statue in the temple; saying, that
if the Jews readily acquiesced in this proceeding, no farther notice should be
taken: but if they made any opposition to it, they should be compelled to a
compliance by force of arms.

Petronius readily engaged in this business, and lost no time in making pre-
parations to execute the commands of the emperor; for which purpose he
assembled two Roman legions, and a number of auxiliary troops, which he
fixed in winter-quarters at Ptolemais, that they might be ready for action in the
spring. He sent repeated accounts of his proceedings to Caius, who made
proper acknowledgements of his diligence, and gave him directions to pro-
ceed with resolution, saying he was determined to reduce the obstinate Jews to
obedience.

At this period immense multitudes of Jews reported to Petronius at Ptole-
mais, entreating him in the most earnest manner, not to compel them to act against the dictates of their consciences, and the customs of their religion. They said that if it was absolutely necessary to erect a statue in their temple, the last previous step that could be taken would be to sacrifice their lives, and then the troops might act as they thought proper: but that while they lived they would never admit of a violation of those laws and precepts which they had received from their illustrious ancestors, through such a long line of generations. In answer to this Petronius said, "Perhaps what you urge might have a proper effect on me, if I could act agreeable to my own inclinations; but as I have received the commands of the emperor, I must comply with them; nor dare I disobey my orders." In reply to this the Jews said, "If you conceive yourself thus bound to obey the orders of your matter, we do not hold those of ours to be less sacred. By the blessing of Heaven we are resolved to follow the example of our forefathers, agree-
able to our practice till the present moment. We are not so mean and abject as to trifle with the laws of our God, and hazard the loss of a glori-
"ous immortality, for the sake of preserving our present existence. No, " fir, we are indifferent what becomes of our persons and fortunes, so that " our laws and religion are but protected. We place our reliance in Heaven, " and, allured of the divine providence and protection, we are determined to " run every hazard. Ought we at once to incur the wrath of God, and the " infamy of cowardice? Shall we obey our maker, or the commands of Caius? " Do you determine with regard to the propriety of our conduct."

As it was now evident to Petronius that these people were inflexible in their disposition, and that nothing but the violence of slaughter, and the effusion of human blood, could procure the erection of the statue of Caius: he assembled a number of his friends and domestics, and went to Tiberias, there to remain till he should be more particularly informed of the manners, customs, and disposition of the people with whom it was his business to treat. The Jews were alarmed with the apprehension of a war from this approach of the Romans: but their principal fear was lest their customs and religion should be invaded. Hereupon, many thousands of them assembled in a body and went immediately to Petronius, requesting him, in the most earnest manner, not to urge the people to desperate measures by presuming to profane their holy temple with forbidden images. Petronius exclaimed, "Will you " seek to contend with Cæsar? Are you disposed to make war against the " emperor, without considering his strength, or your own weaknesses?" In "answer hereto they said that they had no intention of fighting, but would rather yield to death, than to the sacrifice of their laws. Having said this, they threw themselves on the ground, and made bare their necks, thereby intimating their absolute will, and determined resolution. In this manner they continued for about forty days, neglecting to plow or sow their land, and omitting every other business of husbandry which the season of the year required: for they had unanimously agreed rather to submit to death than that the statue should be erected.

When affairs were in this situation, several Jewish noblemen of great families, and others of eminent distinction, among whom were Aristobulus the brother of king Agrippa, and Eclesias, who bore the surname of great, made application to Petronius, requesting that he would consider how determined a people he had to do with, and what fatal consequnences might attend the driving them to acts of desperation. They therefore advised him to represent to Caius the peculiar difficulty of the case, and the obstinacy of his opponents, who had permitted their lands to lie uncultivated, not, indeed, with any view to acts of rebellion, but with a resolution rather to die than to suffer an infringement in the article of religion: that a disability of paying their taxes must result from this neglect of husbandry, exclusive of the danger to which the country would be exposed from rapine and robbery. They hinted that on these representations, Caius might possibly relent, and then it would not appear that there had been any idea of rebellion: but that if the emperor was absolutely determined to carry on a war, no hindrance would arise from this representation. This is the substance of the arguments used by Aristobulus and his friends.

Petronius
Petronius was well acquainted with the irregular and revengeful disposition of Caius, particularly when his commands were not strictly and immediately executed: but to great a reverence did he entertain for the laws of God, and the rights of conscience, and to dreadful was the idea he had of sacrificing so many lives to the rage of a madman; that having considered on the affair, reflected on the credit of Aristobulus, who had interceded for them, the importance of the business itself, and the danger of rendering desperate a people who had given full proof of their determined temper, he resolved, at whatever hazard to himself, to write to Caius, stating all the difficulties that attended the affair: and he reasoned with himself in this manner: “Suppose that what I attempt should not be productive of any good consequence, and that instead of arguing the emperor into a better disposition, my expostulations should tend only to provoke his rage, and draw down on my own head that vengeance which I am seeking to avert from others; yet still I shall have this consolation; that I shall die in the discharge of the duty of an honest man, who did not fear to risk his own life, even when ruin stared him in the face, to protect a people whom he conceived to be at once innocent and oppressed.”

Having thus deliberated on the affair, Petronius issued orders for the Jews to assemble at Tiberias, where they met together in immense numbers, and he addressed them in the following manner: “My having undertaken this expedition was not an act of my own, but in consequence of the orders I received from Cæsar. It is unnecessary for me to mention the risk I run in delaying to execute the will of the emperor, for it is unsafe to trifle with sovereign powers. Besides, it appears but reasonable that I should submit to the authority of a prince to whom I owe my fortune. Yet, as affairs are now situated, I am less careful to consult my own personal safety, or to advance my credit with my employer, than to promote the welfare and preservation of a people acting in defence of their laws and worship, and in pursuance of the dictates of their consciences. I am an enemy to the profaning the sacred house of God at the arbitrary will of princes: and for these reasons shall immediately dispatch an express to Caius, informing him of your final resolution respecting the statue. I will do every thing in my power to induce the emperor to comply with all your honest and reasonable requests. May that divine Providence by which all human designs and actions are over-ruled, preserve your religion free from all contamination, and grant that the extreme regard to glory by which the emperor is actuated in this particular instance, may not be attributed to him as a crime. As to myself, if I should be unhappy enough to incur his displeasure for the liberty I have taken, so far as to lose my life and fortune, I am resigned to my fate; provided I live not to see so many worthy men destroyed for the purity of their intentions. Let every one, therefore, retire to his house, and mind his own affairs: go to your lands, and attend to your husbandry; and leave me to treat with the emperor. I repeat it that I shall instantly fend to him; and and you may rely on my promise, that every thing that I and my friends can do, shall be done, to give you the most perfect satisfaction.”

Having
Having said this, he dismissed the assembly, once more recommending them to take care of their husbandry, and hope for better times.

Immediately after Petronius had ended this benevolent speech, the goodness of God was evident in a remarkable providence, which was universally deemed to be an intimation of the approbation of Heaven on what he was about to undertake; for, to the astonishment of every one present, there fell a shower of rain, though the day was remarkably fine, without the interposition of a single cloud. The season had now been dry for so long a time, that the people were almost afraid it would never rain again: for though they now and then saw a cloud, it did not produce the consequence they wished. This singular relief, beyond all human expectation, was deemed by the Jews as the approbation of Heaven on the good-will of Petronius, and a pledge of future blessings. No one was more sensible of the favour than Petronius himself, who considered it as a prodigy of which he understood the interpretation: for the favour of Heaven herein towards the Jews was so evident as not to admit of the least shadow of doubt.

In the letter which Petronius wrote to Caius, he laid before him a particular account of all that had happened, and represented to him what would be the probable consequence of rendering desperate such immense multitudes of people who were obstinately bent on retaining their own opinions. He said that nothing but absolute force would compel them to yield, and that if the emperor pursued them with violence, he would thereby lessen his own revenue, make himself unhappy, and entail eternal disgrace on his name. To all this he added, that the Jewish people were peculiarly acceptable to God, who had given singular demonstrations of his particular regard for them.

When this letter of Petronius arrived at Rome, king Agrippa happened to be there with the emperor, who seemed to be greatly attached to him, and the other took singular care to cultivate his friendship by every act of liberal behaviour: particularly, he made an entertainment for Caius, which for its magnificence, order, elegance, singularity, and the expense that attended it, exceeded every thing of the kind which had been seen; the entertainments of the emperor himself not being fit to be put in competition with it. Caius was highly pleased, not only with the elegant profusion of this treat, but with the spirit with which it had been conducted; for the expense of it was greater than Agrippa could well afford: wherefore the emperor conceived an idea of making him an equal compliment in return. When he was a little warmed with wine, he called to Agrippa, and addressed him in the following manner. “Exclusive of the present instance, I have had many other proofs of your friendship and regard. In the time of Tiberius you gave me several evident proofs of it, at the risk of your own safety; and you have now complimented me at a most enormous expense, in which you have left consulted your own convenience, than my honour and satisfaction. And as it would ill become my dignity to lay under obligations that I had no idea of repaying, I am determined to make you some immediate recompence, for any deficiency in my former favours; and what I purpose..."
"propose now to do for you shall be such an addition to my past bounty, as "may be deemed no small increase of your fortune."

Having thus said, Caius waited in expectation that Agrippa would have solicited lands, commissions, or even provinces and revenues, which he was well disposed to have granted; but Agrippa, though previously determined what to ask, omitted to make his request at present, conceiving it might be done with a better grace in the sequel of the conversation; but he addressed the emperor as follows: "As I had no private view in the little services I "was happy enough to render you in the days of Tiberius, so I have no far- "ther with at present than the honour of your friendship; and though I am "not unacquainted that you have many valuable gifts in your disposal, per- "mit me now to make my most grateful acknowledgments for the favours "I have received, and to declare that I am not ambitious of any farther gra- "tification."

Caius wondered at thisinstance of moderation in a man to whom such an offer had been made; but still he was determined that he should ask some favour, and that, whatever it was, it should be complied with; and having intimated his sentiments, Agrippa said, "Since your benevolence "lays this command upon me, I will presume to offer you one request: I "will neither ask for wealth or honour, since your bounty has already "befowed enough of both on me; but your compliance with my present re- "quission will render you equally the favourite of God and man; and if I "can but obtain this favour in addition to all those with which I have been "already obliged, my fame will be established to future times. All I have "to request is, that your order to Petronius, for the erecting your statue "in the temple of the Jews, may be recalled."

Agrippa was not insensible that by making this request, which was a direct opposition to one of the decrees of Caius, he was in immediate and imminent hazard of his life: but the emperor conceiving himself much obliged by the elegance of his entertainment, and being ashamed to refuse a request which he himself had ordered to be made; besides the respect he thought due to a man who preferred the sacred obligations of conscience, and the welfare of his country, to his own private emolument, he determined to grant the favour: and, in consequence of this determination, wrote to Petronius to the follow- ing effect: "I approve of what you have already done, in collecting the "troops together, and in observing my orders. With regard to the statue, "if you have already erected it, let it remain; but if not, concern yourself "no farther about that affair; but dismiss your troops, and return into Syria. "I am willing to pardon this act of disobedience in the Jews, on account of "Agrippa, for whom I entertain so perfect a respect, that I can refuse "nothing to his request."

This letter from the emperor to Petronius was written before it was known that the Jews intended to break out into absolute rebellion; but Caius being a man void of honour, above blushing for anything that he did, and exceedingly abandoned to the influence of his passions, thought he should consult his own dignity, by assuming an unreasonable degree of flatulence: wherefore, as soon as the report was confirmed that a commo-
tion had happened among the Jews, he broke out into a most violent passion, conceiving that his authority was trampled on by that rebellious people, and immediately wrote a letter to Petronius, in a very different style from the first; which run in the following terms: "As I find you pay more respect to the bribes you have received from the Jews than to the authority of my commands, as is evident by your neglecting my business to attend to theirs, I leave it to your imagination what you ought to expect from my vengeance. I am determined to punish you in an exemplary manner, as a warning to the present times and to posterity, that the power of princes is not to be trifled with." This letter was sent to Petronius during the life of Caesar, but as the person who carried it had a slow passage, it was not delivered till after his decease; so that Petronius received the news of his death before the letter. Thus did the gracious providence of God interfere in his behalf, to reward him for the zeal he shewed, and for the dangers he sustained, in support of his own honour, and the religion of the Jews. While Caius, who had usurped to himself divine honours, was cut off in the midst of his vanity and presumption, Petronius received the thanks of the Romans, as well as of the people of the province, for the singular greatness of his public services: in particular he was complimented by the chief persons of the senate, whom Caesar had frequently insulted and ill treated, by methods that testified the singular pride of his heart. Caius died soon after the dictating the last threatening letter to Petronius. With regard to the foundation of a conspiracy, and the mode of executing it, I shall treat of it in another part of this work. Soon after Petronius received the letter informing him of the emperor's death, he got that which denounced his own; and, as in his situation, he could not do otherwise than rejoice at the former event; so was he equally bound to extol the goodness of Providence, which immediately afterwards rewarded his regard to the holy temple, and his zeal to serve the Jews in their distress'd situation. Thus was the life of Petronius preferred by the immediate interposition of the Divine Power.

**C H A P. XII.**

The misery of the Jews of Mesopotamia and Babylon. Account of Nearde and Nittis, on the Euphrates, where the Jewish treasure was deposited. Two brothers, named Asinicus and Anileus, leave their masters, and assemble a number of people. They build a strong fort, and their power alarms the king of Parthia. The neighbouring forts being heard by Anileus, scouts are sent out, who report the approach of an enemy. The observance of the sabbath dispensed with through necessity. The enemy overthrown by Asinicus. The alliance of the two brothers courted by Artabanus. Anileus dispatched on the embassy, and affirms the reasons for his coming alone; but returns for his brother, and they go to the king together. The general Abagafus desires permission to cut the throat of Asinicus, but is opposed by the king. The command of Babylon given to Asinicus. The brothers in high reputation, which they lose by the decline of their virtue. Anileus enamoured of a Parthian lady, destroys her husband, and marries her. A curse denounced. Idolatry succeeds the
So confused and calamitous was the situation of the Jews of Mesopotamia and Babylon at this period, that their ancient histories relate nothing in any degree approaching to it: but in order to give an exact state of the case, as it is my intention to do, I must trace the affair from its original. In the province of Babylon is a city named Neardæ, a place distinguished by its populousness, yet so fruitful that the inhabitants can subsist on its produce: it has a wall and fortifications for its defence, and is almost surrounded by the River Euphrates. In this province and on the same river is a city called Nisibis. These places being exceedingly strong, in them the Jews, from time, deposited their holy treasure, as it was received and dedicated, in order for its being transmitted to Jerusalem, whither, at appointed times, it was carried under strong convoys, least it should be seized by the Parthians, who were at that time in possession of Babylon.

Among the Jews of Neardæ were two brothers, named Asnaeus and Anileus. They were the sons of a widow, who had placed them out to learn the art of weaving fail-cloth, which is no disreputable profession in that country, where it is even common for the men to card and spin. As it happened that the two brothers came too late one day to their work, their master was severe upon them for their neglect; in resentment for which they armed themselves with the first offensive weapons they could seize, and retired to a place where the river divided, which was distinguished by its affording plenty of corn, grapes, fruit, and every sort of provision proper for winter store. While they were in this situation, a number of stout young men whose necessities tempted them to seek some relief, resorted to them, and enlisted under their command, and taking up arms, no person dared to oppose their proceedings. The brothers being thus re-inforced, erected a strong fort, and sent out a great number of emissaries and marauders, to raise contributions throughout the country. These were commissioned to offer friendship and protection to all that submitted to their demands, and to denounce vengeance against all that refused compliance; so that the people were under a sort of necessity of coming into any terms: for by this time the party was grown so numerous that there could be no thought of refitting; and even the king of Parthia began to be alarmed at the insurrection.

On receiving intelligence of this affair, the prince of Babylon, deeming it his duty to suppress the sedition before it grew to too great a head, collected his troops throughout the districts of Parthia and Babylon, and immediately marched with the greater part of his army, hoping to come up with the mutineers
neers time enough to surprize them. Having, by defiles and cross-paths, advanced to the edge of a piece of moorish ground, he there halted; and presuming that, as the next day was the sabbath, they would not venture on a battle, he slowly moved forward, intending to fall suddenly upon them, when victory would follow of course. At this time Afinæus and his companions were reposing themselves on a bank with their arms laying by them, when Afinæus called out, "I think, fellow soldiers, I hear the neighing of "horses that seem to be urging forward to a battle; and I can even fancy "that I hear the champing of their bits; wherefore it becomes us to take "care that we are not surprized: let some persons, therefore, instantly go "out, and learn the truth of the affair, respecting which I wish I may happen "to be deceived."

Agreeable to these directions scouts were immediately sent out, who soon returned on the full gallop, with information that Afinæus had formed a right conjecture; for that the enemy were so near as to be on the point of executing their design. The messenger said, they had horses sufficient to trample them to death, as they were but defenseless men, and dared not make any resistance on the sabbath, which was forbidden by the laws of their religion. Afinæus, however, was of a contrary opinion, and said it was a ridiculous thing to think of standing still, and submitting to be destroyed, merely to gratify the rage of an enemy: "On the other hand (said he) resume your courage; reflect on "the urgent necessity of the case: follow my example, that if we fall it may "not be unreavenged; and leave the issue to the determination of providence." Having thus exhorted and encouraged his people, he seized his arms, and led them to battle; and finding the enemy in an unprovided state, rather prepared to take possession of a victory already gained, than to fight for conquest, they attacked them, and put the main body to flight, after killing great numbers on the spot.

The news of this victory being brought to the king of Parthia, he conceived so high an idea of the courage of the two brothers, that he was extremely impatient to have an interview and to converse with them; wherefore he dispatched to them one of his attendants, in whom he placed great confidence, with the following message: "I am commanded by Artabanus, "king of the Parthians, to inform you, that though you have done him "great injustice in the inroad which you have made into his dominions, "yet he is willing to forget all past offences, and bury all animosities in "oblivion, in consideration of the advantageous character which he hath "heard of you. I am farther commissioned, in my master's name, to assure "you that he wishes to join in a league of friendship with you, without any "fraud or collusion. On his honour and faith I am likewise to offer you "all possible assurance of your safe conduct on your journey to him and "back again. Your own experience will inform you that my sovereign is "a prince of great bounty and munificence, and that he will be inclined, "on every occasion, to give you all possible proofs of the generosity of his "disposition."

The apparent candour of this invitation was insufficient to prevail on Afinæus to undertake the journey; but he procured such presents as he could, to
and sent his brother Anileus to wait on the king. On his arrival he found his reception as agreeable as could have been wished; but the king observing that he came alone, asked him how it happened that his brother did not accompany him: to which Anileus answered, that he considered himself to be safe in his present situation, and was unwilling to leave it on the confidence of his majesty's promise. Artabanus being sensible that fear had given rise to this cautious conduct, swore by his gods that neither of the brothers should receive the least degree of injury; and in ratification of this oath he gave his right hand to Anileus, which, among the barbarians, is deemed the most sacred pledge of good faith that can be given by one man to another; since, that ceremony being once past, there remains no suspicion of deceit, no room for jealousy, nor even an idea that falsehood can possibly take place.

Artabanus having given this assurance to Anileus, sent him back to his brother; and conceived great hopes of the services that might be rendered to him by their joint endeavours to keep in awe those provinces that seemed inclined to revolt during the king's absence; as they had a considerable party that adhered to their interest. The king likewise considered, that while he was employed in suppressing a rebellion in one part of his dominions, Afinæus might do him great injury in the neighbourhood of Babylon, by supplying himself with men, and taking possession of the strong forts. His sending for Afinæus, therefore, was founded in good policy.

Afinæus having made a report to his brother of the singular respect that Artabanus had expressed for them both, and informed him by what solemn oaths and protestations he had ratified the sincerity of his regard, Afinæus was induced to think of waiting on the king, and in pursuance of this sentiment they set out in company. They were received by Artabanus with great politeness, and appearance of friendship; but the king remarking the disagreeable figure of Afinæus, and considering the dignity of his mind, would frequently observe that "the soul of that man was not formed for his body." Being one day at table with him, the king, addressing himself to his general Abdagafus, spoke in the highest terms of the martial exploits of Afinæus, whom he represented as a miracle of valour. To this Abdagafus made no other reply, than simply to beg the king's permission to cut his throat, in revenge for the injuries sustained by the Parthians. In answer hereeto Artabanus said, "Most certainly I shall never permit such an insult to be offered to a man who has entrusted his safety to my honour, and whom I am bound, by the sacred obligation of an oath, to protect: but if you are disposed to give a convincing proof of your courage, you may find a method of vindicating the honour of the Parthians, without a violation of my oath: for you have only to attack him on his return, and not in form me of your intention."

Early on the following morning the king sent for Afinæus, whom he addressed to this purpose; "It is now proper that you should return to your own place of residence, left while you wait, the resentment of my officers may be carried beyond the bounds of prudence, and you may receive an injury not in my power to prevent. I recommend to you the care of Babylon: preserve
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"preserve the peace of that province to the utmost of your power, and protect it from robberies. Since you have not hesitated to trust your life to my honour, be assured that I will always consult your safety as much as my own." Having said this, the king gratified him with a number of valuable presents, and sent him to the care of his own government, in which he was no sooner settled than he applied himself to the building, repairing, and beautifying of forts, wherever it was found necessary. In fact, he acted in all things with so much prudence and discretion, and gave such universal satisfaction, that no man before ever arrived at such a degree of power and credit from such a beginning, and in so short a time. The great men of Babylon, and the governors and commanders in Parthia, were equally his friends. His authority increased with his arms and adherents; so that Mesopotamia was, in a great degree, under his immediate government.

Affairs prospered in this manner with the two brothers for the space of fifteen years, equally to their own honour and the satisfaction of the public; but at length, when they began to deviate from their exemplary piety and good behaviour; when they abandoned the study of virtue, and the precepts of their ancestors, and gave themselves up to the gratifications of sensuality, and admitted foreign innovations, their credit likewise decayed. It happened at this period that a certain Parthian governor came into those provinces, and brought with him his wife, who was greatly and equally distinguished by the eminent beauty of her person, and the uncommon qualifications of her mind. It is uncertain whether Anileus had seen this woman, or only heard of her uncommon merit; but he became violently in love with her; and having no other method to obtain his end, and being impelled by the violence of his passion, he waged war against her husband, whom having killed in the first attack, he got the lady into his possession, and took her to his bed.

From this circumstance arose a scene of dreadful misfortunes which afterwards befell the brothers. It was the custom of this woman at all times to carry with her some images of the gods of the barbarians; and being now a widow and a prisoner, she had concealed some of these idols, which, for a considerable time, she worshipped privately, as she could find opportunity; but some time afterwards, when Anileus openly acknowledged her as his wife, she exercised her religion in the most public manner, without any farther endeavour to make a secret of the affair.

This marrying a barbarian woman, and an idolatress, in defiance of the laws, rites and customs of the Jews, gave the utmost disgust to those friends who had heretofore been most zealous in behalf of the brothers. Future princes ought to be cautioned by this example, not to depart from the duty they owe to God, in seeking a gratification of their carnal appetites. In the instance above-mentioned it was in vain to think of opposing the cool voice of reason to the turbulence of passion; for a person of eminence having taken the liberty to discharge his conscience by giving reasonable advice, was flabb'd to death on the spot. As he was dying, he breathed out the following prophetical denunciation against the brothers and their abettors: "May they be pursued by signal vengeance, on account of the insults they "have
have offered both to religion and friendship! May the treatment they have
given to others fall on their own heads! May the brothers be punished as
the principal authors of this violence, and the others for assisting in the
murder of the protector of their liberties and laws, whom it was their duty
to shield from all harm."

The people were concerned, in a very high degree, for the death of the
worthy governor; but the sense they entertained of the former goodness of
the brothers, to which, in a great degree, their present happy situation was
owing, had such an effect upon them, that, for a while, they refrained their
resentment: but at length the open and undisguised profession of idolatry of-
fended them beyond all human endurance; wherefore they assembled in great
numbers, repaired to Asinaeus, and complained of the conduct of his brother.
They were very plain in their remonstrances; said that the unhappy affair
had been better wholly omitted; but that since it was past, it became his
duty to act in a determined manner, to prevent farther ill consequences; for
otherwise the commotion among the people would become general. They
said that the marriage was such a violation of their religion that it was gen-
erally disapproved: and with regard to the idolatrous practices of his brother’s
wife, they were a base insult on the worship of the true God. Asinaeus ac-
nowledged that the wickedness which his brother had been guilty of was re-
plete with the most dangerous consequences both to himself and his people:
but having the most affectionate tenderness for so near a relation, and mak-
ing all possible allowance for the frailty of nature, in a case where his heart
was so deeply engaged, he fought rather to extenuate his crime, than to cri-
minate his conduct. But the people becoming every day more clamorous
with Asinaeus, he at length came to a resolution to apply to his brother,
whom he cenured for what was past, and cautioned him with regard to his
future conduct; conjuring that he would, without hesitation, send his wife
back again to her friends. But this proceeding had no influence on the con-
duct of Anilœus; and, the woman, finding that the spirit of the populace be-
gan to encrease; and, apprehensive of some fatal consequence to her husband,
on her account, she caused Asinaeus to be poisoned, not entertaining the least
fear of her own personal safety, when a fond husband was to be the judge of
her conduct.

The whole power having now devolved to Anilœus, he collected his army,
and made an incursion into the country of Mithridates, the son of Artabanus,
and a person of great distinction among the Parthians. Here he found a
great plenty of money, slaves, and cattle, with other effects of considerable
value, all of which he carried away. At this period Mithridates was at no
great distance, and being informed of the inroad that had been made on his
dominions, not only without all provocation, but through the mere impulse
of insolence, he selected a considerable number of his best troops, and ad-
nanced to give battle to Anilœus. The following day being the sabbath of
the Jews, which it is their custom to celebrate as a day of perfect rest, he
stopt that night at a village, intending to fall upon them by surprise on the
following day. Now it happened that a Syrian in the neighbourhood had
intelligence of the design, which he communicated to Anilœus, and gave
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him particular information where Mithridates was to be that night at a grand supper. Anilæus, having received this intelligence, directed his people to take the customary refreshment, and marched immediately to surprise the enemy: in which his success was equal to his wishes; for falling on their quarters about the fourth watch, he took some asleep, while others escaped under favour of the night. Mithridates being made a prisoner, was placed on an ass, naked, which is looked on as the highest degree of infamy among the Parthians. In this manner he was conveyed to a wood, where several of the friends of Anilæus were for putting him to death; but this he himself opposed, and addressed them to the following effect: "This man is one of the most distinguished in all the country, and allied to the royal family. Now he is in your power spare his life; and you need not doubt but he will forgive past offences, and always remember the obligation; besides, you will, by this proceeding, prejudice an interest, that may in all events lead to an accommodation. On the contrary if you put Mithridates to death, you may depend on it that the king will avenge his blood on all the Jews in Babylon: and we ought to interest ourselves in the welfare of those people, not only on account of affinity, but in point of prudence: for as the chance of war is uncertain, it is right to secure a retreat for ourselves, in case of a defeat."

The people in general seemed to be of the same opinion as Anilæus, on which Mithridates had his liberty granted by the common consent: but when he returned home, and his wife learned on what condition he had obtained his freedom, she reviled him in the most opprobrious terms; hinting that he, who was the son-in-law of a king, after having fought so many battles with, and been so often disgraced by the Jews, and at length made captive by them, ought not meanly to have submitted to owe his life to their bounty. She concluded her invectives by saying, "Retrieve your character, or, by the powers that protect the thrones of kings, I swear that I will instantly abandon you." As she was continually addressing him to this effect, he grew tired of her reflections, and was afraid that her pride would at length induce her to procure a divorce; wherefore, though against his own inclination, he put himself at the head of an army; but not without a mental conviction that the Parthian who would submit to a Jew was deserving of death.

Anilæus being informed that Mithridates was marching towards him, resolved, on a principle of honour, to hazard a battle in the open field, rather than take advantage of the security of his present situation; wherefore he advanced to meet the enemy, at the head of a body of troops that were almost strangers to defeat; and, exclusive of his veteran forces, he was joined by a number of volunteers, who took arms in the hope of sharing the booty; so that, on the whole, they deemed the victory obtained before the battle was commenced. Full of these sanguine hopes they travelled about eighty furlongs, through a dry sandy country; and when they were so fatigued with heat and excessive thirst that they were scarcely able to support themselves, Mithridates attacked them with fresh troops, totally routed them, and killed several thousands in the flight. Anilæus, and others who escaped, retired.
to an adjacent forest, in a state of confusion which is beyond description; leaving Mithridates in full possession of the honours of the field.

After the defeat great numbers of idle and disorderly people resorted to the army of Anilæus, so that its original number was soon replenished; but these troops were altogether undisciplined, and by no means so valiant as those he had left. Notwithstanding this disadvantage he marched into the quarters of the Babylonians, and made great devastation: whereupon the Babylonians sent to the Jews at Nearda, requesting that Anilæus might be delivered up to justice; but this requisition could not be complied with, as he was not in their power. Proposals were now sent to Anilæus, offering terms of peace, and requesting that a treaty might be set on foot, that affairs might be adjusted on equitable terms. This being agreed to, commissioners were deputed by the Jews and Babylonians to manage the whole business in dispute between them. The Babylonians having carefully observed the place where Anilæus and his companions were assembled, suddenly surprized them in the dead of the night, and finding them sleepy and intoxicated they killed all they met with; and among the rest Anilæus fell a sacrifice to their rage.

In ancient times perpetual variances had happened between the Babylonians and Jews, respecting their rights, customs, and mode of living; sometimes one party having the advantage, and sometimes the other: so that the debate commonly ended without a decision. During the life of Anilæus, and while he was supported by his friends, the Babylonians were kept in some sort of awe; but in consequence of his violent death, they now assumed courage to affront the Jews on every occasion, till they rendered their lives a burden to them; and by their insufferable insolence, many of them were compelled to abandon their habitations, and to retire into Seleucia, the principal city of that province, and which received its name from Seleucus Nicator, who was the founder thereof: now this was a place sacred to Liberty, where great numbers of Macedonians, Greeks and Syrians lived together in a promiscuous manner. In this city the Jews resided, much at their ease, for the space of five years, and in the sixth year a violent plague raging in Babylon, many more of that people were compelled to retire into Seleucia; a circumstance that gave rise to greater distress than they had yet known; as will appear from the following short narrative.

There were perpetual quarrellings between the Greeks and Syrians of this city, but in all their disputes the advantage lay on the side of the Greeks, till the Jews came thither, who being a brave and warlike people, the Syrians procured their assistance, and obtained the advantage. The Greeks, finding the inconveniences they lay under, and that they should be ruined unless they could destroy the connection between the Syrians and Jews, they privately resorted to some particular friends they had among the Syrians, for their advice how to heal the breach, and bring matters to an accommodation. The proposal was received in an amicable manner, and referred to the consideration of some principal people of both parties, who were to advise on the most proper mode of proceeding; and they soon agreed to end the controversy, by joining against the Jews as the common enemy of both.
In consequence of this agreement they attacked the Jews in an unguarded hour, of whom they destroyed above fifty thousand, not one escaping who was not protected by some friend or neighbour. The wretched residue fled to Ctesiphon, a city of the Greeks near Seleucia, the winter residence of the king of Parthia, where his valuable furniture was deposited. Here they took up their residence, in hope of protection within the verge of the royal court: but the Jews in general were so terrified by the Babylonians and Seleucians, exclusive of their fears from the Syrian conspiracy, that most of them retired to Nierda and Nisibis, expecting protection from the strength of those places, and the valour of their defenders. This is a faithful representation of the affairs of the Jews in Babylon at this period.

End of the Eighteenth Book.
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK XIX.

Containing the history of the transactions from the year of the World 4003 to 4009.

CHAPTER I.

The emperor Caius Caligula exercises the most horrid barbarities upon the Jews. Caius claims the name and adoration of a god, calling himself the brother of Jupiter. He despoils all the temples of Greece of their sculptures, paintings, and other dedications, for the purpose of adding splendour to his palace, and commands Memmius Regulus to transport the statue of the Olympian Jupiter to Rome; but in this he is not obeyed. Upon the birth of a daughter, he causes the image of the child to be placed upon the knee of the statue of Jupiter in the capitol. Claudius, the uncle of Caius, is accused by his bond-man, named Pollux. Caius reflects upon Chereas for a pusillanimity of disposition, and he determines to take revenge for the affront, and communicates his purpose to Popedius. A charge alleged against Popedius by Timidius. A woman named Quintilia put to the torture, which she supports with great resolution. Chereas informs Clemens and Papinius of his intention. The bold and generous sentiments of Chereas, who conceiving a suspicion that he is in danger of being betrayed by Clemens, repairs to Cornelius Sabinus, in order to consult
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consult him on the business. Cheereas and Sabinus open their minds to Minucianus; and these three persons form an important resolution. A voice in the air commands them in the name of the Almighty to proceed. The execution of the design being suspended, Cheereas becomes impatient, and proposes to undertake it himself. He gives encouragement to his associates. They come to an absolute determination. After performing sacrifice, Caius goes to the theatre, a description of which place is given. The conspirators take their several stations. The death of Caius, and a relation of the manner in which it was effected. The honour of the action attributed to Cheereas. Asprenas, Norbannus, and Anteus cut to pieces: the different accounts respecting that matter. Proclamation made of the death of Cæsar. The meeting of Cheereas, Clemens, and Minucianus. The senate assemble.

The unexampled cruelties which the emperor Caius exercised upon the Jews were not confined to Jerusalem and the neighbouring provinces: but, with the utmost inveteracy of deliberate malice, he extended his insupportable tyranny throughout every part of the Roman dominions. No place under his jurisdiction more fatally experienced the effects of his savage barbarity than Rome. In the general oppression he seemed to direct his vengeance principally against the most considerable men, such as the senators, patricians, and the order of men called equites or knights, who in point of wealth and dignity were next inferior to the senate, and from whom those who composed the senate were frequently selected. He appeared to derive a peculiar gratification in subjecting these people to the violence of his brutal rage; he condemned many of them to banishment, and the vilest indignities; others he cruelly murdered, and their effects he confiscated; so that to be possessed of property was a situation of the most imminent danger. He arrogated to himself the appellation of a god, and insinuated on public adoration from his subjects. In the Capitol, which is the most famous of all the Roman temples, he declared himself to be the brother of Jupiter, whom he had the effrontry to address under that character; and in innumerable other instances he betrayed an equal degree of vanity and extravagance. He was desirous of passing from a city in Campania, called Puteoli, to Misenum, a town on the opposite shore of an arm of the sea thirty stabia over, but, considering it as a degradation of his dignity to pass in a galleys, he caused a bridge to be constructed, extending from one to the other promontory, and over this he passed in his chariot, triumphing in the vain idea of having subjected both earth and sea to his dominion in a manner consistent with his imaginary divinity.

This ambitious emperor plundered all the temples in Greece of their finest paintings, sculptures, and other precious articles dedicated to God; and he issued orders for conveying the spoil to ornament his palaces, gardens and houses of pleasure; saying, that since Rome was the most magnificent city, the most curious and valuable productions could not, with equal propriety, be deposited in any other place. He had the effrontry to send to Memmius Regulus, commanding him to cause the statue of the Olympian Jupiter, that equisite production of Phidias, the statuary of Athens, which was held in the highest estimation throughout Greece, to be removed to Rome; but this unreasonable
unreasonable order was not complied with; for the artificers informed Memmius Regulus that by displacing the statue it must inevitably be broken. A tradition is preferred, that during the time Memmius Regulus had the removal of the statue under deliberation he was deterred from carrying the project into effect by a most extraordinary vision, in consequence of which he wrote a letter of excuse to Caius. Had not the death of the emperor intervened, he would infallibly have punished the disobedience of Memmius by the loss of his head.

To such an excess did the insolence and vanity of this man arrive, that, upon the birth of a daughter, he caused the image of the child to be conveyed into the capitol, and placed upon the knee of Jupiter, thereby intimating that the infant stood in an equal degree of relationship to Jupiter and himself; and he challenged the spectators to determine which of the fathers was most respectable. The people entertained the utmost detestation of the conduct of Caius, but still they servilely submitted to all his extravagant humours. He not only gave permission to slaves, but even afforded them all possible encouragement, to alledge charges of whatever nature they thought proper against their masters: and these accusations proved the more opprobrious as they were constantly supported by the authority of the emperor, who rewarded the informers in proportion to their degree of iniquity. A capital offence was alledged against Claudius, the uncle of Caius, by his bondman, named Pollux; and on this occasion Caius presided on the bench, with a view to procure his uncle to suffer the death of a criminal, on a false accusation: but in this design, however, he did not succeed.

The countenance he afforded to detractors and informers of the most abandoned principles and practice having given slaves a superiority to their patrons, and caused an infinity of other most desperate evils, the people vented the bitterest execrations against the emperor, as the author of the prevailing evils, and suggested to themselves various measures for extirpating from the earth so detestable a monster, some being influenced by a desire of revenge for the injuries they had sustained, and others on the principle of avoiding the mischiefs with which futurity seemed to be pregnant.

The emperor having extended the pernicious influence of his tyranny to the extreme of degree, his immediate death was considered as the only effectual means of restoring the ancient authority of the laws, and securing the public tranquillity. The death of this cruel man was an event highly favourable to the Jews, for by it they were happily preserved from the destruction to which he had inclined them.

It is necessary to be exceedingly minute in the narrative of the death of this wicked prince, since it will afford a gratification to curiosity, by shewing the wonderful operations of the divine providence in the just disposition of events; instruct the virtuous part of mankind not to despair in the utmost extremities of ill-fortune; and at the same time prove an admonition to those placed in the exalted spheres of life against resting their hopes on vain and treacherous foundations, or pointing their wishes to the attainment of transitory enjoyments; and afford a conolatory instruction that the happiness of life
life is only to be procured by a steady adherence to the principles of virtue and piety.

Three conspiracies were formed for effecting the destruction of the unnatural and detested tyrant, and each faction was subject to the command of a leader of approved and distinguished resolution. A Spaniard of Cordova, named Æmilius Regulus, had the command of one troop; another was under Cassius Chæreas, the tribune; and Annius was the leader of a third detachment. These parties were composed of men remarkable for intrepid and resolute dispositions: and they all held Caius in the utmost detestation, considering him as the most abominable monster that nature had produced. Æmilius Regulus, being a man of an honourable and generous temper, was the enemy of Caius from the abhorrence he naturally entertained of every species of wickedness: Minucianus was conscious that the vengeance of the tyrant would prove fatal to whoever incurred his displeasure, and partly on this consideration his enmity was produced, and partly in revenge for the death of Lepidus, a man of strict honour and unblemished character, and his particular friend, whom the tyrant had cruelly murdered: the office which Chæreas held required him to be frequently about the person of the emperor, and he therefore, apprehended his life to be continually in the most imminent danger from the ferocious disposition of his master, who took every opportunity of upbraiding him with effeminacy; the dangerous predicament in which he stood, and the insults he perpetually received, heartily disposed him to essay in the enterprise of effecting the destruction of Caius. Notwithstanding they were respectively influenced by particular and distinct motives, they were unanimous in the common cause. They considered it the indispensable duty of true patriotism to sacrifice their lives in defence of their country, and to encounter every danger and difficulty rather than suffer mankind to labour under the oppression and bloody outrages of the most barbarous and unrelenting tyrant. Chæreas was more resolutely determined upon carrying the exploit into execution than his companions: this extraordinary ardour was occasioned by a conscientiousness that he had advantages above the others, which would enable him with the less difficulty to perform the great enterprise whence he expected to derive a very considerable reputation: for, being one of the tribunes, in virtue of his office he had free access to the person of the emperor.

It was now the time for performing the circus games and exercises, in which entertainment the people of Rome found a particular pleasure. On this occasion it had been a long established custom for the people to be allowed the liberty of petitioning the emperor; and when their demands were reasonable, it was seldom they met a refusal: at this time then the multitude assembled in great numbers, and requisitioned the payment of part of their taxes and tributes might be remitted. Instead of granting their request, Caius gave way to the most violent expressions of rage, and commanded his guards to seize the people who had presumed to make the clamour, and put them immediately to death; and in consequence of this cruel order, several were instantly slain. The people patiently submitted to this act of violence; but it served to caution them against putting their lives to such imminent hazard
hazard in future for the purpose of preserving their money. This last instance of barbarity inspired Chæres with additional avidity for attempting the enterprise, and stopping the bloody rage of the brutal tyrant: he several times intended to destroy Caius while he was at table, but was induced to suspend the execution of his design by the expectation of a more favourable opportunity, when he might be at a greater certainty of succeeding in his attempt. Chæres had for a considerable time been captain of the guards, and he now held a commission for collecting certain revenues: the extreme poverty of some of the people on whom the tax was imposed operated upon his compassionate disposition, and therefore he was not so severe in exacting the payment of arrears as Cæsar wished him to be. In consequence of this lenity he incurred the displeasure of Cæsar, who upbraided him for being an insignificant creature in the execution of his office, and defirite of the spirit necessary to enforce payment; and whenever Chæres applied to him for the watch word, it was his constant practice to give a word, the import of which conveyed a reflection upon him for being of a pusillanimous and effeminate temper: but notwithstanding this, Caius himself made no scruple to assume the habit and ornaments of a woman, and, at ceremonies, he had established, to accommodate his behaviour in every respect to a resemblance of the female character.

When Chæres delivered the word to his brother officers, it constantly rendered him an object of derision to them, and it was seldom they failed observing to him that they expected the word would bear a ridiculous meaning. This mockery of Caius at length became so intolerable to Chæres, that he could no longer refrain from communicating his purpose to his particular friends, in the number of whom was a senator named Popedius, who had passed the several degrees of honour, but being one of the sect of Epictetus, his whole attention was engrossed upon indulging his desire of living in perfect ease. An accusation was made against Popedius by Timidius, his professed enemy, purporting that he had made use of expressions of a dangerous tendency and violently reflecting upon Caius: he pretended that the charge he had adduced was founded on the evidence of Quintilia, a comedian of singular beauty, of whom Popedius was enamoured. Upon Quintilia's refusing to give false testimony against her lover, Timidius requested that she might be put to the torture, which Caius commanded Chæres to see instantly performed. It was the tyrant's custom to appoint Chæres to offices of this kind, from an idea that having so frequently reproached him for being a timid and woman-hearted creature would cause him to execute his commands with greater severity. As Quintilia was passing to the place where she was to suffer torture, she trod on the foot of one of the conspirators, thereby intimating that no sufferings should compel her to a confession of the enterprise that was in agitation.

Chæres was under so strong a necessity faithfully to execute Cæsar's commission, that he could do no otherwise than inflict great severities upon Quintilia, though they proved a great violence to his inclination. Having sustained her sufferings with wonderful fortitude, he conducted her into the presence of the emperor, mangled, torn, and disfigured in a most shocking manner;
manner: notwithstanding the natural cruelty of his temper, Caius entertained some pity for the miserable object, and gave her a considerable sum of money, as some compensation for her sufferings; and he restored Pope- dius to liberty.

Chæreas was exceedingly afflicted upon considering that he had been the instrument of inflicting a savage barbarity upon a woman whose sufferings had moved even the emperor to compassion, and he looked upon this as an event that would greatly detract from his reputation. Matters were in this situation when Chæreas resolved to open his mind to Papinius, who as well as himself was a tribune, and Clemens, a captain of the city troops. Addressing himself to Clemens, "The public are sensible (said he) that neither you nor myself have been deficient in the discharge of our duty to the emperor, and that we have assiduously directed our attention to detect and frustrate conspiracies; some of the parties concerned in fomenting insurrections we have subjected to tortures to extreme that the deplorable condition of the offenders has given birth to pity even in the savage breast of the emperor, and others we have put toinstant death: but is it not derogatory to the character of men of honour and soldiers to engage in offices of so horrid a nature?" To this, Clemens made no reply; but his countenance evidently betrayed a sense of shame, arising from the reflection of having complied with the merciless orders of Caius, in direct violation of the dictates of conscience and humanity. Chæreas now proceeded to the following effect: "Public fame declares Caius to be the author of the intolerable grievances which prevail throughout the city and empire; and they are so notorious that it is wholly unnecessary for me to recapitulate them: but the truth is, that ourselves are to be justly considered as the cause of those outrages which the people of Rome and mankind have too long endured; for we have executed the most barbarous commissions, even at the time when, had we been disposed to the glorious enterprise, we might have relieved the world from the oppression of a merciless tyrant: but instead of this, we have servilely submitted to offices which have degraded our characters as soldiers and men of honour, and branded our names with eternal infamy. We cannot pretend to the glorious reputation of defending the liberties of our country: our business has been to support the man who incessantly labours to enslave our bodies and ruin our souls. In obedience to a bloody tyrant we have perpetrated the most horrid murders, and inflicted the most excruciating tortures upon other people; and we must expect that we shall ourselves be consigned to similar violations.

Our abject compliance is judged to be the effect of compulsion and fear, not of respect and duty; and we must therefore be the objects of dread and suspicion rather than of esteem and confidence. So wanton is the barbarity of Caius that he observes regard to neither guilt nor innocence, but those over whom he has authority, he indiscriminately consigns to death or other punishments, according to the extravagancies of his humour. These circumstances being considered, it will appear indispensably necessary to pursue measures for the preservation of our own lives and the liberties of our country."
Clemens declared his approbation of the sentiments of Chæreas, whom he enjoined to profound secrecy, observing, that if the least intimation of the plot should transpire, the certain consequence would be death to all the parties concerned. "It is my advice (said he) that we attempt not to carry our plot into execution till time shall afford us a favourable opportunity. The years I have passed have abated the violence of my passions, and persuaded me that the best councils are those which may be purfued with the greatest safety." Clemens now departed, deeply ruminating upon what had passed during the interview.

The indifference of Clemens gave rise to a suspicion in Chæreas that he was not firmly attached to the cause; and therefore he hastened to a brother-tribune named Cornelius Sabinus, who he knew to be a man of strict integrity, steadily disposed to support the liberties of his country, and extremely dissatisfied with the present situation of public affairs, on which Chæreas determined fully to explain himself, being persuaded of the rectitude of his friend's principles and the solidity of his judgment. The jealousy he entertained of Clemens occasioned him to be very urgent for an immediate dispatch of the business in hand. He found that Sabinus entertained sentiments perfectly corresponding with his own, though he had not ventured to divulge them: but he gave Chæreas the strongest assurance of secrecy, and that he would assist in the enterprise.

They agreed that it would be improper to lose time in bringing matters to an issue: and they now repaired to Minucianus, who they knew to be an enemy to the present system of government, and a man remarkable for a dignity of mind and a rigid adherence to the principles of virtue. Caius, who had naturally an enmity against men of honour and integrity, had caused the death of Lepidus, the particular friend of Minucianus, and on account of that event the aversion he had conceived against him was greatly increased, for he was sensible that the loss of his friend must have incurred the ill-will of Minucianus. The expressions made use of in previous conferences enabled Chæreas, Minucianus and Sabinus to form a judgment of each other's sentiments, though they deemed it imprudent publicly to declare their disapprobation of the system of government; but the consideration of being engaged in the same interests united them in a firm bond of friendship. The dignity and virtue of Minucianus had on former occasions commanded great respect from Chæreas and Sabinus; and in the present instance they resolved to preserve their usual deference towards a man of such singular merit, and to divulge their business to him in a gradual manner.

The ridicule which Caius cast upon Chæreas by giving the word was the subject of public discourse. Minucianus asked Chæreas what word the emperor had given; and, happy in a question so favourable to his design, he replied: "Whatever word the emperor may have given, let your word be Liberty. The conformity of our sentiments animates me to proceed in a cause to which I am resolutely disposed. This word which I now grasp will be sufficient for us both: let us then hasten to the execution of our design, your prudence and courage serving as examples for my conduct; and rest assured that your commands shall be obeyed with cheerfulness and punctuality."
punctuality. Success does not so much depend upon the strength of the arm as upon the intrepidity and fortitude of the mind: a brave soul, therefore, is not depressed by the want of arms; for courage supplies the deficiency of weapons. I am impatient for the glorious exploit: and whatever may be the event as to myself, I am perfectly indifferent; for I have more important concerns than the making provision either for my life or fortune at the time when the lives of my fellow subjects, and the laws and liberties of my country depend on the will of a savage tyrant. Since you have been pleased to declare your approbation of the intended enterprize, if it shall prove my fortune to strike the decisive blow, I hope I shall not incur your envy for having freed mankind from a state of the most intolerable oppression.” Minucianus now embraced Chares, and wished his attempt might succeed, after which they parted.

It is related that the conspirators were encouraged to proceed in their design by the following circumstances: as Chares was entering the palace, a voice was heard, bidding him, in the name of the Almighty, pursue the cause in which he had engaged. Chares was at first alarmed, supposing himself betrayed; but upon reflection, he imagined the exhortation to have been either an encouraging declaration of divine providence, or an address from some person concerned in the conspiracy, with a view to animate him to the enterprize.

Great numbers of knights, soldiers, and people of other denominations, who were friends to the intended revolution, had assembled, and they were unanimously of opinion that matters had arrived to so critical a conjuncture that the destruction either of Cæsar or the commonwealth was inevitable; and they were emulous to exceed each other in whatever they supposed would contribute towards the preservation of their country. The conspirators were joined even by Callistus, a freedman and great favourite of the emperor, over whom he had so considerable an influence that, rather than a subject to, he appeared to be a partner in, the tyrannous government. By the most corrupt practices he had amassed immense wealth, but he, notwithstanding, judged his situation to be very precarious under Caius, whom he knew to be impossibly resolute in fully accomplishing every scheme of mischief he conceived. Callistus imagining that on the score of his wealth, which was a temptation fearfully to be resisted, and on many other accounts, he was in imminent danger, deemed it prudent to ingratiating himself into the favour of the next successor; and he therefore privately applied to Claudius, informing him that he had been frequently urged by the emperor to destroy him by poison, but that, from motives of kindness, he had adopted stratagems for amusing the emperor, who still expected that his commands would be carried into execution.

I am inclined to dispute the authority of Callistus’s report, and to believe that his view was merely to obtain an interest in Claudius; for had Caius intended to effect the death of his uncle, he would not have suffered his design to be frustrated by the excuses of Callistus, whose death must have been the immediate consequence of disobedience to the commands of the tyrant. However, Claudius considered himself to be under great obligations to

Callistus,
Callistus, who he looked upon as the instrument of providence for effecting an happy deliverance.

Though Chæreas was anxiously desirous of pushing matters to an immediate issue, the execution of the plot was deferred from time to time, through the irresolute and inactive disposition of some of the confederates. Chæreas declared that he would not have hesitated to destroy Caius even in the Capitol, at the time he was performing sacrifice for his daughter, or, while he was distributing gifts to the multitude, to have thrown him headlong from the battlements of his palace: he observed that as he judged himself secure, and was seldom upon his guard, he might have been surprized on some public solemnity, or at the private ceremonies which he had himself instituted, especially as he was surrounded by attendants who held him in abhorrence, notwithstanding the necessary regard to their safety rendered it prudent to conceal their sentiments. The apprehension that all opportunities might be lost, and the end of the conspiracy frustrated, by further delays, rendered Chæreas so impatient that he upbraided his companions with entertaining the superstitious notion that the person of Caius was sacred; declaring that he was himself ready to undertake the business, and to engage to dispatch the tyrant, even without the advantage of any kind of weapon or instrument of death. His associates highly applauded his undaunted resolution and steady zeal in the public cause: but they were inclined still to procrastinate the decisive attempt till the time for celebrating the games instituted in honour of Augustus, to whom the Romans first owed the loss of their liberty; for he took the authority vested in the people into his own hands, and established the monarchical form of government. Opposite the palace a theatre was erected, to which the Roman nobility, their wives and children, and other people of condition resorted: and it was proposed that the plot should be executed on one of the public days when the emperor was surrounded by the many thousands of people which repaired to this place on occasion of the entertainments: as in case of an alarm, the guard would not be able to obtain admission time enough to prevent the exploit; and it was urged that an attempt in any other place would not be attended with so great a probability of success, as the military power would have a fairer opportunity to interpose and utterly defeat the conspiracy, the consequence of which would be certain destruction to all the parties. Chæreas agreed to this measure, which was to take place on the first day of the public spectacles; but they were not able to put their design in execution till the third day, which was the last of the exhibitions and entertainments: and the conspirators would have suffered even this day to elapse had not Chæreas animated them by an address to the following effect: "We are united in an honourable and righteous cause: but cowardice and indolence have so shamefully prevailed that we still remain in the first stage of our business. This unpardonable delay suspends our lives, fortunes, and the inestimable liberties of our country in the danger of being irretrievably ruined. Have we not reason to apprehend that our delays will produce a discovery of our intentions; in which case, instead of delivering our country, we shall provoke the merciless tyrant to the exercise of oppression with redoubled fury. Can it be expected
The Antiquities of the Jews.

"expected that a conduct similar to that we have hitherto pursued will prove "advantageous either to ourselves or to our country? Let us exert a necessary spirit in the glorious cause we have undertaken, and immortal fame will be the rich reward of our generous endeavours." Chæreas now made a pause, in order that his associates might consider and more fully understand his address; but no reply being made, he proceeded thus: "For what purpose, I entreat you, is it that you make these frequent hesitations and delays? You cannot be ignorant that this is the last day of the entertainments, on the conclusion of which Caius means to go to Alexandria, and thence proceed to make the tour of Egypt. Would it not reflect eternal dishonour upon us, should we suffer this monster, who is a disgrace to human nature, to escape our vengeance, and leave to some generous Egyptian the glorious opportunity of doing that justice to mankind which we dare not attempt? The time, my friends, will no longer admit of deliberation: before this day shall elapse I will acquit myself of the duty I owe to my country and to mankind; for I will allow no man to dispute with me the glory of relieving the world from this detestable tyrant."

This generous address inspired the party with a desire of having the enterprise attempted on the instant; and it being the day on which Chæreas, as captain of the guard, was, according to his turn, to go to the emperor for the word, he put his sword to his side, as usual on such occasions, and repaired to the palace. The multitude were press ing to obtain places, and the emperor appeared particularly gratified by the confusion that prevailed amongst them; for there being no parts purposely assigned for the reception of the senators, knights, and other people of distinction, men, women, masters and slaves, of all denominations, crowded promiscuously together. Sacrifice was offered up to Augustus, to whose honour the solemnity was dedicated; and during the ceremony some blood which sprang from the victim stained the robe of a senator named Asprenas. This circumstance proved a subject of mirth to the emperor: but the rest considered it as an unfortunate omen, and such indeed it proved; for in the tumult that ensued Asprenas was slain. It was remarked with surprize, that on this day the emperor shewed an extraordinary share of good humour and mirth. Sacrifice being performed, he repaired to the theatre, attended by such of the courtiers as were most particularly attached to him. The theatre was a temporary building composed of frames of wood which were taken to pieces and put together as occasion required: it had two entrances, one gate opening towards the court, and another opposite the passage through which the actors passed, that they might not incommode the spectators; and on the same side as the door opening to the passage was a space separated by partitions for the actors and the performers on musical instruments.

Caesar being seated on the right hand side of the theatre, Chæreas and the rest of the tribunes near him, and the multitude having taken their places, a senator and a military man, named Bathybius, in a whisper asked Cluvitus, a man of the confular dignity, who sat next him, whether he had heard any news. The answer was in the negative. Bathybius then said, "I must inform you that this day the tragedy of the tyrant is to be performed." Vol. II. Q Cluvitus
Cluvitus, in a verse from Homer, urged him to be careful that he was not overheard by the Grecians. Fruit and birds were now thrown down among the people, and the confusion of scrambling for the prizes seemed to afford Caius uncommon delight. During the entertainments two matters were introduced which may be considered as unfortunate omens: the first was a corrupt judge suffering public justice, and the other a representation of the tragedy of Cinyra, wherein herself and her daughter * Myrrha were put to death: and during these performances a considerable quantity of blood was spilt, for the purpose of giving the scene the greater appearance of reality. These representations took place on the anniversary of the death of Philip, the son of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, who upon entering the theatre was slain by his friend Paufanias.

Caius was deliberating within himself whether he should retire to bathe and receive some refreshment, and then return to the theatre. Minucianus, who sat near Cæsar, observing Chæreas, and fearing the opportunity for executing the plot might be lost, rose in order to follow and encourage him in his resolution: but Caius gently took hold of his robe, and in an accent of kindness, asked him whither he was going. Upon this Minucianus again took his seat; but his apprehension returning, he rose a second time, and the emperor made no offer to detain him. Aprenas, who was engaged in the conspiracy, endeavoured to prevail upon Caius to retire, as was usual, saying that, after bathing and receiving some nourishment, he would return to the entertainments with additional pleasure.

Having stationed the conspirators in places most convenient for effecting the enterprise, Chæreas became impatient of longer delay; and it being now past three in the afternoon, he resolved to return to the theatre and assault Caius there: he was however sensible that if he pursued this design, many lives must be lost: but he considered the liberties of his country as a concern infinitely more important than the preservation of some individuals. He proceeded towards the theatre, but before he reached that place, the word was given that Cæsar was returning to the palace. The conspirators cleared the way, seemingly as if by order of the emperor, but their view was only to plant themselves near where he was to pass. The procession was led by Claudius, the uncle of Caius, who was followed by Marcus Minucianus, who had married his sister, and after him came Valerius Asiaticus: The eminent quality of these persons entitled them to pass without molestation. The above-mentioned personages were followed by Caius, attended by Paulus Aruntius. Having reached the entrance of the palace, he turned into a private way leading to the baths, in order to view some youths who had been sent him from Asia, and were celebrated for their skill in the Pyrrhic manner of dancing, and for composing and singing sacred hymns. When he had entered this narrow passage, he was followed by Chæreas, who asked him for the word, which was given, but, as usual, it conveyed a meaning so highly indecent and affronting: that the tribune rebuked Caius in very severe language, and then stabbed him between the neck and the shoulder, but the weapon was stopped by a bone. Though the wound was not mortal, he

* Vide Sam. Petiti Leges Atticas, p. 248.
he neither made complaint, nor called for assistance, but he groaned, and attempted to escape; he then received a blow from Cornelius, which occasioned him to fall upon his knees; and then engulfed an universal outcry of "down with him, dispatch the tyrant," during which he received many wounds, and at length yielded up his life.

Some pretend that Chäreas did not mean the first blow to be mortal, but that a repetition of wounds should prolong his misery. It does not, however, seem probable that Chäreas could be so weak as to put his own safety and that of his friends to the most imminent hazard by so dangerous a delay. Aquila is said to have given the wound that caused the death of Caius: but the reputation of the enterprise was attributed wholly to Chäreas, who originally suggested the destruction of the emperor, formed the confederacy, animated his associates to effect the enterprise in despite of the attending danger, and when matters had arrived to an extremity, by a singular exertion of courage, effectually humbled the power and pride of the unnatural and barbarous tyrant. Hence it appears that mankind were indebted for this great exploit to the steady fortitude and unremitting diligence of Chäreas.

The great achievement having taken place, the conspirators were greatly alarmed by reflecting on the little prospect they had of making a safe retreat. They judged it impossible to return by the way they came; for the passages were extremely narrow and crowded with soldiers, whose duty had called them to attend near the palace on occasion of the festival: at length they determined that it would be most expedient to retire by another way to the house of Germanicus, who was father to the lately deceased Caius: this building is contiguous to the palace, or rather it may be called part of that edifice; for they are connected by structures raised by preceding emperors, each of which is still distinguished by the name of its respective founder. Having escaped to this place, they judged their situation would be perfectly secure till the multitude gained information of the death of Cæsar.

The German body guards called the Celtic legion, were the first who gained intelligence of the death of Caius: these men were of singularly athletic and robust constitutions; in temper cruel, and addicted to sudden and violent passion, but of such remarkable intrepidity in the practice of arms that, when equally matched, it was scarce possible to subdue them. The death of Caius exasperated these men to the highest pitch of extravagance, but their concern was founded on no generous motive of esteem, but on the consideration that they should be deprived of their usual emoluments; for the emperor had distinguished these people by distributing frequent rewards among them. They were commanded by Sabinus, who was originally a gladiator; and it was not on account of any merit on his own part, or on that of his ancestors, but to a ferocious disposition and a robust form of body that he was indebted for his advancement. Sabinus led his party in search of the murderers of Cæsar, and the first they met was Afprenas, whom they instantly tore to pieces. We have already mentioned the robe of this senator being stained by the blood of the victim at the sacrifice
crifice as an unfortunate omen. A man of very distinguished rank in the city, named Norbanus, several of whose ancestors had acquired a high reputation by serving in quality of generals in the army, was next assaulted by these German ruffians; but he pretently disarmed the first who attacked him, soon after which he was slain; but being a man of great strength and activity, and of uncommon courage, he would have told his life at a very dear rate had he not been oppressed by numbers. The third senator they encountered was Anteus, who had ventured from his retreat from a desire of viewing the body of Caius, against whom he had entertained an implacable enmity on the following account: having fallen under the displeasure of Caius, the father of Anteus incurred the sentence of banishment; but this not being sufficient to satiate his revenge, the tyrant caused him to be put to death in his exile. Besides the three persons above-mentioned, many others whom they encountered in their way were indiscriminately slain by this barbarous troop of Germans.

The news of the death of Cæsar being brought to the theatre, the people were thrown into the greatest astonishment imaginable: those who wished the intelligence might prove authentic were fearful of reposing any confidence in the rumour, lest their hopes should be disappointed; others were not inclined to believe the report because they wished it might prove false; and a third party were of opinion that the accomplishment of the action surpassed all possibility. Those who entertained the latter notion were chiefly women, young people, soldiers and slaves. He obtained the favour and good wishes of the women and young people by the prizes he distributed, and the entertainments he gave, under the pretext of gratifying the people; but he was entirely actuated by his unnatural propensity to the destruction of his fellow creatures; the soldiers were attached to him on the consideration of obtaining pay in his service, and being, in some measure, the partners of his oppression; for they were the instruments of his vengeance upon good men, and shared in the booty obtained from those whom the tyrant confined to ruin: the bondmen were attached to him by the encouragement he gave them to advance false accusations against their masters; for if a slave was desirous of gaining his freedom and amazing riches, nothing farther was necessary than to point out where his master's riches were deposited; and it was a matter of absolute certainty that, without the least regard to common justice, Caius would seize the spoil: thus on the double motive of liberty and avarice were slaves induced to effect the ruin of their employers; for though the accusations were evidently destitute of foundation in truth, they were constantly supported by the authority of Caius, who granted unconditional pardon to the informers, and the law allowed them one eighth part of the confiscated effects.

The people of distinction who believed the intelligence of the death of Cæsar to be true, either from their wishes that it might be so, or from being informed of the conspiracy, were exceedingly careful to avoid all discourse on the subject; for they were conscious that if by their looks or any other means they should betray the least symptom of satisfaction, the inevitable consequence must be instant death.
Various reports concerning the event were circulated; some pretending that Cæsar had been wounded, but not mortally, and that he was attended by surgeons. The people, however, judged it unsafe to make a declaration of their sentiments; for they were uncertain whether those who published the news were attached to the interests of Caius’s party, or to the opposite faction; and therefore they considered it equally dangerous to take a decisive part either in favour of, or against the revolution. The report which served more effectually than all the rest to depress the spirits of the nobility was, that upon being wounded, Cæsar, without waiting for the assistance of surgeons, hastened with all possible speed to the market-place, where in a declamatory address he appealed to the multitude on the cruelty exercised upon him. These different rumours operated upon the people according to the sentiments they respectively entertained: but the consternation among them was general, and so great that they did not dare even to quit their places, for they knew their fate did not so much depend on the guilt or innocence of their intentions as upon the evidence which would be advanced by the informers, and the interpretation which the judges would put upon that evidence.

During this distracted situation of affairs, the theatre was surrounded by the enraged Germans, brandishing their drawn swords: upon the appearance of these troops the people in the theatre were alarmed in the highest degree, and they imagined that, whether they remained, or attempted to escape, they should be equally certain of being put to instant death. The soldiers having forcibly gained admittance into the theatre, a most terrible clamour ensued among the people, some of whom made protestations of their innocence, appealing to the gods to witness their truth; others made use of supplications, excuses, submissions, and every other means which they conceived might tend to depreciate the wrath of the soldiers.

So truly deplorable was the situation of the people that the tenderness of compassion affailed the cruel hearts of the Germans, whose consciences now upbraided them with the acts of barbarity which they had already perpetrated; for after having put Asprenas and others to death, they carried the heads of those unfortunate persons about, ostentatiously exposing them as public spectacles; but they at length deposited the heads upon the altar. The unhappy death of so many persons of distinction, and the brutal and insulting triumph of the Germans, inspired the friends of the deceased senators, and other people of rank, with the most lively affliction, which was greatly increased by the alarming consideration that their own lives were in the most imminent danger. The death of Caius did not yet afford perfect satisfaction even to those who had been his most inveterate enemies; for they remained under the most dreadful apprehension that they should not long survive the tyrant.

During the general consternation; a public cryer named Aruncius, a man of considerable wealth and of great influence among the people, came to the theatre habited in deep mourning, and, dissembling his real sentiments, he assumed every appearance of the most sincere and tender affliction, and with an exalted voice made public proclamation of the death of the emperor. The
Germans now appeared to relent, and being commanded by their officers to sheath their weapons, they obeyed, and the tumult subsided. The public declaration of the death of Caesar was undoubtedly the means of preserving the people in the theatre, as well as many others who might have fallen into the power of the Celtic legion; for while the German soldiers who formed that corps entertained an idea that Caius was still living, so great was their affection for him that, in revenge for the conspiracy raised against him, they would have exercised an indiscriminate barbarity upon the people, regardless of the miseries which necessarily must have resulted to the commonwealth in the effects of their violent and un gov ernable rage. Upon confirmation of the news of Caesar's death, they considered that no motive remained for giving additional proofs of their attachment, which their matter was no longer in a condition to reward, and that there was great reason to apprehend they might be subjected to punishment if it should prove their future fortune to be under the government of the senate.

In the mean time Chæreas was exceedingly distressed lest Minucianus should not escape the general danger: he therefore applied respectively to such of the soldiers as he imagined he might safely confide in, earnestly entreat ing that, if they should meet with Minucianus, they would be particularly attentive to provide for his safety, and behave to him with every possible instance of kindness and respect; and in consequence thereof Chæreas and Clemens were conducted to their respectable friend, who, addressing himself to Chæreas, liberally complimented him on the success of his endeavours to preserve the liberties of his country; saying that, in the name of the commonwealth, he would take upon him self to congratulate him on the address he had proved himself to be master of in framing the plan of the revolution, and the singular bravery he had displayed in carrying it into execution. "However tyrannical rulers (said Minucianus) may exult in the short-lived pride of lawful dominion, they must be the objects of detestation to the virtuous part of the world, and their triumphs must at length terminate in a miserable and shameful end, which inevitably awaits them." The observations of Minucianus were exemplified in the case of Caesar; for by a continual violation of the legislative establishment, and the insupportable oppression to which he subjected the very people who were most firmly attached to his interests, he laid the foundation for the conspiracy: thus was he the instrument of his own ruin; for the repeated injuries and insults which he heaped upon his best friends, inspired them with the most inveterate enmity, to which he, at length, deservedly fell a sacrifice. A physician named Arcyon was sent for, in order to administer relief to some persons in the theatre who had been wounded; and the guards being retired, he seized the favourable opportunity of providing for the safety of his friends by sending them away, under the pretext of employing them to bring him remedies. The sudden retreat of the physician's friends occasioned the utmost confusion amongst the multitude; for they quitted their seats, and with the utmost anxiety endeavoured to get out of the building where they had been so long confined under the most terrible apprehensions.
In the interim the senate assembled in the palace, whither the populace presently resorted in great multitudes, and vehemently demanded public justice upon the murderers of Caius. The senate deemed it not prudent openly to oppose the desires of the people, left they should be provoked to still greater extravagancies of outrage. During the general tumult, a man of consular dignity, named Valerius Asiaticus, went among the people, and upon being asked if the murderers had been discovered, and who were the parties concerned in the deed, he replied, "Would it had been my fortune to have deprived the tyrant of life!"

The senate having passed a decree in condemnation of the memory of Caius, they proceeded to issue an order for the soldiers peaceably to repair to their quarters, and the citizens to their respective habitations; promising the soldiers considerable gratuities, and the rest of the people a diminution of the taxes imposed upon them, on condition of their not transgressing the limits of regularity and discretion. Thus was a happy termination put to a popular and violent clamour, which, but for so reasonable a check, would probably have encreased to a fatal degree, and have given rise to rapine, sacrilegious violences, and other enormous crimes. The whole number of those persons who composed the senate being now assembled, they proceeded to deliberate on the expediency of re-establishing themselves in their ancient authority.

CHAPTER II.

The soldiers determine to establish a monarchical form of government, and declare Claudius the successor of his deceased nephew Caius. Saturninus receives intelligence of the resolution of the soldiers, and in a public-spirited and animated manner advises a restoration of the commonwealth to its original state. Chereas applies to the consuls for the watch-word, and Liberty is the word they give. Chereas cautions the wife and daughter of Caius to be put to death. Particulars respecting the death and character of Caius. Claudius conceals himself: his character. The heads of Asprenas and others exposed as a public spectacle. Gratus discovers Claudius, and advances him to the sovereignty. The soldiers unanimously declare themselves attached to the interests of Claudius, who they carry to the camp, in order to invest him with the sovereign authority. The senate are desirous to re-establish the comonwealth in its ancient splendor, and the people are equally fortunate to secure to themselves the power of appealing to a superior tribunal from republican oppressions. The senate send an admonishing letter to Claudius.

Whilst the senate were engaged in deliberations on the state of public affairs, the body of soldiers assembled, and proceeded to debate on the question, "Whether the establishment of a popular or an imperial "government would be most eligible?" The purport of their resolutions was, that a commonwealth would not be able to provide for the public exigencies, and that on other accounts an establishment of that nature would not prove beneficial to the people; and further, that as they had been entertained as the companions rather than as the servants of Caius, it must necessarily
necessarily greatly diminish their consequence to submit to a state of dependence upon such a number of persons as would have authority over them, if the administration were to be lodged in the hands of the Senate. Therefore they determined to elect Claudius, the uncle of the deceased Caius, to the sovereign command, judging that his distinguished birth and many eminent qualities, gave him a superior claim to that dignity. They immediately fetched Claudius from his house, and proclaimed him emperor, expecting that he would liberally reward them for being the authors of his exaltation. The proceedings of the soldiery were soon conveyed to Anæus Sentius Saturninus, in the Senate-houfe, and he, finding affairs arrived to such an extremity that every hour must necessarily produce additional troubles, rose and delivered himself with a boldness and freedom of sentiment that reflected great honour upon himself, and proved worthy of the particular attention of his patriotic auditory. His address was to the following purpose:

"After an interruption of so many years to our natural rights and liberties, it was scarcely to be expected, most noble friends, countrymen and fellow-citizens, that we should be restored to the enjoyment of the ineffable blessings of freedom. But the late change in our fortune has given us the happy opportunity of congratulating ourselves upon being, at this very moment, in the actual possession of our antient independency. The space of time that may be allowed for the enjoyment of happiness we cannot pretend to determine; it is a matter wholly under the direction of the divine providence, to whose bounty we are indebted for our present advantages. Though we enjoy freedom but for a single hour, that single hour will give rise to sentiments whence we may form an idea of the ancient state of our once flourishing, free, and happy commonwealth. I am not qualified to enlarge on the freedom of ancient days: but I must acknowledge that I am warmly disposed to recommend a vigorous exertion in defence of that liberty which it is our present fortune to enjoy: and I cannot but consider the situation of these men to be enviable, whose fortune it was to be born in an age that promoted the study and practice of virtue and piety, and was gloriously distinguished for defending the liberties to which mankind have a common and indisputable claim. I conceive that the persons who are entitled to a degree of honour next inferior only to that due to the immortal gods, are those who, by a singular exertion of heroism, have afforded us, even in these degenerate times, some relish of the ineffable blessings of the ancient liberty; and that it may be in our power to transmit these blessings to posterity, is the most fervent wish of my soul: for, as to ourselves, a short experience, confined even to the limits of a single day, will suffice: the aged will quit this transitory state of mortality with the least regret, after so unexpected a change; and the rising generation will be taught to emulate the glorious conduct of their ancestors. When I speak of occurrences which took place previous to my time, it is not to be understood that I depend on any other authority than that of common tradition: but when I advert to the subject of tyranny, and the miserable events
events resulting therefrom, I shall assert no more than what I can fully
justify and authenticate on the certain ground of grievous experience.
Tyranny confounds the order of government, it prevents generous spirits
from exerting themselves in glorious actions, suppresses all emulation of
noble deeds, renders men's minds as servile as their bodies, and reduces
the institutions of law and equity to a contemptible dependance on the
capricious inclinations of an arbitrary ruler. If we recur to the usurpa-
tion of Julius Cæsar, it will appear, that, to gratify an insatiable ambi-
tion, he sacrificed the laws and liberties of the people, and established a
monarchical government on the ruins of the commonwealth. His suc-
ceessors in the sovereign authority seem to have directed their principal at-
tention upon the means of surpassing him in every species of iniquity;
for they have manifested the most violent and unabating rancour in vex-
atious persecutions and barbarous murders of men distinguished by their
steady adherence to the principles of honour and virtue. Cælius, from
whose insupportable tyranny the world has been this day delivered, per-
haps, surpassed the examples of the most abandoned of his predece-
sors, in the exercise of an ungovernable and brutal fury upon citizens, friends
and relations, and other daring violations of the laws both divine and
human. After the commission of rapines, adulteries, and other enorm-
ous crimes, it is the disposition of tyrants still to remain unsatisfied;
they find a cruel satisfaction in wreaking vengeance upon the innocent
issue of those persons who had incurred their displeasure, and cherish the
diabolical desire of exterminating whole families; however patiently sub-
jects may submit to oppression, tyrannical rulers are continually under
the apprehension of danger, and, with a view to provide for their own
security, their attention is constantly employed upon devising means for
executing the death of those whom they have already subjected to most
grievous injuries. Being at length happily relieved from the yoke by
which we have been so long most heavily oppressed, it is become our in-
dispensable duty unanimously to exert our utmost endeavours to restore the
ancient glory of Rome, and re-establish the commonwealth in its former
state of splendor and happiness. Since we are no longer subject to a con-
trolling power, we may deliberate on the measures necessary to be adopted
for the public good, without danger of our resolutions being rendered
abortive, or of putting our own safety to the most imminent hazard by
exerting our endeavours to serve our country. Let us remember that it
was to the contemptible pusillanimity of men professing an inglorious
existence, in a state of the most abject slavery, to the chance of an ho-
nourable death, that the lately deceased tyrant was indebted for the op-
opportunity of rendering us the miserable victims to the most intolerable op-
pression. I desire very particularly to recommend that ample justice may
be done to Carceas, by conferring upon him the distinction he has so
highly merited; for he originally suggested the destruction of the abo-
minal monster, and by an effort of patriotic resolution, he has, under
the divine assistance, this day given us possession of the invaluable blessings
of liberty: he has put his own life to the hazard for the public good, 
and he is indisputably intitled to a recompense proportioned to his emi-

nent services. Good men are ever ready to pay due acknowledgements 
to their benefactors: it would brand us with eternal disgrace should we 
hesitate to confess that Chæreas has bound us all in a common bond of 
gratitude. The conduct of Brutus and Cassius, in regard to Julius Cæsar, 
defervedly acquired them great honour: but Chæreas has entitled him-
sel to a still more glorious distinction. The whole Roman empire suffered 
a most terrible devastation in the civil war which was the consequnence of 
the exploit of Brutus and Cassius: but the glorious enterprize of Chæ-
reas has effectually relieved us from all our miseries, and given us a most 
agreeable prospect of a permanent felicity."

The address of Saturninus proved highly to the satisfaction of the whole 
assembly; but the speaker's attention being wholly confined to the subject of 
his discourse, he did not recollect that he wore a ring on his finger, the stone 
of which bore a representation of the head of Caius; this ring being obser-
bved by Trebellius Maximus, he suddenly rose, and took it from the finger of 
Chæreas, and it was instantly broken in pieces.

As the night was now approaching, Chæreas went to the Confuls for the 
watch-word, and the word they gave was liberty. The people were exceed-
ingly rejoiced at hearing this word, which they understood to be an indica-
tion that the ancient authority would be restored. Before the Cæsars usurped 
the sovereign authority, it was an invariable rule for the Confuls to give or-
ders to the soldiers: and the giving liberty as the watch-word was the first 
authority which the senate exercised after being deposited. Chæreas delivered 
the word to the four companies of troops who had declared themselves 
firmly attached to the cause of the senate. Soon after they had received the 
watch-word the soldiers departed, and presently afterwards the multitude 
dispered, rejoicing in the happy prospect of the commonwealth being re-
stored to its original state of splendor and happiness, and unanimously ap-
plauding Chæreas as the deliverer of his country.

Chæreas apprehending that there would still be danger as long as the wi-
dow and daughter of Caius were permitted to survive, dispatched Julius 
Lupus, who was one of the tribunes, with an order to put them both to 
death: he employed this person in the business, partly on account of his 
being a kinsman to Clemens, and partly on the consideration that as he had 
taken a very active part in the conspiracy, he might derive his share of ho-
nour by the actual performance of some exploit for the public security. 
Several of the confederates, however, judging that Cefonia had not stimu-
lated her husband to enslave the people, or exercise cruelty upon the many 
illustrious Romans who had fallen victims to the brutal vengeance of Caius, 
censured Chæreas for advising the destruction of the widow, who they con-
ceived to be by no means chargeable with the crimes of her late husband. 
On the other hand it was urged that, with a view to the gratification of her 
amorous desires, Cefonia had administered to Caius a provocative prepara-
tion, which had operated so powerfully as to affeet his intellects, and pre-
cipitate him to the perpetration of the most shocking barbarities; and that 
the
the woman must therefore be considered as the primary source of the common calamities. The party who espoused the latter opinion prevailed, and therefore Julius Lupus halted away in order to execute his commission. Upon his arrival at the palace, he perceived Cefonia bitterly lamenting her unhappy fate, as she lay with her infant daughter extended on the floor, by the corpse of her husband, which, in a bloody and mangled condition, lay exposed, without any of those decencies which it is usual to provide for the dead. Cefonia was heard to utter only exclamations against Caius for having refused to adopt the measures she had repeatedly recommended, which would have secured him from so tragical a catastrophe. The precise meaning of these expressions still remains a matter of uncertainty. It was believed by one party, that the counsel she referred to was, to moderate his too rigorous government, left, by the continued exercise of barbarity and oppression, his subjects should be so enraged as to unite in effecting his destruction. The construction which others put on her words was, that having received some intimation of a conspiracy, she had advised him to cause every individual of whose loyalty there was the least reaon to entertain a suspicion, to be instantly put to death. Cefonia requested Lupus to approach and view the mangled and bloody corpse of Caius; and after giving way to the most violent emotions of grief, she cast her eyes upon Lupus, from whose countenance she conceived a suspicion of the purpose that had brought him to the palace, and this was fully explained by what he afterwards said to her. After employing a short time in bewailing her miserable fate, with a singular fortitude and resolution, she presented her bare throat to Lupus, urging him immediately to conclude the fatal tragedy which his associates had begun. Having put Cefonia and her infant daughter to death, Lupus immediately dispatched intelligence of his exploit to Chæreas.

Caius expired in the fourth year of his reign. Even when a private person he was brutal and malicious in the highest degree; his appetite was depraved; he patronized informers; was of a cowardly disposition, and consequently cruel. He was fond of power but as it enabled him to behave cruelly to those who had not offended, and to commit murder and rapine as the prelude to seizing on their effects. He courted the flatteries of the vulgar, and was so wild and extravagant in his ambition as not to be satisfied without the erection of temples and altars to his honour. The restraints of law and morality were equally disagreeable to him; and he had no mercy on his most intimate friends, when inspired by a principle of revenge. Possessing no virtue of his own, he was a foe to virtuous men, and was remarkably impatient of contradiction. He was guilty of laying with his own sister, which procured him the utmost hatred of the people: for incest was deemed a crime of so black a dye, that it was scarcely thought possible that it should be committed; in fact this atrocious offence had not been even heard of for several ages. It is not in my power to assert that he ever did, or even attempted any work of true dignity and magnificence, tending to the credit of the empire, and the general welfare of society, except his erecting harbours and store-houses near Rhegium; and in the vicinity of Sicily, for the convenience of the ships which arrived from Ægypt with corn. This was, unquestionably,
questionably, a work of great public use, and emolument; but even this he did not pursue till it was compleated, but left it unfinished, partly through the idlenes and inattention of his agents and artifics, and partly through the ficklenes of his own disposition; for his ideas were perpetually engaged on idle schemes, and he chose rather to exhaust his treasure on his personal gratifications, than on works of great and public utility. Yet he was a most excellent orator, and a proficient in Greek and Latin. He possessed great preference of mind, and was well skilled in extempore declamation on all subjects. His address tended at once to convince the judgment, and conciliate the affections of his hearers, in debates of the utmost importance; a happiness in him that was partly natural, partly acquired. Being educated under his father Germanicus, and his uncle Tiberus, who preceded him, he emulated these illustrious persons, who were distinguished by this kind of eminence; and was anxious, in this particular at least, to preserve the dignity of his birth and education. But to what purpose is it for a man to possess a liberal and virtuous education, if, the moment he is at his own disposal, he perverts its advantages to purposes diametrically opposite to what was intended! It is extremely difficult for men who have full power to do what they please, to act as they ought, from the mere impulse of moral rectitude. When Caius first took possession of his government, he selected for his ministers a number of persons distinguished by their virtue and capacity, by which he greatly conciliated the affection of the people; but as his mind became by degrees depraved, he dismissed his ancient servants in a disgraceful manner; and at length, by the tyranny of his conduct, urged his subjects to such acts of desperation as ended in the loss of his life.

Claudius, as hath been previously observed, being informed of the death of Caius, and the confusion that reigned through the court in consequence of that event, retired to consult his own safety; though in fact he was in no danger, other than that an infult might be offered to his rank: for he had been always inclined to a life of retirement; his conduct was modest and temperate: he was a lover of learning, particularly Greek literature, and an enemy to all the noise and hurry of life.

At this time the populace were half distracted; the palace was crowded with soldiers, who ran from place to place in the utmost confusion; and the common people hurried about without regard to the authority of government. During this tumult, the guards, who were men of the first character among the soldiers, began to consider of the most proper mode of proceeding; not that they regretted the death of the prince, who they thought had been punished according to his demerits; but they conceived it would be prudent to adjust their own affairs; the enmity of the Germans, likewise, against the murderers, was lest impelled by their wishes for the public weal, than a regard to their private interest. All these circumstances combined, tended only to encrease the apprehension of Claudius, which was not lessened by the sight of the heads of Asprenas and his associates which were carried about in triumph.

Claudius had now retreated to a place where it was not possible to get but by some dark flairs, and there he lived concealed. In the interim, Gratus,
one of the emperor's guards, saw a person in a corner, who seemed to wish to conceal himself, and not knowing him, advanced, though the other begged him to retire. Having drawn him from his retreat, and recognizing him, he called out to those near the spot, that he had found Germanicus, the most proper man to fill the vacant throne. Claudius, apprehensive that he should be put to death on account of Caius, earnestly entreated their forbearance, and protected his innocence of the whole affair. Hereupon Gratus, with a smiling countenance, took his right hand, and bid him not to be apprehensive for his safety; but rather think of taking possession of the empire, "Of which (said he) the gods have deprived Caius, and now offer "to Claudius by the hands of Gratus; that the people who have been so "long cruelly oppressed may be relieved from their burdens, and the pub- "lic welfare maintained: wherefore, Sir, in the name of heaven, refuse "your courage, and take possession of the throne of your ancestors." This being said, Claudius was elevated on the shoulders of the populace, his joy and fear having rendered him incapable of supporting himself.

While these things were transacting, the guards assembled in still greater numbers round Gratus, and began to murmur among themselves, saying how unreasonable an affair it was, that the inoffensive Claudius, who had lived so quiet and retired a life, should be thus destroyed; for they conceived that he was now on the point of being hurried away to execution. Some of them were for appealing to the consuls, and as the soldiers crowded still more together, those of the people who had no arms dispersed to seek their own safety. The progress of Claudius was now stopped; for he was unable to walk, and those who had carried him had retired, on the former misapprehension, fearing that they might be partakers of his fate.

The troops being now in possession of the palace, their numbers increasing every moment, and no one to oppose their proceedings, they began to consider how they should settle the affairs of the commonwealth. The soldiers rejoiced to see Claudius among them, and joined in one opinion that he should be advanced to the empire; partly in respect to his brother Germanicus, for whom memory every one entertained the kindest regard, and partly to prevent the ambitious projects of any of the senators, who having heretofore caused great commotions in the state, might probably do the same again, if it should be in their power. They now deemed the republican form of government to be irrecoverably lost; and thought, if it was necessary that an emperor should be chosen, it might not be improper for them to have the credit of advancing whoever should be promoted to that dignity. Reasoning in this manner, they presumed it would be good policy to fix on Claudius for the man, and thus take to themselves the whole merit of the obligation. The troops in general were so perfectly convinced of the reasonableness of this mode of arguing, that after a short consultation on the business, they joined in an unanimous resolution; and some of them taking Claudius on their shoulders, carried him to the camp, the whole body of the soldiers following, there to compleat the business they had begun.
During these proceedings, a difference arose between the senate and the people at large; the former being for the establishment of the commonwealth in its ancient splendor, and defending their authority from the usurpations of tyranny: on the contrary, the latter, envying the power aimed at by the senate, wished for a regal restraint on the proceedings of its members, and that they might be secured from their oppressions by an appeal to a higher power. The people at large, therefore, were transported at the elevation of Claudius, presuming that, under his government, they should be preserved from the calamities of civil war, and all that consequent distress in which the wars of Caesar and Pompey had involved them.

The circumstance of the soldiers having carried Claudius in this manner to the army, was no sooner made known to the senate, than they sent some particular persons of their own body, who were instructed to caution Claudius: "Not to endeavour to assume the government by force, but rather to act as one of the senators, leaving the care of public concerns to that body, who were legally qualified to direct the public administration of affairs." They were likewise to represent, "With what a degree of tyranny former masters, among whom was Caius, had treated the people; and of the danger Claudius himself had been in from the tyrant; and to hint how ill it would become him to practise tyranny who had condemned it in another: but that if he would own the authority of the senate, and re-assume his former principles and practice, he would obtain the highest applause from a free and powerful people, and obtain the character of a wise and good man, contented with the ordinances of law and providence. On the contrary, if he persisted in his design, after the judgment that had been inflicted on Caius, they should undoubtedly uppoze him, for which purpose they were well provided with arms, troops, and every other requisite: but that their chief dependance was in the assiduity of heaven, in behalf of so just and equitable a cause as the defence of the public liberties."

The principal commissioners deputed to attend Claudius on this occasion were, Veranius and Brouchus, who having delivered their message, threw themselves at his feet, and earnestly entreated him not to take any step that might risk the involving the public in the calamities of a civil war: but the commissioners observing that Claudius was so surrounded with persons belonging to the army, that the power of the consuls was greatly inferior to that of the troops, they simply requested of him, that "If he was determined to assume the sovereignty, he would decline taking it by violence, but accept it from the senate; since it would by no means appear so creditible to seize it from the people by force, as to receive it as a proof of their esteem."
CLAUDIUS adheres to his resolution. A report circulated by Agrippa that Caius was not dead. Claudius almost resolved to yield to the senate; but is encouraged by Agrippa, who takes his seat in the assembly, and gives his opinion on the present posture of affairs. Agrippa deputed to desire Claudius to resign his claim; but gives him previous instructions what to say. The reply of Claudius, who administers an oath of fidelity to his troops. An early assembly of the senate. The soldiers demand an emperor. A speech of Chereas against Claudius. The soldiers march to fetch Claudius, but Sabinus protests against him. The people in general compliment him. An assault on Quintus Pompeius, who is protected by Claudius. Several of the senators wounded. The advice of Agrippa to Claudius. The execution of Chereas, Lupus, and others. Sabinus pardoned by Claudius; but he afterwards falls on his own sword.

CLAUDIUS being perfectly well acquainted with the pride of the people who now made their solicitations to him, answered the commissioners in as polite a manner as he could do consistent with the laws of prudence. But the temptation of power was great; he was instigated by Agrippa; the soldiers were importunate in their advice, and promised to support him in the afferent of his pretensions: wherefore he was prevailed upon to affer the right he had to the dignity thus freely conferred on him.

Agrippa having disposed of the dead body of his friend Caius in a decent manner, and adjusted affairs as well as the present confusion would admit, he immediately went among the guards, to whom he reported that Caius was not absolutely dead, though very dangerously ill of his wounds, and that he was going to procure the assistance of physicians: but being informed that Claudius had been borne away by the soldiers, Agrippa immediately hurried after him through the crowd, and at length, with much difficulty, found him; but terrified in such a high degree, that he was on the point of surrendering to the senate: but Agrippa instantly mentioned some circumstances to him, that confirmed him in his former resolution of maintaining the station he had acquired; and having thus done, he departed.

Not long afterwards Agrippa was invited to assume his place in the senate, whither he went, dressed in the gayest and most elegant style, and as if totally ignorant of all that had happened. He had no sooner taken his seat, than he demanded of the senators how Claudius had disposed of himself: on which they related all the facts as they had happened, and then asked him what he thought of the present position of public affairs. To this he said: "There is nothing I possess in this world which I hold so dear, but I would readily part with it to promote the dignity of the senate: but I should be happy to hear something proposed, tending to promote the solid advantage of the commonwealth, rather than to listen to idle tales, which are calculated only to catch the attention of the vulgar: for it is a serious truth that, without an adequate provision of arms, men,
and money, as a foundation on which to proceed, there is very little suc-
cess to be hoped for in a contest for dominion and authority." In an-
ter to the senate, the senator said, that, with regard to those essential articles, they
were most amply provided; that as to troops, they had a sufficient number of
slaves, who would be very happy to be engaged on the condition of re-
ceiving their freedom. "This may be (said Agrippa); and with submission
"to your superior wisdom, I wish your expectations may not fail of success:
"but give me leave to make one observation. You are not unacquainted
"that the troops with which Claudius is provided are all veterans, well ex-
"perienced and disciplined; whereas, on the contrary, we have none but
"a raw and undisciplined rabble of wretched creatures, who scarce ever
"beheld a naked sword, to engage with so many men of approved valour;
"wherefore, under correction of your better judgments, I humbly propose
"that some persons may be commissioned to wait on Claudius, to endeavour
"to prevail on him to resign his claim; and if any difficulty arises with
"regard to the persons to be deputed, I am willing to make one on this
"business."

This proposition appeared so reasonable to the senate, that they immedi-
ately deputed Agrippa, and some other persons, to transtact this affair. A-
grippa, however, contrived previously to have a private meeting with Clau-
dius, whom he informed of the uneasy state of mind in which the senate
was, and dictated to him what answer he should make to the deputies,
which was thought becoming the dignity of a prince. In consequence
hereof, when the commissioners attended, Claudius addressed them as fol-
"lows: "I am not surprized that the government being lodged in a single
"person is so disagreeable to the senate, when I reflect how much distress
"the tyranny of some late princes hath caused them: but for myself, I
"have not an idea of any greater satisfaction than what will arise from the
"impartial administration of justice, which will secure the liberties and
"possessions of my subjects: for it is my intention, though ruling under
"the name of a prince, to govern by the general consent and advice of my
"people. With regard to my sincerity in what I now say, I wish only to
"refer the senate to those proofs of uprightness and moderation which I
"have already given in times of great distress and difficulty." Having thus
"said, he dismissed the commissioners; and, after they were gone, made a
"speech to his soldiers, to whom he administered an oath of fidelity, and pre-
"sented each private man with five hundred drachmas, gratifying the officers
"with proportionable sums, and promising that the soldiers who were not
"present should be in like manner rewarded.

Hereupon the senators summoned a meeting of their body, who assem-
bled in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, on the following morning before
day-break. Some of them, apprehensive of ill consequences, were afraid
to be present, and therefore concealed themselves in the city; while others
went out of town privately, rather choosing to submit to slavery, and there-
by preserve themselves from personal injury, than to run the risk of losing
all their present possessions, by a fruitless contest for what they deemed to
be already lost; so that, on the whole, not more than an hundred senators
were present.

During the height of their debate on the important business in hand, a
number of soldiers came to the door, and called out to the senators, desiring
that they would appoint some single person to govern them, since it was
evident that nothing but confusion arose from a multiplicity of governors:
but they left to the senate the choice of a proper person. This proposal
appeared to be a snare, from which they knew not how to extricate them-
selves; for they conceived that they had every thing now to apprehend from
Claudius, instead of the liberty they had promised themselves; though
there were among the senators several men, who from the dignity of their
families, and their affinity to Cæsar, might reasonably have claimed the
imperial honour. Among these was Marcæus Minucius, a person of the first
rank, who by marriage was allied to the Cæsars, having wedded Julii, the
sister of Caius. This man offered himself to succeed to the dignity; but
the consuls artfully declined the consideration of his pretensions. Valerius
Asiaticus would willingly have put in his claim, but he was prevented by
the remonstrances of another Minucianus, who had been one of the conspira-
tors against Caius; for affairs were now in such a situation, that any com-
petition with Claudius would have produced a scene of horror and devasta-
tion not to be described; since his adherents were provided with great
numbers of gladiators, and all kinds of military persons, besides a large
body of watermen, and other people of the inferior class, who had been
procured to attend, in case their assistance should be wanted. Several of the
senators, who intended to have been candidates, were prevented from mak-
ing their appearance, on account of this dangerous confusion, as they ap-
prehended that fatal consequences might arise, both to themselves and the
public.

Day-light began now to approach, when Chereas, with a considerable
number of people, arrived, and making a signal to the soldiers to keep si-
fence, intimated that he had something to say, and wished to be heard: but
the answer was that an emperor ought to be immediately made choice of,
without loss of time; and they prevented him speaking by their vocifica-
tions. It was now evident to the senate, that this was not a proper time to
think of adjusting the government, when their authority was despised by
the military, and the reverence due to their distinguished rank made a jeft
of by the lowest and most abandoned of the people. The conspirators be-
ing informed of these sentiments, grew perfectly outrageous; on which
Chereas, with an air of the utmost contempt, said to them that, "If they
would not be satisfied without an emperor, he would produce one for
their service, if they would but procure him an order from Eutychus,
"as a justification of his conduct." It is worthy of remark, that this Eu-
tychus was a charioteer to Caius, a man of most abandoned character, who
had served his master in the vilest offices. To this taunting speech of Chæ-
es he added many other bitter invectives, declaring that he would sooner
produce to them the head of Claudius, than acknowledge him as an empe-

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ror;
ror; adding, "Has not a madman sufficiently punished us, but a fool must " be our next choice?" But his remarks and reflections were equally lost on the public: the soldiers, without regarding what he said, instantly drew their swords, took their colours, and proceeded to find Claudius, in order to swear allegiance to him, as others had heretofore done.

The senate was now abandoned by those very people that should have been its defenders; the confuls were nearly reduced to the degree of private men, and the people in general almost distracted with grief and confusion, on the reflection how unhappy their fate must be, after the insults that had been offered to Claudius: every man, however, seemed to lay the blame of these misfortunes on others, in the wish to extenuate his own conduct. During the violence of this confusion, Sabinus, one of the confederates, made his appearance, and solemnly protested that he would stab every man he met, sooner than acknowledge the authority of Claudius; and, by seeing him in possession of the empire, confess his own abject submission to slavery. Then turning to Chæreas, he said, "How will you justify your conduct? Will you, who were one of the first asserter of the "general liberty against Caius, recede from your magnanimous resolution, "in fear of death; as if a brave man could be happy who is not "likewise free?" To this Chæreas replied, "No: I am determined that "my liberty and life shall end together; but, at present, I should be happy "to know the sentiments of Claudius."

During this confused state of public affairs, great crowds of people from all parts hurried to the camp, to pay their compliments to Claudius; and among these came Quintus Pompeius, one of the confuls, who had acquired the particular enmity of the army, because he had animated the senate to the support of their liberties. On his coming forward to pay his respects, the soldiers drew their swords to attack him, and he must have fallen a sacrifice to their rage, but that Claudius placed him by his side, and thus protected him. Some other senators, who came with Pompeius, were more roughly treated; several of them, who advanced to salute Claudius, were kept back by blows; all of them were in great danger of their lives, and among them Aponius went away wounded. King Agrippa now interfered with Claudius, who, on his request, treated the senators and men of rank in a complaisant and friendly manner: Agrippa observing that, when those subjects were lost, he would have no others but what he would blush to acknowledge. In pursuance of his advice, Claudius directed them to meet him at the palace, to which he was conveyed through the town in a litter, the way being cleared by a party of soldiers.

Now Pollio, lately made captain of the guards to Claudius, had issued orders that none of the confederates should appear in public; but Chæreas and Sabinus, two of the most distinguished of them, presumed to violate this order; in consequence of which, as soon as Claudius was arrived at his palace, and his friends assembled round him, he condemned Chæreas to death. Even the friends of Claudius deemed their conduct to have been inspired by principles of bravery; but as it was thought necessary to punish the treachery, by way of example, for the preservation of princes in future times,
times, Chæreas was conveyed to the place of execution, with Lupus, and others of the conspirators. In his death he exhibited great serenity of mind; nor by a single look or action did he depart from the dignity of his character. On the contrary, Lupus behaved in a most gallantly manner, and Chæreas treated him with the utmost contempt on that account. When Lupus was stripped, he complained that he was cold, to which Chæreas replied, that "Wolves feel no cold," in allusion to the word lupus signifying wolf, as well as the name of a man. The executioner being prepared to do his office, Chæreas said, "Are you a master of the business of cutting "throats, and has your sword a good edge?" After which he bade him use the same weapon with which he had killed Caius. At length the officer did his duty, and dispatched him at a single blow: but Lupus, afraid of the stroke of death, kept in continual motion, so that the executioner was obliged to give him several blows, by which he was much cut and bruised, before he could be put out of his pain. When the people, a few days afterwards, came to celebrate the feast of expiatory oblations to the spirits of their departed friends, they paid Chæreas equal honour with the others, by throwing their offerings into the fire, agreeable to the accustomed practice, and soliciting his pardon for their former ingratitude. Thus ended the life of Chæreas.

With regard to Sabinus, he not only received a pardon from Claudius, but was continued in the post that he had heretofore held, in consideration that he did not violate his trust, even in apparent treachery. Sabinus, however, was ill disposed to make a proper use of the mercy that had been extended to him, for he immediately sacrificed his life, by falling on the point of his sword.

C H A P. IV.


Claudius was no sooner established in his government, than he made it his business to discharge all suspected persons from his army; which being done, he published an edict confirming Agrippa in the possession of the kingdom which Caius had heretofore bestowed on him; and herein the management and diligence of Agrippa in his service, were very much exalted. He likewise gave him the government of Judæa and Samaria, as having been a part of the kingdom of his grandfather Herod; and this he considered as an act of restitution of what the family had been formerly possessed of: and he also, of his own mere bounty, bestowed on him Abela, and the adjacent lands of mount Libanus, which had been the possession of Lyfianias. Certain articles of agreement between this king, and the inhabitants of Rome, having been engraven on a copper-plate, were placed in the centre of the great market-place of that city, as a memorial to future ages.
Claudius dismissed from prison his old friend Alexander; likewise Syri-machus, the officer of the customs, who had formerly been agent for Antonia, mother of Caius; but that prince, urged by passion, had imprisoned him. Claudius also contracted that his son Marcus should marry Berenice, the daughter of Agrippa; but the youth dying before the marriage was consummated, Agrippa gave the maid in wedlock to his brother Herod, on whom Claudius bestowed the kingdom of Chalcis, at the request of Agrippa.

During the reign of Caius the Jews had been very much oppressed and persecuted by the people of Alexandria: but they now began to re-assume their courage, and applied to arms, which gave rise to a sedition between them and the Greeks. On the first advice of this disturbance Claudius wrote to the governor of Egypt to use all possible endeavours to suppress it: and at the request of the two kings, Agrippa and Herod, sent edicts to Alexandria and Syria to the following purport.

Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, Tribune and prince of the senate, sendeth greeting:

"FORASMUCH as we are informed that the Jews of Alexandria have been heretofore gratified by former kings of Egypt with equal rights and privileges, enjoyed by the rest of the inhabitants, as is manifest by sundry royal decrees, and records which are still extant in confirmation thereof; and also that those rights and privileges have been to them continued since Augustus first annexed that city to our empire, and from that time transmitted without controversy throughout the days of Aquila, and other succeeding governors which have been sent to Alexandria: and that the same Augustus, on the death of their ethnarch, granted them the permission to make choice of another in his stead; and to enjoy the full exercise of their religion and discipline, without being molested or controlled by any one:

"Now whereas Caius Caesar, instigated by a degree of madness ending in blasphemy, hath violently urged the Jews to worship him as a God, in violation of the faith and honour of the imperial grant, and in opposition to all the rights of conscience; and whereas violent outrages were committed against those who refused to comply, by a factious party in Alexandria, who opposed their fellow-citizens the Jews: Now be it hereby declared that all those proceedings of Caius shall be void and of no effect; and we direct that the aforesaid privileges of the Jews shall remain in full force and virtue; and, by our sovereign authority, we hereby direct and ordain, that both parties shall live together in love and unity, on terms of general friendship, without disturbing the repose of the public."

The above are the contents of the edict particularly issued with regard to Alexandria; and the same prince issued another, respecting the Jews of the empire in general, of which the following is a copy:

Tiberius
Tiberius Claudius Cæfar Augustus Germanicus, high-priest, Tribune of the
people, and consul elect for the second time, hereby notifieth, That,

"ON the requisition of the kings Agrippa and Herod, our most valuable
friends, that we should grant equal liberties to the Jews in all parts of
our empire, respecting their customs and worship, to those we have al-
ready granted to the Jews of Alexandria; we most readily comply with
their request, not only in respect to the solicitors, but in consideration of
the merits of the people, and in gratitude for the amicable services they
have at all times rendered to the Roman power. For these reasons we
decem it just that they should be admitted to an equal share of the general
rights and immunities of all our cities, as well Grecian as others; and
that they enjoy them in the same ample manner which they did during
the reign of Augustus, of auspicious memory: and it is our farther will
and pleasure, that from this time forward, in whatever part of our do-
minions they reside, they be allowed to govern themselves by their own
laws, free from all interruption or hindrance, on the condition that they
make a decent use of this indulgence, nor seek to molest others in the free
exercise of their opinion, while they are permitted to enjoy their own sen-
timents in the manner most agreeable to themselves.

"Having thought proper to declare thus much, we hereby direct that
due notice of this our proclamation be given in all cities, plantations,
corporate towns, and other districts under our jurisdiction, as well in
Italy as in all other places; and that the several kings, princes, and
governors under our dominion have copies thereof sent them, for the pur-
pose of their being exposed to the view of all the people, for the space of
thirty days."

CHAP. V.

Claudius orders Agrippa to his government. Agrippa dedicates his chain of gold to
God. Simon advanced to the office of high-priest, in the room of Theopbilus. The
command of the army given to Silas. Some inhabitants of Doris dedicate a statue
to Cæsar in the synagogue of the Jews. Agrippa complains to Petronius of this
outrage.

By the above edicts Claudius Cæfar intimated the respect he had for the
Jews: and as soon as he had issued them, he directed king Agrippa to
repair to his government, having previously distinguished him by an abun-
dance of honours, and given him a number of letters of special recommendation
to all the governors and intendants of provinces through whose jurisdictions he
was to travel. Agrippa adjusted his affairs, in the most expeditious manner,
and when this was done, he immediately went to Jerusalem, where he dis-
charged himself of all his sacred vows, and offered up sacrifices agreeable to
the rigid forms of the law; likewise obliging numbers of the Nazarenes to
cut off their hair. Agrippa having been heretofore bound with an iron chain
by order of Tiberius, a golden chain had been presented to him by Caius, of
the same weight as that of iron: now this chain of gold Agrippa dedicated
to God, directing that it should be hung up over the box of the holy treasure,
in the vestry, as a lasting monument of the power and kindness of providence,
in affording relief to mankind in their deepest calamities; and to intimate to
the people in general, that the God who permits us to be oppressed, is able
to raise us to our former station. This consecrated chain represented a lively
picture of a prince become the sport of fortune, and confined in irons; and
then, as soon as imagination could form an idea, restored to his liberty, and
becoming a greater prince than he was before. Nor is this any thing but
what is agreeable to the vicissitude of human affairs: for it often happens that
things the most prosperous go at once to decay; while those the most adverse
soon become prosperous!

Agrippa having thus discharged his duty to God, his next step was
to divest Theophilus, the son of Ananus, of the office of high-priest,
which he bestowed on Simon, the son of Boethus, who bore the surname of Canthara. Now this Simon had two brothers, who had already
officiated as high-priests, as had also their father, Boethus, whose daughter
was married to king Herod, as hath been mentioned in another place. This
singular distinction likewise happened in the family of Simon the high-priest,
the son of Onias, whose three sons succeeded to that office, during the
Macedonian government, of which notice hath likewise been already taken.

The king had no sooner adjusted the affair of the pontificate, than he began
immediately to pay his respects and acknowledgements to the inhabitants of
Jerusalem, for the honour they had done him, and the veneration they had
shewn him, by abolishing the tax on houses, which had been paid in former
times; which he considered as an act of civility that could not easily be ex-
ceeded. Agrippa now appointed Silas to be general of his army, in con-
consideration of the many dangers and difficulties they had formerly encountered
in company of each other.

Some time after these events a number of young men belonging to Doris,
impelled by the heat of their own imaginations, assembled together, and
under pretence of a regard to religion, dedicated a statue to Cæsar in the syna-
gogue of the Jews. This circumstance gave the utmost offence to Agrippa,
who thought it would tend, in a high degree, to bring their religion into
contempt: he therefore lost no time in repairing to Petronius, the governor
of Syria, to whom he made complaint of the insult that had been offered: and
Petronius expressed his abhorrence of the inulence of the intruders, to whom
he wrote a letter of rebuke, conceived in the following terms.
C H A P. VI.

The offenders reprimanded by Petronius. Simon removed from the office of high-priest, with a view to restore Jonathan. He declines the honour, and speaks in behalf of his brother Matthias. Marcellus succeeds Petronius in the government of Syria.

Publius Petronius, Governor of Syria, by appointment of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, sendeth greeting to the magistrates of Doris.

"FORASMUCH as I have been certainly informed that, in opposition to the edict of Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, granting to the Jews full liberty to live agreeably to their own laws and customs, some of the people under your jurisdiction have been so presuming, in defiance of the said imperial edict, as to profane their synagogue, by erecting therein the statue of Cæsar, which is an insult on their religion, a violation of the freedom Cæsar hath granted them, an affront to their conscience, and an indignity offered to the majesty of Cæsar; for his image ought rather to have been placed in his own temple than in that of others, and by no means in the synagogue, particularly as the emperor had thought fit to permit every man the free indulgence of his own opinions. I wish to decline giving any orders as from myself in this business, after so atrocious an insult offered to the authority of my master, who has not only gratified the Jews with respect to their religious sentiments, but also allowed them the privileges of freemen, in common with the Greeks, in the several cities where they reside: yet as affairs are now situated; as an outrage hath been undoubtedly committed in defiance of the authority of Cæsar; and whereas you disclaim all concern in the affair, which you attribute to the licentiousness of a mob: you are therefore hereby required and commanded to deliver some of the offending parties to my officer Vitellius Procclus, that he may bring them to me to answer for their conduct; or at least make him acquainted with their names; otherwise you will be suspected of having been concerned in the business. In the interim, have a proper regard to the peace of the public, and quell those turbulent spirits that are disposed to create confusion. With regard to my honoured master and myself, we are exceedingly anxious not to give the least offence to the Jews by furnishing them with any opportunity or pretext of doing justice to themselves. However, for your fuller information in this affair, and that you may not plead ignorance of the opinion of the emperor, I herewith transmit you a copy of his edict to the people of Alexandria, which was communicated to me by the honoured prince Agrippa, as I was sitting in the chair of justice; though it is already well known to the public: and this edict positively requires the ratification of all Cæsar's concessions in favour of the Jews. Wherefore I now give it you in strict charge, that from henceforward you forbear all kind of litigations with that people, and peaceably permit them to worship God in their accustomed
"tomed manner." In a word, Petronius gave such directions in this busi-
ness, that he soon rectified all the abuses complained of, and prevented the
like enormities being perpetrated at a future period.

Not long after this time king Agrippa removed Simon, surnamed Can-
thara, from the office of high-priest, designing to restore Jonathan, the son
of Ananus, as a person better qualified for that honourable distinction: but
Jonathan declined it, with an acknowledgement of the favour intended by the
king, whom he addressed in the following manner: "As the Almighty did
not think me worthy of retaining that sacred office, I rest contented in the
consciousness of having once worn the holy vestments. I could, origi-
nally, have better justified my entrance into that holy order, than I now
could my re-assumption of the dignity: but, Sir, as you seem to pay a
high regard to the worthiness of the party, permit me to recommend to
your majesty my brother, who is a man uncorrupted by the vices of this
world, blameless and without offence before God and man, and of course
highly proper to fill this dignified station." This candid and modest be-
haviour of Jonathan so pleased the king, that he readily agreed to his resigna-
tion of the office, which he bestowed on his brother Matthias. In a short
space of time after this, Petronius was dismissed from the government of Syria,
and Marsus succeeded to that honourable post.

C H A P. VII.

Silas thinks it reasonable that he should share the government with Agrippa. His
pride and impertinence. Agrippa sends him to prison, but afterwards invites
him to court. The reproachful answer of Silas, who is again ordered to prison.
Jerusalem fortified by Agrippa; but the work is stopped by Claudius. The bounty
of Agrippa. His magnificence at Berytus. He goes from Berytus to Tiberias,
and receives royal visits. Marsus complimented by Agrippa. Eleazar made
bishop, instead of Matthias. Games in honour of Caesar. Blasphemous com-
pliments to Agrippa. An owl perches over his head. He becomes violently tormented,
reproaches his flatterers, acknowledges his frailty, and dies. Account of his re-
venue and children. The ingratitude of Cæsarea and Sebaste. Affrontive beha-
vour. It is proposed by Claudius that the son succeed the father, but this is
over-ruled by the favourites. Calpurnius Fadus entrusted with the command.

Silas, who was general to Agrippa, contemplating his faithfulness to
the king, the imminent dangers he had encountered with him, and the
difficulties he had undergone in his service, thought that as they had been
friends and associates in the distresses of war, they had a right to an equal
share in the honour and prerogative of government. Having meditated on
these circumstances, he considered himself equal to the king, whom he
treated with unwarrantable liberties. He was most insolent in his common
discourse, at one time boasting of his own merit, and then insultling the
king with his former low situation; frequently reminding him of the great
services he had done him, the pains he had taken, and the hazards he had
run to contribute to his gratification. These kind of speeches, often re-
peated
peated, had the appearance of reproach, and grew exceedingly tiresome to the king, who thought the freedom that was taken was greater than good manners would warrant; for the man who has been in a low situation does not like to be reminded of it when he rises to a more elevated rank: and it displays equal meanness and ignorance to reproach a man with obligations conferred.

The behaviour of Silas became at length so rude, that the king was provoked beyond all patience, and, in the violence of his passion, deprived him of his command, and sent him to his own country as a prisoner. But when Agrippa came afterwards to reflect on the severity he had used towards a person to whom he had so many obligations, his heart began to relent; and the anniversary of his birth-day now approaching, when all persons began to make preparations to celebrate the royal festival, he sent for Silas, to make one of the company: but the latter, who was a man that prided himself in speaking his mind freely, and particularly in cases where he thought himself offended, addressed the people who brought him the invitation in the following manner: "You perceive, gentlemen, the honour that is intended me by the king; but his present obliging disposition will be of short continuance; and this conduct is but a specimen of his former behaviour. He has deprived me of my commission, and destroyed my reputation, as far as lay in his power; and does he think that I will now refrain from speaking the truth; or cease declaring my opinion, while I am supported by the consciousness of my own integrity? No: the public shall be apprized of the distress from which I have relieved him, and the danger I have encountered for his sake: and how am I rewarded but by a chain and a dungeon! Injuries like these ought not to be forgotten, nor to pass unreveenged: take this answer to the king your master." It was now evident to the king that the obstinacy of Silas was not to be overcome; wherefore he was again ordered to prison.

Agrippa now gave his attention to the city, and fortified the walls of what was called the new town, at the public expense; building them higher, thicker, and stronger than they formerly were; and would finally have rendered Jerusalem impregnable, but that Marfus, governor of Syria, sent private intelligence of it to Claudius, fearing there might be some further design: on which the emperor instantly wrote to Agrippa, to forbid his proceeding; whereupon the work was suspended.

Agrippa was by nature so bounteous, that he distinguished himself by his liberal actions, having no higher pleasure than in shewing the generosity of his temper on all proper occasions. Herein he widely differed from his predecessor Herod, who was of a deceitful, harsh, and cruel disposition; exclusive of which he distinguished the Greeks above the Jews in a most partial manner; which is evidenced in the treasure he expended on foreign works of architecture and elegance; such as theatres, temples, galleries, baths, houses, and places of parade: whereas he never put himself to any considerable expense in the erection of public works to the honour of the Jews. On the contrary, Agrippa was, in the highest degree, gentle and humane.
a friend and patron of strangers, and of mankind in general; but in a more particular manner bountiful and compassionate to those of his own profession and country. To gratify his liberal wishes he chose Jerusalem for his constant residence. He was exact and punctual in the duties of religion, and offered a sacrifice every day; yet he was free from all taints of superstition. One remarkable instance of his benevolent disposition will appear from the following narrative.

At a time when Agrippa was at Caesarea, a certain lawyer, named Simon, publicly reflected on him as a man of disorderly life, who ought in justice to be punished for his irregularities, agreeable to the practice of the church in such cases. Of this circumstance the governor sent intelligence to the king, who instantly transmitted an order for the attendance of Simon, who accordingly went to him, and arrived at a time when the king was at the theatre; whereupon his majesty called to him, and, in a strain of great humanity, said, "If you know any thing of me, my friend, that is disagreeable, I would wish you to make public declaration of it in this place." Simon could say nothing in his justification; but, in a confused manner, begged the king's pardon, which was instantly granted, (contrary to the general expectation,) and received an immediate gratification, exclusive of the pardon; for Agrippa prided himself more in the exercise of an act of humanity, than in that of revenge; and thought mercy, rather than pride, to be the characteristic of a king.

In every place where Agrippa arrived, some proofs were given of his bounty and magnificence; but Berytus was distinguished above the rest; for at that place, at an immense expense, he erected a theatre and an amphitheatre, of equal splendor; together with a number of bagnios, and arched walks, which were all finished in the highest degree of perfection. These distinguished buildings were dedicated with a very extraordinary degree of pomp; variety of shows were exhibited in the theatre; with a diversity of music, and other kinds of entertainments. In the amphitheatre, a number of gladiators exhibited their feats, in single combat; and this being ended, no less than seven hundred malefactors were exposed to another seven hundred, forming the resemblance of a battle, and they fought till every man was destroyed; by this plan the execution of public justice being rendered a matter of entertainment to the spectators.

Soon after this, Agrippa went from Berytus to Tiberias, a city of Galilee, where several royal personages paid him their compliments; as Antiochus, king of Comagena; Sampsigeran, king of the Armenians; Cotys, king of the Lesser Armenia; Polemon, an inferior prince of Pontus; and exclusive of these, Herod, king of Chalcis, and the brother of Agrippa. These were received and entertained with a degree of royal hospitality becoming the character of Agrippa and his visitors; and it was deemed much to the honour of the former to have so many guests of eminent distinction. While the above illustrious persons were with Agrippa, Marcus, the governor of Syria, proceeded to pay him a visit; and Agrippa, through respect to the sovereignty of the Roman empire, went seven miles from town to meet him: but the above visit, as it afterwards happened, occasioned a disention between them;
them; for Marius finding so many kings assembled in such harmony, was
apprehensive that the public safety might be endangered by so powerful an
alliance. Wherefore he dispatched messengers to them respectively, direct-
ing that they should depart without loss of time, which circumstance so disgust-
ed Agrippa, that he had ever afterwards the utmost contempt for Marius.

Agrippa now invested Matthias of the office of high-priest, which he be-
towed on Elioneus, the son of Cithæus. In the third year of his reign over
all Judæa, Agrippa made a journey to Cæsarea, formerly known by the name
of Straton's tower, where a great number of the nobility, and other perons of
rank assembled from all parts of the province, to be present at a solemnity
of games and shews, which he instituted in honour of Cæsar. Early in the morn-
ing of the second day of this festival, Agrippa went to the theatre, habited
in a silver stuff, of so rich and singular a texture, that the eyes of the people
were dazzled by the reflexion, as the beams of the rising sun struck on it.
The rays of light that emitted therefrom appeared to the vulgar to have
something divine in them, and inspired them equally with ideas of fear and
veneration; and, on this occasion, a fawning crew of contemptible flatterers
extolled him as a deity, and in a formal manner, "Entreated him to pardon
the sins arising from their ignorance, when they thought he was a mere
mortal; whereas they were now convinced that he was a being of superior
rank, and something more than human."

Gratified in a high degree by this odious flattery, he fought not to suppres-
it; but while, in the pride of his heart, he was contemplating on his superior
dignity, and lifting his eyes towards heaven, he beheld an owl over his
head, sitting on a rope; which he considered as the fore-runner of mischief,
as a similar circumstance had heretofore been of good fortune: nor was he
mistaken; for he instantly felt a violent pain at his heart, and convulsions in his
bowels. In the extremity of his torments, he addressed his surrounding friends,
saying, "Now behold your god is sentenced to death: by this inevitable
fate I shall prove the absurdity and impiety of flattery, and by my death
convince the world that I am not immortal. The will of heaven be done!
I have had no reason, during my life, to envy the happiness of any prince
existing; but ambition has been my ruin!"

He had no sooner spoke these words than his pains encreased to such a de-
gree that it was necessary to remove him into the palace; and a rumour im-
mEDIATELY spread through the town that the king was at the point of death.
Hereupon the people in general, men, women and children, adopted the
customary mode of clothing themselves in sackcloth, and united in prayers
to God for the recovery of the king. In the interim, Agrippa, who was in
an apartment at the top of the palace, could not refrain from tears on seeing
his mourning subjects prostrate on the pavement below. His extreme pain
continued, unabated, from that time to the end of five days, when he died
in the seventh year of his reign, and the fifty-fourth of his age. During the
first four years of his reign he governed under Cælius the emperor; Philip
being tetrarch during the first three years; and in the fourth Herod being
joint tetrarch with him. Claudius was emperor during the remaining three
years; and exclusive of the government of Judæa, had bestowed on him
those
those of Cæsarea and Samaria. His annual income was reckoned at twelve hundred myriads; but notwithstanding this revenue he was obliged to borrow; for the liberality of his disposition was such that his expenses exceeded his receipts. Silas being now in prison; and Herod, prince of Chalcis, and Chelcias, general of the troops, being both his inveterate enemies, dispatched Arifton to destroy him, as by the order of the king, before his death was made public.

Thus ended the life of Agrippa, whose surviving family consisted of a son of his own name, aged seventeen years, and three daughters; of whom the eldest, Berenice, when sixteen years old, was married to her uncle Herod. The second, Mariamne, was ten years old; and the youngest, Drusilla, six years. Mariamne was contracted to Julius Archelaus, the son of Chelcias, and her sister to Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus, king of Comagena.

The death of king Agrippa was no sooner made known to the public, than the inhabitants of Cæsarea and Sebaste, instead of making a proper acknowledgement of the many obligations he had conferred on them, loaded his memory with the most scandalous and opprobrious epithets that their imaginations could possibly give rise to. It happened that at this time there was a number of soldiers at those places, who, in aid of the calumny, took the statues of Agrippa's three daughters from the palace, and conveyed them in triumph to public brothels, with brutish terms of reproach that are too infamous for repetition. They feasted, and played the tricks of buffoons in the streets, adorned their heads with flowers and garlands, perfumes and ointments, as if they were sacrificing to Charon; and likewise drank libations of thanks for the king's death. In this manner they entertained themselves, regardless of all the favours they had received from, and the obligations they owed to Agrippa, or of those due to Herod, his grandfather, who had founded those splendid cities, and the temples and ports appertaining thereto.

At this time Agrippa, the son of the deceased king, was at Rome; being educated in the court of Claudius, who being informed of the death of the father, and the horrid insults that had been offered to his memory by the ungrateful inhabitants of Cæsarea and Sebaste, expressed great concern at the loss of the king, and equal indignation at the ingratitude of the other parties: wherefore he formed an idea of immediately sending the present Agrippa to take possession of his father's kingdom, which was equally agreeable to an oath he had taken, as consistent with common reason and equity. But the emperor was easily diverted from carrying this plan into execution, by the persuasion of a number of favourites who surrounded him. They urged that it was unsafe to trust so important a business in the hands of a man so young and unexperienced; for the commission was of so difficult a kind, that it would furnish ample employment for the most acute genius in the empire.

These artful insinuations induced Claudius to change his mind, and thereon he deputed Cælius Fadus to the command; but paid so great a respect to the memory of the deceased, that he strictly charged him not to receive Marcius into the government, on the consideration that he had been the determined enemy of Agrippa; but he gave him further more particular directions to punish severely the inhabitants of Cæsarea and Sebaste, on account of the indignities
dignities they had offered to Agrippa and his daughters. He commissioned him likewise to dispatch to Pontus five cohorts, and the other troops that were in those two cities; and to cause that their places should be supplied by a select body of men from the Roman legions then in Syria. This last order, however, was not obeyed; for on an earnest application, Claudius was induced to permit those troops still to remain in Judæa. From this circumstance arose many great calamities which were afterwards suffered by the Jews; and which gave rise to a series of war when Florus had the command: so that Vespasian, though the conqueror, was obliged to compel them to quit the country.

End of the Nineteenth Book.
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK XX.

Containing the history of the transactions from the year of the World 4009, to 4030.

CHAP. I.

Claudius deprives Mar/us of his commission for Syria, and be/low/s it upon Caffius Longinus. A rupture between the Jews and the Philadelphians. Cuspius Fadus cau/ses Annibas, Amaram, and Eleazar, the principal ringleaders, to be apprehended, and the first to be put to death, and the other two to be banished. Fadus pass/es sentence of death upon Tholomeus, the captain of a desperate band of rob-bers. Caesar com(mands the sacred vestments to be depos/ited, as formerly, in Antonia: but Agrippa petitions that the Jews may continue in pos/session of the holy robes, and his request is granted. Claudius's letter to the senate. Herod, the prince of Chalcis, removes Canibara from the pontificate, and appoints Joseph to succeed him.

SOME short time subsequent to the decease of Agrippa, which we have spoken of in the preceding book, the emperor Claudius manifested the respect he entertained towards the memory of his late royal friend, by removing Mar/us from the government of Syria, and appointing Caffius Lon-
Longinus to succeed him, agreeable to the request which Agrippa had made and frequently repeated in divers letters to Claudius.

At this period Cæpius Fadus assumed the government of Judæa: and in virtue of the commission entrusted to him, he determined to suppress an insurrection which then prevailed between the Jews resident on the other side the river Jordan, and the Philadelphians, respecting the boundaries of a village called Mais, which was inhabited by a people remarkable for their courageous and warlike dispositions. The Jews having taken up arms, and put several of the Philadelphians to death, without authority from their superiors for pursuing such violent measures, Fadus was so highly incensed against them on account of their insolent and seditious proceedings that he caused Annibas, Amaram, and Eleazar, the principal ringleaders, to be put in irons; and he soon afterwards sentenced Annibas to death, and his two companions to banishment. "If (said he) they supposed themselves to be aggrieved by the Philadelphians, it was their duty to submit their complaints to my consideration. But since they have offered to daring an affront to constitute themselves the judges of their own conduct, and have infolently taken into their own hands a power that does not belong to them, to dispense with inflicting the punishment they have incurred, would be inconsistent with the duties of the office which I am appointed to execute."

Soon after the above-mentioned sedition had been quelled, Tholomæus, the captain of a band of robbers who had committed great devastation in Arabia and Idumæa, was brought before him; and he sentenced the delinquent to be put to death; and pursued the most effectual measures, with unremitting affiduity, for extirpating all other invaders of the public peace, and despoilers of private property. He then sent to the priests and principal men of Jerusalem, requiring them, under the authority of a mandate granted by Cæsar, to restore the pontifical vestments, particularly assigned to the use of the high-priest, to the castle of Antonia, where they had been deposited in ancient days. It being apprehended that the requisition for restoring the sacred robe and sacerdotal stole to the castle of Antonia, might exacerbate the multitude, the troops were drawn up, in order to preserve the public tranquillity: and the priests and other leading people of Jerusalem, judging that to put an absolute negative on the demand would be attended with danger, applied to Fadus and Longinus, respectfully soliciting that they might be permitted to represent their case to Claudius, and that proceedings might be suspended till they should obtain the emperor's answer to their petition. Their request was complied with, on the condition of delivering up their children as hostages, to which they readily consented; and the deputies in behalf of the Jews departed for Rome. Information being given to Agrippa, who was at that time resident at the court of Cæsar, of the arrival of the deputies, and the business they were employed to negotiate, he petitioned that Cæsar would permit the sacerdotal vestments still to continue in the possession of the Jews, and that, if he should be pleased to grant the request, he would transmit an order to Fadus, signifying his benevolent determination. Hereupon Claudius caused the deputies to be called
called into his presence, and informed them that he granted the favour they were commissioned to supplicate, bidding them make acknowledgments to Agrippa, whose intercession had influenced him in favour of the Jews: and he delivered to them the following letter.

Claudius Caesar Germanicus, tribune of the people, the fifth-time elected consul, the fourth time emperor, and the tenth time surn of his country; sends greeting to the senate, the people of Jerusalem, and the whole nation of the Jews.

"Whereas Agrippa, whom we have brought up with as much tenderness as we could have manifested had he been our own issue, and towards whom we entertain a most warm affection, has presented your commissioners to us; and whereas the said commissioners have expressed due acknowledgments of our unremitting attention to promote the welfare of your nation, and have represented the anxiety you entertain for being allowed to continue in possession of the pontifical robes and ornaments; now we fully accede to your request, but we grant this instance of kindliness on condition that a strict adherence be paid to the regulations established in the time of Vitellius, whose memory we hold in very high veneration; on account of the extraordinary virtues he possessed. Be you farther informed, that we are influenced in your favour, partly on a principle of piety; for our opinion is, that men may reasonably claim a right to the free exercise of the religion of their country; and partly by a respect to king Herod and his son Ariobonus, between whom and ourselves a reciprocal friendship subsists. By Cornelius, the son of Ceron; Tryphon, the son of Theudion; Dorotheus, the son of Nathanael; and John, the son of John, we have transmitted advices on the above business to Fulpius Fadus, our lieutenant. Dated the 4th of the calends of July. Rufus, and Pompeius Sylvanus, Consuls."

On the intercession of Herod, prince of Chalcis, and brother of the deceased Agrippa, Claudius nominated him to the charge of the temple, the holy vessels and other treasures, and invested him with the authority of appointing the high-priest: and, till the conclusion of the Jewish wars, this power remained in the family of Herod. Having removed Canthara, Herod advanced Joseph, the son of Caneus, to succeed him in the pontifical dignity.

**CHAP. II.**

Izates, king of Adiabena, and Helen, his mother, embrace the Jewish religion. Helen married to her brother Monobasius, who bears a voice, while in bed with his wife. Helen brings forth two sons, the elder of whom is named Monobasius, and the other Izates. The partiality of the father towards the latter, who he sends for safety to Scythus, where he marries Samachas, daughter of king Abennericus. Monobasius settles the province of Caron upon Izates, soon after which he expires, and Izates is declared his successor. The government entrusted to Monobasius, during the absence of Izates, whose other brothers are imprisoned. Upon the return of Izates, Monobasius resigns his authority. All the brothers of Izates,
JEWS.

Izates, excepting the elder, sent as hostages to Caesar and Artabanus. The arguments of Eleazar prevail upon Izates to submit to circumcision. Helen goes to Jerusalem, where she generously affords great relief to the people during a terrible famine. Artabanus solicits Izates to protect him against the consequences of a conspiracy. Izates applies to the Parthians by letter, urging them to call their king home. Upon the death of Artabanus, he is succeeded by his son Vardanes, who endeavours to persuade Izates to commence hostilities against the Romans: but Izates rejects his advice. Having made war upon Izates, Vardanes is destroyed by his own subjects, and his brother Gotarzes succeeds him, and he being also put to death, the government devolves to another brother of the same family, named Vologesus. Abias, the king of Arabia, supports the subjects of Izates in a conspiracy, and after being defeated, he destroys himself. Vologesus prepares to engage Izates; but is obliged to draw off his army in order to protect his own dominions, which are suddenly invaded. The death of Izates, who is succeeded by Monobafus. The mother returns to Adiabena, where she dies. The remains of Izates and Helen interred at Jerusalem. Theodas, a false prophet, put to death by Padas.

A B O U T this period Helen, the queen of Adiabena, and *Izates, her son, embraced the Jewish religion on the occasion which we shall hereafter relate. The king of Adiabena, who was named Monobafus, otherwife Bazcus, became violently enamoured of his sister Helen, and espoused her. It happened that when they were in bed together, at a time when Helen was pregnant, her husband threw his arm over her body, and, while in that position, he heard a voice, biding him remove his hand, lest it should injure the unborn infant, which would prove an object of the particular care of the Divine Providence. He was asleep when he heard the voice, but having awakened, and being somewhat recovered from his surprise, he communicated the extraordinary circumstance to his wife. In the due course of time she was delivered of a male child, to whom the father gave the name of Izates. Before the birth of Izates, he had a son, by the same princess, whom he called after himself; and by different wives he had several other sons.

Monobafus entertained a more tender affection for Izates than the rest of his children; and his partiality was so apparent, that they conceived a most intolerable envy towards the favourite. The king perceived their jealousy, but was inclined to attribute it to a desire they severally entertained of obtaining the first place in his esteem, rather than to consider it as proceeding from deliberate and settled rancour: but observing that matters daily bore a more threatening aspect, he determined to remove Izates into a situation which should secure him against the effects of the enmity of his brothers. He therefore sent him to the fort of Spasinus; and in order to secure him a favourable reception, furnished him with powerful recommendations and magnificent presents to king Abennerigus; who received the youth with remarkable tenderness and respect, and at length conceived so

* Izates, according to Tacitus.
high an esteem for him, that he gave him in marriage his own daughter Samachas, and with her, by way of dower, a tract of land which produced a considerable revenue.

Being now arrived to a very advanced age, and apprehending that his dissolution was speedily approaching, Monobafus was exceedingly desirous of once more beholding his favourite son; who he therefore recalled from Spafinus, and after embracing him with the greatest tenderness and affection that can be imagined, he assigned over to him the province of Cæron *, which was highly celebrated for the production of various kinds of aromatic plants of the most excellent quality, and for containing the vestiges of Noah's ark, which were exposed to view, and esteemed matters of great curiosity. During the remaining part of his father's life, Izates resided in the country of Cæron.

In a short time the king resigned his life, and on the very day of his decease, the queen assembled the ministers, commanders, and principal officers, and informed them that her late husband had elected Izates to succeed him in the sovereign dignity, deeming him more eminently qualified than either of his other sons for discharging the duties of the royal station; but she requested their advice, observing that a private opinion would not operate to procure the happiness of a prince, in opposition to the general sentiments of the people. The queen directed this compliment in order to discover the interests they were inclined to support. According to the established custom of the country, the ministers, when the queen had concluded her address, made a profound reverence, and then proceeded to inform her, that they were perfectly satisfied as to the just preference of the deceased king towards Izates, who they were unanimously desirous of advancing to the regal dignity. They said the people were ready to acknowledge allegiance to Izates; and that if the queen judged it expedient, they would themselves engage to destroy the brothers, and such other relations as it might be apprehended would dispute the right of Izates to assume the throne. Helen thanked them for the instance they had shewn of their zealous attachment to her son; but said, she deemed it improper to take any measures against the brothers, or other branches of the family, without the sanction of Izates's approbation. Apprehending that they should not be able to prevail upon the queen to consent to the death of the brothers, the council urged that the safety of the new king rendered it necessary to imprison them, and entrust the administration of government to a person whom the queen might approve, till the arrival of Izates. The queen acquiesced in the measures last recommended by the council, and nominated Monobafus, the elder brother, to assume the office of viceroy. She then placed the crown upon the head of Monobafus, delivered to him the signet-ring and royal robe, called the sampfera, which had belonged to his father, and invested him with the full powers of government during the absence of Izates; who returned to Adiabena immediately upon receiving intelligence of the death of his father; and, on his arrival, Monobafus resigned his authority with the utmost readiness.

* Cardon, in Echard's Georg. Sacr. 1. 1. c. 3.

During
During the residence of Izates at the fort of Spasinus, a Jew merchant named Ananias, contracted an acquaintance with some ladies of the court, and instructed them in the knowledge of God, according to the principles of the Jewish religion. These women introduced the merchant to Izates, who he also converted, and in compliance with the earnest entreaties of the prince, accompanied him to Adiabena, when he was recalled a short time previous to the decease of his father. It happened that, at the same time, another Jew converted queen Helen to a belief in our religious principles.

Upon finding that his brothers and other relations were imprisoned, Izates was extremely concerned, and the silent admonitions of conscience would not permit him to consent to their death, or to detain them in chains: but still he reflected that if he restored them to liberty, the provocation to revenge which they had received might render his own safety very precarious: therefore, to avoid either extreme, he sent them, accompanied by their children, as hostages, some to Claudius Caesar, at Rome, and the rest to Arta- banus, king of Parthia.

When Izates perceived the partiality of his mother to the religion of the Jews, he deemed it proper to make a profession of his own faith; and conceiving that while he remained in a state of uncircumcision he could not properly call himself a Jew, he determined to submit to the operation, which he considered as essentially necessary to his perfect conversion. The queen endeavoured to dissuade him from this measure, which, she observed, must necessarily be followed by very dangerous consequences, since it could not be expected that the people would preserve their allegiance to a professed Jew. The advice of his mother occasioned the king to defer the execution of his design, on the propriety of which he consulted Ananias, who declared himself perfectly of the queen's opinion. He said, that if the king persevered in his purpose, he must himself be absolutely necessitated to depart from Adiabena, in order to avoid the vengeance of the people, who would consider him as a public seducer, and an enemy to the government; adding, that the adoration of the Almighty being an act of the heart, the external ceremony of circumcision would be dispensed with, when the peace and safety of a whole people would be endangered by a compliance, provided an implicit obedience was observed to the laws and precepts of Moses. These, and other arguments of the like nature, reconciled the king to the notions of the queen and Ananias.

Some time having elapsed, a Jew, named Eleazar, came from Galilee to Adiabena; he was a man of great knowledge in the Mosaic institutions, and it was referred for him to remove every doubt which had revived in the king's mind respecting the necessity of circumcision. Eleazar being introduced to the king, found him engaged in the study of the books of Moses, and said to him, "I fear, Sir, you are not apprized of the affront you offer to the law, and of your high offence to the Almighty; for to be acquainted with the holy will is not sufficient: a due conformity to the sacred commandments of the Lord is absolutely necessary to salvation. On what motive can you remain in so dangerous a state as that of un-
circumcision? If you are still ignorant of the law which pronounces circumcision to be necessary, continue to read, and you will be convinced that to dispense with so essential a ceremony is to be guilty of an horrid impiety." This remonstrance had so powerful an effect upon Izates, that he commanded the immediate attendance of a surgeon in a withdrawing room, where he submitted to the operation. Having informed his mother and Ananias of the transaction, they expressed the most terrible anxiety for the safety of the king's person and government; saying, that if the least intimation of the circumstance was communicated to the people, an insurrection must be the inevitable consequence, since they would never submit to be governed by a prince professing a faith contrary to the established religion of the country: and they were greatly alarmed on their own accounts, apprehending that in the general outrage they should fall a sacrifice to public vengeance, under the supposition of being the advisers and abettors of an act so violently militating against the inclinations of the people. The cause of Izates is to be considered as an admirable lesson to mankind; for it pleased the Almighty to deliver him from the most desperate and hopeless situation; thereby intimating that virtue and piety will infallibly meet with due reward; but this matter will be treated of more at large in the sequel.

Izates being established in the peaceable possession of his government, and having obtained in his own country, as well as in foreign parts, the reputation of being a just and wise prince, esteemed by his fellow-creatures, and particularly favoured by the Almighty; the queen considered that since affairs were so happily situated in Adiabena, she might reasonably indulge an inclination she had conceived of visiting the holy temple at Jerusalem, and of performing worship, and offering sacrifice, according to the established regulations. Izates highly approved of the intended expedition, provided his mother with immense sums of money, and proceeded with her several days on her journey. At this time so terrible a famine prevailed in Jerusalem that many of the inhabitants daily perished; the arrival of the benevolent queen therefore proved a very happy circumstance; for she had no sooner received information of the public necessities than she dispatched messengers to procure the means of subsistence. In a short time great quantities of wheat were brought from Alexandria, dried figs from the island of Cyprus; and these and other articles which had been procured by her order, she caused to be distributed among the distressed Jews, whereby she obtained a degree of reputation adequate to the seasonable proof she had afforded of her munificent and liberal disposition. Upon receiving intelligence of the famine, Izates sent vast sums configned to the governors of Jerusalem, to be applied to the use of such of the people as stood in need of relief. But the particulars of the royal bounty on the above occasion will come with more propriety hereafter.

The principal men at the court of Parthia having engaged in a conspiracy, they became at length so formidable, and proceeded in their designs with so much resolution, that the king judged it would be exceedingly dangerous to remain in his own dominions; he therefore determined to request the advice and assistance of Izates, as the most probable means of re-establishing
blushing himself in his former state of safety and power. In pursuance of this design Artabanus collected about a thousand of his relations and most trusty friends, and, attended by these persons, proceeded to meet Izates. The kings, who were not personally known to each other, met on the public way; but, from the great splendor and magnificence of his equipage, Artabanus readily concluded that the party approaching could be no other than Izates; therefore advancing towards him, he saluted him, according to the custom of the country, with a reverence called adoration, and then addressed him to the following purpose: "Let me not be the object of your contempt, most illustrious prince! because you now see me in the degrading situation of an humble supplicant. From the regal dignity it is my unhappy fortune to be reduced to the obscurity of a private station; and the extremity of my circumstances compels me to seek a resource in your majesty's beneficence: and permit me to declare, that I entertain hopes of receiving succour from a prince, whose excellent understanding will naturally suggest to him a just idea of the vicissitudes to which human life is exposed; and who will reflect that his own elevated station affords no perfect security against a change of fortune similar to that which I have unhappily experienced. I must further observe, that it is the common interest of princes to assist and protect each other, for the success of a revolt against one prince serves to encourage the refle's and factious spirits of other nations to conspiracy and rebellion." The address of Artabanus was accompanied with tears, and a countenance that plainly evinced the dejected state of his heart. When Izates understood that his supplicant was the king of Arabia, he instantly dismounted from his horse, and in the most kind and encouraging manner exhorted him not to despair, but rather to cherish the hope that divine Providence would restore him to his former exalted station. "Be assured, royal sir, (said Izates) that you will find in me a steady friend, and a more considerable ally than you expect: for I will re-establish you in the full possession of your former authority, or relinquish my own crown in your favour." Izates now obliged Artabanus to mount his horse, declaring his intention of accompanying him on foot, in acknowledgment of his superiority; but in this Artabanus refused to comply, saying he would instantly dismount if Izates did not take horse and lead the way. At length Izates complied and conducted Artabanus to his palace, observing towards him every mark of distinction, honour and respect. He complimented him with the first place at all entertainments and other meetings, and in every other instance showed him the greatest respect; for he regulated his conduct according to the former state of Artabanus, without deducting any thing for the unhappy revolution of his fortune, which he justly considered as a circumstance to which every sovereign was constantly exposed.

Izates now dispatched letters to the Parthians, earnestly entreating them to recall Artabanus to his dominions, giving his word of honor, and offering, if they should deem it necessary, to ratify it by the solemnity of an oath, that, on condition of their compliance, he would become engaged
that a full pardon should be granted to all passed offences. Their answer was rather an evasion than an absolute refusal; for they urged that having elected a man named Cinnamus to the sovereignty, an attempt to dispossess him of the authority would inflame the populace to an ungovernable outrage. Cinnamus, who had been brought up under the care and direction of Artabanus, was greatly affected at the miserable situation of that prince; and being a man of an honourable and generous disposition, he sent word to him, that if he would return, he would himself be answerable for his personal safety, and resign to him the sovereign authority. On this assurance Artabanus set out in order to take possession of his kingdom; and on the way he was met by Cinnamus, who taking the crown from his own head, placed it on that of Artabanus, saluting him by the title of king, and having towards him with the greatest respect and reverence, and the usual formalities of state. In testimony of his gratitude to Izates for having restored him to his throne, Artabanus granted him the privilege to wear a tiara, and lay on a bed resembling those which the kings of Parthia had the exclusive right to use; and he presented him with the fruitful and extensive country of Nisibis, which had formerly belonged to the kings of Armenia, and was celebrated for containing the antient city erected by the Macedonians, and called Antioch, but afterwards distinguished by the name of Mygdonia.

Soon after the above occurrences Artabanus died, and was succeeded in the government by his son Vardanes, who soon after his accession to the throne endeavoured to prevail upon Izates to commence hostilities against the Romans: but he was master of too great a share of penetration to suffer himself to be unnecessarily involved in a war with so powerful and well disciplined an enemy: he was besides on other accounts averse to the measure proposed by Vardanes; for he had sent five sons to be instructed in the language and discipline of the Romans, and his mother had taken up her residence at Jerusalem for the benefit of devotional exercises in the holy temple. Izates endeavoured to divert Vardanes from his purpose by frequently representing to him the undoubted bravery and great strength of the Romans, and the surprising exploits they had performed; but Vardanes was so highly offended by these expostulations that he immediately declared war against Izates: but he had cause severely to regret his intemperate conduct. The resolution that Vardanes had formed, and continued to persevere in, of commencing a war against the Romans proved so highly offensive to his subjects that they put him to death, and elected his brother Gotarza to succeed him in the government. After a short reign, Gotarza was treacherously murdered; and the throne was ascended by his brother named * Vologesus, who gave the government of Media to Pacorus, the elder, and that of Armenia to Teridates, the younger brother by the father's side.

By the exemplary piety of Izates he acquired the reputation of being a perfectly virtuous and in every respect a happy prince: and in consideration of the happy consequences that had resulted from the king's change of religion,

* Spanheim observes, that, according to an ancient coin, the name is Bolagates.
THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

Monobafus, his brother, and his other relations, formed the intention of adopting the customs and manners of the Jews. When the nobility and other principal people of the kingdom learnt what religious principles were entertained by the royal family, they were incensed in the highest degree; but they disguised their sentiments, judging they should by such precaution find an opportunity of revenge with the less difficulty. They wrote to Abias, the king of Arabia, representing that Izates had forfeited every claim to allegiance from his subjects by an impious defertion of the established religion of his country, and that they were, therefore, resolved that he should not escape with impunity. They urged Abias to a declaration of war against Izates, promising him great sums of money, on condition of his compliance, and that on the first encounter they would defeat their king in the open field. Abias accepted the proposal made to him, and immediately marched a formidable body of troops against Izates. When the armies arrived within sight of each other, Izates's soldiers fled, appearing to be in the utmost consternation: the king, however, made a safe retreat to his camp, without betraying any marks of confusion, or abatement of his natural courage.

Upon making enquiry into the cause of the defection, he discovered it to have been a preconcerted plot between the enemy and his own subjects. Such of the conspirators as he was able to detect he condemned to punishments adequate to their demerits. On the day following he gave battle to the Arabian army, which he entirely defeated, committing great slaughter upon a part of the army, and putting the rest to flight: he closely pursued Abias, till he took refuge in the castle of Arfamas; and having reduced this place by storm, and made booty of an immense treasure, he returned to Adiabena in all the pomp of conquest. To avoid being taken prisoner, Abias put an end to his own life.

The leading men at Adiabena who formed the conspiracy against Izates still held the determination to pursue their purpose, notwithstanding a consciousness that their late treachery had entirely subjected them to the mercy of their king. They wrote to Vologeses, the king of the Parthians, urging that his apostasy from the religion of his country had rendered Izates the object of universal detestation to his subjects, and supplicated that measures might be pursued for effecting his destruction, and that the Parthian would nominate some person of his own nation to assume the government, which their present king was no longer worthy to possess. In consequence hereof, and without any reasonable ground of quarrel, Vologeses determined to commence a war against Izates. The Parthian manifested his intention by a revocation of the grants which his father Artabanus had made in favour of Izates, and a menace of immediate war if he presumed to dispute his pleasure. The conduct of Vologeses proved highly embarasing to Izates; for he considered that to be deterred by threats into a compliance would be an argument of meanness of spirit; and farther that by relinquishing the privileges which had been so duly confirmed to him, and which he had so well deserved, no material advantage would be produced, since it was not probable that his acquiescence would induce the Parthian to suppress his hostile designs. At length he came to a resolution of risking life, honour
and fortune on the issue of a battle, fully depending on the assistance of the Almighty. He sent his wives and children to a castle of great strength; and caused great stores of grain and other necessaries to be removed to the strongest forts he possessed; and burnt, or otherwise destroyed all the forage, hay, and such other articles in the neighbourhood as could not be removed, and which, if seized by, might have proved serviceable to the Parthian army. Having taken the above precautions, Izates waited to receive the enemy. Vologesus had collected an army much more formidable than could possibly be expected in so short a time; and he formed his camp on the banks of a river separating Adiabena from Media: near the same spot Izates encamped his forces, which consisted of six thousand cavalry. Vologesus dispatched an herald to inform Izates that he was preparing to attack him with the whole force of his empire, which extended from Bactria to Euphrates, in order to punish him for having insolently disobeyed his commands, and refused to acknowledge him as a master; and that he was guilty of an egregious folly in depending for success upon the deity he worshipped, who had not power to protect him. The answer that Izates returned by the messenger was, that in point of numbers he did not pretend to rival Vologesus; but that he resigned himself to the will of an eternal God, whose goodness and power surpassed the narrow limits of human comprehension. Having dispatched the herald, Izates prostrated himself upon the earth, and thus addressed the Lord: "Almighty and ever blessed God, whom thy pious servants never supplicate in vain, vouchsafe to extend thy mercy to thy faithful creature, who now submits himself to thy divine will, infinite goodness, and almighty power: punish the impious temerity of those people who have dared to blaspheme thy sacred name: but this vengeance upon mine enemies I do not supplicate so much on my own account, as in vindication of the affronted honour of thy holy name." The humiliation and prayers of this truly pious prince proved acceptable to the Almighty: and on the same night the following event happened, which deserves to be considered as a remarkable indication of the divine Providence in his favour: Vologesus received intelligence that the Dahæ, and the Saceæ (inhabitants of Scythia,) encouraged by the king's absence, had made an incursion into his dominions, where they were employed in ravage and devastation: hereupon Vologesus led his army in order to repel the invaders.

Soon after the above events, Izates expired in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his government. He left four sons, but in acknowledgment of the integrity of his brother in resigning the authority that had been committed to him in trust, he appointed Monobafus to succeed him in the sovereignty. The decease of so truly religious, affectionate and dutiful a son caused great affliction to queen Helen; but the advancement of Monobafus to the throne afforded some mitigation to her grief. Upon the death of Izates the queen returned to Adiabena; but she did not long survive. Monobafus sent the remains of his mother and brother to be deposited in the three pyramids which the queen had erected at the distance of three furlongs from Jerusalem. Further particulars respecting Monobafus will be introduced hereafter.
During the time that Cuspius Fadus held the government of Judaea, a pretended prophet, named Theudas, persuaded great numbers of people to take their most valuable effects and follow him to Jordan, promising that by a single word he would cause the waters to divide and afford them a dry passage to the opposite shore. He was followed by a great multitude, but they had sufficient reason to repent their folly; for Fadus sent against them a troop of cavalry, by whom many were slain, and others made prisoners. The soldiers returned to Jerusalem, and the head of the impostor was exposed as a public spectacle.

CHAP. III.


Cuspius Fadus was succeeded in the government of Judaea by Tiberius Alexander, the son of that Alexander who held the office of alabarcha in Alexandria, and who was considered as the most wealthy citizen of his days. Tiberius Alexander apostatized from the religion of his ancestors, and was in other respects a more exceptionable character than his father. At this time a terrible famine raged in Judæa, when queen Helen procured corn for the relief of the people at an immense expense, as we have already mentioned. Alexander caused the crucifixion of James and Simon, the sons of Judas of Galilee. During the time that Cyrenius was employed in taxing Galilee, the sufferers above-mentioned exerted their endeavours to spirit up the Jews to a revolt against the Romans.

Joseph, the son of Canudas was removed from the pontifical dignity by Herod, the king of Chalcis, who appointed Ananias, the son of Nebedeus, to succeed him. Tiberius Alexander was succeeded by Cumanus; and about the same period died Herod, brother of Agrippa the great, leaving the following sons: Aristobulus by a former wife; and Bernicianus and Hyrcanus, by Berenice, the daughter of his brother, king Agrippa. Claudius Caesar appointed the younger Agrippa to succeed to the throne of Herod. During the government of Cumanus, an insurrection took place in Jerusalem, in which great numbers of Jews were destroyed, as will appear in the following chapter.

* Vide Turnebus's Adversaria, I. xxvii. c. 25.
A great concourse of Jews repair to Jerusalem on occasion of the feast of the passover. Cumanus orders a body of troops to guard the temple, and prevent tumults among the populace. A soldier offers a shameful indignity to the temple, and the crime is charged upon Cumanus. The army ordered to retire into the castle of Antonia. The people thrown into consternation, and in the general disorder twenty thousand of them are smothered and trampled to death. Cumanus seeks revenge for the murder of a domestic to the emperor, and in the tumult the books of Moses are found, and destroyed by a soldier. The Jews apply to Cumanus for redress; and the offender is condemned to lose his head.

The time now approaching when it was usual for the Jews to celebrate the paschal feast, otherwise called the feast of unleavened bread, vast multitudes of people resorted to Jerusalem on occasion of the festival. Cumanus judged it prudent to place a company of soldiers to guard the temple, and to suppress any disturbances that might arise among the populace. His predecessors had frequently taken this precaution on similar occasions. On the fourth day of the festival a soldier had the audacity to expose himself entirely naked to the public, who were enraged to the highest degree by this act of indecency, which they considered not so much as a mark of disrespect to themselves as a manifest insult to the Almighty power to whose honour the festival was dedicated. Some people, of more daring spirits than the rest, attributed the offence to Cumanus, alleging that it was not probable the soldier would have been guilty of so daring an insolence without having received encouragement from the governor. This disgraceful imputation proved the source of great affliction and anger to Cumanus: but he exhorted the people in terms of gentleness to moderate their passion, and not to proceed to any acts of violence: but observing that instead of appeasing, his arguments served to inflame the rage of the populace, he commanded the troops to march into the castle of Antonia, which, as we have already mentioned, commands a view of the temple. Upon perceiving the army advance, the people apprehended that they were preparing to attack them, and the idea of danger was so prevalent that each endeavoured to provide for his own safety by a precipitate retreat, and the passageways being narrow twenty thousand of them were either smothered or trampled to death in the crowd. Thus did one beastly action of a soldier turn a public festival into a day of general sorrow; for the public no longer attended to their prayers and sacrifices and other ceremonies, but employed themselves in lamentations and mournings.

Soon after the above unhappy events, succeeded another heavy affliction to the Jews. A number of people who had escaped from the neighbourhood of the temple had proceeded to the distance of about an hundred furlongs from the town, when they met one of the emperor's domestics, whose name was Stephen; and this man they assaulted and robbed. When the circumstance was related to Cumanus, he detached a body of troops, with a commission to ravage the villages of the neighbourhood wherein the fact was
was committed, and to make prisoners of some of the principal inhabitants. In the plunder one of the soldiers found the books of Moses, which he produced to his companions, and having execrated the whole Jewish people and their laws, with the utmost virulence of rage, he tore and utterly destroyed the books. Hereupon the Jews assembled in great multitudes, and Cumanus being at Caesarea, they repaired thither, and supplicated that justice might be exercised upon the offender, urging that they did not consider him as deserving punishment for the affront to themselves, so much as for his horrid impiety to the Almighty. Cumanus judged it not prudent to deny the justice claimed by the Jews, lest a popular revolt might be the consequence; and after having consulted his friends on the matter, he sentenced the offender to have his head struck off.

CHAP. V.

A dissention between the Jews and Samaritans. The Jews defeated by Cumanus. The Samaritans exhibit complaints against the Jews to Numidius Quadratus, who pronounces in favour of the defendants. The matter re-heard at Lydda. Dortus and four others put to death. Ananias and Ananus, with several others, sent to Rome, in order for trial before the emperor. The cause heard by Claudius, who condemns the Samaritans to death, and Cumanus to banishment; and sentences Celer to be dragged to death in the streets. The government of Judea given to Claudius Felix. Drusilla married to Azizus, and Mariamne to Archelaus. The separation of Drusilla and Azizus, who abandons her religion, and marries Felix. Messalina put to death in consequence of her husband's jealousy. Claudius Caesar dies, and, it is supposed, by poison. Nero declared emperor: he contrives the death of Britanus, his own mother, Ophelia, and others. Upon the death of Azizus, his brother succeeds to the throne of the Emesenes. Nero gives the lesser Armenia to Ariflobulus, and part of Galilee, with the government of other places, to Agrippa.

Soon after the tumult mentioned in the preceding chapter had been appealed, a terrible dissention happened between the Samaritans and the Jews, the particulars of which we shall now proceed to relate. When the Galileans repaired to Jerusalem to celebrate the public festivals, it was their custom to pass through Samaria. As these people were going to Jerusalem on some public occasion, a quarrel took place between them and the inhabitants of a village called Nais, situated in the great plain, and under the jurisdiction of Samaria, and several of the people of Galilee lost their lives in the contest. The Galileans being incensed to an excess of rage, requested Cumanus to avert their cause, and he promised that due punishment should be inflicted upon the promoters of the disturbance; but they rejected all terms of accommodation, declaring their resolution to seek redress by arms. In this disposition they applied to other Jews, representing to them that a state of slavery was, under the most favourable circumstances, a life of infamy, but that with the addition of tyranny and injustice it became wholly intolerable.
intolerable. In short, they animated the other Jews to take up arms; and Eleazar, the son of Dinaeus, was elected to the chief command. For several years Eleazar had been a mountaineer, and obtained a livelihood by making incursions in Samaria. Cumanus marched against the Jews with some squadrons of cavalry from Sabaste, four companies of foot, and a body of Samaritans compleatly armed; and with these forces he entirely defeated them, committing a great slaughter, and taking a great number of prisoners.

The situation of the Jews was now in every respect so truly deplorable, that those who were most distinguished for rank, integrity, moderation, and good sense, humbled themselves in sackcloth and ashes, and fervently appealed to heaven to avert the dreadful calamities which still seemed to be impending over their heads. They represented the desolate state of their country, the eventual destruction of the temple, and slavery of their wives and children to nations addicted to profane religions; adjuring their countrymen by the love of their religion, country, liberties, families and laws, to moderate their extravagant passions, suppress all farther designs of war, and peaceably return to their respective habitations. The arguments made use of had the desired effect upon the common people, who gradually dispersed; and the mountaineers returned to their former quarters, and continued to follow their illegal and rapacious course of living. From this period Judaea became a receptacle for robbers.

Numidius Quadratus*, the governor of Syria, being at this time at Tyre, the principal people of Samaria went thither, and exhibited a complaint to him against the Jews, charging them with having set fire to, and plundered their villages; and alleging that they were not so sensibly affected by the injuries themselves sustained, as by the contempt shewn to the supreme authority of the state of Rome, which poiffessed the exclusive right of taking cognizance of all disturbances arising within the province they inhabited. Having made their charge, they demanded justice upon the delinquents. The Jews now addressed the governor, accusing their adversaries with being the first promoters of the tumult, and severely arraigning the conduct of Cumanus, who, they alleged, instead of punishing the authors of the riot, had been induced by bribes to connive at their barbarous proceedings. Having heard the accusation and defence, Quadratus told the parties, that he would go into Judaea and inform himself of the real state of the facts, and then pronounce judgment according to the merits of the cause. In a short time Quadratus went to Samaria, and the matter in dispute being submitted to his decision, he pronounced that the Samaritans were the original fomenters of the tumult. Information being made to him that a design had been conceived among the Jews for promoting an insurrection, he condemned several of the prisoners who had been taken by Cumanus to be put to death. From Samaria Quadratus went to Lydda, a borough of so much consideration that it might have passed for a capital city, and again heard the cause of the Samaritans, one of whom charged an eminent Jew named Dortus, and four others of the same tribe, with having endeavoured to spirit up the people to

* According to Sallustius, ‘Umidius Quadratus. Vide his annotations upon ‘Elusi Spartianus.’
an insurrection; and these men he caused to be put to death: Ananias, the high-priest, and Ananus, the captain, he sent in bonds to Rome, to which place he also sent many of the principal Samaritans and Jews, with Cumanus, the governor, and Celer, the tribune, in order for trial before Cæsar. Quadratus now went to Jerusalem, where he apprehended further disturbances would arise, but finding the people in perfect tranquility, and the attention of the Jews wholly occupied in their religious ceremonies, he repaired to Antioch.

The parties being arrived at Rome, a time and place were appointed for trial, and in all probability judgment would have been pronounced in favour of Cumanus and the Samaritans through the powerful interest they had made with Cæsar and the freemen, had it not been for the interposition of Agrippa the younger, who observing that the Jews were in danger of being oppressed by the superior power of their adversaries, earnestly entreated Agrippina to prevail upon her husband Claudius to grant an impartial hearing of the cause, and pass judgment upon those who should appear to have been the offenders. In consequence of the intercession of Agrippina, Claudius contented that the matter in dispute should be brought before him in proper form. From the evidence that was adduced on the trial, he adjudged the Samaritans to be guilty, and condemned them to suffer death; Cumanus he sentenced to banishment, and Celer, the tribune, to be conveyed to Jerusalem, and dragged through the streets till he expired: and he nominated Claudius Felix, the brother of Pallas, to assume the government of Judæa.

In the twelfth year of his reign, Cæsar appointed Agrippa to the tetrarchy which Philip had held, and of Batanæa, with Trachonitis and Abila, which had been the tetrarchy of Lyfanius: but he removed him from Chalcis, after he had enjoyed that government four years. After the great honours and advantages bestowed upon him by Cæsar, this young prince married his sister Drusilla to Azizus, king of the Emeñenes, who had been converted to the Jewish religion. Drusilla had been betrothed to Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus, on the condition of his professing Judaism: but upon his refusal to comply with the terms, the contract was dissolved. Another sister, named Marianne, he espoused to Archelaus, the son of Chelcias, to whom she had been promised by her father Agrippa: and a daughter, named Berenice, was the issue of this marriage.

Soon after their union a separation took place between Drusilla and Azizus. She was admired as the most beautiful woman of her time: and Felix, the governor of Judæa, became violently enamoured of her. He informed a Jew, named Simon, who was his particular friend, and a man highly celebrated as a magician, of the passion he had conceived; enjoining him to exert his endeavours to prevail upon Drusilla to desert her husband and marry him, and to assure her, that if she consented, he would make her the most happy woman upon earth. Drusilla was prevailed upon to renounce her religion, abandon her husband, and marry Felix: and to this she was partly induced by

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* Abila, but Abila seems to be the true reading. Vide Eretelius upon Step. Bryzant. p. 9.
the desire of avoiding all further uneasiness from her sister Berenice, who envied her the posseffion of the superior attractions of her person. By Felix Drusilla had a son named Agrippa, who in the time of Titus Cæfar, together with his wife, fell a sacrifice to a violent eruption of Mount Vesuvius, as we shall hereafter particularly relate.

Berenice for a considerable time survived Herod, to whom she was both wife and niece. A report being circulated that a criminal intercourse subsifted between her and her brother, she judged that the most effectual method for clearing herself from the horrid and flanderous accusation of incest would be to prevail upon Polemon, king of Cilicia, to embrace Judaism, and unite herself to him in marriage. In consideration of her great wealth Polemon accepted the proposals of Berenice; but she soon deserted him, and he then abandoned the principles of our religion.

Mariamne was not more virtuous than her sisters; for she quitted her husband Archelaus, and espoused Demetrius, the most considerable Jew of Alexandria, both on account of his family and wealth. He held the office of alabarch of Alexandria. By Demetrius Mariamne had a son named Agrippinus, who we shall have occasion to speak of in the sequel.

After a reign of thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days, Claudius Cæfar departed this life; and it was violently suspected that his wife had administered poison to him. She was daughter of Germanicus, the brother of the emperor: she was first married to one of the most considerable men of Rome, named Domitius Aenobarbus, to whom she bore a son called after his father, but whose name was changed to that of Nero, upon being adopted into the family of Claudius. After the decease of Domitius, Agrippina remained in a state of widowhood a considerable time before she was espoused by Claudius. By a former wife, named Messalina, Claudius had Britannicus and Octavia; being jealous of Messalina, he cauffed her to be put to death. The eldest of this emperor's children was Antonia, the issue of a marriage with Petronia, and he espoused her to Nero.

In order to secure the succession to her son Nero, Agrippina contrived the death both of her husband Claudius and Britannicus, who was formerly called Germanicus. Immediately upon the decease of the emperor, she made interest with Burrhus, captain of the guards, the principal officers, tribunes, and other leading people, to convey Nero to the soldiers, and declare him successor to the throne. The first action which rendered him remarkable after his advancement to the sovereign power, was the causing Britannicus to be poisoned. A few years after that cruelty, he requited his mother for having given him existence, and possession of the empire, by murdering her in a public and most barbarous manner. He effected the death of his wife Octavia, as well as of many persons highly distinguished by their rank in life, and a proper conformity to the principles of honour and integrity; endeavouring to excuse his barbarity by absurd and improbable pretences that they had concerted plots against his life. But it is unnecessary to dwell on

† See Notes upon Tacitus, by Ryckius, p. 493.
on this subject, the life of Nero having already employed the pens of divers historians. Different writers have spoken of Nero according to their respective prejudices; some having extravagantly commended his good qualities, and others, with equal violence, having excrated his bad ones: but, indeed, a more scrupulous regard to truth has not been observed in the histories of preceding emperors. It is my business to confine myself within the limits of truth in every instance; to touch but slightly on matters not immediately connected with the plan of this history, but to be more particular and diffusive as to what concerns our nation, candidly acknowledging wherein we have deserved censure, and faithfully recording the distresses we have experienced.

But, to renew our narrative; in the first year of the reign of Nero, died Azizus, the king of Emepenes, and he was succeeded by his brother. Nero bestowed the latter Armenia upon Arifobulus, the son of Herod, king of Chalcis. A part of Galilee, Tiberias, Taricheae, with Julius beyond the Jordan, and fourteen villages annexed to the same jurisdiction, he subjected to the government of Agrippa.

C H A P. VI.

The robbers and impostors of Judæa encroach. Felix seizes Eleazar by stratagem. Felix employs Dora to effect the death of Jonathan, and be is stabbed by ruffians. The disguise of pilgrims assumed for murderous purposes. The people seduced by a false prophet. The multitude dispersed, but the impostor escapes. A contention between the Jews of Caesarea and the Syrians. The pontifical dignity conferred upon Israel. The high-priests divide from the other priests, seize their tythes, in consequence of which the poorer part perishes through want of food.

The situation of affairs in Judæa became daily more distressing; every part of the country being infested with robbers and seducers, notwithstanding Felix scarcely permitted a day to elapse without condemning some of them to the punishments due to their crimes. One of the most considerable of these people was Eleazar, the son of Dinaeus, being the leader of a formidable troop of robbers: Felix got this man into his power by the following stratagem: he gave him an invitation to come over to him, promising in the most solemn manner that he entertained no design to ensnare him, and that he should, in every respect, be in a state of perfect freedom and safety: but Felix betrayed the faith repofed in him, and sent Eleazar in bonds to Rome.

It was through the intercession of Jonathan, the high priest, that the emperor had bestowed the government of Judæa upon Felix: Jonathan, therefore, considering that the public mischiefs arising from mal-administration, would be charged on himself, was induced frequently to expostulate with Felix, with a view to effect a reformation in his conduct. It is the disposition of men of abandoned principles to conceive an aversion towards those who offer good advice, which, however friendly the intention, conscious guilt represents as malevolence and reproach. This proved the case with Felix, who
revolved in his mind a variety of measures for removing Jonathan, and at length communicated his purpose to a man in Jerusalem named Dora, who was held in great estimation by the high-priest. Felix promised Dora a considerable sum of money, on condition of his effecting the death of Jonathan; observing that no difficulty would occur in procuring ruffians who would willingly execute the business. Jerusalem was at this time infested by a desperate gang of braves, provided with daggers concealed under their garments; and Dora employed these ruffians to execute the barbarous commission he had accepted from Felix. In their usual disguise of pilgrims the robbers dispersed themselves among the friends, and those who composed the train of the high-priest; and, availing themselves of a favourable opportunity, they stabbed him amidst the concourse of people by whom he was surrounded, and then the whole party escaped. The impunity which the perpetrators of this horrid and sacrilegious murder experienced, proved an encouragement to other iniquities of a similar kind; for it became customary for ruffians, in the disguise of pilgrims, to commit murders at public festivals, either from revenge, avarice, or other motives; and this practice was not confined to the several parts of the city, for the holy temple itself was no protection against the most abominable impiety and sacrilege. After the sacred house of the Almighty had been degraded from its original state of purity, it is not wonderful that his wrath should fall upon Jerusalem; that he should deliver the city into the power of the Romans, to be punished by expiatory flames; and that he should condemn the whole nation of the Jews, with their wives and offspring, to bondage and affliction, in order to convince them, by judicial punishment, of their abominable iniquities.

Besides the violences committed by robbers, the people sustained great mischiefs from the impostures of pretended magicians and other impostors, who seduced the populace to follow them into solitudes and deserts, under pretence of shewing them miracles: but they had cause severely to regret their credulity and folly; for Felix caused a number of them to be taken into custody, and put to death. A man came from Egypt at this time, and pretending to possess the gift of prophecy, invited the people of Jerusalem to follow him to the summit of Mount Olivet, situated at about the distance of five furlongs from Jerusalem; promising that upon his pronouncing certain words, they should see the walls fall to the earth, affording them a free passage to enter the city. When Felix received intelligence of what the impostor had proposed, he ordered his troops under arms, and, with a numerous body of horse and foot, he presently attacked the multitude by surprize, putting four hundred to death, and making prisoners of two hundred; but notwithstanding the most vigilant search was made, the Egyptian impostor escaped.

The robbers, and other abandoned miscreants, exerted their utmost endeavours to engage the people in an insurrection against the Romans, whom they represented as oppressive to an intolerable degree. They traversed the country, making spoil of the property, and burning the habitations of those who refused to unite with them in opposing the power of the Romans.
At this period a contention took place between the Cæsarean Jews and the Syrians, on the score of certain privileges. The Jews of Cæsarea established their claim of preference in the right of Herod, their king, as the original founder of the city; The Syrians infilted that, previous to the establishment of the city of Herod, and to its being inhabited by Jews, the place had existed under the denomination of the Tower of Straton. The governors of the adjacent provinces being informed of the prevailing commotion, caused the incendiaries of both parties to be apprehended and whipped; this punishment produced a suspension of the tumult for some time: but the dispute was, at length, revived by the Jews of Cæsarea, who, priding themselves in their riches, calumniated and reproached the Syrians, who replied with no inferior degree of acrimony; for they were encouraged to a boldness of opposition by a conscientiousness that many of the soldiers in the service of Rome were attached to their cause. From words they proceeded to annoy each other by calling of stones, and the quarrel was continued till many on each side were slain and wounded; but the Jews had considerably the advantage. The contention having increased to a kind of war, Felix commanded the Jews to decline all farther animosities; but finding that they treated his authority with contempt, he ordered his troops to march against them, and the consequence was, that many of the Jews lost their lives, and a much greater number were taken prisoners. Felix gave the soldiers permission to plunder, and they rifled several of the most considerable houses of property to a great amount. Those Jews who were most remarkable for moderation and honour, dreading still more fatal consequences, solicited Felix to recall his troops, that the offenders might have the opportunity of repenting of their rash and inconsiderate conduct; and he complied with their request.

At this time king Agrippa advanced Ismael, the son of Phabeus, to the pontifical dignity: and the high-priests now detached themselves from the interests of the other priests, and the governors and principal officers and inhabitants of Jerusalem. Each of the high-priests procured the attendance of a guard, composed of the most intrepid and seditious people they could select: and they vilified their adversaries in the most provoking terms, and molested them by casting stones. So shameful was the conduct of the magistrates, in neglecting to restrain the insolence of the high-priests, that, by means of their agents, they destroyed the barns and seized the tithes belonging to the other priests, many of the poorer sort of whom actually perished for want of food. Had no order of government been established, they could not have proceeded to greater extremities.
Félix accused by the Cæsarean Jews: but Cæsar grants him a pardon at the instance of his brother Pallas. A mandate for disfranchising the Jews obtained by Beryllus. Judea infested by bravoes and robbers. The people seduced to follow an impostor towards the wilderness: the procession stopped by a detachment of soldiers, who destroy the seducer and his followers. Agrippa constructs a palace commanding a view of the temple: and the Jews erect a wall to intercept the sight. Félix orders the wall to be destroyed. The Jews appeal to Cæsar, and, through the mediation of the empress Poppæa, he determines in their favour. Joseph advanced to the pontifical dignity.

The emperor having now transferred the government from Félix to Por-tius Félix, some of the most considerable of the Cæsarean Jews repaired to Rome in order to exhibit accusations against Félix for the exercise of tyranny and injustice; and their representations must inevitably have produced his destruction but for the interference of his brother Pallas, who being in high estimation with Nero, solicited and obtained his pardon.

Two distinguished Syrians of Cæarea applied to Beryllus, who had been preceptor, and now held the office of Greek secretary, to Nero, and by an immense sum of money prevailed upon him to procure the emperor's mandate for the disfranchising the Jews, and the revocation of the privileges and immunities of the city of Cæarea, which they claimed in common with the Syrians. This mandate is to be considered as the cause of all the miseries which we afterwards experienced; for the Cæsarean Jews were thereby enflamed to greater violence, nor did their restless dispositions subside till they were involved in all the calamities of an open war.

Upon the arrival of Félix in Judæa he found the country ravaged and laid waste, the people compelled to desert their habitations, the land overrun by great numbers of robbers, who set fire to, and plundered houses, and committed every other kind of enormity without control. These desperadoes were called Sicarii *, from the word Sica, signifying the weapon they used, which was curving towards the point, and otherwise made after a form between the Persian scythe, and the Roman falchion. It was the custom of these bravoes, on public days, when the people returned to the city, to disperse themselves amongst the multitude and perpetrate the most horrid murders: at other times they attacked towns and villages, and subjected the unfortunate inhabitants to the most cruel extremities of fire and sword.

A famous impostor lived at this time: he seduced great numbers of the people into the absurd notion that if they followed him into a certain wilderness, they should be no longer subject to the misfortunes and accidents of life. However, Félix ordered the procession to be intercepted by a strong detachment of horse and foot, who pursued and put to death the seducer and his credulous disciples.

Near the porch of the royal palace at Jerusalem, formerly belonging to the Asian race, king Agrippa caused a superb edifice to be constructed.

* Vide Drusus de tribus, Seæis Judæorum, 1. II. c. 24: † Al. Aßhamonæn.
THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

Being situated on an eminence, it commanded a prospect of the city; and from the king's bed-chamber might be perceived all that passed in the temple. This circumstance proved highly offensive to the principal Jews; for our law does not allow our religious ceremonies, particularly the sacrifices, to be exposed. To intercept the view from the king's bed-chamber, the Jews erected a wall before the feasts, which inclosed the interior part of the temple toward the west, and it likewise concealed the galleries without the temple on the other side, where the Roman guards are stationed on public days, for preserving tranquillity. Agrippa was highly offended with the Jews for building the wall, and Feftus was still more so; and the latter ordered them immediately to destroy it: but they replied, that they would sooner relinquish their lives, than commit any violence upon their temple; and they requested that, before any measures were pursued against them, they might be permitted to appeal to Cæsar, through the agency of deputies; and Feftus complied with their desire. They nominated ten eminent citizens, with Ismael, the high-priest, and Chelcias, the treasurer of the temple, as commissioners to represent their cause to Nero. Poppæa, the emperor's wife, a woman of great piety, and a friend to the Jews, interceded with Nero, and prevailed upon him to authorize the continuance of the wall. The empress detained Ismael and Chelcias as hostages, but the ten deputies were permitted to return. Agrippa being informed that the Jews had obtained their suit, bestowed the pontificate upon Jofeph, otherwise named Cabis, the son of Simon, who had formerly enjoyed the dignity of the high-priest-hood.

CHAP. VIII.

Albinus succeeds the deceased Feftus. Ananus, a cruel and vindictive sadducee, advanced to the pontificate, in the room of Jofeph. Ananus summons James, the brother of Jefus, and others, to appear before the council on an accusation of blasphemy, and a violation of the law; and they are condemned to be slain. Ananus threatened by Albinus. Agrippa promotes Jefus, the son of Damneus, to the pontificate, in the room of Ananus. Agrippa makes considerable additions to Cæsarea Philippi, and names it Neronias. He constructs a superb theatre at Berytus. Jefus, the son of Gamaliel appointed high-priest instead of Jefus, the son of Damneus. Costobarus and Saul attended by ruffians. Albinus succeeded by Gessus Florus. The singing men of the tribe of Levi solicit and obtain certain privileges. Another sect of levites officiate in the temple in violation of the law. The temple completed. Agrippa rejects the petition of the Jews to repair the porch, a description of which is given. Jefus, the son of Theophilus, succeeds Jefus, the son of Gamaliel, as high-priest. The origin, qualifications and number of the high-priests. The different forms of government. Particulars respecting the pontificate.

UPON the decease of Feftus, Nero conferred the government he had enjoyed upon Albinus. At the same period Agrippa displaced Jofeph, and promoted Ananus, the son of Ananus, to succeed him in the pontificate.
cate. The elder Ananus was considered as one of the most happy men on earth; for he had five sons, who successively enjoyed the pontificate after him: and this was what no other man could boast. Ananus, the son, was of a vindictive, fierce and haughty temper: he professed the principles of the Sadducees, who, as we have already observed, were a sect remarkable for their censorious and uncharitable dispositions. After the death of Iextus, and previous to the arrival of his successor Albinus, Ananus assembled a council, and cited James, named Christ, and others to appear, and answer to an accusation of having committed blasphemy, and violated the law; and in consequence of this charge they were sentenced to be stoned. The conduct of Ananus, with respect to these supposed offenders, proved highly disgusting to those citizens whose sentiments were regulated by motives of piety, and a due regard to the laws: and they privately transmitted a representation of the case to the king, requesting that Ananus might be reprimanded, in order to deter him from a repetition of his unjustifiable conduct. The matter was also related to Albinus, then on his journey to Alexandria, to whom the letters set forth, that the parties could not be legally condemned without his concurrence, and that therefore Ananus had been guilty of usurping his authority and violating the law. Highly incensed against the high-priest, Albinus wrote to him a menacing letter, strongly expressive of his displeasure: and on the expiration of three months, king Agrippa deposed Ananus from the pontificate, and appointed Jesus, the son of Damasus, to assume that dignity.

Upon the arrival of Albinus at Jerusalem, he caused a considerable part of the robbers to be put to death, and exerted his utmost endeavours to restore the province to a state of tranquillity. Ananus frequently complimented Albinus and the high-priest with presents, and in many otherinstances shewed them great respect: and he gained the particular esteem of the people by his affable and generous disposition: but he entertained a number of profligate domestics, who, uniting with others of equally abandoned principles, broke into the barns belonging to the priests, and stole their tythes, cruelly beating and wounding such as opposed them; in consequence hereof the priests, who had no means of subsistence but their tenths, were reduced to the most extreme distress.

On a holiday-eve the robbers privately gained admittance to the city, and surprized the son of Ananus, the high-priest, who held the office of secretary to Eleazar, a military officer, and having confined him in bonds, they carried him off. They dispatched a missive to Ananus, proposing that on condition of his prevailing upon Albinus to dismiss from his custody ten of their associates, they would restore their prisoner to liberty. Albinus foreknew that a compliance with the request would be productive of ill consequences; but yet, in a cafe of so pressing a nature, he could not refuse. The redemption of Ananus's son proved a dangerous precedent; for the desperadoes were perpetually inventing stratagems for making prisoners of the relations of Ananus, for the purpose of redeeming their companions. They greatly increased in number and strength, and committed the most terrible devastation throughout the country.
Caesarea Philippi had now been considerably enlarged by king Agrippa, who, in honour of Nero, had given it the appellation of Neroias. At Berytus he caused a superb theatre to be erected at a great expense; and he endowed the building with an immense sum of money, for the purpose of annual exhibitions, and for providing corn and oil to be distributed among the people at a certain proportion by the head. He enriched the city with curious statues, a most valuable collection of antique pieces, the productions of the most capital artists, and other pictures: this town, in short, was the receptacle of the most curious and valuable articles in the kingdom. Agrippa was rendered extremely unpopular by his partiality to Berytus; his subjects considering themselves highly aggrieved by the king's diverting his own cities and villages of curiosities and valuables, for the purpose of gratifying strangers.

Agrippa deposed the high-priest Jesus, the son of Damneus, and appointed Jesus the son of Gamaliel to succeed him: in consequence hereof a violent enmity ensued between the parties, who were each attended by a band of ruffians, and when they met in the streets they reviled each other, and sometimes proceeded so far as to annoy each other by casting stones. Two men of the royal blood, and nearly allied to Agrippa, named Caistorus and Saul, had each a party of braves at his command: these men had great interest, and exercised great oppressions upon the poor. From this period is to be dated the destruction of our commonwealth; for the circumstances of the Jews were afterwards continually verging more near to the extreme of misery.

Albinus having received intelligence that Geffius Florus was appointed to succeed him, determined as the most effectual means of obtaining the esteem of the people, to execute justice upon the offenders who had been apprehended and committed to prison. He ordered the prisoners to be brought into his presence; and pronounced judgment upon them according to their degrees of criminality: such as were accused only of slight offences, he dismissed on their paying fines, and he sentenced those to death against whom sufficient evidence was adduced to prove the commission of capital crimes. Thus by clearing the jails did he suffer the country to be over-run by robbers and other abandoned characters. The singing men of the tribe of Levi petitioned Agrippa for permission to use the linen stole, which only the priests had then a right to wear; urging that from a compliance with their request he would derive immortal honour. The king summoned a council, and granted their petition with the usual formalities: and the other levites who served in the temple he permitted to officiate as fingers. The grant of these privileges was contrary to the laws and customs of our nation, which have never been violated with impunity.

The temple being now compleated, eighteen thousand workmen, who had been paid for their labour with the utmost punctuality, now become destitute of employment. The people being desirous to assist these distress'd artificers, and unwilling to keep large sums of money by them left they should be seiz'd by the Romans, made a proposal to Agrippa for repairing an edifice, situated on the east side of the temple, which overlooked a narrow valley of

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great depth. The wall of this building was four hundred cubits high: the stones were white, each being twenty cubits long and six deep, and the surface of them wrought smooth and regular. The structure was raised by Solomon, the original founder of the temple. Claudius Caesar commissioned Agrippa to make the proposed reparations; but Agrippa considering the extensiveness of the undertaking, the immense sums of money it would require, and that all human works might easily be destroyed, he judged that it would not be expedient to comply with the desires of the public: but he proposed, instead of repairing the sacred edifice, to pave the streets of the city with white stones.

After this, Agrippa advanced Matthias, the son of Theophilus, to the pontifical dignity in the room of Jesus, the son of Gamaliel; and in his time the war between the Romans and the Jews commenced.

It will not be improper here to introduce some particulars respecting the origin and qualifications of high-priests, and to mention the persons promoted to the pontificate till the conclusion of the above-mentioned war. Aaron, the brother of Moses was the first of the order; and he was succeeded by his sons. So inviolable a regard did our progenitors observe to the right of hereditary succession that only those of the blood of Aaron were deemed eligible to assume the holy office, even kings themselves being excluded. There were eighty-three high-priests from the time of Aaron to that of Phanæus, who during a time of hostilities, was elected to the pontificate by a faction: thirteen of them exercised the holy office from the time of the tabernacle to the Almighty being constructed in the desert by Moses, to the time of the people entering Judea, where the sacred temple was erected and dedicated to God by king Solomon. According to the original institution there was no opportunity to succeed to the pontifical dignity but through a vacancy by death: but that custom was abolished, and it became usual to divest the high-priest of his office and appoint a successor. The thirteen persons above alluded to, descendants of the two sons of Aaron, enjoyed the honourable distinction in due rotation. The first establishment of the government was aristocratical, the second monarchical, after which kings were invested with the sovereign authority. We compute that six hundred and twelve years elapsed from the time of our people being conducted out of the land of Egypt by Moses to that of erecting Solomon's temple.

Under the government of kings the thirteen high-priests, already mentioned, were succeeded by eighteen others; reckoning from king Solomon to the time when, after subduing Jerusalem and destroying the holy temple by fire, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, subjected Jozedec and the whole nation to captivity.

Cyrus king of Persia restored the Jews to liberty and their country, after they had remained seventy years in captivity in Babylon, and granted them permission to rebuild the temple, the pontificate being at that time in possession of Jesus, the son of Jozedec. For the space of four hundred and fourteen years, fifteen of the posterity of Jesus enjoyed the high-priesthood,
exercising their authority in a popular manner, and then king Antiochus Eupator, with his general Lyfias, put to death the high-priest Onias, otherwise named Menelaus, at the city of Beryus, excluding his son from the succession, and conferring the dignity upon Jason, who thought of the race of Aaron, was not of the pontifical family. On occasion of the death of Onias, his son, whose name was Onias also, went into Egypt, and ingratiated himself into the favour of Ptolemy Philometer, and his wife Cleopatra; he prevailed upon them to construct a temple to the Almighty at Heliopolis, similar to that at Jerusalem, and to appoint him high-priest. Respecting this temple we have sufficiently spoken already. Jason died after he had enjoyed the high-priesthood three years; but leaving no successor the pontificate remained vacant for the space of seven years. After the revolt of the Jews against the Macedonians, the dignity of the high-priesthood was transferred to the Asimonean line, Jonathan being promoted to the pontifical office, which he exercised for seven years. Jonathan, falling a sacrifice to the treachery of Tryphon, was succeeded by his brother Simon: and upon Simon being affiliated at a public entertainment by his son-in-law, the dignity devolved to his son Hyrcanus, who enjoyed it thirty one years: upon his decease he was succeeded by his son Judas, otherwise called Aristobulus, who was the first that assumed the title and quality of king; having reigned one year he died, leaving his brother Alexander the heir both to the kingdom and pontificate. Alexander continued in the exercise of the regal and pontifical functions for twenty seven years, and then died, bequeathing the regency to his wife Alexandria, whom he authorized to bestow the pontificate upon one of his sons whom she should most approve: and she conferred the dignity upon Hyrcanus, who enjoyed it during the term of her sovereignty, which was nine years. Upon the decease of Alexandria, Aristobulus declared war against his elder brother Hyrcanus, and having subdued and reduced him to a private station, he assumed the sovereignty and pontificate. At the expiration of three years and three months Pompey conquered Jerusalem and carried Aristobulus and his children prisoners to Rome. He restored Aristobulus to the dignity of high-priest and appointed him prince of the Jews, but he was not to assume the title and character of king. Exclusive of the nine years already mentioned, Hyrcanus remained twenty three years in the exercise of the pontifical function. This time being elapsed, Barzapharnes and Pacorus, men of distinguished characters, and generals in the Parthian army, crossed the Euphrates and made war against Hyrcanus, whom they subdued and carried away prisoner. They promoted Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, to the throne; but in three years and three months he was made prisoner in Jerusalem by Herod and Sosus, who sent him to Anthony, by whose command he was soon after put to death at Antioch.

The Romans having established Herod in the regal dignity, he dispensed with the practice of selecting the high-priests from the Asimonean family, and disposed of the pontificate indiscriminately, deeming even the most obscure persons in holy orders eligible to the office. The case of Aristobulus is, however, to be excepted; for he being the brother of his wife Mariamne, and the grand-son of Hyrcanus, who was taken by the Parthians, and whose
memory was held in the highest veneration, he promoted him to the high-priesthood, with a view to invest him himself into the favour of the people. The great and still increasing reputation of Aristobulus inspired Herod with envy and jealousy; and therefore, as we have already related, he caused him to be drowned, while swimming in a fish-pool at Jericho. After this he entirely excluded the Aimonæan race from the possession of the pontifical dignity: and the same conduct was pursued by his son Archelaus, and by the Romans, when Judæa came under their government.

In the course of one hundred and seven years, from the time of Herod to the conflagration of Jerusalem and the temple by Titus, there were twenty-eight high-priests, some of them being under Herod, and Archelaus, his son. After the decease of Herod and Archelaus, our nation was subjected to the aristocratical form of government, and the high-priest was invested with the exercise of the sovereign authority.

**C H A P. IX.**

Albinus is succeeded by Gessius Florus, the husband of Cleopatra, who exceeds his predecessor in wickedness. The beginning of the war between the Jews and the Romans. The history of the Jews continued from the creation of the world to the twelfth year of the reign of Nero. The author declares his intention of writing the history of the wars.

**NERO** appointed Gessius Florus* to succeed Albinus in the government of our nation, and he reduced us to a state of the most extreme misery. By birth he was a Clazomenian; and when he came into Judæa he was accompanied by his wife Cleopatra, who was equal to Florus in a disposition to iniquity. Cleopatra had a great influence over the empress Poppæa, and to that influence Florus was indebted for his exaltation. The oppression of this man was so intolerable, that the Jews even regretted the loss of Albinus. Though the wickedness of Albinus was excessive, he studied to put the most favourable appearance upon his conduct; but Florus, on the contrary, triumphed in his iniquity, and all his behaviour seemed to intimate that the whole business of his commission was to effect the ruin of our nation. His avarice and cruelty were without bounds: he gave encouragement to public robbers, by sharing with them in the spoil; which induced him to countenance them in every species of depredation. His rapacity and tyranny were so extreme, that the Jews were driven to the cruel necessity of deserting their country, altars and religious ceremonies, and seeking refuge among the most inhospitable strangers. In short, the oppression of this man precipitated the miserable Jews to take up arms against the Romans, preferring to perish together, rather than longer to remain the objects of contempt in ignominious slavery, and gradually to fall sacrifices to so insupportable a government. The war commenced in the second year of the government of Florus over Judæa, and in the twelfth year of the

* Gessius or Cessius, in notes upon Catullus by Vossius.
the reign of Nero. Such as wish to be informed of the particulars of the war will be fully gratified by perusing the books † written on that subject.

I here conclude the Antiquities of the Jews, contained in twenty books and sixty thousand lines ‡, comprehending a narrative of what happened to them from the creation of the world to the twelfth year of the reign of Nero; their situation in Egypt and Syria; their sufferings under the Assyrians and Babylonians; and the treatment they experienced from the Persians, Macedonians and Romans. I have given an authentic account of the succession of the high-priests during the course of two thousand years; nor have I omitted to treat of the several forms and revolutions of government. The whole is founded on the authority of the holy writings, as was promised at the beginning of the work.

I shall here venture to assert, that no man could have afforded the Greeks a more perfect history than the present production. The Jews will admit that there is none more conveinient in the Mofaical law than myself. I have studied the critical and grammatical properties of the Greek language with the strictest attention: but I pretend to no skill in the pronunciation, our people holding the knowledge of many languages in slight estimation, and considering the study rather as profane, being common both to freemen and slaves. The only learning and wisdom which we account valuable, are a necessary attention to a knowledge of our laws, and a just conception of the sacred scriptures: but among the numerous candidates there are perhaps but two or three who have arrived to a proficiency in those excellencies.

I have conceived a design, by the permission of God, to write a concise narrative of the war, from its commencement to the present period; being the thirteenth year of the reign of Domitian, and the fifty-sixth of my age; in which it may not be improper to speak briefly of my family, and my own personal conduct, while people are living to bear testimony of my truth, or disprove the authority of my assertions ††. I likewise intend to treat of the opinions of the Jews, in four books, concerning the Almighty himself and his nature; and also of our laws, explaining the reasons why some matters are allowed, and why from others we are expressly restrained.

† In the time of Vespasian, long before the Antiquities were written, the books on the Jewish Wars were published. Vide l. xviii. c. 2. Vol. de Hist. Gr. & Valef. in Euseb. p. 48. & Ed. Paris.
‡ In the original, "ἐξ μετανόης σιγήν.
†† This sentence perhaps means the life of the author, which begins our first volume. Vide Valerius upon Eusebius. p. 47, 48.

Conclusion of the Antiquities of the Jews.
A

DEFENCE OF THE

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES,

IN ANSWER TO APION:

CONTAINED IN AN EPISTLE FROM:

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

TO

EPAPHRODITUS.

BOOK I.

In my history of the Jewish Antiquities (most honoured Epaphroditus) I have said sufficient to ascertain the ancient descent of the Jews, and to prove that they are a people which derive not their origin from any others; also to prove their undeniable claim to this originality from the beginning of time. This I have made appear by a faithful deduction of history for five thousand years, extracted from the authority of the sacred writings: yet has this been insufficient to secure me from the most opprobrious invectives, or to gain my history any other character than that of a fable. It has been asked by my enemies, that if the Jews were of such distinguished origin as I have made them, how it happens that the best Greek historians have made no mention of the circumstance. It therefore be-
comes me, for three obvious reasons, to declare the truth: in the first place, to confute my enemies; in the second, to instruct the ignorant; and, in the third, to represent the whole state of the case, in an open and fair manner, to all those who are friends to truth. With regard to my authorities, I shall make use of those only whom the Greek writers themselves hold in the highest reputation: with respect to those by whom myself or my writings have been traduced, either through ignorance or malice, I shall endeavour to make their own words evidence against them. I shall also try to explain how it happens that the Greeks in general have taken such flight notice of the Jews: and shall prove that, with respect to particular writers, they either were, or pretend to be, totally ignorant of the affairs of which I have treated.

The world abounds with people who are so devoted to the opinion of the Greeks, that they consider them as the only persons worthy to be consulted with respect to the credibility of history; to the insult and disgrace of men of all other nations whatever. Now I own I am greatly astonished at the presumption of these pretenders to a knowledge of antiquity, when they are equally opposed by plain reason and indubitable fact. In matter of history we ought not to be governed by the private opinion of any particular man, or body of men, but by the internal evidence of the facts themselves. With regard to the Greeks, every thing among them appears to me to be distinguished by the air of novelty. Their buildings, their arts, their laws, are but of late date; and even the use of history among them is but a very modern improvement. On the contrary, they themselves acknowledge that the Egyptians, Chaldaens and Phoenicians, (not to mention the Jews) have kept regular periodical records, to transmit to posterity the memorable acts of former times. These were preferred by means of monumental pillars and inscriptions, agreeable to the advice of the wisest men among them; that the memory of their public transactions might not be lost, but faithfully recorded to after ages. It is likewise worthy of observation, that as these people lived in an open air and fine climate, their monuments were less liable to moulder and decay: which was by no means the case with the Greeks, who neither gave orders for such inscriptions, nor would their climate preserve them.

It is not at all unnatural for those who erect new states or societies, to think themselves perfect in the art of government. With regard to the Greeks, their skill in letters is of late date, nor are they at this present time arrived to a full degree of perfection in this science. Respecting their antiquity in this particular, themselves pretend to no farther origin than the Phoenicians; and consider Cadmus as their first master; but neither in their temples, nor on their public registers, are they able to produce one authentic memorial of the period to which they pretend to allude. It is an acknowledged fact, that when it was debated if the use of letters was known at the time of the Trojan war, the question was carried in the negative; and it was determined that no such characters then existed. Certain it is, that there is no Greek manuscript now extant written before the poem of Homer; and it is equally certain that the Trojan war was at an end before the
the writing of this poem. It will be likewise confessed, that Homer never committed his poem to writing, but that it was sung about as a ballad, in different places, till the people had learnt it by heart, and in process of time copies were taken off it from the memory of the reciters; which clearly accounts for the number of errors and contradictions found in the first manuscripts.

With regard to Cadmus, the Milesian, Acustians, and other Grecians, who were afterwards reputed historians, these existed but a little time before the inroad made into Greece by the Persians. Pherecydes of Syros, Pythagoras, and Thales, who were among the most ancient of their philosophers on celestial and divine affairs, combine to own that they derive their knowledge from the Egyptians and Chaldeans; and though what has been committed to writing on these subjects has been allowed the authority of antiquity, yet it is even to this day a doubt, whether the persons above-mentioned were the authors of the pieces alluded to.

Is it not, then, astonishing that the Greeks should claim, not only the credit of having a superior knowledge in antiquity, but should arrogate to themselves the further credit of historical faith and candour, in preference to other men? Whereas, even from their own works, it is evident that their writings are rather founded on conjecture and opinion, than on matter of fact, and that every man indulges his own fancy in his writings: for their authors still disagree with each other, and relate to the public very inconsistent accounts of the same circumstances.

Equally fruitless and tedious would be the endeavour to describe the disagreement between Hellanicus and Acurflaus, with respect to their genealogies; the contradictions between Hesiod and Acurflaus; the absurdities of Hellanicus, which have been expos'd by Ephorus; those of Ephorus which have been remarked by Timaeus; those of Timaeus by his successors; and finally, how Herodotus is contradicted by them all.

Timaeus equally disagrees with Phillitus and Callias, in their Sicilian histories. The historians of Athens and Argos mutually attack each other, and are as much at variance as those before-mentioned. Now what kind of agreement are we to expect in the histories written by those who give an account of adventures and transactions, when the most eminent authors disagree among themselves, in their recital of the particulars of the Persian war? Even Thucydides, who is the most careful, candid, and unprejudiced historian of the age in which he lived, has had his credit called in question on many occasions.

Many reasons might be assigned for these variations among the Greek authors, if it were necessary to bestow the proper attention to discover them: but the two points which I shall principally insist on are, first, in not preserving the memory of distinguished actions, by a proper foundation of their history in records and memorials; for posterity must be left uninformed without these monumental traditions: and secondly, I charge them with giving false accounts of the history of ancient times, where they are little
liable to be contradicted. The mode of keeping public registers hath been neglected, not only in the exterior parts of Greece, but even in Athens itself, where the people, with regard to their original, are distinguished by the name of Earth-born, and pride themselves above all other people, on account of their antiquity and learning. It is generally acknowledged that Draco's penal laws preceded all their other writings, though they are of not much greater antiquity than the time of the tyrant Pisistratus. What then is to be said with respect to the Arcadians, who received the use of letters later than any of their countrymen, and yet pretend to a precedence in point of antiquity.

Now as there was no valuable intelligence extant, for the instruction of those who were desirous to be well informed, or for the rectifying the errors of those who might otherwise willfully deviate from the line of rectitude; how was it possible but that their historians should give contradictory accounts, especially if we consider that truth was least of all their object, though they made perpetual professions of a contrary nature? In fact, they wrote with a view to popular applause, and if they could but obtain the name of distinguished orators, they were little solicitous for the name of honest men. Some of them wrote from whim and caprice, totally disregarding the truth of their recital: others were mere panegyrists, and sought only the favour of persons of eminence; while a third fort prided themselves in depreciating the persons and writings of those that preceded them; all of which deviates entirely from the office and duty of an historian.

When a number of writers agree in the same thing, and concur as to the particulars of time and place, it is an infallible sign that the history is genuine: but the Greeks have proved where the truth lay, by their contradictory accounts of each other. If the only contest between them and us was with regard to elegance of diction, we should not deny them the precedence: but with regard to antiquity, and matter of fact, it is otherwise.

It is known that the Egyptians and Babylonians were anciently extremely exact in noting their accounts and annals. Among the Egyptians the care of this registering was committed to the priests, who were very assiduous and careful in the discharge of this duty. The example of the Babylonians was followed by the Chaldeans; and the Phœnicians, on their incorporation with the Greeks, taught them the use of letters, and how far these were subservient to the conduct of life, and the preservation of public traditions. But as this is a matter confessed by all parties, it is unnecessary that I should say anything farther of it in this place: wherefore I shall content myself with briefly observing that our predecessors took at least as great, if not greater care to secure this order and regulation, than any other people; for the high priests and prophets were charged with this commission: and the practice hath been regularly kept up to the present time: and, if I may be allowed to prophecy, I dare presume to say it will never fail: for care was originally taken in the choice of persons of distinguished piety and virtue for the office of priest, (exclusive of those who were devoted to the service of the altar) and a provision was made that the line of priesthood should not be contaminated by a mixture with any other family; for no man is qualified to execute the
office of a priest except his mother be descended from the line of the priesthood; therefore, regardless of riches or rank, the man who makes his pretensions to the sacerdotal office must produce a number of witnesses to prove his descent in a regular line.

This is not only the case in Judea, but in Egypt, Babylon, and all places throughout the earth where our people are dispersed: for our priests make it a point of conscience not to marry with any but those of their own tribes. When they are disposed to wed, they send to Jerufalem the name of the bride, (by permission of her father) with a draught of her pedigree, properly attested. But in times of war, (which have frequently happened) particularly in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, Pompey the great, and Quintillius Varus, and likewise within our own memory; in these cases the surviving priests supply and reform the old registers, and make new ones; and the women who remain are examined with the most exact scrutiny. The priests are never married to captives, lest they should contract a foreign mixture; nor can there be a more convincing proof of their uprightness, than that for the space of two thousand years the names of all our priests have stood upon record, from father to son. If among the priests any one be found to prevaricate, or depart from the truth, he is deposed from the exercise of his function, and forbidden to attend on the altar. By these proceedings we are undoubtedly and unavoidably in the right. Few persons have been permitted to write, and we meet with no contradictions among those that have written. With regard to those wonderful antiquities in the books of the prophets, we do not so much account them history as divine revelation. Respecting those who have recorded the history of their own times, they are not many in number, and their accounts generally agree with each other. But let me proceed in my present task.

I deem that there are no more than twenty-two books which we are bound to believe; and in these are contained the history of the world from its original to the present time. Of these twenty-two books five are employed in giving an account of the creation of the world, and the generation of mankind. This history is continued to the death of Moses, and comprehends a period of almost three thousand years.

Each of our prophets wrote the history of the age in which he lived, from the death of Moses to the reign of Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, and king of Persia; and this history is contained in thirteen books; and the other four books consist of divine hymns and precepts of morality. We have likewise a regular series of history, from the days of Artaxerxes to the present time, which we hold in great esteem; but do not venerate it as we do the others, because it is not authenticated and made sacred by a continuation of the descent of the prophets. With respect to the other writings, we pay as much regard to their contents, as if we had been eye-witnesses of the circumstances related, for we know how long they have remained in the world, without any attempt to encrease or abridge them, or even to disguise or transfigure them in any manner; and these writings we hold to be divine; we distinguish them by this epithet, and are taught from our earliest infancy, to consider them in that light, and pay a proper obedience to them, and if necessary to suf-
fer death in their defence, rather than forego opinions thus sacredly im-
pressed.

Numbers of our countrymen are at this time captives, suffering a variety
of torments, struggling with death in its most formidable shape, and contend-
ing in theatres with beasts, and men still more brutal than they: and all this
because they refuse to abandon the laws of their country, and blaspheme the
God whom their ancestors worshipped! Can it be said that the Greeks have
ever given an equal proof of their faith and resolution? These people would
refuse to abide such trials in defence of all they hold most dear; but the fact
is, that they deem those things which ought to be held sacred as mere mat-
ter of form: and their best historians are culpable in this particular. They
frequently commence the writing of their histories, without any knowledge
of the facts to which they allude; without consulting those who have been
on the spot, and parties in the actions; or, if they do consult them, without
crediting what they say. Very extraordinary histories of our late wars have
been published by thos: who were never near enough to the scene of action
to form the slightest opinion of the matter of fact: but their plan has been
to compose a confused history, partly from report, and partly from imagina-
tion, and then to assume the character of historians of the first credit.

I have acted, however, in a very different manner: for I have related
nothing of which I had not either ocular demonstration, or other indubitable
authority: for I had ample opportunity of acquainting myself with the various
transactions. I have been as faithful in the report of events as I was accu-
rate in the search after facts. As long as the Jews were able to support
themselves against the Romans, I had the honour of a command in Galilee;
but it was at length my misfortune to be made captive, and carried to Vefpa-
sian and Titus. In this situation I was kept in chains: but was soon permit-
ted to make my observations on all that passed; and not long afterwards ob-
tained my liberty; when the siege of Jerusalem taking place, I went abroad
with Titus from Alexandria.

I was now diligent in my remarks on all that happened. I was well ac-
quainted with all the motions of the army, and was extremely careful to re-
present every circumstance exactly as it occurred. With regard to the situa-
tion of the city, I was informed of it by prisoners and defectors, as they were
all under my particular direction and management, by the absolute command
of the emperor. In fact, I took every proper opportunity of making written
observations; and from those observations my history is compiled.

Having thus laid the foundation of my work, when I returned to Rome I
got the assistance of some friends accomplished in the Greek language, and
proceeded with the history, in which I have paid so strict an adherence to
the rules of veracity, that I have no doubt but even Vespasian and
Titus will give testimony to my honour. As soon as my book was finished
I presented it to these illustrious persons, and after them to several noble Ro-
mans who had been commanders in the war. I fold other copies to several
of our own people who had a knowledge of the Greek language; particularly
to Julius, Archelans, the accomplished Herod, and the most distinguished
king Agrippa. Now all these universally applaud me, as having discharged
the duty of a faithful historian: whereas they would certainly have exposed
the imposition, if, either through ignorance or corruption, I had deviated
from the truth. Yet many persons treat me as if I had imposed upon the
world, by declaiming only on trifling or abusive circumstances: but these
calumniators have not reflected, that the man who pretends to relate the
whole truth, should either do it on his own knowledge, or the information
of those on whom he can depend: and I have taken both these methods to
render my work compleat.

As I have acted in the character of a priest, I have, in the course of my
profession, extracted my antiquities from the books of the holy scripture, and
have arranged them in the most regular manner. With regard to the history
of the war, I had an active share in many parts of it, and was a spectator of
other events; so that I was not a stranger to any thing that happened. How
insolent then is it in my enemies to pretend to doubt the veracity of my reci-
tals? Admitting what they say, that they have seen the journals of Titus and
Vespasian, how can this invalidate the truth of my history, which treats of
matters to which the Roman generals must be perfect strangers?

It was but proper that I should make this digression, to evince what kind
of historians we ought to expect, if this humour should prevail: but I think
I have said sufficient to satisfy any reasonable man, that, in point of the
credit and dignity of history, the Greeks ought even to yield to the Bar-
barians.

I must now address myself to those kind of people who insist that the Jews
are mere moderns, and assign as a reason for this that we are not mentioned
by the Grecian historians. It will become me to quote authorities out of
our own books, to expose that ill-founded malice by which our enemies are
instigated.

With regard to the place of our habitation, it is in the midland country;
and with respect to trade and voyages, they are circumstances about which
we never gave ourselves any concern. Our cities are far removed from the sea,
our soil is fruitful, and the lands are well cultivated. We devote ourselves
much to the support and education of our children, and deem it the most im-
portant business of our lives to take care that they are educated in a pious
manner, and in strict obedience to the laws of their country. Exclusive of
these circumstances, we have a mode of living peculiar to ourselves, from
which alone we are well assured, that in ancient times, we could not have
had any intercourse with the Greeks, as the Phoenicians, Egyptians, and
other people had, for the promotion of their mutual interest, by the advan-
tages resulting from trade, commerce, and navigation. Our predecessors
did not follow the example of other nations by making incursions on their
neighbours to encrease their territories; though they were by no means defi-
cient in number or courage, to render themselves formidable, if they had
been disposed to acts of this kind.

By the methods above-mentioned the Phoenicians became known to the
Greeks, and through these, the Egyptians, and others who traded into
Greece. Then the Medes and Persians, who having obtained the command
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of Asia, the latter carried the war into Europe. The Greeks knew the Thra-
cians from their neighbourhood; the Scythians from their corresponding
with those who used the Pontus; and thus there could be no want of historians
on the coast of the eastern and western seas: but the inner parts of the coun-
try were in a manner unknown to them for several ages. This was likewise
the case in Europe: for after the Roman power and dignity had been es-
ablished by successive conquests and triumphs, yet this mighty empire is not at
all mentioned by Herodotus, Thucydides, or any of the writers living at
that time: and it was a long time before the Greeks obtained a knowledge of
its existence.

What opinion shall we form of the writers in general, when Ephorus, one
of the most distinguished among them, could commit such an error as that
I am about to recite. Having undertaken to give an account of the Gauls
and Iberians, he represents the kingdom of Spain, and the whole continent
on which it stands, only as a single city: and thus mentions things that were
never transacted or thought of there, as the history of the place itself. Thus
ignorance arises from an endeavour to reach truth at too great a distance; and
in other instances, from an affectation of exceeding the truth.

Can it, therefore, afford any cause of surprise, if people who live as a sort
of strangers in the world, and wholly detached from it, and under such regu-
lations as the Jews do, should not afford any subject for the historical pen?

Suppose, now, I should turn the Greeks mode of reasoning against them-
selves, and deny their antiquity because our books do not mention it? Would
not this be deemed absurd? And would not the Greeks appeal to their neigh-
bour's in justification of their claim? If this would be right in them, it can-
not be left so with me. The principal witnesses I shall use are the Ægyp-
tians and Phœnicians. No exceptions can be taken to their evidence, for
the Ægyptians are well known to be our determined enemies; nor are the
Phœnicians, particularly those of Tyre, less so. The Chaldeans, however,
form a different opinion of us. We were formerly in subjection to them;
and on the score of affinity, as well as on account of our country, they men-
tion us in the most respectful manner in their writings.

When I have vindicated my countrymen from the assertions of the Greeks,
and obviated all their calumnies, I will take notice what the Greek historians
themselves say of us, to prevent all farther objections. I will begin with the
Ægyptians, who are by no means friends of the Jews. Manetho, by birth
an Ægyptian, and an adept in the Greek language, as appears by a Greek
history, respecting the Jewish religion, which he extracted from the scrip-
tures: this Manetho, in many parts of his work, attacks Herodotus, for
giving false representations of the Ægyptians, through want of being ac-
quainted with their customs. I give the following genuine extract from the
second part of his history.

"During the reign of one of our kings, named Timæus, we were reduced
beyond all description, under the heavy weight of the divine displeasure.
At this period a rough and robust people flocked in on us from the east,
and making a violent inroad into the province, there encamped, and took
it by force; after which, without any farther effort, every thing yielded
to them: they put our princes in chains; demolished our temples, reduced our cities to ashes, and oppressed the inhabitants in a high degree: some of whom they cut to pieces, and sent others into slavery, with their wives and children. This being done, they invested Salatis, one of their own people, with the rank and title of king.

Salatis having advanced to Memphis, brought the inhabitants of the upper and lower provinces into subjection, stationed garrisons in the tenable places and was particularly careful in fortifying the eastern part of the country, to prevent the incursions of the Assyrians, of whose strength he had reason to be apprehensive. In the country of the Saites was a city named Avaris to the eastward of the river Bubastis, which finding convenient for his purpose, he repaired and improved, and fortified it with strong walls and other works, defending it by a body of two hundred and forty thousand men. He chose the season of harvest in which to execute this design, that he might have plenty of provisions, be enabled to pay his men, and secure himself from all attacks, by his admirable discipline and management.

When Salatis had governed near nineteen years, he died, and was succeeded by Bpeon, who reigned forty-four years. To him succeeded Apachnas, who reigned thirty-six years and four months, and was followed by Apochis, whose dominion held sixty years and one month: then came Jannias, who reigned fifty years and one month; and finally Aphis, who held the sceptre forty-nine years and two months. These were our first six kings, who were constantly at war to destroy the Egyptians. These persons were denominated Hycjos, which implies Royal Shepherds; for Hyc, in the sacred tongue, signifies King, and Sos, in its common acceptance, means Shepherd, and thus the word is compounded. It has been asserted that these people were Arabians. Agreeable to some copies, the meaning of Hyc is Shepherd-captive; for, in the Egyptian, Hyc and Hac, with an aspiration, signify captive: and this I judge to be the true definition, as it is most correspondent with the history of ancient times."

The same writer assures us, that "When these kings, or shepherds, and their successors, had held the government of Egypt for five hundred and eleven years, the king of Thebes, being joined by such of the Egyptians as had not yet been brought into subjection, made war on the shepherds, and routed them, under the command of their king Alisfragmuthios: that the majority of them being driven from Egypt, the rest took refuge in a place named Avaris, containing ten thousand acres, which they enclosed with a strong wall; and thus secured to themselves the necessaries of life. Themofis, the son of Alisfragmuthios, besieged this place with four hundred and eighty thousand men; but as it was found impossible to reduce it by assault, a capitulation took place; by which they were to abandon it, and to be safely conducted out of Egypt, to such place as they should choose. On these conditions two hundred and forty thousand of them, with all their effects, left the country, and took the way of the wilderness into Syria: but as Asia was then under the command of the Assyrians, in fear of these people, they retreated to a country
country now known by the name of Judæa, where they built the city of
Jerufalem, which was large enough to contain this immense number of
people.”

Manetho, in another part of his Egyptian history, informs us that,
“From books of great authority he discovers that these people had been
known by the name of captive-shepherds.” Now our forefathers having
followed the profession of grazing cattle, took the name of shepherds from
that employment. There was likewise some pretention for giving them the
denomination of captives, for by that name our ancestor Joseph was intro-
duced to the king of Egypt, when permission was granted him to send for
his brethren: but of this I shall speak more particularly in another place.
For the present, it may suffice to refer to the testimonies of the Egyptians
themselves, and again to consult Manetho on this subject, quoting his own
words respecting the period of which we now treat.

He says that, “After the departure of the shepherds from Egypt to the
building of Jerufalem, king Themomis reigned twenty-five years and four
months, and was succeeded by his son Chebron, who reigned thirteen
years: then came Amenophis, who reigned twenty years and seven
months: next, his sister Amefis, who ruled twenty-one years and nine
months; Mephees, her son, twelve years and nine months; Mepramut-
thesis, his son, twenty-five years and ten months; Themois, his son, nine
years and eight months; Amenophis, his son, thirty years and ten
months; Qrus, his son, thirty-six years and five months; Acencheres,
his daughter, twelve years and one month; her brother, Rahotis, nine
years; Acencheres, his son, twelve years and five months; and Acen-
cheres, the son of the former of that name, twelve years and three months;
Armais, his son, four years and one month; Armeis, his son, one year
and four months; Armess Miamun, son to the latter, sixty-six years and
two months; and, finally, Amenophis, nineteen years and six months.
A considerable force by land and sea having been raised by Sethos, he
appointed his brother Armais lieutenant-general of Egypt, and commis-
sioned him to act in all respects as a sovereign, except the circumstance
of wearing the crown: but he commanded him not to oppress the queen
or her family, and to leave the royal concubines unmolested.

This being done, Sethos advanced to Cyprus and Phoenicia, and then,
onwards, to the Medes and Assyrians, conquest still attending his pro-
gress, since some were abfolutely subdued, and others submitted through
fear. Animated by his success, he proceeded in the most rapid manner
wherever he came, laying waste the whole country as he passed. During
these transactions, his brother Armais violated every obligation, and
acted expressly contrary to the injunctions he had received. He drove
away the queen, offered insult to the royal concubines, and, being inflig-
gated by a number of treacherous creatures, who pretended to be his
friends, he took possession of the crown, and had recourse to arms, in op-
position to his brother. The high-priest of the Egyptians gave frequent
notice of these transactions to Sethos, and, on receiving his advice, he
retreated by the way of Pelusium, and re-assumed his government. Se-
THE JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

"thofis having likewise the name of Ægyptus, the country was called "Ægypt, from that circumstance: and his brother Armais, had also the "name of Danaus."

This is the relation given by Manetho; whence it is evident beyond all contradiction, that our ancestors, who were known by the appellation of shepherds, had quitted Ægypt three hundred and ninety-three years before Danaus departed to Argos, though the antiquity of that prince is so much insisted on by the Greeks. Hence it may be seen, that Manetho, from the Ægyptian writings, adduces two capital circumstances in favour of the Jews: the first is, that our ancestors came into Ægypt from some other country: the other, that they left the country near a thousand years previous to the siege of Troy. Manetho has added a variety of other reports, not from the memorials of Egypt: but, as he himself confesses, from accounts whose authors are not known. I shall take a proper opportunity of exposing the fallacy of these recitals, fully proving that they have no foundation in fact. Let us now enquire what account has been given by the Phœncians. The Tyrrians preferred many records of great antiquity, and this was done in so careful a manner, that nothing escaped their recital which was worthy their recording. Among other important matters respecting our people, they mention the temple erected by king Solomon at Jerusalem, one hundred and forty three years and eight months before Carthage was built by their ancestors; and they also describe the model on which this temple was built.

"So great was the friendship and regard that Hiram king of Tyre had for "David, that on account of the father he had the greater esteem for his son "Solomon; and, as a proof of his affection, he presented him with a hundred and twenty talents of gold toward the expence of adorning the building; and supplied him with the finest wood from mount Lebanon, for the "wainscot and roof. Solomon shewed his gratitude by making sumptuous "presents in return, and, among other acknowledgements gave him Zabu- "lon in Naphthali." The chief inducement, however, to the friendship "between these illustrious persons, was a mutual love of knowledge. They "sent problems and difficult questions, each to be resolved by the other: and "Solomon was found the most expert in these resolutions. Among the Tyrians there are yet extant several copies of letters that passed between them; and to confirm what I say respecting Hiram, I quote the words of Dios, a Phœnician historian of the most undoubted credit.

"Abibal was succeeded in his government by his son Hiram. This prince "repaired and improved several cities in the eastern district of his dominions; enlarged Tyre, adorned it by many valuable gifts, and by means "of a bank, joined it to the temple of Olympian Jupiter, which was situated "on an island. This being done, he repaired to mount Lebanon, and cut "down wood for building temples. It is also said that Solomon king of "Jerusalem, and Hiram sent difficult questions to each other to be resolved; "on the condition that a penalty should be incurred by him that failed; which "happening to be the case with Hiram, he paid the forfeiture: but afterwards, "Abdenonius, a Tyrian, explained the intricate question, and proposed Vol. II. K K others
others for Solomon to interpret, on the condition of paying a certain sum to Hiram on his failure."

Thus much with regard to what Dius says on this subject. I now proceed to Menander, a writer of Ephesus, who collected a number of memoirs of the lives and actions of Grecian and Barbarian princes; and to give the fuller authenticity to his work, he hath given records of the places of which he speaks. Having mentioned the several kings of Tyre down to Hiram, he proceeds in the following manner.

"Abibal being dead, he was succeeded in the regal dignity by his son Hiram, who wore the crown no less than thirty four years. This prince joined Eurichorus to the city of Tyre, by means of a large mount which he caused to be thrown up; and in the temple of Jupiter in that place, dedicated a pillar of gold to the honour of that god. He then proceeded to a forest, on a mountain named Lebanon, where he cut down a large quantity of cedar to make roofs for temples, of which he pulled down many old, and built others in their stead. One of these he dedicated to Hercules, in the month Peritius, and another to Astartes, at the time that he turned his arms against the Tyrians on account of their refusing to pay their taxes: but he returned as soon as he had conquered them.

"At this time there was in the service of Hiram a young man named Abdemonus, who lived in the palace, and was employed in resolving difficult questions sent by Solomon. The following is a computation from the time of Hiram to the building of Carthage.

"Hiram was succeeded by his son Beleazar, who died in the seventh year of his reign, and the forty-third of his age; after him came his son Abdaflartus, who reigned near nine years; but when he was in the twentieth year of his age he was murdered by the four sons of his nurse, of whom the eldest reigned in his stead twelve years; and next to him was Astartus, the son of Beleaflartus, who likewise reigned twelve years, and lived sixty six. This prince was succeeded by his brother Aferymus, who reigned nine years, and, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, was murdered by Phelles his brother. Phelles assumed the government when he was fifty years old, and having reigned eight months, was killed by Ithobalus, a priest of the goddes Astarta, who reigned thirty three years, and died at the age of sixty-eight. He was succeeded by his son Badezor, who reigned nine years, and lived forty-five. After Badezor came his son Matagenus, who reigned nine years, and died at the age of two and thirty. Pygmalion succeeded this prince, and governed forty years out of a life of sixty-six. Carthage in Africa was built by his sister, Dido, in the seventh year of his reign. Thus, from the time of Hiram to the building of Carthage, we compute one hundred and fifty five years and eight months. So that admitting the temple of Jerusalem to have been erected in the twelfth year of the reign of king Hiram, it will appear that from the time of the building of the temple to the building of Carthage, there was a space of one hundred and forty three years and eight months."

Now I should wish to ask if any thing can be more full evidence on our side of the question than this testimony of the Phoenicians. Certainly it is that our ancestors...
ancestors must first have arrived in Judæa before they built a temple there; and that they could not make this erection till they had conquered the country by force of arms; which, in my history of the Jews, I have evidently made appear from the sacred writings.

It will now be proper to observe what correspondence there is between the Chaldaeans and the other writers respecting our history. I shall begin with Berothus, who was a Chaldaean by descent, and is a writer of the first credit with all admirers of literature, on account of the learned tracts he has published in the Greek language, respecting the science of astronomy, and the Chaldaean philosophy.

Berothus, as is customary with the old historians, mentions the destruction of mankind by the deluge, as recorded by Moses; recites several particulars of the ark, and of its resting on the mountains of Armenia. He then describes the genealogies of the sons of Noah, and records their names and ages, continuing his history regularly from Noah to Nabuaslăr, king of Babylon and Chaldaea, and recites an account of the actions of this king. He then relates his sending his son Nebuchadnezzar into Ægypt and Judæa with a large army, where he attacked the rebels then in arms, and having subdued them, he set fire to the temple at Jerusalem, taking with him as prisoners into Babylon the whole body of the Jews. From this time the city of Jerusalem remained desolate seventy years, till the time of Cyrus, king of Persia. Berothus likewise recounts, that Ægypt, Syria, Phœnicia, and Arabia were possessed by the Babylonians, and that none of the predecessors of Nebuchadnezzar were equal to him in dignity. But it will be proper to quote Berothus in his own language.

He says that "Nabuaslăr the father, being informed that his deputy in Ægypt, Cœle Syria, and Phœnicia, had taken arms, and being himself too old to undergo the toil of war, dispatched his son Nebuchadnezzar (then in the prime of life) to reduce him. He attacked the rebel with a large army, put him to flight, and recovered all the revolted provinces.

"Nabuaslăr had now reigned nine and twenty years, when he fell sick and died at Babylon. The son was soon informed of the death of his father, on which he adjusted his concerns in Ægypt and the other provinces, and deputing persons in whom he could trust to take care of the captive Jews, Phœnicians, and Syrians, and bring them to Babylon with the army and baggage; he set forward on his journey through the desert, with a small retinue, on his way to Babylon. When he arrived he found matters disposed much to his satisfaction, the Chaldaeans and persons of eminence espousing his interest, and resolving to establish him on the throne.

"The prisoners being now on the road to the city, Nebuchadnezzar ordered provision to be made, and all proper accommodations for them. He with the utmost freedom gave the spoils of war to adorn the temple of Bel and the other deities. He gave orders for building a new town, in addition to the ancient city; and that the river on which the city was situated might not be turned from its channel, in case of a siege, a triple
ple wall was built up to surround it, partly of brick alone, and partly of brick and bitumen mixed. These fortifications being made, gates were erected worthy the magnificence of a temple. The king also built a noble palace near that of his father, but abundantly larger, and more magnificent and costly. It would be too tedious to describe this building; but it is worthy of remark that it was concluded in fifteen days, though so curious a structure. Within this building were a number of artificial rocks resembling mountains, with nurseries for various kinds of plants, and a sort of hanging garden, which, with a singular degree of skill, was suspended in the air. This was done to oblige the queen, who being educated in the free air, among the hills of Media, was highly gratified by so delightful a prospect.

Thus far Berossus, respecting this king. In his Chaldean antiquities are other circumstances worthy of notice; particularly his censure of the Greeks for asserting that Babylon was founded by Semiramis, queen of Assyria. The greater credit is to be given to Berossus, because he so nearly agrees with the Phœnician records respecting the king of Babylon, and his conquering all Syria and Phœnicia. The same thing is observed by Philostratus in his siege of Tyre, and by Megasthenes, who, in his Indian history, attributes to this king a degree of bravery superior to that of Hercules, and says farther, that the greatest part of Lybia and Iberia was at his command.

With regard to the temple of Jerusalem, Berossus afferts that the Babylonians reduced it to ashes; and that the rebuilding of it was commenced by Cyrus, to whose dominion all Asia had at that time submitted. The following is an extract from the third book of the writings of Berossus.

"Nebuchadnezzar fell ill and died just as he had begun to build the third wall, and when he had reigned near forty three years. He was succeeded by his son Evil-Merodoch, who became the aversion of the public by his licentious and oppressive conduct; and in the second year of his reign, was destroyed by the treachery of Niriglissor, the husband of his sister, who, soon after his death, assumed the regal government, of which he held possession four years. He was succeeded by his son Laborofardochus, then quite a youth, who at the end of a reign of only nine months, was destroyed by those who called themselves his friends, who dispatched him because his inclinations were thought of a vicious and dangerous tendency. Immediately after his death the conspirators assembled, and chose for their king Nabonidus, by birth a Babylonian, and of the same family. This prince completed the building of the walls round the river of Babylon."

"When this king had reigned near seventeen years, Cyrus came out of Persia with a very great army, ravaged all Asia, and then proceeded towards Babylon. He was met in the field by Nabonidus, who encountered him; but being routed himself and a few of his followers only, escaped to the town of Borsippa. Cyrus advanced to Babylon, which he expected to become master of on forcing the first wall: but he afterwards changed his opinion, raised the siege, and retired to Borsippa, with an intention
intention to have attacked that place: but Nabonidus declining the hazard of defending it, submitted to the mercy of Cyrus, who, on his making this submission, banished him from Babylon, and presented him with an estate in Caramania, where he dwelt all the rest of his life in an humble and retired situation.

Now this account given by Berosus is perfectly correspondent with that in our books; which declares that the temple was destroyed by Nebuchadne- nofor, in the eighteenth year of his reign; that it continued in that ruinous state for seventy years; that the foundations of it were again laid in the second year of the reign of Cyrus, and the whole completed in the second of king Darius.

To the above-mentioned authorities it may be proper to add some particulars from the Phœnician histories; for proofs cannot be too numerous, provided the chronology corresponds; and the following is the plain state of facts:

Tyre was besieged for the space of thirteen years, by Nabuchodonosor, during the reign of king Ithobal. To him succeeded Baal, who reigned ten years; after which it became customary to choose judges instead of kings; and of these Ecnibalus, the son of Basleck, governed two months, and was succeeded by Chelbis, the son of Abdæus, who governed ten; the high-priest Abbar three months; Mytgonis, and Geraflus Batus, the sons of Abdelimus, six years; and these were followed by Balatorus, who governed one year, and then dying, they sent to Babylon for Merbalus, whose reign held four years; and, on his death, he was succeeded by his brother Irom, whose government continued twenty years; and during his reign it was that Cyrus compleated the conquest of the Persian empire. Now all these periods of time added together make fifty-four years and three months. Nabuchodonosor began the siege of Tyre in the seventh year of his reign; and Cyrus obtained possession of the empire in the fourteenth of the reign of king Irom. So that the accounts given by the Chaldæans and Tyrians respecting our temple, are but a confirmation of what our own historians have written on that subject. What I have advanced is certainly sufficient to authenticate the antiquity of our people, which will be acknowledged by all persons who are not obstinately bent against conviction.

But as I am arguing with such as conceive all persons except themselves to be Barbarians, and deny the truth of every thing that is not advanced on the credit of their own authority, it will be proper to adduce the testimony of the Greek authors in our justification, thus appealing to our very adversaries, and compelling them to become witnesses against themselves, in support of our arguments.

In the first place with regard to Pythagoras, the Samian: he was distinguished as a philosopher, and remarkable for his wisdom and piety. Now Pythagoras was well read in the Jewish laws, and in many instances a strict observer of them; which is evident, not from any writings of his own, but from what others have known and related respecting him. Among the rest, Hermippus, an historian distinguished by his fidelity and regard to truth, in
his first book of Pythagoras, relates a story of one Callipho of Croton, who
was the confidential friend of Pythagoras. He says that Callipho dying,
Pythagoras was haunted day and night by his spirit, instructing him with
regard to his conduct: among other things directing him not to part by
where his feet had stumbled; to drink only water from the spring; and to
speak well of all persons, thereby copying the example of the Jews and
Thracians; and applying the whole advice to his own conduct; which was
just, for many of the customs of the Jews are incorporated into the philo-
osophy of Pythagoras.

During the times of very remote antiquity our people were likewise so
well known in places of eminence, that our rites and customs are to this day
preferred in many cities, and others have deemed them worthy their imita-
tion. This appears in the book of laws written by Theophrastus, who men-
tioning the laws of Tyre against swearing by strange gods, instances the Cor-
ban amongst the forbidden oaths. Now Corban, in Hebrew, signifies the
"Gift of God:" and the corban is peculiar to the Jews.

It is evident that our people were not unknown to Herodotus Halicarnassus,
who in his second book, where he speaks of the people of Colchis, has the
following words: "With regard to circumcision, I find that, in ancient times,
"it was used only by the Colchians, the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians.
"The Phænicians, and the Syrians of Palæstine acknowledge to have re-
ceived this custom from the Egyptians: the Syrians living near the rivers
"Hermodon and Parthenius, and also their neighbours, the Macronians,
"are said to have adopted it of later times, from the Colchians. No other
"people are circumcised, and these follow the custom of the Egyptians: but
"whether the Egyptians derive this from the Ethiopians, or the contrary,
"I cannot determine." This writer appears to be certain that the Syrians
of Palæstine are circumcised: now the fact is, that in Palæstine the Jews
only are circumcised, and as he is positive in his assertion, what he says re-
specting this circumstance can have reference to no other people.

Chærilus, a poet of great antiquity, giving an account of the various na-
tions that carried arms against the Greeks, under the command of Xerxes king
of Persia, having mentioned the other parties, speaks finally of the Jews,
after the following manner:

These people form'd the rear with grace their own,
Their language Tyrian, and themselves unknown:
From mountains near to Solymus they came,
Of which a lake immense proclaims the fame,
Tann'd horse-hides form'd the covering of the head,
The hair cut round o'er which these hides were spread.

It is plain that the poet, who speaks of the mountains of Solyma or Jeru-
salem, and of a large lake that is situated in its neighbourhood, can refer to
no other people than the Jews, who dwell among those mountains, and mean
no other lake than that of Alphaltitis, which is the most considerable in all
Syria. Thus much with respect to Chærilus. The Jews were not only
known to the Greeks, or intimate with the inferior people among them; but
but were also held in great friendship and esteem among their philosophers, and people of the first rank.

In one of the dialogues of Clearchus, a disciple of Aristotle, a man distinguished among the sect, in his first book on the subject of sleep, he personates his matter, in a conversation with Hyperchides, respecting a Jew with whom he was acquainted. "The task would be tedious (says he) "to recite the particulars of the history of the Jews: I shall therefore only "give you a specimen of the wisdom of this particular person." To this Hyperchides replied that he could not confer a greater favour; in answer to which Aristotle said, "I shall begin consistently with the rules of art, as "to what regards his original, or profession. He was a Jew by birth, a na-tive of the lower Syria, of a line of philosophers whom the Indians dis-"tinguished by the appellation of Calani, but they are called Jews by the "Syrians, from the place of their residence, which is the country of Ju-"dæa. Their principal city bears a difficult name, and is called Jeru-salem. The Jew I speak of was eminent for his benevolence to travellers "and strangers, and much in repute for the wisdom of his discourse, "and the purity of his manners. When I was in Asia with some of my "disciples, this wonderful man paid us several visits, equally to the grati-"fication and improvement of those who could relish the happiness of such "a conversation." This testimony in behalf of the Jews is given by Clearchus, though but as a digression from his work: or rather it is the cha-racter which Aristotle gave to the Jew; besides which, mention is made of his moderation and temper, and the admirable command that he had over his passions. Those who wish to know more respecting this extraordinary per-som, may learn the particulars by consulting the original.

Hecataëus, the Abderite, a man distinguished by his learning, who was educated with Alexander the great, and afterwards lived with Ptolemy, king of Ægypt, the son of Lagus, wrote a piece entirely on the affairs of the Jews, from which I shall extract such parts as tend to elucidate my subjeet, taking them in chronological order. Hecataëus mentions a battle which was fought near Gaza, between Ptolemy and Demetrius, and, as Callistus says, in the hundred and seventeenth olympiad. His words are, "In this "olympiad Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, fought a battle not far from "Gaza, with Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, otherwise named Poly-"orces, and defeated him." Now it is well known that Alexander died in the hundred and fourteenth olympiad; from whence it is evident that, in the time of that great emperor, the Jews were a very flourishing people.

It is farther observed by Hecataëus, that, "After the battle of Gaza, Pto-"lemey subdued Syria and the adjacent country; and that his humane and "condescending behaviour so charmed the people, that great numbers of "them, inspired by his kindness, followed him into Ægypt, among whom "was Hezekias, a high-priest of the Jews, and a man of the first distinction "among his countrymen. He was sixty-six years of age, an eloquent orator, "and one who was perfectly well acquainted with mankind." In another place this writer says that, "The priests of the Jews who received tenths were "about
About fifteen hundred in number, who all lived in common. Again speaking of the above-mentioned Hezekiah, he says, "We have several times waited on and conferred with this eminent man, and his friends, respecting the difference in our opinions, practices and customs: he conducted us to his house, where he explained to us the government and discipline of the Jews, and he gave us written testimony of the truth of what he said."

Hecataeus next mentions the veneration in which we hold our laws, suffering with patience every extremity of torment and death, rather than be guilty of violating them. He then proceeds to mention the submissiveness of the behaviour of the Jews under ill treatment. "How cruelly (says he) have these people been treated by their neighbours? How have the Persian kings and their officers persecuted them, yet been unable to shake their resolution! An instance occurs in the falling of the temple of Bel, at Babylon, when Alexander being present, and resolving to repair it, directed that all the soldiers should carry timber and other materials towards finishing the structure. The Jews only refused to give their assistance, and were at first severely punished; but when the king saw that nothing would induce them to change their resolution, he ordered them to be set at liberty, on account of their magnanimity. On their journey into their own country they levelled to the ground all such temples and altars as had been erected to the honour of strange gods; for which offence some were pardoned, but others punished by fines and otherwise."

This writer speaks much of our persevering resolution, and the immense numbers of our people, of whom multitudes were made captives, and carried into Babylon, and many others into Egypt and Phœnicia, when a disturbance happened in Syria, after the death of Alexander. He mentions the beauty, fertility, and extent of the country of Judaea, which, he says, is an excellent soil, and estimated to contain three millions of acres. With regard to the city of Jerusalem, its temple, extent, and populousness, he speaks in the following manner:

"Many towns, cities, and fortresses, are in posseffion of the Jews; but they have one city which much exceeds the rest in strength and size. It is called Jerusalem, deemed fifty stadia in circumference, and to contain one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. In the midst of the city is a flone inclosure, an hundred cubits round, having two large gates; and within this inclosure is a square altar, ten cubits in depth, and twenty in breadth, made of unwrought stones, never touched by the tool of any workman. Adjacent to it is a considerable building, having in it a golden altar and candleflick weighing two talents, and lamps burning day and night; but it has no plants, groves or images, as is common in other temples. It is at all times attended by priests, who live with the greatest regularity, and wholly abstain from wine."

This writer recounts a singular story of a Jew who served under one of the successors of Alexander; and it is as follows: "On a journey I made towards the Red-Sea, one of our guards on horseback was a Jew named Mofollam, who was deemed a man of singular bravery, and very expert in the use of the bow and arrow. While the company were travelling on-
wards, a fortune-teller, who pretended to foretell the success of the ex-
"pedition, bad them stand still, and they obeyed. The Jew demanded why
"they halted; on which the fortune-teller, exhibiting a bird, said, ‘If
"that bird remains in its place, you are to do so: if it rises and flies for-
"ward, you are to proceed: but if it flies a contrary way, you must re-
"turn.’ Without hesitation the Jew shot his arrow, and killed the bird.
"The foothsayer and his company abused the Jew in the most outrageous
"manner; on which the latter told them that they were undoubtedly di-
"stracted to make such a riot about a bird, which indisputably knew no-
"thing of their fortune, since he was unable to predict his own: for if he
"had been acquainted with future good or evil, he would certainly have
"avoided the stroke of the arrow.” Thus much with regard to Hecataeus:
those who would be further informed, may consult his writings.

I now proceed to Agatharchides; who, though not a friend, is, perhaps,
no wilful enemy of our people. He says, that “Stratonice having aban-
doned her husband Demetrius, went from Macedonia into Syria, with an
intention of being married to king Seleucus; but this marriage not taking
place, she raised an insurrection in Antioch, while the king was in Ba-
bylon with his army. On his return, the king took Antioch, and made
“Stratonice prisoner, when she was on the point of departing for Seleu-
cia, and she lost her life.” Her best method would have been to have
gone by sea, but a dream prevented her from so doing. Agatharchides,
having treated of the superstition of Stratonice, digresses from that subject,
and speaks of the Jews in the following terms:

“The Jews possess a city called Jerusalem, which is deemed impreg-
nable. It is a custom with these people to rest on the seventh day, when
they neither attend their common business, till the ground, nor bear arms:
but spend their time from morning till night in their temples, and in
acts of devotion. Advantage was taken of this custom by Ptolemaeus the
son of Lagus, who, on that day, entered the city with an army; and the
consequence was, that when the Jews should have defended their lives
and liberties, they were foolishly resolved not to violate their sabbath;
whence they were reduced beneath the yoke of tyranny, and learnt, when
too late, the folly of their customs. This is the consequence of mens
adhering to ridiculous opinions, without considering that the laws of rea-
on ought to control our actions.” In this manner is our conduct cen-
fused by Agatharchides; but those who seriously reflect on the affair will
determine that we have acted on the best principles: for certainly the making
every other consideration yield to a sense of our duty to God, is a proof
of the noblest magnanimity.

It is true that there are a number of historians, who were cotemporaries
with our people, yet neglect to mention them; not through ignorance but
envy, as I shall evidently prove. Jerome, who lived in the time of Heca-
taeus, wrote a book respecting the successors of Alexander. He was gover-
nor of Syria, and a favourite of king Antigonus. Now Hecataeus wrote a
volume respecting the Jews, yet Jerome does not even mention us, though
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he was in a manner our countryman. But writers indulge their own inclinations: some record our famous actions to posterity; while others are found supressing them, in violation of the truth.

Yet there remains sufficient evidence to justify our claim, among the Egyptians, Chaldeans, Phenicians and Greeks: for exclusive of the writers already noticed, we are particularly mentioned by Theophratus, Theodotus, Mnaecas, Aristophanes, Hermogenes, Euemerus, Conon, Zopyrion, and possibly many others. Now the majority of these writers must have been ignorant with regard to the first ages of the world, as they had not the sacred scriptures for their direction. As to Demetrius Phalercus, Philon the elder, and Eupolemus, their censures are to be forgiven, as they had not the proper means of information.

It yet remains for me to speak to a particular article, which is to invalidate that scandal which hath been cast on us, and expose the authors of it by their own testimony, since what they say against us hath equal weight against themselves: but the partiality and malice of prejudiced writers is well known to those acquainted with history. Some indulge their ill-will against whole nations, and the manners of the people; as the Athenians were treated by Thcopompus, the Lacedemonians by Polycrates, and the Thebans by the author of Tripoliticus. These people, and others, have been likewise much cenured by Timaeus: and it is the custom with such writers to abuse distinguished merit. Some do this through mere envy and ill-will, while others relate extravagant stories with the sole view of acquiring fame; by which proceedings fools deem them wise men, and wise men account them fools; Thus have the Jews been traduced, and truth itself hath been sacrificed for the sake of gratifying the Egyptians.

Now the Egyptians being our professed enemies, nothing could be better calculated to please them, than a false representation of our ancestors coming into Egypt, and returning thence: for we were envied and hated by them because we grew so considerable while among them, and were so happy when released from their dominion. Another cause of enmity arose from the variance of religion, for their religion differed from ours as much as the author of nature from the works of his hands: for they made gods of beasts, and paid homage to them indiscriminately. In this doctrine they were educated from their earliest infancy, and rendered incapable of better sentiments by that prepossession. They entertained the utmost aversion to those proselytes who embraced our religion, and became so loth to every liberal opinion, that they scrupled not to contradict themselves, and refute their own records. This I shall prove from the authority of one of their distinguished writers, whose testimony I have already quoted, in support of the antiquity of the Jews.

Manetho, in the commencement of his Egyptian history, solemnly declares that he will extract it carefully from the scriptures, and introduces his discourse with a story respecting "The ancestors of the Jews leading an army into Egypt, and reducing the country: but that being soon after wards driven out of that country, they settled in a province known by the name of Judæa, where they erected a city called Jerusalem, and built a temple."
Antiquity is his guide thus far: but afterwards reciting idle tales and traditions, his story becomes wholly incredible. He represents the Jews as a mob of Egyptian lepers, and other diseased persons, driven from the country on account of uncleanliness. He presumes they had a king, to whom he gives the name of Amenophis: but is so conscious of the imposition, that he presumes not to ascertain the time when he reigned, as was his custom in other cases; for he would have been betrayed by the want of connexion: He adds several romantic tales to his history, but is much mistaken in his chronology, afferting that it was now five hundred and eighteen years since the shepherds left Egypt on their way to Jerusalem; whereas they quitted it during the reign of Themosis. Now the government continued in regular succession, during three hundred and ninety-three years, from Themosis to the two brothers, Sethon and Hermæus. He says that, "Sethon took the name of Ægyptus, and Hermæus that of Danaus: that Sethon supplanted him, and held the government fifty-nine years, and was succeeded by his son Rhampfes, who reigned sixty-fix years." After having acknowledged the departure of our ancestors from Egypt many years before, he adds Amenophis to the catalogue of kings, and pretends that he was a prince devoted to the study of divine things, as Orus, one of his predecessors, had been; and then he says that, "He wished to see the gods; on which a priest, likewise named Amenophis, told him he should be gratified in his desire, provided the kingdom was cleared of all lepers and other unclean persons. Now Amenophis, the priest, had such a reputation for sanctity, that the king, delighted with the promise, collected eighty thousand diseased persons, and sent them to work in the quarries to the east of the Nile, with many Egyptians who were delected to that labour; and among the rest were learned men and priests afflicted with leprosy."

Manetho proceeds thus: "This divine man was struck with remorse for what he had done, dreaded the vengeance of heaven on himself, and the king, for giving and taking such advice; and found by revelation, that divine justice, in retribution of their sufferings, had decreed them the government of Egypt for thirteen years." The priest was afraid to mention this to the king, but wrote down the circumstance, and then destroyed himself, which greatly alarmed the king. Our author then proceeds as follows:

"Petitions were delivered to the king in favour of these wretched people, who requested to retire to Avaris, formerly called Typhon, and inhabited by the shepherds, where they might live in safety. The king complied; and as soon as they were settled they resolved to rebel, and united under Ofarsiph, a priest of Heliopolis, whose commands they swore to obey; on condition of not being obliged to worship the Egyptian gods; that they should marry with their own people, and eat such meats as they deemed holy. This compact against the Egyptian interest being made, their leader directed that the city should be walled and fortified, and war levied against Amenophis: he likewise joined with other priests, who sent messengers to those shepherds at Jerusalem who had been driven from Egypt.
A defence of Egypt by King Themis. The ambassadors were directed to invite them to join the confederacy against Egypt; and to offer them admission into Avaris, the residence of their forefathers, where their wants would be supplied, and they might at any time rise and conquer Egypt. The proposal was accepted; and they immediately marched to Avaris, to the number of two hundred thousand men.

This invasion alarmed Amenophis, who knew not what to think of the prophetical paper left by the priest. He instantly assembled a council of his princes and people, sent away all those beasts which the Egyptians held sacred, and directed their priests to secrete their idols. His son Sethon, otherwise named Romassés, a child of five years old, he entrusted to the care of a faithful friend, and then marched to attack the enemy, at the head of an army of three hundred thousand men: but recollecting himself, and being smitten in conscience, he retreated without coming to battle, and went to Memphis, where the whole body took shipping, and went to Ethiopia, with Aphis, and their other gods. They were generously received by the king and people of Ethiopia, who allowed them habitations and provisions during the thirteen years of their banishment: and also permitted a guard on the frontier for the protection of the person of the king.

In the interim greater ravages were made in Egypt by the Jews from Jerusalem than by those who had invited them. Every wicked and inhuman act was familiar to them, and it was a misfortune even to behold their impiety. They burnt and rifled towns and villages; committed sacrilege; broke in pieces the images of the gods; tore limb from limb the conge- crated creatures adored by the Egyptians; compelled even the priests and prophets themselves to destroy them; and then stripped them naked and dismissed them.

Our author likewise says, "Ofasiph, a priest of Heliopolis, was the founder of that polity: he was so named from Osiris, a god there worshipped. When he changed his religion he took the name of Moses." Manetho proceeds to say, that "Amenophis and his son Rhampses afterwards marched from Ethiopia with two large armies, attacked the shep- herd's and the lepers, whom they pursued to the borders of Syria, making great slaughter among them." I shall make it appear that this account is trivial and ridiculous in the highest degree.

Manetho confesses that our ancestors were not originally of Egypt, but that going thither from other parts, they reduced the country, and then left it. With regard to our afterwards mixing with the Egyptian lepers, and Moses, who conducted us from Egypt, being one of them, I shall prove, from his own words, that Moses lived five ages before; which will destroy the credit of this fiction.

He says that "King Amenophis wished to see the gods." I would ask what gods? since the ox, goat, crocodile and baboon, which are the gods worshipped by the Egyptians, may be seen at any time: but the celestial Gods are wholly invisible. What induced the king to wish for this sight? Why another king had seen them. He might as well have been informed what they
they were; but no; we are told that the prophet, who was a wise and good
man, and one in whom the king trusted, encouraged his curiosity, by pro-
mising him an impossibility, as in the end it appeared to be. Let me again
ask how it happens that the Gods are invisible because men are lepers or
cripples? It is for crimes, not for bodily defects, that they are offended with
us. Who will credit the circumstance of so many thoufand deceased persons
being collected at such short notice? How happened it that the king con-
demned them to the quarries, instead of clearing the kingdom of them, ac-
cording to the prophet’s directions? The historian says the prophet destroyed
himself, in fear of the divine wrath, and left the fate of Ægypt in writing for
the king. How happened it that he did not foresee his own destruction as
well as that of others? Why did he not persuade the king from indulging
his idle curiosity, or why concern himself for a calamity that was to happen
after his decease; or was the dreaded misfortune worse than death? But I
have not yet remarked on the most ridiculous part of the story.

Manetho says that the king was concerned at what had happened: but
how strange was his conduct! Instead of clearing the country from the
infected, he, on their first petition, permitted them to dwell in Avaris, the
habitation of their ancestors, where they chose the high-priest of Heliopolis
for their governor; swore allegiance to him; vowed to eat only meats
deemed holy by themselves; to worship only their own gods, and to marry
only among their own people. They fortified Avaris, took arms against the
king, and went to Jerusalem for the assistance of those who, by joining
them, might reduce Ægypt to their subjection. Two hundred thousand
men came on this invitation: but Amenophis, king of Ægypt, smitten
in conscience, flies into Æthiopia, taking with him Apis and his other
gods. The Jews afterwards fire the Ægyptian towns, commit sacrilege on
the temples, and are guilty of every kind of outrage.

Our author says that, “The priest who assumed the government was
born in Hierapolis, called Osariph, from the god Osiris, and then took
the name of Moses.” He says also, that, “Thirteen years after Amen-
ophis had deserted Ægypt, he returned from Æthiopia, and attacked the
Shepherds and lepers, whom he pursued to the borders of Syria with
great slaughter.”

Here Manetho has been extremely unskilful in the structure of his nar-
native: for though the lepers might think their first sentence to work in
the quarries severe; yet, when they were allowed a commodious place of
refidence, one would imagine they might have been content: or, admitting
their enmity to the king to be implacable, why did they not rather attempt
personal injury to him, than cause a commotion in which their kindred
would be sufferers? But the contest was with men, not with gods;
and they would not act contrary to the laws in which they were educated.
Our thanks therefore are due to Manetho, for informing us that the leaders
of this opposition were not those from Jerusalem, but the Ægyptians, par-
cularly the priests, who bound them by oath to act as they did. Can any
thing be more absurd than to say, that when none of the friends of the le-
Vor. II. N n pers
pers would engage with them in the rebellion, they were compelled to send invalids to Jerusalem for aid? What reason of friendship or interest could induce them to come? For there was an utter dissimilarity in their lives and conduct. Yet Manetho says “They came on the first invitation, in the hope of “taking possession of Ægypt;” as if the situation of that country could be unknown to those who had been driven out of it. If they had been reduced to the extremity of starving, they might have run such a risk; but it is not to be supposed that people situated in a finer country would take such a step in favour of enemies, and those too, so diseased that not one of them would have been admitted into a private family. Extravagancies like these none but madmen could commit. Who could have foreseen that the king would fly at the head of three hundred thousand men? for Manetho says that with this number he encountered the rebels. He likewise says that the army from Jerusalem seized the corn and provisions of the Ægyptians, and thus reduced them to the most abject distress. What better fate could be expected from a professed enemy, when the Ægyptians had acted in the same way, and bound themselves by an oath to continue their depredations?

How then shall we account for Manetho’s story of the enemy being routed by Amenophis, and his pursuing them with slaughter to the confines of Syria? Is Ægypt so exposed on every side? And would not the conductors of the war, knowing Amenophis was on his march, have secured the passes from Æthiopia, and collected an army to oppose him? But Manetho says, “he pursued them to the borders of Syria, making great slaughter among “them.” Absurd indeed! to pursue an enemy, with an army, through a desert that was almost impassable. But I have extracted from Manetho sufficient to prove that we were not derived from the Ægyptians, nor otherwise related to them. With regard to the leprous among them it may be presumed that many of them died in the quarries, more fell in the war, and multitudes in this last battle and flight. What Manetho has asserted respecting Moses shall be the subject of my next enquiry.

It is agreed by the Ægyptians that Moses was a man of approved wisdom and uprightness; and they will affirm any thing, however false, to inculcate that he was their countryman, and one of those priests of Heliopolis, who with others was driven out on account of the leprosy. Now the chronology informs us that Moses lived five hundred and eighteen years before this event, and conducted our ancestors from Ægypt to the country wherewith we now dwell. Full proof of his not having been a leper arises from his own ordinations: viz. That lepers should not be admitted into the towns or villages, but dwell in separate habitations: that those should be deemed unclean who touched a leper, or lived under the same roof with him: that persons applying to be cured of that disease, should be purified, wash themselves with fountain water, shave off all their hair, and offer particular sacrifices, previous to their being received into the holy city. Now if Moses had been himself a leper, he would not have been thus strict with others so afflicted.

Nor was the strictness of our people only in the case of lepers. A person who had a maim, or other bodily defect, could not officiate as a priest, and was deprived of his office on such discovery being made. Will any one suppose
pose that if Moses had been a leper he would have made laws so injurious and disgraceful to himself? With regard to the change of the name from Osar-siph to Moses, there is not the least correspondence between them. Moy, in the Egyptian language, means water, and Moses signifies, "preferred out of the water." It is plain that while Manetho adhered to the records of antiquity, some reliance is to be placed on his assertions: but the absurdity of his story is evident the moment he has recourse to fiction.

I now proceed to Chæremon, likewise an Egyptian historian, who is of the same opinion with Manetho, respecting the supposed Amenophis and his son Rhampses. This writer says, "That the goddess Isis appeared in a vision to Amenophis, whom she rebuked for permitting her temple to be destroyed by the war. A priest named Phritiphantes hinted to the king, that he should not be again visited by apparitions, in the night, if he would cause Egypt to be cleared of all infected persons. Hereupon the invalids, to the number of two hundred and fifty thousand, were collected, and banished, under the command of Moses and Joseph, two righteous men of the number. Pithithes was the Egyptian name of Moses, and Petesephe that of Joseph. At Pelusium they found three hundred and eighty thousand men, whom Amenophis had refused to carry into Egypt. Both parties combined in an expedition against the Egyptians; on which Amenophis retreated to Ethiopia, leaving a pregnant wife, who concealed herself in caves, till she was delivered of a son, whom she called Meilenes; who on coming to years of maturity, drove two hundred thousand Jews into Syria, and brought from Ethiopia his father Amenophis."

To refute Manetho and Chæremon, it is only necessary to oppose their testimonies to each other. The former says the lepers were banished in consequence of the curiosity of Amenophis to see the gods: the latter imputes it to the vision of Isis. Manetho, says the priest Amenophis, advised the sending away of the sick: Chæremon makes Phritiphantes the author of this advice. One says, the number of the diseased was eighty thousand; the other, two hundred and fifty thousand. Manetho conveys the lepers to the quarries, and thence to Avaris, whence they fend to Jerusalem for assistance, and commence the war. On the contrary, Chæremon supplies them with three hundred and eighty thousand men whom Amenophis had left at Jerusalem; and invading Egypt with these, Amenophis flies to Ethiopia; but he says not a word of whence this vast army came, whether they were Egyptians or Strangers, or why originally received by Amenophis. He tells us that Moses and Joseph were expelled at the same time; though the latter died four ages before the time of the former. According to Manetho, Rhampses was in the war with his father Amenophis, and an exile with him in Ethiopia. Chæremon tells us he was born in a cave, after his father's death, grew to manhood, and drove two hundred thousand Jews into Syria. How ridiculous this story! He says not who the three hundred and eighty thousand were; or whether the eighty thousand deserted to Rhampses, or fell in battle: but the most extraordinary circumstance is, that he does not tell us who it is he means by Jews; whether the three hundred and eighty thousand at Pelusium, or the two hundred and fifty thousand lepers. But it is
idle to attempt the confutation of those whose narrations destroy their own credibility.

Proceed we now to Lyfmachus, whose falsehoods are more extravagant than any of the preceding. He records that "When Bocchoris reigned over Egypt, the Jews pressed into the temples to solicit alms, being covered with scabs, leprous, and foul with variety of disorders, of which great numbers of them died; whereupon a famine ensued. Thus distressed, Bocchoris sent to consult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, on the occasion of the famine; and the answer received was, that the temples must be purified by sending into the defart the unclean and impious persons, and that those who were ulcerated and leprous should be drowned, for the fun itself abhorred so obnoxious a sight: and that these injunctions being complied with, the fruits of the earth should re-appear, according to their natural order. Hereupon Bocchoris summoned his priests and soothsayers, and agreeable to their advice, ordered the sick to be collected and delivered to the soldiers: those who were scabrous or leprous to be wrapped in lead, and thrown into the sea; and the others conveyed to the wilderness, and there left to starve. The night advancing, these unhappy creatures deliberated how to act. They made fires, and appointed sentinels; and on the next night kept a fast, to entreat pardon of the Gods. On the following morning, one Moses recommended it to them to decamp, and proceed onwards, till they could be better accommodated: but enjoined them to do no good on their journey; not even so much as to give good advice if it was asked; and to destroy all the temples and altars they met with. This advice being approved, the company proceeded through the wilderness, and after encountering great hardships, came at length to a country well inhabited and cultivated. They behaved in a most cruel manner to the inhabitants, whose temples they ravaged and burnt; and finally arrived at a place now named Judea, where they built a city, and called it Hierofyla, the meaning of which is "the spoil of holy things:" but afterwards acquiring power and reputation, they changed the name to Hierofolyma; and from the name of the city took their own."

Lyfmachus thus gives us a king unknown to Manetho and Charemon. He says nothing of the dream or Egyptian prophet, but makes his king ask advice of the oracle respecting the lepers, and other diseased persons. He affirms that the Jews pressed into the temples. By the Jews does he mean the lepers? for he would seem to insinuate that the Jews only were afflicted with that disorder. Why does he not say whether he meant natives or strangers? If Egyptians, he is wrong in giving them the name of Jews: if they were strangers, why does he not say from what country? If so many were drowned, and the others driven into the desert, how happens it that such numbers of them yet remain? By what means did they pass the wilderness, become possessed of the country, build a city, and construct the most magnificent temple in the universe?

It is extraordinary that he should mention only the name of our law-giver, without saying any thing of his person, family, or country. It is strange that, during the journey, Moses should make laws disgraceful to the Gods and
and men. If these exiles were Egyptians, it is not credible they would at once reject the laws of their country. If strangers, they had certainly some peculiar customs to which they would have adhered. They might have had some plausible pretext for confederating in a solemn league against those who expelled them: but it is ridiculous in the highest degree, to suppose that a number of friendless and unhappy people should combine as declared enemies to all the rest of mankind. The conceit of the name, its allusion to the city, and the subsequent change of it, give an absurd uniformity to the whole story. The author hints that the name of the city was disgraceful to the inhabitants; yet it afterwards became an honour to them; but this malicious writer seems to have imagined that Hierosolyma bore the same meaning in Hebrew that it does in Greek. But it were idle to lose more time in refuting a tale which so palpably contradicts itself: besides, it is time that I finish this book, and proceed to the next; in which I propose to validate all my assertions.

End of the First Book.
A

DEFENCE OF THE

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES,

IN ANSWER TO APION.

BOOK II.

I PRESUME, that I have already proved the antiquity of our nation, on the testimony of several Phoenician, Chaldaean, and Ægyptian historians, and some of the Greek writers: and this being done in my reflections on Manetho, Charemon and others, I proceed now, (most honoured Epaphroditus) to answer those who have attacked me personally, and particularly Apion, the grammarian; though, in truth, such a writer is scarcely worthy of regard. His narrations are in the highest degree vulgar and fabulous: his writings are dull and obscure: he appears to be ignorant of his subject, but is calumnious in every thing that he advances: in fact, there is a mixture in his writings, which prove that the author is illiberal, boisterous, and troublesome in the extreme. On reflection, however, that fools abound in the world more than men of sense, and are gratified with folly rather than with good sense and sound reason: considering likewise that the majority listen more eagerly to the abuse than the applause of their neighbours, I am tempted to take up the pen of criticism, to chastise this arrogant man for his insolence in presuming to judge in this affair: and I am encouraged to proceed, by the consideration that the world is generally
rally gratified by seeing the mischief arising from calumny revert on the head of the calumniators.

Apion's mode of writing is so obscure, and there is such confusion and contradiction in his narrations, that it is difficult to determine what he aims at. Sometimes he mistakes the account of our ancestors leaving Egypt, as hath been done by others, whom I have already refuted: at another time he attacks the Jews of Alexandria; and then the rites and ceremonies of our temple and worship become the objects of his censure.

With regard to our ancestors being originally derived from Egypt, and after that being expelled the same country, on account of any infectious disease, or any other similar reason whatever, I presume I have already said enough to clear us of every suspicion of the kind. I shall now, therefore, only take notice of what Apion hath added to these circumstances, particularly in his Egyptian history, book the third. He says, "Moses was a native of Heliopolis, as I have been informed by the most ancient people resident in that country within my remembrance. In ancient times the inhabitants held their religious assemblies in the open air, till Moses, who was an adept in the worship of his country, prevailed on the people to assemble in houses in the city, directing them always to pray with their faces towards the sun. With regard to the buildings, they were open at the top, and consisted of pillars erected on the figures of batons, with engravings thereon, and the shadow, falling on the batons, moved as the sun moved."

These are the romantic opinions of this author: but I had rather leave the refutation of him to the writings of Moses, than undertake the task. Moses relates nothing of prescribing such form as above-mentioned at the first erecting the tabernacle; nor doth he direct posterity to use it. Nor was Solomon, (the founder of the temple at Jerusalem) acquainted with any such building as is mentioned by Apion.

He tells us that old men informed him, that Moses was a native of Heliopolis. Hence it should seem, that being too young to know the fact, he enquired of his contemporaries, who appear to have been well acquainted with him. How absurd and ridiculous! Apion could not discover the country of Homer or Pythagoras, though they lived comparatively in modern times. How happens it then that he is so clear with regard to Moses, who flourished ages before them; and this merely on the information of the old men?

The historians I have mentioned equally disagree respecting the time when Moses conducted the lepers, lame, and blind, from Egypt. Manetho asserts that it was in the reign of Themosis, three hundred and ninety years before Danaus was banished to Argos. Lykimachus says it was in the reign of Bocchoris, which was seven hundred years before Molon; and others calculate as their fancies suggested: but Apion, who pretends to the utmost exactness, fixes the time to the first year of the seventh olympiad, in which year he asserts that Carthage was built. By this mention of Carthage, he seems to expect to authenticate his computation: but if he had reflected a moment, he would have seen that he was giving evidence against himself; particularly
particularly if he had attended to the Phœnician records; for that history makes it plain that Hiram lived full an hundred and fifty years before the building of Carthage, as hath been already proved from the Phœnician annals. Hiram had a singular attachment to Solomon, and contributed great numbers of materials towards building the temple at Jerusalem. The fact is, that it was not till six hundred and twelve years after the Jews left Ægypt, that Solomon laid the foundations of the temple.

With regard to the number of exiles, Apion concurs with Lyfmachus in the erroneous account of one hundred and ten thousand: but his account of the origin of the word Sabbath is amazingly ridiculous. He says, "The Jews having been six days on their journey, were compelled to rest on the seventh, being seized with ulcers and inflammations in the groin. When they had arrived in the country they now call Judea, they named their resting-day the Sabbath, from the Ægyptian word sabbatoisi, which signifies, 'The disease of the groin.' How strange is it that any man could write such an aggregation of nonsense, and attempt to impose it on the world as authentic history! He represents one hundred and ten thousand men, all afflicted with the same disease! If these were lame and blind, as he afferts in another place, how was it possible for such a disordered multitude to prosecute their journey through the desert, even for a single day? How improbable is it, I repeat, that such an immense number of men should be at once struck with the same disorder? The common course of nature could never occasion this; and to say that it arose from chance would be an unpardonable error.

How strange is Apion's idea of one hundred and ten thousand diseased persons travelling to Judea in six days only! And what a story does he recount of Moses going to the top of Mount Sinai, betwixt Ægypt and Arabia, remaining there forty days, and delivering the law to the Jews on his descent! Two questions naturally arise here. How was it possible for such an immense multitude to traverse such an enormous desert in six days? And how could they subsist forty, in a place where neither bread nor water was to be obtained?

His observations respecting the sense of the word Sabbath, are trifling in the highest degree. There is no affinity between the meaning of the words Sabbo and Sabbathum: the former, according to his explanation, signifies the Ægyptian disease; by the latter we understand the day that the Jews devote to rest. This may be considered as the fabulous appendix which Apion has given to the history of Moses, and the account of the Jews departure from Ægypt, contrary to all historical truth. But it is not wonderful that a man should traduce others, who contradicts himself. His birth-place was Oasis in Ægypt; but this he disclaims, to be deemed an Alexandrian; which proves that he had no veneration for the Ægyptians; and, indeed, by that name he distinguishes all those whom he wishes to calumniate: and for this reason, among others, he seeks to disguise his extraction. Those who are not ashamed of the honour of their country, are anxious to assert their claim to it, and zealous in the support of their rights and privileges. With regard to the Jews, the Ægyptians sometimes claim kindred with us, and
then boast of the affinity; and in instances where themselves are reproached, they icem fond that we should bear our part in the scandal. Apion, however, gives vent to all his malice against us, as if he fought to please the Alexandrians for granting him the freedom of their city. He knew what an enmity there was at that time between the Alexandrians, and the Jews of that place; and though his pretension was to traduce only one kind of Jews, yet his rancour extends to the whole people of that denomination.

Let me ask what crime he charges, with so much acrimony, on the Alexandrian Jews? He says, that when the Jews came from Syria, they took up their habitations on the coast, within reach of the tide, but not near a port where a vessel could ride. Is he not cenurable for scandalizing so distinguishing a city, a city which he boasted (though not with truth) to have been the place of his birth? For that district is a dependency on Alexandria, and allowed to be a convenient situation. If the Jews forcibly took possession of it, and then held that possession, they are to be applauded for the act.

But the truth is that the Jews were put in possession of this place by Alexander the great, who allowed them privileges equal to the Macedonians. What would Apion say, if instead of being established in this royal city, they were permitted a residence at Necropolis; and if their tribes are called Macedonians to this day? It is a doubt whether Apion ever read the epistles of Alexander, Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, and his successors, kings of Egypt; with the inscriptions engraven on the pillar at Alexandria, by Caesar's order to commemorate the privileges he granted to the Jews. If he had read them, he must have been a bad man to falsify his own knowledge; if not, he has at once betrayed his malice and his ignorance.

He is not less mistaken in the affonishment he expresses at the Jews taking the name of Alexandrians. It is common for colonies to take their names from the places of their first foundation, of which we have many instances. The Jews of Antioch bear the name of Antiochians, king Seleucus having made their ancestors free of that city. The Jews of Ephesus are denominatet Ephesians: and Ionians is the name given to those of Ionia; and they are entitled to those names by ancient grants. Favours of this kind Rome hath granted to whole nations and provinces, as well as to individuals. How else happened it that the name of Romans was given to the ancient Iberians, Tuscan, and Sabines? Apion is unwilling to allow this benefit to other people, and yet calls himself an Alexandrian. By his rule, no man born in Egypt should assume the name of an Alexandrian; for the Egyptians are, of all people, refused this liberty by the Romans. But our malicious writer, incapable of justifying his own claim to this privilege, traduces those who have an honest title to it.

Alexander accepted the affonishment of the Jews in the building of this city; not that he wanted hands; but that he was willing to shew the reliance he placed in their truth and honour. Hecatæus says, that Alexander had such regard for the loyalty and modelly of the Jews, that he gave them the province of Samaria, free of taxes, exclusive of other gratifications.

Vol. II. P p Ptolemy
Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, succeeded Alexander, and was not less pleased with the Alexandrian Jews, to whose care he committed all the fortresses in Egypt; and fixed colonies of these people in Cyrene, and other cities of Lybia, for his greater security.

This Ptolemy was succeeded by Ptolemy Philadephus, who released all the Jewish prisoners in the country, remitted their taxes and other debts; and was so zealously inclined to be instructed in our laws and customs, and in the holy scriptures, that he begged for interpreters to explain these matters to him. That no time might be lost in such a work, it was committed to the care of Demetrius Phalerens, who was distinguished for his knowledge and probity, and to Andraes, and Arístæs, two captains of the king's guards. Now it is unreasonable to think that this veneration for the customs and laws of the Jews could subsist without a proportionable respect for their predecessors. But Apion must be unacquainted with this part of history, if he did not know that all the Macedonian kings favoured the Jews.

Ptolemy, named likewise Euergetes, having subdued Syria, did not worship the Egyptian gods, in acknowledgement of his victory; but sacrificed after the Jewish manner; and returned thanks to God in the temple of Jerusalem.

The whole weight of the government was committed, by Ptolemy Philometer, and the queen Cleopatra, to two Jews, named Onias and Dositheus. Apion seeks to cen sure their conduct; whereas his thanks were due to them for preserving Alexandria, of which he pretended to be a citizen: for when a rebellion prevailed in Egypt, and the place was nearly lost, all was adjusted by the conduct of these Jews. Apion says that soon after this, the place was entered by Onias, with a small army; Thermus, the Roman ambassador, being present: but he says no more of this affair; though the action was undoubtedly a very brave one.

Ptolemy Philometer was succeeded by his son Ptolemy Philcon, who marched from Cyrene, to drive Cleopatra, and the king's sons, from Egypt, and assume the government. Hereupon Onias made war on Philcon, in favour of Cleopatra, to defend the rights of royalty at all events: but never happened a more singular instance of the Divine power and justice than on this occasion: for Ptolemy being ready to engage in battle with Onias, he gave orders that the Jews of Alexandria, of both sexes, and all ages, should be stripped, bound, and thrown to the elephants, that they might be trampled to death; the beasts having been previously intoxicated, to inflame their rage; but, most unexpectedly, the elephants touched not the Jews, but destroyed numbers of the best friends of Ptolemy, to whom, at this moment, appeared a horrid figure, commanding him to cease persecuting the Jews. Ptolemy's favourite mistresses likewise supplicated him to the same purpose; on which he was not only prevailed upon to comply, but repented of all the cruelties which he had either perpetrated or intended. This fact is so well known, that an annual festival in memory of their escape, is to this day kept by the Jews of Alexandria, yet such is the antipathy of Apion to every thing generous, that he cen sures the Jews for engaging in this war against
against Philæon, whereas he ought to have extolled that sense of justice which inspired them.

The last Cleopatra, who reigned in Alexandria is celebrated by Apion, on account of her ingratitude to the Jews, instead of his reproaching her levish life and conduct; her infidelity to the best of husbands; her treachery to the Romans, and her imperial benefactors; her causing her innocent sister Arsinoe to be put to death in the temple; the perfidious murder of her brother; the rifting the temples of the gods, and the sepulchres of her ancestors; and her rebelling against the adopted son and successor of the first Cæsar, from whose bounty she had received her kingdom. Nor is this all: Cleopatra’s charms and fascinations rendered Anthony a traitor to his friends and country; she dethroned some princes, and made others the instruments to propagate her vices.

It will be now proper to remark on the meanness of spirit evinced by this Cleopatra, who, at the naval battle of Actium, deserted even her beloved Anthony, (the father of many of her children) whom she compelled to forfeit his honour, quit his forces, and follow her. What conduct could be more worthy of censure. When Cæsar took Alexandria, she was so enraged that she prided herself on her barbarities; and thought if she could have killed all the Jews with her own hands, she should have been recompensed for the loss of the city. If, as Apion reports, corn was refused to the Jews, during the time of famine, by Cleopatra, this writer could have no reason to assign this as a disgrace to us. But the evil deeds of Cleopatra have been rewarded.

The Jews in their justification, may appeal to the emperor himself, to the testimonials of Augustus Cæsar, and the public decrees of the senate of Rome; which will furnish united testimony of the firm faith and allegiance they have always borne to the empire, and particularly in the Egyptian war.

These are the authorities that Apion should have consulted, if he meant to have done justice to the Jews. He ought to have taken the opinion of Alexander, the Ptolemies, and all the most distinguished Roman emperors, as well as of the senate. It was owing to a season of scarcity, and not to any fault of the Jews, that Germanicus could not supply all the Alexandrians with corn. The affection of the emperors towards the Alexandrian Jews was never doubted: wheat was granted to them in common with their neighbours: they had ample credit at all times, having the command of the river, and other palls of consequence; in fact, they were trusted more than other people, in stations and affairs of importance.

Apion asks, if the Jews are citizens of Alexandria, why they do not embrace the same religion; and worship the same gods as their fellow-citizens? To answer his question by a similar one, how happens it that the Egyptians differ in opinion respecting the mode of worship? Shall we therefore determine that they are not Egyptians? Shall we doubt their being men, because in an unnatural manner they breed up beasts, and then worship them? The Jews, on the contrary, live in harmony. Now if the Egyptians are divided in sentiment, ought they to wonder that the Alexandrian Jews, who came from
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from another country, should adhere to their old laws, though totally different from theirs?

Apion imputes all the factions in the state to the divisions respecting matters of religion between the Alexandrian Jews, and the old inhabitants. If this were true of the Alexandrian Jews, why not of all the Jews in other places: since wherever we are dispersed, there is an uniformity in our conduct? THose who attend to the nature of these commotions, will find that they were excited by persons of Apion's disposition: since, while the Greeks and Macedonians refided in this city, the Jews exercised their religion unmolested, and the people in general lived in harmony: whereas, on the increase of the Egyptians, the times grew more tumultuous. The Jews, in all varieties, remained the same; while the others, less conformant than the Macedonians, less prudent than the Greeks, made all the disturbance; being previously irritated by the aversion they had to the Jews, and instigated by the ill example of the Egyptians. These people, I say, were the authors of our confusion; and we are blamed for the crime of the very persons who accuse us. We are likewise treated by Apion as strangers, though undoubtedly invested with all the rights of freemen; while our adversaries pretend to be citizens, without the shadow of a title to support their claim. History does not inform us that the princes of ancient times, or the later emperors, granted freedom to the Egyptians: whereas Alexander the great was the first who bestowed that favour on us, and his grants have been extended by future monarchs: and since their time the Romans have continued and confirmed them.

The Jews are likewise censured by Apion for not erecting statues in honour of the emperors; as if they could not have noticed this circumstance without his interposition. Instead of reflecting on us, he ought rather to have extolled the Romans, for permitting their subjects to enjoy their own religion, without demanding of them such honours as they could not discharge consistent with the rights of conscience. The value of obligation is enhanced by the unsolicited freedom with which it is granted. It may be said that it is common, among the Greeks and other people, to hold in high estimation the pictures or images of their parents, children, servants, and even strangers: and shall not an equal degree of respect be paid to their sovereigns? To this I reply, that the case with us is different, having respect to our venerable lawgiver, who hath positively enjoined us not to use images of the likeness of any thing, animate or inanimate. This he could not have done with a view to derogate from the dignity of the Roman empire; but singly to forbid the bodily representation of a God invisible and incomprehensible. But we are not forbid a veneration for good men, next to the Deity. We pray for the emperors and people of Rome; and at the public expense, offer daily sacrifices for their prosperity: but this we do not for any other people.

I thought proper to say thus much respecting the extravagancies of Apion concerning Alexandria. I am afofflished at the presumption of Pothionus and Appolohius Molon, who furnished materials for the work, and charge our people with worshipping gods different from those of other people. I forbear
forbear to remark on the ridiculous stories propagated on this subject, which even tend to ridicule our temple. A wilful falsity on any occasion is an atrocious crime; but this crime is aggravated when it tends to temoralize a temple, universally celebrated for the regularity of the devotion therein solemnized.

Apion says that, "In this place was the head of an afis, wrought in gold, of immense value, which was worshipped by the Jews, and was a deity corresponding with their religion; it was lodged in the treasury, and when that place was rifled, it was found, and carried off by Antiochus Epiphanes." If this story were true, it comes with an ill grace from an Egyptian; for an as is no more disgraceful than a goat, or weazle, or other beasts worshipped by the Egyptians: but it is strange that any man could affect to believe so ridiculous a story. The Jews have ever governed themselves by the same laws and customs: and though Jerusalem and its temple have fallen into the hands of enemies, as Thoas, Pompey, Crassus, and Titus Cæsar, yet nothing was ever said of this asis’s head before, or of any thing extraordinary, but evidences of real piety.

Antiochus, in his plunder of the temple, acted not as an open enemy, but as a faithfes friend and traitor, who, being in want of money, supplied himself by robbery. There are, however, a number of historians who do justice to our cause; as Polybius, Strabo, Nicolaus, Timagenes, Caflor, and Apollodorus, who agree that Antiochus, urged by his necessities, violated his faith with the Jews, and plundered their temple of a vast quantity of gold and silver. Now Apion would have considered these circumstances, if he had not been as stupid as an asis, and as impudent as a dog, two of the Egyptian gods: but we venerate not our aifes, as those people do their asps and crocodiles: for they hold that if a person is flung to death by one, or devoured by the other, he instantly takes his residence with the gods. We think of aifes as other men of sense do: we employ them in laborious offices: but if they disobey us, or tread down our corn, we punish them with stripes.

Apion’s tales are so ill contrived and unconnected, that he could never yet find credit enough to prejudice us; but there is one malicious story, which he borrowed from the Greeks, more strange than all the rest. It will be proper here to remark, that they are strangers to piety and holy things, who are ignorant that it is much less criminal to profane a temple by walking through it, than to propagate scandals of religious men, and calumniate those who serve at the altar: but it was made a point rather to palliate the crimes of a perfidious prince, by imputing his conduct to necessity, than to do justice to the temple and people of the Jews.

Apion’s story is that, "When Antiochus entered the temple, he saw a man in bed, and before him a table, spread with the rarest produce of the land and sea. The man threw himself at his feet in surprize, thinking he was a good angel come to deliver him, and besought his aid in a posture of devout worship. The king ordered him to say who he was, how he came thither, and his business, and what was the meaning of that elegant provision for Vol. II. Q q
him: on which the man, with many tears, spoke as follows:—I am a
native of Greece, and being wandering through this country in search of
subsistence, I was suddenly seized by strangers, who conveyed me hither,
and confined me, with orders that no one should visit me. At first I was
not displeased with the elegance of my entertainment; but on reflection I
grew uneasy; and prevailed on some of my keepers to assign the cause of
such treatment; and their answer was, that on a certain day, annually, it
was the custom of the Jews to seize on a Grecian stranger, whom they fed
luxuriously for one complete year, and then took him into the woods,
and sacrificed him, agreeable to their own forms: that each took a taste
of his blood, and swore utter enmity to the Greeks, living and dying; and
then threw the mangled carcass into a ditch." This man said farther to
Antiochus, "My time wants but few days of being expired: deliver me
then from the barbarity of the Jews, by the veneration you hold for the
gods worshipped by the Grecians."

Thus shameless was the invention of this tragical story; but it does not in
the least acquit Antiochus of the sacrilege, as those who contrived it would
wish to insinuate: for Antiochus did not enter the temple on account of the
Greek, but found him there unexpectedly. His conduct was founded in
wickedness, and is not justifiable on any principle whatever. Our laws differ
more from those of the Egyptians, and other countries, than from the
Greeks: but there is no country through which people of all religions do
not pass at times. It seems strange, then, that this ridiculous barbarity should
be exercised on the Greeks alone: nor is it possible that all the Jews could
assist in the solemnization of such a sacrifice: even according to Apion's ac-
count, their numbers were too great to have each tasted of the miserable
wretch. We are not told the name of this unfortunate Greek; nor did An-
tiochus send him back with honour into his own country; which would have
became his character as a pious prince, and the father of his people, and
excited the indignation of the public against the cruelty of the Jews.

But arguments are lost on fools: ocular demonstration can alone convince
them. Every man who has seen our temple, can witness to the rigid rules
by which it was kept pure and undefiled. It was divided into four parts, to
each of which a guard was appointed. All persons, even strangers, were
admitted freely into the first division, except women under certain circum-
stances: into the second were admitted Jews and their wives, who were puri-
fied: into the third male Jews who were purified: into the fourth the priests
only, in the habit of their office: and the high-priest, in his pontifical habit,
could alone enter the holy sanctuary. So strict were the forms, that it was
only at certain hours that the priests could be admitted.

When the temple was first opened in the morning, the officiating priests
attended and entered, and again attended when it was shut at noon. Agree-
able to the law, there was in the temple an altar, table, censor, and candle-
flick; and it was unlawful to carry in any other vessel. There was no feast-
ing, or other secret transgression; but all in full view of the congregation, and
in such order, that though there were four tribes of priests, each consisting
of above five thousand persons, they took their turns on appointed days,
some
some quitting the service when others commenced: and meeting in the
temple about noon, they delivered up their truits, some giving up the keys,
and others the vessels; but nothing of food or liquor was brought into the
temple; the offering on our altar any thing, except sacrifices, being unlaw-
ful. Wherefore, then, has Apion wrote at random, regarded less of truth,
which is scandalous in an historian? While he publishes his invective fur-
mifies against us, he suppresses those facts which he knows to be in our favour.
With regard to his Grecian prisoner, and his sumptuous entertainment, and
what he says respecting the people making the temple a common thorough-
fare, where priests only dare appear, the whole is a malicious invention to
deceive those who decline a proper search after the truth.

Apion follows one idle tale with another, to render the Jews contemptible.
He tells the following story as from the Grecians: "The Jews and Idumæ-
ans being engaged in an obstinate war, a man named Zabidus went over
to the Jews from a city of Idumæa, where Apollo, the god of the Dorians
was worshipped, and promised to put the god into their possession, if the
Jews could be all assembled in a body at the temple. Hereupon Zabidus
provided a wooden machine, into which he conveyed himself, having
fixed on it three rows of lights, which, at a distance, appeared like a
comet on the ground. While the Jews, in silence and at distance, were
gazing on this spectacle, Zabidus got into the temple, seized the golden
head of the ais, and carried it to Dora." This tale is not less ridiculous
than impudent. Apion mentions several places that are not to be found.
He is a stranger to the situation of Idumæa, which has no such city as Dora.
In Phœnicia, near mount Carmel, four days journey from Judæa, is such a
place; but not the Dora meant by Apion.

We cannot blame him for charging us with worshiping strange gods, if
our ancestors could believe that Apollo would come to him, and that he looked
like a comet on the ground: but it is strange that the Jews should not know
a lamp or a torch; nor lets is to that Zabidus should walk off with the ais's head,
uninterrupted by so many thousand people, and unquestioned by guards,
in town or country, in time of war.

I have said too much of this idle tale; yet cannot help wondering how
Zabidus should get and keep possession of the ais's head: for the gates of the
temple were sixty cubits high, twenty broad, plated almost with massive
gold; two hundred men to shut them daily, and the crime of leaving them
open not to be forgiven. It may be questioned if Zabidus restored the head to
its former place, or presented it to Apion, that it might be laid in the
temple for Antiochus to find it, and lay the foundation of another ridiculous
fiction.

What Apion says of the oath is equally false; viz. that the Jews swear by
their maker, never to do good to strangers, particularly not to the Greeks.
If this writer had said "Not to the Egyptians," he would have been more
confident, especially if our ancestors were driven from Egypt for their mis-
fortunes, not their crimes. The situation of the Jews and Greeks was so
distant that it was not probable any hatred could subsist between them: on
the contrary several Greeks embraced the Jewish religion, in which some of

them
them persiled, though others returned to their old faith. With regard to the oath, it resulted solely from the imagination of Apion.

His next contrivance is excellent. He argues against the justice of our laws, our mode of worship, and the truth of our religion; that we are reduced to a state of servitude and oppression; that our city, formerly free and powerful, is now under subjection to the Romans. I would ask what people are able to contend with the Roman power: who but Apion would argue as if dominion were entailed? Government and subjection are alternate. The Egyptians alone pretend to be free from obedience to the governors of Europe and Asia; and this is founded on the gratitude of the strange gods, who fled to their country for sanctuary, and assumed the shape of beasts. How ridiculous this, from a people who have been always slaves at home or abroad. The Egyptians have frequently submitted to the Persians, who have razed their cities, plundered their temples, destroyed their idol gods, and ridiculed their religion. I would not write in Apion's manner, reproaching people for their misfortunes. The Lacedaemonians were always brave, and the Athenians distinguished by their piety; yet neither valour nor religion could protect them from the vicissitudes of war. Creatus, one of the best of kings, was deplorably miserable: the tower of Athens, the temples of Apollo and Delphi, and many other distinguished places have been laid in ashes: but the crime of deeds like these rests with those who commit, not with those who suffer them: but Apion has discovered a new mode of crimination, without recollecting how far Egypt might be concerned: but he was at this time so vain of Sesostris being king of Egypt, that he scarcely knew what he wrote. If the Jews were disposed to vanity, they might boast of their kings, David and Solomon, and recite the history of princes and nations subdued by their valor. But let us adhere to our subject. The Egyptians were originally slaves to the Persians, and other princes of Asia, and then to the Macedonians. At this time the Jews lived in freedom, and commanded the adjacent cities, during one hundred and twenty years; even to the time of Pompey the great. At length, when the Romans had subdued the several kings they contended with, they treated our ancestors as friends and allies, in consideration of their fidelity and courage: but Apion pretends to be unacquainted with these circumstances, otherwise so well known.

This writer infinuates that we are an obscure and ignorant people. "The Jews (says he) have no men among them distinguished by arts, sciences, or the wisdom requisite for political government; like Socrates, Zeno, Cleanthes, and others." Apion even mentions himself as a man of eminence, and congratulates Alexandria on possessing so respectable a citizen. But Apion's character is so notorious for his impure life, that Alexandria is by no means to be envied the having so illustrious a freeman. With regard to the contest between the two nations, which possess'd most men of learning, the reader may be satis'd by consulting our antiquities. Respecting the scandal yet unanswered, we refer to Apion's writings, which actually accuse the other Egyptians and himself.

He
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He pretends to be greatly offended at our customary sacrifice of beasts, and our abstinence from eating swine’s flesh; and perfectly ridicules our ceremony of circumcision. With regard to killing beasts, it is practised by the world in general, as well as by us. Respecting our sacrifices, he unavoidably discovers himself to be an Egyptian; for a Greek or Macedonian would not have objected to this circumstance, as they offer whole hecatombs to their gods: nor in this is there any danger of destroying the species, as Apion affects to dread: on the contrary, was the Egyptian custom general, men would less abound than wild beasts, for these are the gods worshipped by that people.

Were Apion asked which of the Egyptians he thought the wifest and best men, he would, doubtless, reply, the priests, who are charged, by tradition from their ancient kings, to worship the gods, and apply to the study of wisdom. Now these priests are circumcised, abstain from swine’s flesh, and join not in sacrifice with the other Egyptians. So that Apion, instead of gratifying the Egyptians by abusing us, has rather defamed them by an indirect charge of practising the ceremonies he cenfures in the Jews. Herodotus says, that they also advise and encourage circumcision: and it appears to me, that Apion was justly punished for his virulence against the laws of his country. Being advised to be circumcised, the wound putrid, and he died in torments not to be described. May this be a warning to those who, like Apion, forego the duties of a good life, and employ their abilities in abusing others. Thus ended the life of Apion; and I shall now draw this book to a conclusion.

But since Apollonius Molon, Lyphimachus, and other writers, have, with the utmost folly, reflected on our great law-giver Moses, whom they represent as an impostor and magician, and describe his laws as of pernicious tendency, it may not be improper to give some particular account of our conversation and government; and I hope to make it evident that the laws framed by Moses excel all others, in their tendency to advance the general good of mankind, by the promotion of piety, justice, charity, industry, and all the other virtues, even those which lead to the contempt of death: never, I repeat it, were laws so framed, if they were rightly considered. I mean not to write a panegyric on our forefathers, but to assert the truth, in defiance of the arts of detraction.

Apollonius does not, like Apion, abuse us in a regular discourse; but seeks every occasion to misrepresent us: at one time he afferts that we are atheists, and obnoxious to God and man: then he represents us as cowards; and the next charge against us is, that we are presumptuous, fool-hardy, and more ignorant than the most illiterate barbarians; for the Jews, he says, never were the authors of any inventions for the benefit of mankind. Now these malicious affections are at once confuted, by a retrospect to the laws by which we are governed, and the regularity with which we conform our lives to those laws. If, then we are compelled, by way of justifying ourselves, to develope the faults of other political institutions, those who have provoked us to make the disagreeable comparison, must rest content with the odium which the defence of ourselves makes necessary.
In this case two principal things are to be considered. In the first place, whether our laws are valuable in themselves; and in the second, whether we strictly observe them. If the former be denied, we can easily prove the fact by quotations from our laws; and the second point is so obvious, that it will not admit of a doubt. But let us consider this matter farther. It is indisputable that those who, through their benevolence, first framed our laws for the promotion of good order, are worthier characters than those who live in defiance of all order; though they boast of their antiquity, and are ambitious of teaching others how to act, rather than imitate the good actions of others. This will be allowed; and it is the duty of the law-giver to enact such laws as by their own excellence prove their tendency to promote the public welfare: on the contrary, it is the duty of the people to adhere to such laws, in defiance of all danger and discouragement.

In point of antiquity our law-giver has an indisputed precedence to all others: for Lycurgus, Solon, Zaleucus of Locris, and the other distinguished Greeks so boasted of, are mere moderns in respect to Moses. In ancient times the name of law was unheard of, and even Homer wanted a word by which to express it. In those times the people were not governed by any written law, but by the sole command of kings, who issued their orders as exigencies required. Even his enemies grant the precedence to our law-giver, who gave wonderful proofs of his abilities in council and government. He first composed a body of laws admirably calculated for the government of life; and then prevailed on the people to accept, and declare they would pay obedience to them. But the actions of this man are the best test of his merit.

When many thousands of our ancestors marched out of Egypt, to the land which God had allotted them, through a sandy desert destitute of water, and were frequently attacked by enemies, against whom they were obliged to defend themselves and families, our great law-giver was their guide through every difficulty; acting at once as a general, a counsellor, and protector. His modesty was so singular, that though the whole multitude were absolutely at his command, he never made the least unreasonable use of the power that was vested in him; and in instances where others would have tyrannized, or acted licentiously, Moses made a point of walking in the fear of God, and by his example, encouraged others in acts of piety and moral honesty, as most conducive to their welfare: and he also improved every occurrence to their advantage.

In all things Moses followed the commands of God, assured that he was then acting right; and he laboured to promote the same conduct in others. Nothing is so effectual a check to irregular actions, as the consideration that we are perpetually observed by an all-seeing God. Our law-giver was by no means a magician, as he hath been represented: but rather resembled the character of Minos, and others who are said to have been among the Greeks. Some ascribe the origin of the Greek laws to Jupiter, others to Apollo, or the Delphian oracle. Whether the authors of these accounts credited them is doubtful: but the excellence of these laws will be best judged of by a comparison; to which we now proceed.
Different nations have their different laws and modes of government. Single persons have the management of some governments; the people of others: but our law-giver avoided both these extremes, and formed what he denominates a divine common-wealth, of which God is the head, who is to be worshipped as the dispenser of all good, and the fountain of all authority. To him we have recourse in all distress; he hears our prayers, and knows our inmost thoughts. Moses delivers the doctrine of one God, uncreated, eternal, unchangeable, infinitely glorious, and incomprehensible, but through his works. This does not ill correspond with what the more celebrated of the Grecian philosophers have revealed by the mere light of nature: for they are almost unanimous in opinion as to the majesty and excellence of the Deity. Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Plato, and the Stoics, are nearly of the same sentiment on this subject; but the people in general being superstitiously prepossessed against these opinions, the philosophers could not use their own freedom in promulgating them. Our law-giver is distinguished by making his precepts the rule of his conduct, which has confirmed the present age, and will establish posterity in belief of the truths he delivered. He made it his general rule, that the public good should be the end of all the laws he instituted. He constantly inculcated that the worship of God was only one part of the duty of a good man; and that the other parts consisted in fortitude, justice, and universal benevolence. Thus his precepts tended to the advancement of piety, and the glory of God; circumstances to which he paid a rigid attention.

Respecting religion and moral conduct he associated theory with practice, in which other law-givers are generally deficient. The inhabitants of Lacedæmon and Crete were instructed in morals, though not regularly: whereas, the Athenians, and most other Greeks, had laws adapted for all occasions, to which they frequently paid too little obedience. Our law-giver attended to the cultivation of our morals, while he gave written laws to operate on all emergencies. He gives us directions what food to eat, and what to abstain from, and with whom we are to feed; and commands that all persons, indiscriminately shall follow the same rule. He regulates our labour and rest, so that every one may know his duty: we consider the law as the command of a master, and know that wilful offenders against it are punished. If we transgressed our laws we should be inexcusable: for we not only hear them read once or twice; but are strictly commanded to abstain from all other business, and assemble weekly, in full congregation, to hear the law read, and learn it by heart; which was never enjoined by other law-givers. People in general, so far from conforming to the laws of their country, are even unacquainted with them; and having committed an offence, frequently enquire what law they have broken. This is even the case among persons of distinction, who confess their ignorance, by asking advice of council: but our people know the laws as readily as their own names; being taught them from their earliest infancy. Thus being certain of detection and punishment, they are the more cautious of offending.

From this it arises that we are so unanimous in sentiment. We entertain the same ideas of God; our worship, our lives and manners are the same. Thus
Thus we differ from every other people; who entertain various opinions of the same God. This is not only the case with the vulgar, who talk at random, but even with the philosophers, some of whom deny the divinity of God, and others his providence, by the infinuation of the equality of all men who should possess all things in common. On the contrary, we say that all things are directed by God, and that our whole lives should be devoted to his service: and even our wives and children are of the same sentiment.

I would now advert to that reflection, that we are void of industry or genius in arts or letters; whereas men of spirit refine on the custom of their ancestors. We make it a point of conscience to adhere in all things to the establishments of ancient times, thinking their antiquity a mark of their virtue, and that neither time nor arguments will destroy them. Those who believe the divine authority of our laws, will think themselves bound to hold them sacred. Who shall presume to remove the foundations laid by God, or attempt to amend them by an intermixture of the laws of other governments? Can any constitution be so firm, as that of which the King of kings hath been the author? Our priests are qualified for their respective services, and are all subject to the power of the high-priest. Our law-giver did not promote them to gratify their ambition, or advance their interest, but because they had given proof of their piety, wisdom, and temperance; and the care of religion and God’s worship is committed to them. They are judges in personal disputes, and have power to punish the aggressor. What form of government can be more venerable than ours? How can we honour the Deity more than by devoting our lives to his service, under the direction of his priests? The solemn dignity of our devotion makes every day appear a festival. Other people are fatigued by the celebration of their sacrifices but for a few days; yet we are still happy in the performance of our duties, though so many ages have elapsed since their first institution.

One of the most acknowledged precepts of our religion is, that God is all in all; self-sufficient, happy, perfect; the beginning, midst, and end of all things; that all his works are glorious; that his power and greatness are equally obvious and incomprehensible; that man can neither express or conceive any thing to resemble the divine Majesty. We hold him to be incomprehensibly excellent in all his attributes, and that, being a spirit, he is invisible. But we are permitted to contemplate him in his works; as in the light, the heavens, earth, sun, moon, rivers, sea, animals, plants, &c. All these were created by God, without labour, and without assistance. They are the effect of his will, and the creatures of his word: which powerful word gave birth to all things, and pronounced them good. We seek to adore this almighty God by the practice of virtue.

It appears to us, that as there is but one God and one world, there should be but one temple; for the Deity delights in order and unanimity. Daily devotions are offered in this temple by the priests; the chief of whom performs the sacrifices, orders due obedience to the laws, hears caufes, and punishes the violators of the law. We hold that appealing from the judgment of God is not more criminal than disputing the authority of the priest.
When we eat the flesh of sacrifices we are careful not to indulge in gluttony; considering that God is the friend of sobriety and temperance, and the enemy of all profusion. The first prayer the priest offers is for the general welfare of mankind: then each man, as a part of the whole, prays for himself; for we are convinced that mutual charity and affection is highly agreeable to God. In our prayers we are forbid to ask for wealth and honour, and the blessings of this life; since these are indifferently bestowed on people in common: but our prayer is for grace rightly to use what we possess.

Certain forms are prescribed us respecting the purification of women, and in other cases: this the law ordains, as pleasing to God, and we consider God himself as the essence of the law. Marriage must be celebrated by consent of parents, without fraud or force, purely for the procreation of children, without regard to fortune, or the gratification of appetite. Death is the punishment of the mere attempt to gratify unnatural passions.

Our law ordains that a woman be in all things subject to her husband; not that the man is thereby permitted to use her ill, but that proper decorum may be maintained. The woman who lies with another man than her husband is to suffer death; and the same punishment is due to the man who injures a betrothed virgin, or seduces a married woman, or the mother of children. The law is equally severe on women who destroy or conceal their children at the birth: as the practice tends to depopulate the world, and we hold that the soul suffers with the body. After connection with a woman, a man is deemed unclean, and a woman after such connection with her husband, is to wash herself, for which purifying water is constantly at hand: for we believe, that in this case, the communication between soul and body is very intimate.

Our law disapproves of feasting at the birth of children, since it is intended to educate them in sobriety, and left such conduct might lead to intemperance. Children are to be educated in the knowledge of law and history, to inspire them with courage to imitate great examples, and to give them a perfect sense of their duty.

Care is taken to moderate the expense of funeral ceremonies and monuments: but the domestics of the deceased are empowered to perform the office with decency. People in general are permitted to lament over the dead; but the family being deemed unclean, are to remain at a distance; and after the funeral the house is to be purified. In cases of wilful murder or chance-medley, the law punishes according to the degree of the crime.

Next to our duty to God, we are commanded to reverence our parents, and the disobedient are to be flayed to death. Young people are to pay respect to the elder. There must be no concealments among friends, but the fullest confidence; and if a friendship is dissolved, we must not reveal former secrets. Death is the punishment of a judge who receives a bribe. All men are forbidden to invade the property of their neighbours, or lend their money on usury. Thus much for our transactions with each other.

It may now be proper to consider our behaviour respecting strangers; and to show that our law-giver hath carefully sought to advance the public weal, by keeping us obedient to our laws, and extending their benefit to all who
chuse to embrace them: for we freely receive people of all nations who will agree with us in the common principles of life and behaviour. Tho' indeed, who come to us without intention of joining with us, are not permitted to attend our solemnities: but we are commanded to do them good offices; to supply them with food, fire, and water; to give them good advice, and decently to bury their dead. These we consider as duties of mere humanity.

Our law-giver likewise directs moderation to be observed towards our enemies; and enjoins us to be charitable to prisoners; particularly women. He would not permit stripping the bodies of those who fell in battle. So great was his zeal for the encouragement of benevolence, that he recommended the practice of it towards the irrational creation, allowing no other power over them than for absolute use. We are commanded to spare domestic animals; and with regard to others, not to destroy the dam and young together. We are likewise to forbear destroying beasts of labour.

Such were the constitutions of our law-giver, to promote the cause of humanity, and severely to punish transgressors. In many cases death follows the crime, as in adultery, rape, and unnatural practices, in which both parties are doomed to suffer: and the punishment extends to bond and free, and to all ranks of life. Our weights and measures are regulated by law, which forbids frauds in our dealings, or that we appropriate another man's goods to our use. Persons thus offending are more severely punished by our laws than by others.

Those who blaspheme their God, or revile their parents, are doomed to instant death. Our people expect not, for their obedience to these laws, the rewards of gold, silver, precious stones, or worldly honours; but the silent approbation of a good conscience, and the perfect hope of endless happiness, of which our law-giver has assured us, and which God has promised to those who obey his laws: and in this confidence they consider death itself only as a passage from this world to a better.

I should have surmised urging thus much, if the facts had not been as clear as the sun, as appears by the history of our ancestors, who bore the most exquisite torments without murmur, rather than speak a word to the discredit of their profession. But let us suppose that the Jews had been a people never heard of, and that there were no witnesses of the veneration they had constantly maintained for their laws. What idea would the Grecians form, if any one should recite to them a story of a strange people in an unknown land, who had so strictly adhered to the laws and religion of their ancestors, through such a long succession of ages: would not a people so unsettled in themselves be astonished at the recital.

How much are modern writers, who treat of government, ridiculed for their supposed impracticable schemes? Not to mention other philosophers who have written on this subject; there is Plato, the most eminent of the Greeks, a philosopher, and a man distinguished by his wisdom and piety. Now this Plato is ridiculed on a public theatre, by ignorant buffoons, for what they call his absurd notions of government: yet his writings, on a careful perusal, will be found consistent with the laws of nature and reason.

Plato
Plato himself says, “It is unsafe for a wise man to deliver his opinion respect- ing God, lest he should be ridiculed by the vulgar.” The Greeks say that Plato writes too vainly and licentiously; but they allow Lycurgus to be a perfect law-giver, from a reverence to the duration of his laws. Now if it be acknowledged that the laws are better for their antiquity, how can the Lacedemonians contend with us, whose claim is above two thousand years standing? I may add, that the Lacedemonians paid a strict veneration to their laws no longer than while themselves remained in a state of freedom; but they deferred their laws as soon as themselves were abandoned by fortune.

On the contrary, our people never quitted the customs of our ancestors, during all their troubles in Asia, when they were reduced to the utmost extremities: nor did they ever consult their ease in the preservation of their laws: a flight comparison will show that the Lacedemonians had no such hard duty as the Jews. They were not reduced to the necessity of labouring hard; but lived in the city at their ease, having the conveniences of life provided for them. Their chief duty consisted in an occasional attack on a public enemy. Even in this service they failed: they often deserted, in great numbers, to the enemy, laying down their arms, and violating their duty. This cannot be asserted of the Jews. I cannot recollect more than two or three of our people who have deserted their cause in the fear of death: I mean not the death of a soldier in the field of battle, but a death of deliberate cruelty and torment. To this distress many of our people have been exposed; not, as I firmly believe, through malice, but to try their heroism, and to see if they were men who would rather submit to be torn in pieces, than violate their laws by word or action.

Nor is there any thing so extraordinary in this resolution of the Jews: for our common mode of living would appear hard to other people: I mean our laborious fatigue, penurious fare, days of fasting, inferior clothing, coarse lodging, and other circumstances. How would the Lacedemonians behave in their military life, if restricted from certain meats, and other indulgences? Our people, on the contrary, glory in their constancy and resolution, and in strict obedience to their laws: wherfore those like Lycurgus and Molon, and others who wrote to corrupt the morals of youth, may proceed to traduce us, as they please.

We rather choose to obey our own laws than abuse those of others. Our law-giver was so cautious that he would not permit any insult to be offered to the gods of other nations, holding even the name of the deity in the highest reverence. Yet it would be improper for us to remain indifferent where it is so necessary to silence our adversaries, and where, in fact, the work is already done to our hands. All the wise men among the Greeks exclaim against their poets and law-givers for infusing the idea of such a number of gods into the minds of the vulgar, and extending this number at pleasure, and deriving their origin agreeable to fancy, from any age or country: they go farther: they even assign them stations, like other creatures; they have subterranean, and sea-gods; and feign that the eldest is kept in chains in hell. Jupiter is the name of their principal celestial god.

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They call him Father, but make him think and act as a tyrant, and pretend that his wife, his brother, and the daughter of his brain, conspire to destroy him, as he had destroyed his father. All wise men have defpised these fabulous deities, and held them in the contempt they deserved. Some of these gods are represented as children, others in youth and vigour, and some as reverend figures with long beards. They have likewise deities predating over particular arts, as that of the weaver, smith, and others; and protectors of pilgrims, champions, archers, and harpers. They make the gods quarrel with each other, and espouse the cause of mortals; in these quarrels they are wounded, and languish under their calamities. These pretended gods and goddesses proceed even to illicit amours with men and women. Even Jupiter, the father and prince of all deities, after debauching mortal women, is unable to protect either them or his offspring, but laments their destruction, in being obliged to submit to irrefistible fate.

What a picture is this of lewd and impious debauchery, and its probable consequences! Open adulteries in heaven, committed by the gods, and boasted off even so far as to envy the prostitutes. If Jupiter, the principal of all the deities, could not resist the charms of a lascivious female, what is to be expected from the unbridled passions of the subordinate deities? What opinion are we to form of gods converted to shepherds and masons, and confined prisoners in hell? What shall we say to gods in livery's, acting as servants? Must not every man of common sense abhor and detest those who could invent, propagate or credit such blasphemous tales? These people sometimes make gods of their passions, as their frights and fears, and then worship them in these imaginary characters: so that what is most disagreeable among men becomes passable in the character of a god. Yet all this is insufficient to prevent people sacrificing to some of these monsters that are less obnoxious than the rest: but they deem their gods the authors of good and evil, and, of course, their friends or enemies, as circumstances vary. On this consideration they treat their deities as they would men of dangerous dispositions; they pay them obedience in the fear of being injured by them.

It is strange that mankind should thus labour under such egregious mistakes regarding the Deity. We can impute it only to the ignorance of the law-givers respecting the Divine Nature, or their neglect in communicating to the world the ideas they formed of these things, as matters which they thought of very little importance. Thus the poets and orators were left to imagine such gods as they pleased; and their political institutions were blended with idle tales and amusements respecting strange deities and ridiculous worship.

This abuse has been, in a great degree, encouraged by painters and statuaries, since the Greeks were fond of dressing up their gods in imaginary shapes and figures, according to the fancy of the artist. They had likewise abundant matter on which to employ their skill. Some of them worked in platter, some in sculpture, some in colours, and others, (who were more eminent) in gold and ivory; and the last production was generally most in repute on account of its novelty. As the old gods grew out of fashion, their places were readily supplied by new deities. Thus too it was with respect to
to their religion; one mode of it succeeded another. The same customs prevailed with regard to their temples: one was no sooner decayed than another was raised from its ruins, agreeable to the prevailing fashion of the times: whereas, in truth, the worship of God ought to be unalterable as the Divine nature.

Apollonius Molon may be reckoned among the number of the superstitious writers: but those of the Greeks who may be justly called philosophers know the truth of what I have recorded, entertain the same ideas of God that we do, and the same contempt for superstitious fables. Plato had his reason for admitting no poets in his commonwealth: he even disdains Homer, though with all honour as a poet, left the true religion should be destroyed by the fabulous. Plato, in his commonwealth, resembles Moses, in his orders to his subjects to study the laws, retain them in memory, and not intermix the customs of strangers; but preferre the government pure, and pay a strict regard to positive injunctions. This seems to be forgotten by Molon, when he attacks the Jews for not communicating with persons of a different persuasion; as though they were singular in this; whereas it is the custom with the wisest of the Greeks, and with people in general.

The Lacedemonians refused to admit strangers among them, nor would they permit their citizens to travel to other countries, for fear of the contamination of evil example. It seems severe thus to deny people the rights of society and commerce. Now the Jews are so far from acting thus rigorously, that though they do not intrude into other people's concerns, yet they readily receive all such as chuse to join them, which argues a benevolent turn of mind.

The Athenians, likewise, boast of admitting all strangers: but this seems to be more than Apollonius was acquainted with. So zealous were the Athenians for the honour of their gods, that a single disgraceful word on that subject was a capital offence. Socrates lost his life, not for any atrocious crime, but for making new oaths, which he said a divine spirit had suggested to him. Whether he was in earnest in his accusation is yet a secret; but he was tried, and condemned for it, and died by poison. He was also charged with inspiring the people with false ideas of the religion and laws of their country.

Anaxagoras, the Clazomenian, suffered death for declaring that the sun, which the Athenians worshipped as a god, was only a red-hot stone. Diagoras, the Melian, having ridiculed their religion, proclamation was made, offering a talent for his head: and the same would have happened respecting Protagoras, but he made his escape. He was charged with being author of a writing expressing his doubts of the Athenian gods. But we need not be surprized at this treatment of men, when women fared no better. A priestess was put to death on the charge of worshipping strange gods: and it was made death to introduce a new religion. It is then evident that the people could have no faith in other gods, as far as the laws could operate to prevent them: and if they had such faith they would have sought the favour of such gods.
Even the Scythians, who are a barbarous and savage people, are yet so cautious of keeping the mysteries of their religion sacred, that they put Anacharsis to death for speaking too respectfully of the Grecian gods: and we are told of several persons who were executed upon a similar account. Now Apollonius was a warm friend of the laws of the Persians, and admired them as well as the Greeks, for their consistency of worship. He not only thought well of, but partly imitated these people, by abusing the wives of other men, and putting out their children's eyes.

The Jews are too strict in observing their laws, that they cannot be tempted by fear, advantage, power, or any other consideration, to defect their duty. We do not willingly encounter hazards but in support and protection of our lawful rights. We have patiently submitted to all other outrages; but the violation of our laws most sensibly affects us, and has made us in the highest degree daring and obstinate. Why should we envy the laws of other nations, when those who have founded abandon them? How will the Lacedemonians excuse their want of hospitality, and their custom of cohabiting without marriage? The inhabitants of Elis and Thebes are abandoned to unnatural lusts, to such a degree that custom hath almost made them lawful. This vice has likewise prevailed among the Greeks, till it has been attributed to their gods, who are said to have lain with their own sisters, and then compounded for the offence.

How shall we speak of those lawgivers who are more anxious to save than punish offenders: who forgive adultery for a fine, and excuse fornication on marrying the injured virgin? These kind of compositions are great temptations to ignorant people to renounce virtue, and violate the laws: and the resolution is often previously taken to trample upon all that is sacred. Nothing of this kind is imputed to our people: the protection of liberty, property, or even of life, would never tempt us to depart from obligations we held sacred. If the intrinsic excellence of our laws thus engaged us, it must be allowed our affections were well placed, and that the laws answered the proposed end: if the goodness of our laws is denied, those are still more culpable who have better laws, and do not observe them.

Time is the test of excellence, and antiquity the best proof of the goodness of a law. Here then we rest the argument, for the credit of our lawgiver, and his laws respecting the worship of God. No one will deny that Moses was, by several ages, the earliest law-giver; and as our laws are derived from him, so all nations have imitated them in some degree. I admit that the ancient Greeks had, to appearance, separate laws; but their philosophers had the same ideas of God that we have, and advanced the same doctrines for the conduct of life.

The piety and regular government of the Jews are so well established in the world, that there is scarce any nation, Greek or Barbarian, that has not in some degree followed their example, either in observing our sabbath on the seventh day; in fasts; in the use of lamps; in abstaining from particular food; in the exercise of humanity; in social sentiments; in industry, or in resolution to suffer for the truth. In all these things they copy from our original.

But
The Jewish Antiquities.

But the most extraordinary circumstance remains unnoticed; which is that this single code of laws should have such an universal influence on the minds of men, as to operate without any other authority than its own intrinsic merit, as the universe is influenced by the Almighty. Whoever takes a view of his own country or family will see the force of this remark.

Now would any one but an enemy advise us to change our old laws for new, and those less valuable? If not, all reproach ought to cease. In embracing our cause we have no enmity to any man; but speak reverently of our prophet, convinced that God speaks to us through him. But suppose we were not enough acquainted with our laws to esteem them on their own account; yet the number of eminent persons who have revered them, must engage our regard. Of this I have spoke more fully in my antiquities; but am impelled to make this observation in support of the truth against detraction, without wishing to calumniate others in order to validate our own credit.

But to conclude, I think I have made good my promise; having fully proved the antiquity of our people, and quoted many respectable authorities that speak highly of us in their annals. It has been asserted, that our ancestors came originally from Egypt: this I have disproved. It has been likewise said, that we were expelled Egypt on account of contagious diseases. I have made it appear that our ancestors valiantly fought through their enemies to their own country. Some writers have represented Moses as a man of the most immoral character, which is contrary to the united testimonies of a succession of ages to his credit.

It were needless to vindicate our laws from abuse. All persons of wisdom and piety who read and understand them are convinced. These laws are inimical to vice, extravagance and faction; and tend to promote peace, justice, industry and benevolence. They forbid war, through ambition or avarice; and discontinue returning evil for evil. They recommend courage in the common cause: caution people not to be deceived by false pretences, and advise men to be virtuous rather in actions than in words.

On the whole, I may assert that our laws are unequalled; since nothing can exceed a strict piety; a just obedience to institutions; union in prosperity; friendship in adversity; bravery in war; and an industrious application to arts and husbandry in peace; and lastly, a consciousness that wherever we go, or whatever we do, we are super-intended by an omnipotent God, and his governing providence. If our laws had been elsewhere written, or deposited in other hands before they reached us, we should certainly be under obligation to those who thus preserved them; but if they never were otherwise disposed of, and if we have constantly made them the rule of our conduct, (as is indisputably the case) I defy such writers as Apion and Molon, and am happy in this appeal to Epaphroditus, and others to whom the truth of our history may be considered as an object of importance.

The End of the Answer to Apion.
THE HISTORY OF THE MARTYRDOM of the MACCABEES;

OR,

A DISCOURSE ON THE POWER OF REASON.

WRITTEN BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

IN this discourse I propose to prove that reason is the perfection of wisdom, which will be evident if it shall appear that reason, refined by study and religion, can conquer the passions: I therefore advise my readers to be assiduous in the attainment of wisdom. Reason is the foundation of knowledge, and when we say a man excels therein, we insinuate that he possesseth prudence, the first and most extensive of the virtues. Reason may combat and restrain the disposition to gluttony and excess, and the indulgence of all those lascivious appetites which are opposed to temperance: it may correct that depravity of our nature, and those base inclinations which prevent the
love and practice of justice: finally, it may tend to subdue the passions of fear, grief, anger, and all those impulses that enervate the mind, and stand in contradiction to that steadiness of temper called fortitude, which is distinguished as the fourth cardinal virtue.

It may be said that common experience will easily confute those who ascribe to reason all that power for which I argue; since if it had this dominion over the passions, its power would not be less over ignorance and forgetfulness, which is far from being the case. To this I answer that this is an idle objection, founded in a mistake of the question: for when I say that the passions are subjectible to reason, I am to be understood of such natural defects as are in opposition to fortitude, temperance, and justice; all which are distinct in their nature, and appertain to the sensitive soul; but do not belong to the rational soul, nor are defects peculiar to itself. Those who make the objection, mistake also the nature of this sovereignty; for it is not intended to insinuate that reason destroys the affections which it governs, (which would be the case if it ruled over ignorance, and forgetfulness) but that it does not tamely yield to these affections, nor permit itself to be conquered by their power.

By many arguments it might be proved that it is in the power of reason to controul the passions: but I would rather abide by the incontestible evidence of matter of fact; and appeal to the examples of persons who have distinguished themselves by offering up their lives a sacrifice to truth and virtue; among whom the most eminent are our countryman Eleazar, and the seven brethren martyred with their mother. The undoubted command of reason over the passions is rendered indubitable, by these persons bearing the most extreme tortures, and submitting to death without repining. Wherefore I will endeavour to give the praise due to the constancy of those gallant men, and that illustrious woman; and join in paying that tribute of honour which future ages will acknowledge due to their steady virtue. Their conduct has excited the admiration not only of those who were unbiased witnesses of their sufferings, or those who have read an account of them; but of their enemies and tormentors, who were amazed at that patience and resolution, to which their own barbarity gave exercise. By this fortitude they became an expiatory sacrifice for their country, the rage of a tyrant was subdued, and their nation relieved from oppression.

I propose to pursue the following method: first to speak of the question in debate, and then quote the instance I refer to; ascribing, as I ought, all glory to that God whose wisdom hath given us so indisputable an evidence of his truth, in the conduct of the persons whose virtues are the subject of the present essay.

Whether the passions can be controul'd and governed by reason, is the question now to be resolved: and to determine this we must define what is meant by reason, and what by passion; what variety of passions there are; and whether all, or only some kinds of passions are subject to the power of reason. I understand by reason the faculties of the mind, improved and directed by reflection, and concluding to adhere to a life of wisdom. I mean by wis-

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dom a knowledge of affairs divine and human, with their several foundations; which we learn by the discipline and instruction of the laws, whereby we are taught reverently to embrace truths respecting God; and to consider those respecting man as beneficial to the community. Wisdom is subdivided into four principal virtues; prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance. Of these, prudence is held to be the chief; and the dominion that reason holds over the passions is principally owing to this virtue.

The passions are comprehended in the general sensations of pleasure and pain; each of which has its full influence on the soul; and it is again attended by other affections, which shew themselves according to the diversities of time, or other circumstances. In regard to pleasure, desire goes before, and joy follows it; and with respect to pain, it is preceded by fear, and followed by sorrow. Though anger cannot be included in this definition, as it is a passion compounded of pleasure and pain, as will be evident to those who mark its operations on themselves. In pleasure, which is the most various and complicated of all the passions, there appears to be included a fruitful malignity, various in its form and effects, which vitiates the mind, when it produces arrogance, envy, and strife; and affects the body when it ends in a forbid greediness; for pleasure and pain arise from the soul and body, as branches from a common flock; and these branches respectively produce shoots and suckers, which may be denominated the inferior affections. Now it is the business of reason, like a skillful vine-dresser, to alter, transplant, correct, and prune all these, that the vicious habits may be transformed into those of a generous nature. Reason enables us to promote virtue, by restraining those passions which lead to vice. This will be evident by considering what weight reason hath in a case where temperance hath been obstructed. Temperance consists in a command of irregular desires, which may be effected by reason. Some of our desires are more peculiar to the soul, others to the body; and reason appears to have the dominion over them both. I conceive that when our appetites strongly tempt us to taste various fish and fowl, and other delicacies which are forbidden by our law, and we refrain from so doing, because we would not violate our duty; it is a convincing proof of the power that reason has over the passions; which can thus subject these inferior desires, and prevent the craving appetite for those things which have been forbidden by the Divine command.

This, however, I consider as nothing in comparison to those raging desires of the soul which are inspired by lust and beauty; yet Joseph has acquired immortal honour, by the absolute subduing of these, when he was invited to the gratification of them, and prompted by all the heat of youth to the indulgence. But certainly reason can, and ought to do, more than assuage the most violent passions towards the other sex: since it is evident that our inclinations themselves are under its command: otherwise there would be an absurdity in the injunction which forbids us to “Covet our neighbour’s wife, or any thing else that is his.”

It is evident then, that when the law commands us not to desire at all, it implies the possibility of reason conquering all our desires. This is the case,
not only with respect to those things that oppose the virtue of temperance, but likewise that of justice. How otherwise could the gluttonous, the greedy, the fordid and selfish man be reformed? As matters now stand, if a man conducts himself according to the rules of our law, though his disposition be ever so covetous, he is compelled to lend to the poor without interest, and to forgive the debt in the year of jubilee; and he is constrained not to reap the fruits of his field or vineyard in the sabbatical year, though he be ever so frugal.

I could produce many other instances tending to prove that our passions are governed by reason. In some instances the law controls our natural affections: it forbids us to betray the cause of truth and virtue for the sake of our parents; commands us to punish our wives when they transgress; to make examples of our children when they are guilty of faults, and to reprove the vices of our friends. This truth will be more evident by considering, that reason, under the guidance of the law, destroys our hatred to our enemies; for it forbids our cutting down their fruit-trees, enjoins us to restore what they have lost, and to help even their beasts when lying under their burdens.

Reason rules over even the violent passions of ambition, vain-glory, and envy: the considerate mind subdues and expels these passions; as it does likewise that of anger, though less controllable than all others. This is evident in the case of Jacob, our fagacious progenitor, who reprobated the conduct of his sons Simeon and Levi, for destroying the whole race of the Sichemites, in the following words, "Curfed be their anger, for it was fierce, and their wrath, for it was cruel;" which words plainly intimate that his anger was superceded by reason.

When man was first created by God, he was furnished with powers of reflection and free will; and in his nature were implanted various passions and inclinations, over which the soul was appointed to rule supreme, and govern the sensual appetites. This being done, God gave our law to man, as a guide to conduct himself by the rules of temperance, justice, and virtue.

It is strange that it should be said that reason is insufficient to govern the passions, because it cannot be expected that forgetfulness and ignorance are under its dominion. I have observed the absurdity of this exception; since it appears that the power of reason is not over the intellectual, but the sensitive faculties of the soul. Nor do I pretend that its power over these is such as to exterminate, but only to regulate our desires. It is impossible for any man to root out the passion of anger; but reason will supply him with such remedies against it, as may prevent his being a slave to its violence. It is not to be thought that reason should annihilate all evil inclinations; but it will assist us in the conflict, and enable us to conquer our passions. The business of reason is not to change, but to assist nature: to act in her aid, not to her destruction.

It may be proper to illustrate this matter in the example of David. We are told that after engaging the army of the Philistines a whole day, and making great slaughter among them, he retired in the evening, much fatigued, to his tent, where he was surrounded by his troops. The company refreshed themselves.
themfelves from the adjacent springs; but the king, though exceedingly thirsty, could not be satisfied but by water fetched from the garrison of the enemy. Some of his principal attendants, eagerly bent to gratify his wishes, betook themfelves to arms, and taking a pitcher, broke through the trenches of the enemy, paffed their guards, found the well of Bethlhem, and thence brought the water which the king wished to taste: but he, though almost perifhing with thirft, now recollected what a crime it would be to indulge his inclination by drinking what his fervants had hazarded their lives for; conidering that he should, in effect, drink their blood: wherefore he restrained his inclination by his reafon, and poured out the water as an oblation to God.

Thus it appears, that a mind attempfered by reafon, may reftift the moft violent paflions, reftrain the moft impetuous defires, and enable the body to bear the moft excruciating pains, by a fteady adherence to the laws of virtue. It is now incumbent on me to ratify my argument, by proofs, drawn from practice, of the superior power of reafon. Of this our ancestors have given pregnant infances. When by the regularity of their lives, and their strict adherence to the law, they had obtained the favour of foreign princes, and particularly of Seleucus Nicanor, king of Afia, who allotted them part of his public revenues to pay the expence of their sacrifices, and expreffed his approbation of their conftitution: in this favourable conjuncturc, I fay, it happened that some of them, by the artifices of wicked men, were reduced to severe trials; as will hereafter appear.

Onias being appointed to execute the office of high-priest for life, one Simon quarrelled with him; and having, to the great prejudice of our people, endeavoured to calumniate the character of this good man, whom he was unable to leffen in the eftem of his countrymen, he fled to a foreign court, with a view to betray his country. He made application to Apollonius, then governor of Syria and Phoenicia, telling him, that through his great zeal for the king his master, he was come to communicate to him a circumfiance which might be of the utmoft advantage to his sovereign; which was, that feveral millions of money were concealed in the treasury at Jerufalem, not for the ufe of the temple, or defigned for public service, but secreted by private men, and therefore of right the property of Seleucus. This tale being heard by Apollonius, he commended the zeal of the informant, and acquainted Seleucus with the affair: in confequence of which he obtained a comniiffion to march into our country with a powerful army, and brought with him the traitor Simon.

Apollonius declared that he came on this expedition by order of the king, who had directed him to feize on all the money depoifited in the treasury for the ufe of private men. This circumfance caused a general alarm, and the people complained of it as the highest act of injustice to lay violent hands on that property, for its greater security, had been lodged in the temple; and exerted themselves to prevent his making a forcible feizeure. Apollonius, however, advanced to the temple by force, where numbers of priests, women, and children, were proflrating themselves, humbly entreatings Almighty God to preserve his temple from contempt and profanation.
Apollonius, however, persisted in his design; and when he had entered the place with a number of armed men, and was on the point of seizing the treasure, several angels from Heaven appeared, riding on horses, and dressed in bright armour, which astonished the affailants: Apollonius, in particular, fell to the ground in the court of the Gentiles, and lifting his hands to Heaven, besought the Jews with tears, that they would intercede for him, that he might not be destroyed by the ministering angels. Onias, the high-priest, compassionating his case, and also fearing that the king Seleucus might attribute the death of Apollonius to the treachery of men, complied with his petition, and prayed for him. Thus Apollonius being saved, as by miracle, returned to the king, and gave a circumstantial account of all that had happened.

Seleucus being dead, was succeeded by his son Antiochus, a prince of a haughty and cruel temper. Antiochus discharged Onias from the office of high-priest, which he gave to his brother Jason, on consideration of receiving an annual tribute of three thousand six hundred and sixty talents: the king, therefore, directed that he should preside in civil, as well as in ecclesiastical affairs. This minister greatly oppressed our people; and seduced them to variety of wickedness, by the introduction of foreign customs contrary to their law. He instituted Grecian games in our principal city, and detached the priests from the service of the temple. The vengeance of Heaven was the evident consequence of this impiety, by Antiochus waging war against them; for during an expedition against Ptolemy, king of Egypt, he was told that some of the people of Jerusalem had triumphed on the report of his death; on which he marched thither, made dreadful slaughter among them, and published an edict, decreeing death to those who adhered to the law of Moses, and continued the customs of their country. This decree did not produce the desired effect. Threats and punishments were equally despised: the women were thrown headlong from the walls of the city, for circumcising their children; yet they still continued the practice, though they knew the inevitable consequence. The king perceiving that his decrees were despised, attended personally, and compelled them to eat food prohibited by the law, and in his presence to abjure the Jewish religion.

About this period it happened that the tyrant Antiochus, being seated in state, attended by his counsellors and governors, and protected by an armed guard, commanded many Jews who were brought before him to eat swine's flesh, and meats offered to idols; and those who refused were instantly tortured, and killed in his presence. Many had undergone this inhuman treatment, when a reverend old man, named Eleazar, was brought before the king. This man was an eminent citizen, by profession a lawyer, of the family of the priests, and much esteemed by many of the friends of Antiochus, on account of his age and character. When Antiochus beheld him, he addressed him to the following effect. "I advise thee, reverend old man, before I proceed to extremities, to save thy life by consenting to eat the flesh of swine. I respect thy age and grey hairs, and am astonished that thou shouldst persevere in the Jewish superstitition, after a length of years that might have taught thee more wisdom. It is strange to me that men should"
be so unjust to themselves, and so ungrateful to nature, as to deny them-
se the enjoyment of those innocent gratifications which her bounty has
provided. For what reason shouldst thou refrain from the taste of the
flesh of swine, which is the most delicate of all food, and seems to have
been bestowed upon us by Heaven, in the fullness of its bounty? This
conduct in others might seem to carry its excuse with it; but in a man of
thy discernment, it is the height of folly to draw down a certain judge-
ment on thy own head, by defpising my authority, through an idle religi-
ous prejudice. Let me then persuade thee to open thine eyes, awake from
thy dream, and free thyself from a bondage which arises from a ridiculous
singularity of opinion. Shall I hope that this expostulation may urge
thee to have a proper regard to thyself, by accepting that kindness which
I offer in compassion to thy age? I think it ought: for though thy reason
may not be convinced of the absurdity of the opinion thou hast enter-
tained, yet thou mightst allow, that if there be a divine Being which re-
quires the observance of thy religion, that Being has goodness sufficient to
pardon the breach of his laws, when the offence does not arise from an act
of the will, but is the effect of absolute and irresistible compulsion."

The king having ended his speech, Eleazar entreated permission to make
a reply; which being granted, he spoke to the following purpose, in the
preference of the whole assembly. "It is proper that your majesty should be
informed, that we who are firmly persuaded that the law given us by God
should be in all things strictly obeyed, have no conception that any force or
necessity can operate so strongly as to allow us to dispense with any part of
this law. You have hinted that our law is not divine; admitting that to
be the fact, Sir, yet it ought to be fully binding on us, in all cases what-
soever, while we think it so. Your majesty will not therefore suppose
that if we should be base enough to defile ourselves by eating unclean
meats, the crime would be deemed either trifling or pardonable. Whe-
ther the instance in which a man offends be greater or less, the insolence
of the culprit is the same, and equal the indignity that is offered to the
law. The guilt is the same, whatever the fact be. You have infinuated,
Sir, that our religion is beneath the notice of philosophers, and men of
reason; but permit me to say that it is the perfection of all philosophy;
since it instructs us in the arts of temperance, and directs us to conquer
our passionate desire for sublunary pleasures. It enjoins us to the practice
of fortitude, and recommends the cheerful submission to pain. It pre-
scribes rules of rigid justice, and commands us to worship only that Al-
mighty Being, to whom alone reverence can be due. Wherefore we must
not presume to eat unclean and prohibited food; for we are convinced that
God, the author of nature, paid a proper attention to it; and that the in-
fituation of this law, so far from being a grievance, was an act of benevo-
rence; that forbidden things are prejudicial to our souls, and those only on
which we are permitted to feed are useful to us. It is therefore the highest
cruelty to compel us to a violation of our law, and to eat those things
which are forbidden because they are of a noxious quality. But, Sir, you
shall never thus triumph over me. I scorn the idea of violating the solemn
"oaths
"oaths and sacred engagements, by which our forefathers have bound them-
"selves and their descendants to the observance of this law. I will not sub-
"mit, though you command my eyes to be plucked out, and my body burnt.
"Age hath not yet so impaired my intellectual or corporeal faculties, but
"that my reason is still vigorous on the call of duty and religion. If you
"are offended with this reply, prepare your instruments of torture, and en-
"courage the heat of your furnace: but, old as I am, I will never violate the
"laws of God and my country to save my life. I will not desert the law in
"which I have been instructed; I will never abjure that temperance, the
"best of virtues, which teaches us to conquer our appetites: I will not dis-
"card my philosophy, nor bring a stain on the order of priesthood, and the
"study of the law. I will maintain my soul unspotted as those of my fore-
"fathers, and remain undaunted to death, under all the torments you can
"inflict."

Eleazar having made this magnificent reply to the speech of the tyrant,
the solders dragged him to the place of execution. Having stripped off his
cloaths, they bound him, and whipped him till the skin parted from his flesh;
an officer on each side him, crying, "Obey the king's orders." Eleazar
seemed perfectly unmoved by their severity, and stood with his eyes elevated
towards Heaven, till his flesh was torn from his bones, and the blood streamed
to the ground. At length, unable to bear his pangs, he dropped down;
but though his body was thus reduced, he appeared to possess his mind in
full perfection. On this, one of the soldiers stamped on his belly, to oblige
him to rise; but he bore all his sufferings with such an unexampled courage,
that even those who inflicted them were astonished at such extraordinary magni-
nimity of soul in so old and infirm a body.

Wherefore, some of his tormentors, though servants of the king, pitying
his age, and recollecting their former acquaintance with him, addressed him
as follows: "Why, Eleazar, wilt thou submit to endure such variety of tor-
ment without any cause? Content that we put before thee clean and lawful
meat, when thou mayest pretend to eat swine's flesh, agreeable to the king's
order, and thus save thy life without violating the law." To this, Eleazar
replied: "Let it not be said that we, who are children of Abraham, can be
have in so artful and pusillanimous a manner as only to pretend to do an
unbecoming action. It would be strange conduct in me, who have hitherto
obeyed the laws of truth, and preserved an unspotted character, to set
an evil example to others, by denying my principles in my old age; to
drag out the remainder of life at the expense of dissimulation, and become
an object of the public contempt for my pusillanimity." His tormentors
observing his resolution, and finding that their offered mercy had no effect on
him, conducted him to the fire, on which they threw him, cruelly tormenting
him, and poured scalding liquor upon his nostrils as he burnt. When his flesh
was almost separated from his bones, he lifted his eyes towards Heaven, and
said, "O God, thou art witness to the torments I suffer, and that I prefer
death by fire, in obedience to thy law, rather than a continuance of life by
the transgression of it. Have mercy, therefore, O God, on thy people," and
and let my death expiate their crimes. Accept my life for theirs, "and let my blood operate as a purifying sacrifice." The good man died at the conclusion of this prayer.

Surely this example will render it clear that reason, improved by religion, can conquer the passions; for this singular testimony in behalf of truth and virtue ought to be ascribed to the passions, if they were superior to reason; but since the instance above-mentioned makes it evident, that in the contest between reason and the passions the latter were subdued, we must acknowledge that reason is the ruling principle in all men. After such a proof of pleasures refisted, and pains endured, it would argue the utmost obstinacy to pretend the contrary; since to the indulgence of pleasure, and the avoiding of pain we are naturally prompted by our passions.

In the case of Eleazar, we may compare conscience and a sense of duty to a ship tooted in a sea of passion, reason, the pilot, steering; while the man, through the storm of threats and ill treatment, is almost sunk by the swelling waves of racks and fire; but still maintains his post, nor parts from the rudder till he has brought his vessel into the harbour of immortality. No besieged city ever so flood out against the attacks of an enemy, as this venerable man defended himself by the force of reason in the cause of religion. His mind resembled a promontory rising in the waters, against which the waves of passion broke in vain.

Hail holy priest, who didst refuse to defile thy mouth and stomach, ever declined to receive hallowed sacrifices, by eating meats offered to false gods! Hail preacher of the law, and master of that philosophy taught us by the word of God! Hail thou pattern for those who would vindicate the law by the sacrifice of their blood! Hail holy Father, who hast dignified our constitution by convincing the world of the efficacy of that philosophy which descends from Heaven! Hail wonderful old age and righteous zeal, more strong than torture, and hotter than fire! Hail first of conquerors, who hast triumphed over thy passions, as our father Aaron ran among the people, armed with a censer, and conquered the destroying angel, who consumed our forefathers by fire! Thus Eleazar, a descendant of that Aaron, conquered, through the rectitude of his mind, the flames that devoured his body: and though weakened by age and infirmities, gave proof even of youthful courage. Hail venerable age and grey hairs! Hail uprightness of life, attested by so glorious a death!

Surely the power of reason over the passions is fully proved in this instance of a man, weakened by age, enduring such trials with so great resolution: but lest it should be said that the passions and love of life are abated with the strength, I will now produce examples of young men, who, animated by the same principles, have undergone still more excruciating torments. The tyrant having in vain exerted his rage on the poor old man, ordered other Hebrew captives to be brought before him, declaring he would release them if they agreed to eat forbidden meats; but if they refused he would torment them more severely than he had done Eleazar.

In consequence of this order, an ancient woman and her seven sons were brought before him. The youths were so distinguished by the comeliness of their persons, and engaging behaviour, that he could not but be struck with Vol. II.
Having surveyed them with pleasure, he bid them approach his throne, and thus addressed them: "I acknowledge myself, young men, to be prepossessed by your appearance; I esteem your family, which is blest with so many brothers, and have friendly intentions respecting you. I therefore advise you not to let your zeal carry you to such absurd lengths as did that of the old bigot whom you saw expire in torture. I will assure you of my friendship if you comply with my wishes. I can equally reward those who obey, and punish those who disoblige me: rely on it then, that you shall be promoted to places of trust and honour, if you will renounce the customs of your country, and live after the Greek fashion; rejecting the idle distinction of meats, and freely gratifying those appetites in which youth must delight, though denied by your own superstitious practices. Reflect that if you reject my offers, I shall be compelled to punish you by a death as severe as regal vengeance can suggest. Have mercy then, on yourselves, while I, a stranger and enemy, offer you mercy. Destroy not that youth and comeliness which I would preserve: but you must perish, except you preserve yourselves. Reflect, then, nor resolve too hastily, when I tell you that torment, and fire, and death will be the consequence of your disobedience."

This being said, he called for the instruments of torture: and the soldiers, having produced wheels, pulleys, screws, iron gauntlets, caldrons, frying-pans, bellows, combustibles, &c. the tyrant, hoping they would be terrified by this dreadful apparatus, spoke as follows: "Be wise in time, O youths, and dread the vengeance of an enraged king. It will be no longer criminal in you to comply: nor need you doubt but that the God you worship will consider and allow for the peculiarity of your situation." But neither could they be allured by promises, nor terrified by the instruments of vengeance. So far from being impressed by fear, their resolution increased, and the strength of their reason triumphed over the tyrant's cruelty. If only one of them had been cowardly, or unreasonably fond of life, he would have represented to them the folly of rejecting the king's advice, and preferring a cruel death to profit and promotion: he would have advised them to abandon the point of honour, and save themselves from destruction: to have pitied their old mother, and not brought her to the grave by their disobedience: he would have pleaded the justice of the king's observation, that God could not be offended, and said that the law would not censure an involuntary act: in a word, he would have recommended a life of ease and pleasure, in preference to a violent and tormenting death.

But the courageous young men, unsubdued by all the terrible apparatus before them, gave full proof that their passions were under the control of reason; and so far from complying with the wish of the tyrant, addressed him to the following purport: "Wherefore, O king, this delay? If your view be to obtain our final resolution, know that we are already determined to meet death in any shape, rather than violate the laws of our ancestors: for exclusive of the respect due to their example, a regard to the commands of Moses requires this obedience. Therefore tempt us not to give up our principles, nor affect to pity those you hate. The idea of death is less irk-
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...some than such an insulting compassion as offers to preserve our lives at the expense of our honour. You seem to imagine that we may be terrified by the idea of death and torture, notwithstanding the late excitement on the good old man might convince you how fruitless such practices must be on the servants of the true God. If the ancient men among us can bear such pains undauntedly, shall the patient perseverance of youth be less conspicuous? We shall copy his example, as we have profited by his instructions. Therefore try it be in your power to destroy our souls, while we suffer in the cause of religion. But this is impossible: your barbarity cannot hurt us: the effect of the pains you inflict will be the rewards due to our steady patience and virtue: but the consequence to you will be dreadful: by murdering so many unoffending persons you will become liable to eternal torments in return for the temporal you may inflict.

The tyrant, incensed by this answer, resolved on the punishment of their disobedience, and instantly commanded the executioners to bring the eldest to the torture. This they did, fastening his hands, stripping him, and fixing his arms so as to receive the scourge. Finding that the stripes had no effect, he was extended on the wheel, and his bones being all either broken or dislocated, he spake as follows: “Monster of iniquity! Enemy of God! and truth! Thou treatest me not thus barbarously on account of murder, or any criminal breach of law, but merely because I have obeyed my God, and observed his commands.” On this, the soldiers persuaded him to eat the king’s meat, that he might be released from his torments: but he answered, “You are mistaken if you think the wheel has conquered my resolution: your most tormenting engines cannot dislodge my mind, or strangle my reason. Cut my body in pieces, and burn my flesh till my limbs separate: but the utmost excess of your tortures shall convince you that it is the glory of the Hebrews to remain undaunted when suffering in support of the rights of conscience.” Fire was now put under him, the pulleys stretched, and his body turned to the flames, so that the wheels and spokes of the engine were covered with blood, and flesh was torn from his body: the fire was quenched by his bowels dripping on it; and at length nothing was left but his skeleton. During these torments he uttered no complaints, but, like a true son of Abraham, sustained the torments as if they only enlarged his courage. He addressed his brethren, saying, “Follow my example; desert me not in this trial; nor deny that relationship in soul which is nearer than that of consanguinity. It is a glorious warfare to embark in defence of religion. Doubt not the kind providence of that heavenly Father whom we worship, who will reward us and all our nation, and punish this bloody tyrant to a degree equal to his own pride and cruelty.” Having thus said, the holy youth expired.

The spectators were wondering at this proof of courage, when the second brother was brought forward by the guards, who fixed him to the pulley, drew on the iron gauntlets with sharp nails, and asked him if he would accept the terms of mercy. His answer being resolute as that of his brother, they fixed the gauntlets to his neck, tore the flesh from his muscles to the chin, and flayed the skin from his face and head. In this torment he exclaimed,
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claimed, "Death is welcome in any shape, when we suffer in the cause of religion. Brutish tyrant! Knowest thou not that thou punishest thynself more than me? Thy indignation, in seeing thy designs defeated by my constancy in a good cause, torments thee more than my pains do me. A conscionable innocence, and a retrospect of a virtuous life, are my support; while thy guilty mind is racked with the most terrible apprehensions. Thy conscience tells thee that I speak truth, and that the vengeance of an incensed Deity will follow thy crimes."

This brother being dead, the third was brought forward, when several persons earnestly pressed him to eat the king’s meat, and preserve his life: but he eagerly replied, "You appear to be strangers to the relation I hold to those who have died before me. We were children of the same parents, educated by the same masters, and have constantly acted on the same principles: is it then to be supposed, that in this last act of my life I will renounce my alliance to those who have never yet been obliged to blush at owning me for their brother?" This speech, delivered in a determined manner, inspiring the executioners with rage, they instantly put his hands and feet into the screws, and violently disjointed all his fingers and toes, and still extended the engine till they forced from their sockets the bones of his arms, legs, and shoulders. As he survived all these distortions, they ripped him of his skin from the ends of his fingers to the crown of his head. When his body was thus mangled, they dragged him to the wheel, where being yet farther extended by screws, he saw his own flesh drop in pieces, and his bowels and blood gush out. When near expiring he exclaimed, "O most barbarous of tyrants! This we suffer in testimony of the religion and law of a God who is ready to reward us; whereas, in punishment of this thy cruelty, thou shalt suffer torments still more insupportable."

This brother having suffered as became the dignity of his family, the fourth was brought forward to execution; but first advised to recollect himself, and profit by the example of his brethren; but he replied, "No degree of heat in your fires can make me shrink, after the preceding instances of martyrdom. I will not disgrace my affinity. Try me, tyrant, and prove by torture, if I am of the same family, and animated by the fame spirit, as those whom thy impious rage has torn limb from limb, with a malignity more than savage." Antiochus, enraged at this speech, gave orders to cut out his tongue instantly; on which the youth farther exclaimed, "How ridiculous is this cruelty! 'Tis in vain to take away the organ of speech from one who trusts in that God who sees the heart, and knows the sentiments of those that are silent. Here is my tongue ready for your instruments; but remember when you have cut it out, you cannot extirpate guilt from my reason, nor make my mind dumb. O that I could die by inches, that every part of my body might glorify God, by being seperately sacrificed to his honour! But for thee, O tyrant, guilt and vengeance will pursue and punish thee, who cuttest out tongues, employed in declaring the praises of the God who formed them."
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Excessive torment having finished the life of this brother, the fifth advanced cheerfully of his own accord, saying, "To convince thee, tyrant, how little I am impressed by thy torments, see, I readily present myself without waiting thy orders, anxious to give proof of my virtue without loss of time. The sooner I am dispatched, the sooner will my happiness and thy guilt be compleat, and by adding one to the number thou hast murdered, I shall help to make thee ripe for vengeance. Say, devourer of thy species, what could induce thee thus to destroy us? Is it criminal to serve the great Creator, and govern ourselves by laws which he has prescribed? This conduct ought to entitle men to reward instead of torture." Thus saying, the soldiers bound him to the pulleys, screwed in his knees, and put on iron footlocks: the screws being drawn, his loins were dislocated, he bent round the wheel like a snake, and his bones were soon broken. Tortured with pain, and almost strangled, he cried out, "Thou conferrest favours on us against thy will; the more severe our torments, the nobler proof we give of our patience, and religious perseverance."

He had no sooner expired than the tyrant asked the sixth brother if he would accept the terms of deliverance. "Though younger in years, (said he) I am equal in courage. Our birth and education being the same, our death ought to be similar, since we are all embarked in the same cause, if then, thou hast determined that I undergo the same trials, I will take care to die supported by a good conscience." He was then fastened to the wheel, his bones broken, and fire placed under him; and the soldiers forced red hot spears into his back and sides, till his bowels were consumed. In the interim he exclaimed, "Glorious conflict, which my brethren have sustained for religion, and been conquerors; as must always be the case with minds rooted in virtue. I will accompany my brothers in death, and add to the number of thy torments, thou barbarous wretch, thou foe to the adherents to the true religion. Six of us have now frustrated thy malice, by refusing to comply with thy infernal proposals. Thy fires appear cool, thy racks easy, and thy guards are the promoters of our law, instead of executioners, since, unable to suppress our religion, they afflict us in giving testimony to its truth."

This man was now thrown into a boiling caldron, when the seventh brother appeared, at whose sight the tyrant seemed to relent, and calling to him, said, "Thou seest the fatal end of thy brothers, owing to their own obstinacy; for these torments are the mere consequence of their disobedience; and a similar fate instantly awaits thee, if thou dost not profit by their example: but to encourage a different conduct, I now offer thee my friendship, and will raise thee to places of trust and distinction in my kingdom." The tyrant likewise addressed himself to the mother as condoling her misfortunes, and entreating her to save her only remaining child: but she, speaking to her son in the Hebrew language, (as will hereafter be mentioned) he suddenly cried, "Unbind me, that I may speak to the king, and those who surround him." This being done with great pleasure, he ran hastily to the side of the caldrons, and exclaimed, "O tyrant destitute of religion,
religion, and monster of villainy! Thou hast received a kingdom, and various worldly blessings from God, and yet murderest the friends of such a benefactor. Are the rack and torture the return thou makest to God, in the persons of those who worship him? Be assured that justice will pursue and find thee; and is now preparing torments and fire for thee, not like thine, which soon end our pains; but inexhaustible, and fiercely burning for a long succession of ages. Wretch and brute that thou art, to have no sympathy for the pains inflicted by thyself on creatures of the same nature, and feelings! Can a creature of like form delight in mangling, torturing, and burning his fellow mortals? Yet such thou appearest, though thy disposition, as thy fate, be so various from ours. We who die to glut thy malice have discharged our duty, and shall be happy with God: while thou, who hast murdered so many glorious champions for the truth, shalt bow in eternal despair, and curse the guilty transgressions of this day, when too late to remedy the evil. So horrid, so dreadful, is thy cafe; so glorious and happy that of my brethren, which neither fear nor promises shall tempt me to decline: for I think the time tedious till I participate of their sufferings here, and aspire to their future bliss." Thus saying, he threw himself into the caldrons, and almost instantly expired.

Will any doubt remain, under the guidance of religion, can subdue the passions, when we behold seven brethren despising and overcoming the torments of death, from a perfect agreement in the same principles? Is it not evident that if these men had been influenced by their passions, they would have eaten unclean meats, and submitted to any terms to have enjoyed ease and safety? This was far from being the case; their passions were quelled by reason, they shone triumphant, and receive the applause of their God. In the whole of this proceeding we see the dignity of the mind, and how little pain and passion are able to controul it. It would be unjust to deny these martyrs the applause due to the magnanimity of their conduct, in bringing their passions under the subjection of reason, so that they could not be conquered even by fire and torment. As the force of the waves is broke by the fortifications on the sea-shore, so as to render the harbour commodious, so were the storms and inundations of passions broken by this sevenfold fortification of reason.

How great, how interesting was the sight of such a company, encouraging each other to persevere, their joint voices making an harmonious concert! Thus did they animate each other: "Remember, brothers, we are engaged in the same cause: let us die like brethren, in defence of our God, and his law. The three brave Assyrian youths defied the furnace of the king of Babylon: let us imitate their glorious example."

When religion and conscience are at stake, it becomes us to despise fear, and act with resolution. One of the brethren said, "Courage, brother!" A second cried, "Persevere!" A third exclaimed, "Remember your ancestors, Abraham, who consented to sacrifice his son; and Isaac, who cheerfully submitted to become that sacrifice." Then they mutually supported each other, saying, "Let us gladly consecrate our souls to God: the lives which
"which he has lent us, restore, and yield up our bodies in defence of his "holy law. Wherefore should we fear those who only destroy the body? "Our fear should be rather for the everlasting los of our souls, which can-"not happen to those who strictly adhere to the truth. Therefore let us "arm ourselves with fortitude; so, in death, shall we be gladly received by "Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and our constancy will be applauded by all "our pious ancestors."

As they were severally led to execution, those who remained encouraged the preceding, saying, "Remember, brother, how thou shouldst be-"have; disgrace not those who have preceded, or those who are to follow "thee." Encouragement like this must have been very animating: the relationship of brother must have had its influence. The reader will con-ceive the power of that affection placed by Providence in the hearts of those who derive themselves from the same father, are born of the same mother; suck the same breast, are brought up at one table, taught by the same mat-ters, and educated in the same religion. Such was the affection and en-dearments between these brothers, and, of course, the encouragement and advice they gave each other, could not fail of having its proper weight: for they were educated in the same faith, and taught to practice the same virtues; and their mutual virtue must have been encreased by their mutual esleem; for natural esleem is always improved by an union in goodness, and a mutual zeal for God's service; so that the more religious each of these was, the more he would love each of his brethren, and become more wort-thy of their love. In this instance we may observe how passion was con-quered by reason; for though the tender regard they entertained for each other was heightened by every consideration of birth, affinity, education, acquaintance, and personal merit, yet all these considerations were out-weighed by the superior one of religion; so that, in so noble a cause, the tortures and deaths of such near relations, instead of pain, gave satisfaction to the survivors, who were pleased spectators of the tragedy.

Animated by exhortation, they were induced to despise pain, and sub-due fraternal affection. Thus were their minds more ennobled than birth could make them. Not one of these youths gave sign of fear, or shrunk at the approach of death, in all its terrors, but advanced to meet the rack and fire, as men who were running the race of mortality, and impatient which should first reach the goal. As our hands, feet, and other members, move according to the direction of the soul, so these heroic youths moved towards death, as if actuated by one common soul. Divine collation of confenting brothers! As the world, created in seven days, conveys an idea of the perfect majesty, and goodness of God, thus do these seven martyrs, by their courage and constancy, afford us an example that ought to banish the fear of death. But, alas! we fall short of their pattern, though we cannot read or hear of the extremity of their sufferings, without the utmost agitation of mind.

What torment can exceed that of fire, which instantly pierces and con-sumes? Yet these valiant champions resolutely endured the severest torments. But to encrease our wonder, and lessen that idea of magnanimity which men think
think their peculiar characteristic, let me produce the case of a woman, who gave glorious proofs of the sovereignty of reason over the passions; one whose sufferings were more severe than those of the parties above-mentioned. The variety and extremity of a mother's pains, in viewing the death of her seven sons, is scarcely to be comprehended. She must have been seven times murdered. The natural affections of parents are centered in the welfare of their children. This is evident even among beasts, who evidence even a tenderness for their young, equal to that among men. But why need I mention beasts, when all nature is full of this passion for their offspring? The bees, though busy in building their cells, are careful to guard their hives; and when invaded by the drones, protect their young ones by their sting, which serve them as weapons of defence.

The mother of our heroic youths was so true a daughter of Abraham, that even her tenderness for her own children could not tempt her to violate her duty. So laudable was her zeal, that when the preservation and advancement of her sons was put in competition with religion, the wisely preferred the latter, obeyed God rather than the king, and wished them heavenly prosperity, rather than temporal. How shall I describe that tender paternal passion, that fondness for the offspring, that impresses on them the same features of body, and frequently the same disposition of mind? It would be hard to paint the concern they feel for any distress that attends these dearer parts of themselves: particularly that of mothers, whose natural fondness makes them still more susceptible of what affects their children, than their fathers are. The mother I speak of had still more affection for her children than mothers commonly have: her love was augmented by seven painful births: and every fresh pang she suffered gave new force to that affection she felt for those for whom she bore those pangs.

Notwithstanding this, the love of God out weighs all present views of her children's interest. She never loved them so tenderly as when they were giving this proof of their constancy in the truth: they were wise, courageous, affectionate, and so dutiful as to die in support of the law, in obedience to their mother; while she, disdainful to let her tenderness operate too forcibly, or her reason be shaken by the torments they bore, exhorted them separately and jointly, to shew their zeal for religion by despising sufferings and death.

Hail nature, thou common mother! Hail the love of parents! Hail the sympathetic feelings of maternal love! Behold a miracle: seven children separately racked and burnt in their mother's presence; yet her piety unsubdued by the sight. She saw the flesh of her children broiling, the joints of their hands, and faces torn off, and trembling on the ground: the skins of their hands and feet stripped, and thrown at her feet: all this she saw unmoved. The agonies she bore for her children must be greater than those of child-birth, and proved her the noblest of her sex. Her expiring first-born moved her not: the languishing look of the second, and the groans of the third, she appeared not to feel. Not a tear did she drop at the cutting off of hands and heads, nor when the bodies of those dearer parts of herself were heaped around her. The last accents of her offspring, amidst their
their dying agonies, were grateful to her ear as the laments of syrens, or the
notes of dying swans. Though nature pleaded forcibly, she disdained to
yield, and when urged to save them, she gave them up to torment, in full
hope of their future happiness. She approved herself a true daughter of
Abraham, by pursuing his faith and courage. Hail, mother of a family,
zealous for religion and law! Great was thy patience and courage, thou envy
of thy own sex, and wonder of ours! As the ark of Noah, which contained
the surviving world, rode in triumph over the waters of the flood; so thou,
when tossed on the waves of passion, and driven by the winds of adversity,
being sustained by thy zeal for religion, didst bravely outside the storm.

Let me now return to the point I intend to prove. If the aged mother of
seven children, through her zeal for the truth, could bear to see them ex-
pire in such agony, it follows that well-guided reason has complete dominion
over the passions. It is evident that this is the case with human nature in
general, since not only men but even a woman could thus conquer all the
common feelings, and defy the most exquisite torture. The lions of Da-
niel's den were comparatively gentle, and the seven-times-heated furnace of
Mifiah cool to that torment which must have raged in her breast, when she
witnessed the agonies in which her sons expired: yet all her passions were
subdued by the superior considerations of reason and religion.

Had this woman possessed the least weakness of temper, it is probable
that she would have exclaimed to the following effect: "Unhappy wretch
that I am, so lately blessed with seven sons, but now bereft of them all!
O unprofitable child-bearing! O loft cares of nursing children defined
to fires, racks, and torments! Frivilegs are my pains, frivilegs my anxi-
ous days and nights, and lost is all the care of their education! Never
more shall I behold my beloved children, never rejoice in their mar-
riage, nor be happy in descendants of the second and third genera-
tion! Yet once was I happy in the number and virtue of my sons: but I
am now a forlorn widow, without one child to comfort my declining
years, or to lay my weary head in the grave."

But so far was this admirable woman from thus complaining, or wishing
her children to live, that they would have afflicted her if they had not died
with glory. Her firm mind considered that their death was but a passage
to immortal life: the therefore entreated them to compleat her joy, by sac-
crificing their lives to religion. Illustrious mother! who, when she was
seized, with her sons, and a witness to the torture and death of Eleazar,
engaged heartily in the glorious cause, and encouraged her children in an
address, in the Hebrew language, to the following effect: "Behold, my sons,
how glorious this conflict! If you should be called to suffer the same,
behave with cheerfulness and courage, considering what an honour will
thereby redound to our people, and the law of your ancestors. It will
be a disgrace to your youth and vigour if you sink under your trials,
when a man almost worn out by age and infirmities hath already borne
such extreme torture, from a sense of duty. Reflect, my dear children,
what life is, and of whom you received it. It was the gift of God, and
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has been continued by his providence; and it is your duty to resign it at his pleasure. Surely you would not decline any pain for him, in obedience to whom Abraham was ready to sacrifice his son, the promised father of our people; nor did Isaac decline the fatal stroke of the uplifted weapon of death. The innocent and fearless Daniel was cast into the lions' den, and the three children into a fiery furnace. A sense of duty to God made them resolute to suffer: and you should be willing to abide equal sufferings, since you hold the same faith. Those who have a genuine sense of religion will not decline any sufferings in which the sacred cause shall engage them. Thus were these seven children encouraged by their mother, who showed them how just it was to die rather than violate the law of God, particularly when an eternal residence with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the realms of unending bliss, would be the assured consequence of their perseverance.

It was related by the soldiers, that when they were about to seize and execute the mother, she prevented them by throwing herself into the fire. Venerable matron, who thus defeated the tyrant's rage, standing like a firm building, supported by seven pillars! Glorious mother! Whose patience was sustained by an unshaken faith in God, and assured hopes of future recompense. Not brighter shines the moon in the firmament, encircled by the stars, than does she in giving to, and receiving light from, her seven sons, in the presence of God, in the celestial mansions. Her sons were true of the faithful race of Abraham. Could one draw a picture of the above scene, every circumstance fairly painted, our passions must be deeply engaged, and we should be struck with horror at the sight of the mother and children expiring in such torments. Should a monument, as it ought, be erected to their memory and the honour of our nation, some such inscription as the following would be proper: "Interred here lie a venerable priest, with an old mother and her seven brave sons, murdered by a tyrant, who in vain attempted to destroy the constitution and laws of the Jews: for these champions resisting, committed their cause to God, and persevered, in despight of torments and death, to assert the rights of their religion and country." In fact, the contest was divine: patience was put to its full proof, virtue adjudged the prize, and immortal bliss was the reward of the conquerors.

Eleazar was the first who advanced to the bloody trial; the sons disdained not the combat, and the mother embraced the conflict. The tyrant was their adversary, the world the spectators, and religion the victor; for in their persons she crowned her gallant champions. Who could have beheld, who can hear of this glorious enterprise, without paying the tribute of praise and astonishment? The tyrant and his abettors were amazed at that patience which supported the sufferers; and inhuman as they were, reverenced that piety they could not subdue.

The observation of Moses is true: "All his saints are in thy hand." These men are celebrated with honour, as sanctified to God. Nor is the advantage of their sufferings confined to themselves. Their blood, being accepted by God as a propitiation, he was induced to return in mercy to his people, and
and deliver them from the oppressions with which they were loaded. For even Antiochus, struck with the resolution with which these men bore their sufferings, praised their courage, and had an officer declare it as a pattern to his own soldiers: nay farther, judging of the whole people by a few, he engaged many of them in his service; employed them in sieges and battles, and having, through their means, acquired many victories, was convinced that religion is the foundation of courage; and that those who despise life, and can sustain death from principle, are indisputably the most valiant soldiers. Ye of the race of Abraham, who inherit his zeal; ye descendants of Israel the beloved, pay obedience to this Divine law; conform yourselves to it in all things; live up to its dictates and discipline, since such is its efficacy and influence, that all the passions yield to its authority.

Nor does this subjection of the passions refer only to those within our breasts; but to outward afflictions and bodily pains, as is evident from these men submitting themselves to torture for the sake of religion. These heroes fought and conquered, so as to be admired by men, and rewarded by God. While they vanquished torments and death they vanquished their enemies, who inflicted them, and established the credit of their law and religion, the contempt of which had provoked the deity to punish them by the tyranny of Antiochus: but while this prince exercised his vengeance on others, he heaped up vengeance to himself: for finding that neither force nor flattery would induce the Jews to adopt foreign customs, he retreated from Jerusalem and waged war against the Persians: and soon after this he died, a miserable victim to the vengeance of Heaven.

I will here add some farther exhortations from the heroic mother to her sons. "Reflect (said she) on the conduct of your mother, who long lived "a pure virgin. I wandered not from my father's house, nor did the serpent "which tempted Eve seduce me. In conjugal fidelity to your father I passed "the prime of my life. This father died, happy in the general esteem, "when you had attained the years of maturity. He was blessed in his "children; and missed the wretchedness of seeing them torn from him. "During his life great pains were taken in your religious education, to furni-"nish you with principles proper to sustain this important trial. The law "and prophets were taught you by him, who described the examples of "their patience and virtue. He told you of Abel, who was murdered by "his brother Cain: of Isaac intended for a burnt-offering; of Joseph im-
"prisoned for his chaffiness, and of the zeal of Phineas for the law of God. "The virtue and reward of Ananias, Azarias, Michael and Daniel, were re-"counted by him. He often reminded you of that Providence by which "God protects his people, thus celebrated by Isaiah; 'When thou passest "through the waters I will be with thee; and when through the rivers they "shall not overflow thee: when thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not "be burned, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee.' While children he "taught you the song of David, 'Many are the afflictions of the righteous, "but the Lord delivereth them out of them all.' He instructed you in that "maxim of Solomon, which intimates that wisdom is a tree of life to them "that retain her. He quickened your faith by that of Ezekiel, hinting that
"the dry bones should live; and taught you the song of Moses, who speaking in the character of God, says, 'I kill, and I make alive;' and who, pronouncing the law, says, 'Through this thing ye shall prolong your days in the land wither ye go over Jordan to possess it.'

O glorious, rather than melancholy day, when the barbarous Antiochus kindled his flames, and with more than savage rage, heated his caldrons and bound to the torture the seven children of this daughter of Abraham! When he tore out their tongues, and put out their eyes with the most malicious and wanton cruelty! At that time the justice of God did, and always will punish such barbarities on the authors of them: but these pious sons and their mother were removed to bliss eternal; admitted to the company of their righteous forefathers, and have received of the God to whom they entrusted them, their souls in a pure and immortal state. To that God be everlasting glory.

End of the Martyrdom of the Maccabees.
THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF THE JEWS AGAINST THE ROMANS.

WRITTEN BY FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

Vol. II.
P R E F A C E.

The wars between the Jews and the Romans are indisputably the most considerable that have occurred in the present age; nor does tradition furnish us with accounts of any former contentions, civil or national, so highly interesting and important. These wars have employed the pens of many writers; some of whom, wholly unacquainted with the real state of facts, have treated the subject merely on the evidence of vague report: others have acted rather like orators than historians; for, diligently concealing the most palpable truths, they have extolled the conduct of one party, and cenured that of the other, according to the influence of their respective prejudices.

I am the son of Matthias, and a priest of Jerusalem; my name is Josephus, and I am by birth an Hebrew. The motive to my engaging in the following work was to render a common service to the subjects of the Roman empire, by supplying them with a Greek version of the history of the Jewish wars, which, in my mother tongue, I had already communicated to the Parthians, Babylonians, and other barbarous nations. I must observe, that having first acted in a military capacity on behalf of the Jews, I afterwards was in some measure constrained to bear arms in favour of the Romans.

The war commenced at a period when the Roman empire was embroiled in civil dissentions: the Jews being seditious, wealthy and powerful, availed themselves of this opportunity, and inflamed the tumult to so desperate a degree that they flattered themselves in the prospect of being able to accomplish their purpose; and the eastern nations were under the most terrible apprehensions of being subjugated to the power of the Jews; for those beyond the Euphrates had joined in the confederacy, and the whole were unanimously determined to revolt. The Germans were restless and dissatisfied; the Gauls, on the borders of Italy, had taken up arms; several persons aspired to obtain the sovereignty of the empire; the military and many other people were desirous of a change in government as the means of advancing their fortunes: thus, in short, were public affairs circumstanced upon the decease of Nero.

After having furnished the Parthians, the Babylonians, the remote Arabsians, the Jews on the other side the Euphrates, and the Adiabeni, with an authentic history of the commencement, progress, and conclusion of the war, I considered myself as under the obligations of honour and conscience not to suffer the Greeks and Romans, who were not engaged in the contention to remain under the imposition of partial and fictitious accounts: and to vindicate the most important events that have yet occurred from misrepresentation.

That work cannot deserve the name of an history, which is destitute both of sense and connection, and which is evidently calculated, by suppressing
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...the real state of facts, to exalt the reputation of the Romans, and calumniate the Jews. To triumph over a vanquished and feeble enemy cannot surely be understood as an argument of noble or generous sentiments. To detest the fortitude and courage of the Jews, must be to deduce from the fame of the Romans, since, considering their numbers and strength, their conquest was not rapid, nor obtained without considerable loss, perseverance and difficulty.

I mean not extravagantly to applaud the conduct of the Jews, as some writers have acted in regard to the Romans: my purpose is to speak of each party with the utmost impartiality, and to assert no more than what I can authenticate: and I shall seek no other consolation than tenderly to deplore the ruin of my country, which was the unhappy consequence of domestic tumults: the burning of the holy temple was occasioned by the tyranny of our rulers, whereby the Romans were compelled to that extremity, contrary to their inclinations: and as a proof of this affliction, it is only necessary to mention the conduct of Titus Caesar, by whose command that event took place. That generous prince, observing the miserable condition to which we were reduced by intestine divisions, commiserated our sufferings, and, with a view to afford the authors of the war the opportunity of reflecting upon their situation, and of repenting of their faults, even suspended the destruction of the city, which it was in his power to have instantly reduced.

If it be urged against me that I have transgressed those limits within which it is the duty of an historian to confine himself, I can only plead an inconsiderable affliction in excuse for my bitterness against the cruel oppressors and spoilers of my country.

From the creation of the world to the present time; no instance has been known similar to that which we have been witnesses of in the fate of Jerusalem; for that unhappy city experienced the utmost extremes of splendor and happiness, devastation and misery. It was not to the rage of foreign enemies, but chiefly to the violence of our own passions that we have fallen a sacrifice. These aching sentiments appear in my judgment to be reasonably founded: but I must beg such of my readers as in this respect may judge me deserving censure, to pursue the chain of my narrative, and pardon those omissions proceeding from the too sensibly affected heart of the author.

I cannot avoid acknowledging that I greatly disapprove the conduct of several eloquent men among the Greeks, who, though conscious that the events of their own days are more interesting than those of preceding ages, have indulged a disgraceful supineness in neglecting to record the great military operations, and the important revolutions of the war. They have censured inferior writers who had treated on the subject, but have not been generous enough to acknowledge that the service which their works have rendered to the world makes great compensation for the deficiency of their talents. Though these people so liberally censure other writers, they employ themselves in compiling histories of the Medes and Assyrians, pretending that their business is to rectify the errors of ancient writers, to whom they are inferior in point of style, the knowledge of facts, and the motive for undertaking the work. The ancient historians of the Medes and Assyrians have...
asserted no more than what was founded in their own knowledge; and they
have in no instance rendered themselves liable to reproach by disguising their
works with misrepresentations and erroneous suggestions. It is the duty of
an historian to collect authentic materials which are not generally known, and
faithfully to transmit to future ages a connected chain of the occurrences of
his own time. That man cannot be justly called a skilful and ingenious
writer, who employs himself in transposing the order of events recorded by
other persons: but the character of an able writer is due to the man who
presents the world with a genuine and original body of history. Being a
stranger, it has cost me a considerable expense, both of money and labour,
to produce, for the benefit of the Greeks and Romans, a memorial of occurren-
ces worthy to be recorded. In judicial and controversial matters, and in
other cases wherein their interests are concerned, the Greeks are sufficiently
ready to declare their sentiments; but in respect to historical subjects, which
require an exertion of skill and an attention to truth, they are entirely silent.
To record the lives and memorable actions of princes and other eminent men,
and, in short, the whole department of history, is left to the discretion of
foreigners wholly unqualified for the historical province. Though the au-
thority of historical memorials is disregarded by the Greeks, it is a matter
held in very high esteem and veneration by our people.

It would be unnecessary and even superfluous in this place to trace the ori-
gen of the Jews, relate the cause of their departing from Egypt, particularize
the countries through which they wandered during a long series of years, those
provinces wherein they established their residence, and the places to which
they afterwards removed; for these matters have been sufficiently enlarged
upon by several writers of our nation, whose works have been translated with
fidelity and candour by the Greeks: my history will commence where the
accounts of these writers and our prophets are concluded. In treating on
the operations and conduct of the war, to which I was a witness, I shall be
diffusive and particular; but I shall speak in more general and concise terms
of events which occurred before my time.

I shall relate the manner in which, after having subdued Jerusalem, and
kept possession of it for the space of three years and an half, Antiochus surn-
named Epiphanes, was compelled to abandon the city by the sons of
Afmonæus; give the particulars of the contentions between the successors
of these sons, who severally aspired to the sovereign authority; the advan-
tages which the Romans, under the command of Pompey, made of these
divisions; and relate the means by which Herod, the son of Antipater,
with the assistance of Sofius, the Roman general, deprived the Afmonæan
race of the sovereign authority.

I shall then proceed to an account of the insurrection which happened
after the demise of Herod, during the reign of Augustus, and at the time
when Judæa was under the government of Quintilius Varus: I shall also
advert to the war which took place in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero;
the occurrences during the command of Cælius, the Roman general; the
exploits performed by the Jews when they first took up arms, and the fortifi-
cations they made; the several defeats of Cælius, and Nero’s alarm thereon.

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the appointment of Vespasian to the command of the Roman forces; the entrance of that general and his eldest son to Judæa with a formidable army; the victory over a considerable body of auxiliaries, and their dispersion throughout Galileæ; the reduction of different towns by storm, and the surrender of others; the Roman government, discipline, and management of war; the limits of both the Galileæ; the boundaries and situation of Judæa; the nature and quality of the soil; the fountains and lakes; the towns that were subdued, and the calamities that the people suffered by fire and sword. Since there are people living to bear testimony to my truth, I shall write in the full confidence that my assertions will obtain the credit they deserve.

I shall then proceed to relate that at a time when the situation of the Jews was extremely unfortunate, Vespasian, who was hastening to Jerusalem, received intelligence of the death of Nero; and that the affairs of the empire caused him to alter his design, and repair to Jerusalem: and I shall mention the prelages he had of his future exaltation; the alterations which took place in the capital of the empire; and the manner in which Vespasian, contrary to his inclination, was proclaimed emperor by the soldiery: an account will then be given of a desperate insurrection of the Jews when the new emperor went into Egypt to give the necessary orders; the oppression they endured; and the animosities that subsisted among them; the two invasions made into Judæa by Titus; the raising his army; and the situation of the place where he arranged his forces in order of battle; the violent commotions that he had been witness to in the city; his several approaches; the magnitude and strength of his works; the thickness and extent of the three walls; the fortifications of the city and the temple; the form and dimensions of the altar; the several kinds of purification; our religious ceremonies, and solemn festivals; the functions of the priests; the sacerdotal vestments; the holy vessels, and every other kind of utensil belonging to the temple. The whole shall be delivered with the most scrupulous and inviolable regard to truth.

The next point will be to expound the oppression and cruelty which our governors exercised upon the people of their own nation; to do justice to the generous and honourable character of Titus, who, with a view to preserve the city and temple, repeatedly urged the Jews to compromise the dissensions that prevailed among them; to relate the variety of afflictions the people endured by war, insurrections, and famine; the destruction of those who deserted their country, and the torments of those who were made prisoners; the conflagration of the holy temple, and the sacred treasure, contrary to the will of Titus; the final destruction of the remaining part of the city, and the prodigies preceding this fatal desolation; the captivity of our tyrannical rulers; the great number of our people carried into bondage; their respective adventures; the pursuit of those who escaped the rage of war; the progress of Titus through the country for the re-establishment of good order, and his return to Italy.

The work is comprised in seven books, divided into chapters: and it has been written with no other view than to communicate an authentic account of the wars, and to vindicate truth from misrepresentation.
WA R was maintained between Antiochus Epiphanes and Ptolemy the sixth, respecting the right to the kingdom of Syria; and the principal people among the Jews were divided into factions, some espousing the cause of one king, and some that of the other: but the party favoured by Onias, one of the high-priests, proving most powerful, he compelled...
pelied the sons of Tobias to abandon the city. They repaired to Antiochus, entreating him to make an incursion into Judæa, offering to become his guides, and otherwise to assist him to the extent of their power. He had entertained an anxious desire to engage in this enterprise, and therefore but little persuasion was necessary to obtain his consent. He entered Judæa with a formidable army, reduced Jerusalem by storm, and put to death a vast number of persons who were supposed to be attached to the interest of Ptolemy. He allowed his troops the benefit of the plunder, despoiled the holy temple of its dedications and immense wealth, and, for the space of three years and an half caused the daily sacrifices and prayers to the Almighty, and every religious ceremony, to be entirely suppressed. Onias, the high-priest, fled to Ptolemy, who granted him permission to erect a temple adjacent to the city of Heliopolis, formed after the model of that at Jerusalem. Of this temple we shall have occasion to speak more particularly in the progress of the work.

Though Antiochus had obtained possession of Jerusalem, and put great numbers of his enemies to death, his barbarity and ambition were yet unsatisfied: the remembrance of the difficulties he had encountered during the siege inspired him with a most implacable rancour towards the Jews, whom he compelled to abandon the laws of their country, and the ceremonies of their religion: he inflicted a prohibition to their circumcising their children, and decreed that no victims should be sacrificed upon the altar but hogs, the sacrifice of which animals is expressly forbidden by our law. These outrageous proceedings were held in the utmost abhorrence, but those who expressed the least dissatisfaction were immediately put to death. At this period Bacchides held the command of Judæa under Antiochus: he was a man perfectly qualified to execute the merciless orders of the tyrant, being naturally of a ferocious, cruel, and unrelenting disposition: the influence of this man was so great that he constantly treated persons of the most distinguished rank with the highest indignity. In short, every day presented a representation of the horrors that prevailed at that fatal time when Jerusalem was vanquished.

The outrageous behaviour of Bacchides became, at length, so intolerable that some of the injured parties concerted measures for revenge. One of the priests, named Matthias, who was an inhabitant of Modin, and the son of Aimonæus, being attended by his five sons and a company of his domestics, all armed with poniards, went in search of Bacchides, whom he put to death; immediately after which he retreated to the mountains, in order to avoid the fury of the garrisons established by Antiochus. Being soon joined by great numbers of people, he ventured into the plains, and engaged the enemy, whom he totally vanquished and drove out of Judæa. This successful enterprise obtained him so high a veneration among the people, that in gratitude for their deliverance, they elected him their general. Upon his death, Matthias bequeathed his authority to Judas, his eldest son.

Judas, apprehending that Antiochus would endeavour to revenge the injuries he had sustained, collected a powerful army of his countrymen, and contracted a league of amity with the Romans. Antiochus again led his army into
into Judaea, but he was repulsed by Judas, who, determined to pursue the advantage his victory had afforded, immediately assaulted the city garrison, which yet remained entire; he compelled the soldiers to abandon the upper city (otherwise called the holy-place), and they took refuge in the lower town. Being now in possession of the temple, Judas purified every part of the building, encompassed it with a wall, provided it with the various kinds of vessels necessary to the solemnities of religion, the other utensils being deemed polluted, and caused another altar to be constructed, on which sacrifices were offered to the Almighty.

When the pious endeavours of Judas had restored the worship of God, Antiochus departed this life. He was succeeded by a son named after him, whose enmity towards the Jews was equal to that of his predecessor. This Antiochus led an army consisting of fifty thousand infantry, near five thousand cavalry, and eighty elephants, by the way of the mountains into Judaea: he subdued the town of Bethfura; and Judas engaged him in a narrow pass in a place called Beth-zacharias. Before the engagement commenced, Eleazar, the brother of Judas, observing an elephant in the adverse army to be much taller than the rest, gorgeously decorated with golden trappings, and bearing a castle on his back, he concluded that Antiochus must be the rider; he fiercely pressed upon the enemy, and made his way to the elephant, but finding the person whom he had mistaken for Antiochus to be beyond his reach, he stabbed the beast in the belly, and the unwieldy animal immediately fell, and crushed Eleazar to death. This enterprise had no other effect than proving that the generous Israelite had more ambition to obtain honour, than desire to preserve his existence. The elephant was rode by a private man; but had Antiochus been the party, Eleazar could have only obtained the fame of hazarding his life in an attempt of singular intrepidity. Judas considered the unhappy fate of his brother as a prog nostic intimating that the enemy would prove victorious. The Jews maintained the battle a long time with remarkable bravery; but, at length, great numbers of them being destroyed, Judas retreated with the remainder into the Toparchy of Gophnis. Antiochus marched to Jerusalem, but on account of a scarcity of provisions, he remained in that city only a few days; previous to his departure he established a garrison for the protection of the place, ordering the rest of his army into Syria, there to take up their winter-quarters.

Judas availing himself of the absence of Antiochus, assembled such of the troops as had escaped in the late encounter, and many other of his countrymen, and at a place called Adasa gave battle to some of the troops of Antiochus; in this action he remarkably signalized himself by skill and resolution: but being oppressed by numbers, he lost his life. John, the brother of Judas, did not survive this event many days, being seduced by the friends of Antiochus into an ambusc, where he was destroyed.
The treachery of Tryphon towards Jonathan, whom he cruelly puts to death. Simon murdered by the treachery of his son-in-law Ptolemy. Measures concerted for effecting the destruction of John, otherwise called Hyrcanus, but they are rendered abortive. Ptolemy exercises the most horrid cruelty upon the mother and brothers of Hyrcanus, and then puts them to death. Jerusalem besieged by Antiochus. Sebuah destroyed, and the inhabitants made captives by Aristobulus and Antigonus.

UPON the decease of Judas*, his brother Jonathan succeeded to the dignity of the prince of the Jews. He conducted himself with great circumspection and prudence to the people under his government: he confirmed himself in his authority, and added strength to his interest, by forming an alliance with the Romans, and effecting a reconciliation with the son of Antiochus: but the strict propriety of his conduct was not sufficient to insure his safety. Tryphon, the preceptor of young Antiochus, treacherously concerted measures for the destruction of Jonathan; and upon his arrival at Ptolemais, in order to join Antiochus, he seized the opportunity of making him prisoner by surprize; after which he marched his forces to attack Judea: but the tyrant was effectually repulsed by Simon, the brother of Jonathan, which circumstance so highly exasperated him that he returned and sacrificed the life of Jonathan to his revenge.

Simon was naturally disposed to activity and resolution: he subdued Gaza†, Joppa, and Jannia, and laid Accaron‡ in ruins: he then joined Antiochus in opposing Tryphon; and previous to his expedition to Media, Antiochus besieged Dora. So extreme was the avarice and ingratitude of Antiochus, that, notwithstanding Simon had rendered him a very considerable service by assisting in effecting the death of Tryphon, he soon after that circumstance dispatched an army under the command of Condæbus, in order to ravage the country of Judæa, and make Simon a prisoner. Though he had arrived to an advanced age, Simon maintained the war with as much spirit, resolution, and vigilance as he could have shewn in the prime of life. Having dispatched his sons and his best troops, he led the rest of his forces by a different rout: he planted ambushes in divers parts of the mountains; and at length he gained a compleat victory. After this event he was appointed to the pontifical dignity. As we have related, Simon delivered his country after it had been for the space of an hundred and seventy years subject to the Macedonians.

After the most eminent service rendered to his country, Simon fell a sacrifice to the treachery of his son-in-law Ptolemy at a public entertainment, who at the same time caused his wife and two of his sons to be made prisoners, and dispatched ruffians with orders to destroy John the third, otherwise named

* Vide, Antiq. l. 13. c. 1, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.
† The true orthography is Gazara, and not Zara.
‡ Ακαρον, in the Greek. Lat. Arcem aequalis subditis praefidii.
name Hyrcanus. Upon gaining information of the design against his life, the young man repaired to Jerusalem, where he found a considerable number of people strongly attached to his interest, partly from a veneration to the memory of his deceased father, and partly on account of their abhorrence of Ptolemy. Having already received Hyrcanus, the people refused to admit Ptolemy into the city, who endeavoured to enter by another port. In consequence of this repulse, Ptolemy directed his march to the castle of Dagon, beyond Jericho. Hyrcanus being declared the successor of his father in the high-priesthood, offered sacrifice and performed other sacerdotal functions, and then marched to besiege the castle where Ptolemy had retreated, and to restore his mother and brothers to freedom.

Hyrcanus assaulted the place, which he would indisputably have reduced, but for the natural tenderness of his disposition. Perceiving the advantage that Hyrcanus was likely to obtain, Ptolemy caused the mother and brothers to be exposed on the battlements, threatening that they should be cast down from the walls, unless Hyrcanus instantly drew off his forces, and to these menaces the tyrant added blows. This barbarity excited the rage and indignation of Hyrcanus, but his desire of vengeance was repressed by compassion for the sufferings of his relations. The mother exhorted Hyrcanus to preserve his resolution without regarding the torments she endured, or the death with which she was threatened, and urged him to wreak revenge on the cruel tyrant, saying that she could resign her life with pleasure if he was convinced that justice would be executed on the inhuman tyrant. The arguments made use of, and the fortitude displayed by his mother animated Hyrcanus to continue the siege; but observing, that as he prosecuted the assault, the cruelty to his mother was repeated, his resolution abated, and his mind was wholly occupied by sentiments of grief and filial tenderness; so that the siege was protracted till the arrival of the sabbatical year: every seventh year, like every seventh day, being pronounced a time of rest by the Jewish laws. Conscious that the assault could be no longer continued, Ptolemy put the mother and brothers to death, and fled for refuge to Philadelphia, which country was under the government of Zeno, otherwise named Cotylas.

The deceased Simon having vanquished Antiochus, he still entertained an enmity on occasion of that event, and was determined to seek revenge upon the son for the injury he had received from his father; he therefore besieged Hyrcanus in Jerusalem. In this extremity, Hyrcanus opened the sepulchre of David (the most wealthy king that had been known), and thence took upwards of three thousand talents; he paid three hundred talents to Antiochus on condition of his raising the siege. Hyrcanus was the first prince of the Jews who took foreign soldiers into pay.

Antiochus having raised the siege, proceeded with his army towards Media. Upon receiving information that the towns of Syria were in a defenseless situation, Hyrcanus led his forces into that country, and gained possession of Medaba, Samæa†, Sichem, Gazirim, and other places: he also conquered

* Our author is censured by Jacobus Salianus for giving credit to this circumstance, which he inflicts upon to be a fiction of the Rabbins, &c.
† Samæa. Vide, Antiq. l. 73, c. 17.
quered the Chuthites, who inhabited a part where a celebrated temple, on
the model of that at Jerusalem, was situated; and, in Idumæa, he con-
quered Dorion*, Marilla, and many other towns.

Hyrcanus afterwards went to Samaria, a city which Herod rebuilt, and
named Sebaste, and having environed the place with his troops, appointed
his sons Aristobulus and Antigonus to prosecute the siege, which they con-
tinued till the people were reduced to the extremity of subsisting upon food
that was not proper for human creatures. Thus distressed, the people sup-
plicated the assistance of Antiochus, otherwise named Asiendius†, who rea-
dily consented to their request; but he was entirely subdued by the brothers,
who pursued him as far as Scythopolis, where he escaped their vigilance.
Aristobulus and Antigonus returned to the siege of Samaria, reduced the city
to ruins, and made prisoners of the inhabitants. All the undertakings of the
brothers succeeded to the extent of their warmest hopes; and, left the ardour
of their troops might subside, they marched directly to the other side of Scy-
thopolis, where they shared between them the lands in the neighbourhood
of Mount Carmel.

C H A P. III.

Hyrcanus dies, and the crown devolves to his eldest son Aristobulus, against whom a
conspiracy is formed. He imprisons his mother, denies her food in her confinement,
and in consequence she dies. A remarkable prediction of an Ephene named Judas.
Aristobulus afflicted with a judicial illness, which puts an end to his life. Alexan-
der restored to freedom, and proclaimed king. Alexander vanquished by Theodore.
Alexander subdues Rapkin, Gaza, and Antbedon. Account of an insurrection.
The Galaadites and Moabites vanquished, and Amathus destroyed by Alexander,
who is afterwards defeated by Obadas, king of the Arabians. An engagement be-
tween Alexander and Demetrius. Alexander causes eight hundred prisoners to be
crucified as a spectacle for his concubines.

THE prosperity of Hyrcanus and his sons‡ provoked the envy of the
neighbouring princes, and a war ensued; but Hyrcanus proved
victorious, and he passed the remainder of his life in tranquility and
happiness. After having enjoyed the government thirty-three years, he died,
leaving five sons. He was distinguished in a manner almost peculiar to him-
s elf; being at the same time prince of the Jews, possessor of the pontifical
dignity, and favoured by the Almighty with the gift of prophecy. He pre-
dicted that the government of his two eldest sons would be of short duration.
The conduct of Hyrcanus was so happily regulated as entirely to escape cen-
fure, and he was universally esteemed a man of probity and virtue.

Aristobulus, the eldest son of Hyrcanus, altered the form of government
from a principality to a monarchy. This event took place four hundred and
eighty-one years and three months subsequent to the time when the Jews were
delivered

* Al. Adora.
‡ Vide Ant. l. 13. c. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22.
delivered from captivity in Babylon. So particular a regard did Aristobulus entertain towards his brother Antigonus, that he conferred upon him a joint share of the regal dignity: but his other brothers and his mother he cast into prison. The mother made some pretensions to the government, urging that Hyrcanus had bequeathed to her the regency, and on this circumstance was founded the cruelty of Aristobulus, which he pursued to the utmost extreme, by denying her the necessaries of life, in consequence whereof she died, while under confinement: and to these enormous crimes, he added that of putting his favourite brother Antigonus to death, in compliance with the wishes of a faction, who had propagated malicious calumnies for the purpose of effecting his ruin. Aristobulus entertained so tender an affection for his brother, that it was some time before he would give credit to the slanderous insinuations concerning him. However, during the feast of the tabernacles, Aristobulus was afflicted with sickness, and at this time Antigonus returned in great martial pomp from the camp at Jerusalem, and, intending to do honour to his brother, he wore an apparel of unusual magnificence, and was attended by a number of armed men: thus he proceeded to the temple with a design to supplicate the Almighty for the restoration of his brother's health. His enemies availed themselves of this opportunity to effect the ruin of Antigonus: they immediately repaired to the king, and represented to him, that they were greatly alarmed by the return of Antigonus in all the pomp of royalty; that he was attended by a great concourse of soldiers under arms; and that they could draw no other conclusion from his conduct than that he was dissatisfied with a part of the government, and determined to possess himself of the whole.

Though the king at first rejected every insinuation in prejudice of his brother, he was at length prevailed upon to give them credit; and determined to provide for his own safety, without discovering any symptoms of jealousy or suspicion. He then refided in the castle of Baris, which was afterwards named Antonia by Herod. He ordered his guards, therefore, to station themselves in a dark subterraneous passage, called Straton's tower, and that if Antigonus should come that way unarmed they should suffer him to pass unmolested, but if, on the contrary, he should be provided for defence, that they should put him to death. He then dispatched a message to his brother, requesting to see him, and desiring that he would not come armed. But the queen, in conjunction with the other enemies of Antigonus, concerted a most horrid stratagem for effecting his destruction. They prevailed upon the messenger to say, that the king desired to see his brother equipped in the suit of arms of extraordinary and exquisite workmanship which he had brought from Galilee. Antigonus hastened to comply with his brother's request: but in the passage already mentioned, the soldiers observed him to be accoutred in arms, and therefore, in obedience to the king's commands, they seized and put him to death. This circumstance may be justly considered as an example to prove that neither natural affection, common justice, equity, or the strictest bonds of friendship are always proof against artifice and detraction.
It will here be proper to introduce a remarkable occurrence that is related of an Essene, named Judas. He was a man highly celebrated for his knowledge of future events; and his predictions had been constantly verified with so much exactness that he had never been accused of either wilful deception or casual error. Upon observing Antigonus enter the temple, Judas, addressing himself to his disciples, exclaimed, "The Lord protect us! My death would now be welcome. Why should we desire longer to live, since we have survived even truth itself? I have made a false prediction; for Antigonus, whom I declared should be this day slain at Straton's tower, is still living; the place where the fatal scene was to have taken place, is at the distance of six hundred dreed stadia from hence; and we are now in the fourth hour of the day." The venerable man now seriously ruminated on the circumstance, and his countenance sufficiently expressed the painful state of his mind: but while he was musing, intelligence was brought that Antigonus had been slain in a subterranean passage, which, as well as a place of Cæsarea upon the sea-coast, bore the name of Straton's tower. Thus was the prediction verified; the prophet being led into an error by the same name being given to two places.

The shocking cruelty had been no sooner perpetrated than the disease with which Aristobulus was afflicted was increased to so terrible a degree, by the severe upbraiding of his conscience, that his inwards came out, and he vomited great quantities of blood. The domestics who removed the blood, call it by a singular providence, upon the exact spot where Antigonus had been slain, and where the stains of his blood were still to be perceived. The spectators imagined this to be the effect of design, and intended as an oblation to the memory of the deceased prince, and so loudly expressed their surprize as to be over-heard by the king, who instantly enquired as to the cause of what he had heard: but as he became anxious to be informed of the matter, the others were more desirous of suppressing it. However, by the force of threats and entreaties, he at length prevailed: but his desire had been no sooner complied with, than shedding abundance of tears and deeply sighing, he exclaimed, "Could I hope that my iniquities would escape the knowledge of the all-seeing God; or that my enormous crimes would not provoke the Divine vengeance? How long, alas! thou most miserable body, wilt thou confine my soul from rendering justice to a mother and a brother, both cruelly murdered? Instead of losing my blood thus drop by drop, why do I not yield it up all at once? But I am condemned to be the sport of fortune, and to expire in the most excruciating agonies." Having delivered these words he expired, after a reign of only one year.

Upon the decease of Aristobulus, the queen, his widow, restored the brothers to liberty; and she advanced Alexander, the eldest of them, to the regal dignity. He was esteemed a man of moderation and justice: but when he had obtained the possession of power, he put to death one of his brothers, who had aspired to rival him in the sovereignty. The others he did not attempt to molest, as they contented to live in a private station.
After Ptolemy Lathur, king of Egypt, had subdued Asochis, Alexander gave him battle, and destroyed a considerable number of his forces; but before the engagement was concluded Ptolemy proved victorious. Cleopatra having compelled her son Ptolemy to go into Egypt, Alexander besieged and subdued Gadara; he also took Amathus, by much the most considerable castle beyond the Jordan, wherein Theodore, the son of Zeno, had deposited his most valuable treasure. But Theodore attacked him by surprise, recovered the property that had been seized, made booty of Alexander's baggage, destroyed nearly twenty thousand Jews in the encounter, and gained a complete victory. After reinforcing his army, Alexander removed the seat of war to the sea coast, and subdued Raphia, Gaza, and Anthedon. The latter place was afterwards named Agrippias by Herod.

Where the people are numerous, and public meetings frequent, insurrections are by no means uncommon. At the time of celebrating a solemn festival, the Jews revolted against Alexander, whose crown and personal safety were thereby put to such imminent hazard, that he judged it expedient to strengthen his power by employing foreign mercenaries: he took Pisidian and Cilician into his pay; but rejected the Syrians, whom he deemed it unsafe to confide in, knowing that they entertained an implacable enmity against the Jews. He marched against the insurgents, upwards of six thousand of whom he put to death; and he afterwards declared war against Obodas, king of Arabia, and having vanquished and imposed tributes upon the Galaadites and Moabites, he returned to the siege of Amathus. The fame of Alexander's conquests inspired Theodorus with terror, and he abandoned the place, which Alexander finding in a defenceless state, immediately laid in ruins.

The next expedition of Alexander was against Obodas, king of the Arabians, who had encamped a part of his army in the province of Gaulon, which afforded the most advantageous situation for ambuscades. In this place Alexander was attacked by surprise, and being driven into a valley of considerable depth, the camels of the enemy crushed his people to death in the defiles, and his army was entirely ruined. With infinite difficulty Alexander himself escaped, and repaired to Jerusalem; but, on occasion of his late defeat, he found that his enemies had conceived a still more violent hatred against him. Though he was driven to great extremities by frequent insurrections among his subjects, he proved victorious in all encounters, and put more than fifty thousand Jews to death in the space of six years.

Alexander was conscious that his conquests over his own subjects must necessarily weaken his power; and in that consideration he was extremely unhappy. At length he determined to decline all further endeavours to restore his subjects to obedience by the force of arms, and to adopt the more gentle mode of argument and persuasion. This change of conduct, however, served but to increase the popular enmity: and upon his asking the people what conduct he could pursue to afford them satisfaction; they told him that should he sacrifice his life to their resentment, they should scarcely be able to pardon him for those actions which had involved them in the greatest distress.
The Jews now requested the assistance of Demetrius Euæerus; and this king by interested views was induced to join them with his army in the neighbourhood of Sichem. The force of the Jews now consisted of three thousand cavalry, and forty thousand infantry: and this formidable army Alexander opposed with only one thousand horse, six thousand mercenary foot, and about ten thousand Jews who still maintained their allegiance. Demetrius endeavoured to induce Alexander's mercenaries to desert and join him; and Alexander was equally solicitous to gain over the Jews in the army of Demetrius: but neither party was able to prevail; and an engagement ensued, which ended in the defeat of Alexander; but it must be acknowledged, that his mercenaries fought with astonishing bravery. The event of this victory, however, was contrary to the expectations of both the kings; for six thousand of the Jews who had fought against Alexander, being now moved to compassionate his sufferings, fled to, and joined their king, in the mountains, whither he had retreated for refuge. This circumstance proved exceedingly alarming to Demetrius, who apprehending that the rest of the Jews in his army might follow the example of those who had deserted, abandoned all thoughts of continuing the war, and drew off his forces. But the rest of the Jews still continued to prosecute the war against Alexander, till great numbers were slain, and the rest driven into Bemezel*, which place Alexander conquered, and then carried them prisoners to Jerusalem.

We shall now proceed to shew what excess of passion people may be hurried into when they cease to make the principles of piety, honour, and virtue the rule of their conduct. Alexander gave an entertainment to his concubines; and on this occasion he cauffed eight hundred prisoners to be crucified, after the throats of their wives and children had been cut in the presence of these miserable sufferers. In the height of the debauch this horrid scene was presented for the diversion of the women: but so shocked were the inhabitants of the city at this execrable barbarity, that, on the following night, eight thousand of them deserted their country; nor did they return till after the death of Alexander. By such acts of inhumanity, it was that this prince, with the greatest difficulty, preserved his dominions in a kind of tranquil state.

CHAP. IV.

Aretas attacks Alexander by surprize; and a desperate engagement ensues, in which Antiochus is slain. A league of amity between Aretas and the people of Damascus, who declare him king of Cæle-Syria. The wars of Alexander; his death. The queen assumes the government. Hyrcanus constituted high-priest. Account of the Pharisees, and of the unlimited power they exercised over Alexandria. After a reign of nine years Alexandria dies, bequeathing the government to Hyrcanus. An engagement between the brothers. Their reconciliation.

The endeavours of Alexander† were not sufficient to secure the peace of his dominions; for the brother of Demetrius, who was named Antiochus, otherwise Dionysius, and was the last of the line of Seleucus, involved him

* In the Antiq. Bethom. l. 13. c. 22.
† Fide Antiq. l. 13. c. 23; 24. l. 14. c. 1.
him in new difficulties. As Antiochus had subdued the Arabian, Alexander
was apprehensive left he should invade his kingdom also; and therefore he
formed a deep ditch, and erected a wall of considerable height before it, for-
tified with a number of wooden towers. This retrenchment extended along
the mountains near Antipatris to the boundaries of Joppa. But Antiochus
burnt the towers, filled up the ditch, and led his army against the Arabian;
he determined, however, to seize a future opportunity of revenging himself
upon Alexander for having opposed his designs. Upon the approach of
Antiochus, Aretas, king of the Arabians, stationed his men in places of
strength; and at a time when Antiochus judged himself to be in a situation
perfectly secure, the Arabian attacked him by surprize with an army of ten
thousand cavalry. The engagement was maintained on both sides with great
obstinacy till Antiochus was slain, when his soldiers fled. During the battle
and the pursuit, the army of Antiochus was nearly destroyed. Some of those
who escaped the rage of war retreated into Cana, where the greatest part of
them perished through want of the necessaries of life.

The aversion which the people of Damascus entertained against Prolemy,
the son of Menneus, induced them to contract an alliance with Aretas; and
they declared him king of Cœle-Syria. Aretas invaded Judea, and van-
quished Alexander; but a treaty being concluded between them, he drew
off his forces.

Alexander having subdued Pella, proceeded to the siege of Gerasa, which he
conquered, notwithstanding the place was fortified by a triple circumvalla-
tion; and this exploit gave him possession of the great treasure that Theodore
had deposited in the town. He then destroyed Gaulon, Seleucia, and a city
called Antiochus’s Pharanx, besides the castle of Gamara, which was a place
of great strength. In this castle he made prisoner of the governor, named
Demetrius, a man of a depraved and abandoned mind. After having em-
ployed three years in various great achievements, Alexander returned in tri-
umph to Jerusalem, where he was received with the utmost demonstrations of
joy. He was now attacked by a quartan ague; and conceiving that business
and exercise would tend towards removing his complaint, he engaged in an-
other war; but his constitution being much impaired, in the twenty-seventh
year of his reign he fell a sacrifice to the laboursious task he had undertaken,
leaving the regency to his wife Alexandra.

Alexander being sensible of his wife’s moderation and piety, imagined that
the people would willingly acknowledge allegiance to her; and in this he was
not deceived; for she was perfectly conversant in the rights and customs of
the Jews, and on all occasions had paid a due obedience to our holy laws;
these qualities and a great reputation for a sincere piety, secured her from
those disadvantages she would otherwise have laboured under on account of
her sex. She bore to Alexander two sons, named Hyrcanus and Aristobu-
lus; the former, on account of his seniority, she promoted to the pontifical
dignity; and as he was of an indolent and yielding disposition, she thought
that she might advance him to the throne without danger: but the younger
Vol. II.  F  f  f  brother
brother being of an active and enterprising temper, she deemed it prudent to keep him in a private station.

The Pharisees were a sect that highly valued themselves on the reputation of being more pious than other people. The queen was so remarkably rigid in her religious principles as almost to incur the suspicion of bigotry anduperition; and she entertained an high degree of veneration to the Pharisees, on account of the reputed sanctity of their lives. By a plausibility of conduct they so far infinuated themselves into the favour of the queen as to engross all the privileges and powers of government; they promoted and persecuted, imprisoned and restored to freedom, such of the people as they thought proper; they secured to themselves all lucrative commissions, and distinguished employments, leaving the queen to provide for the expences, and encounter the cares and difficulties of government. Alexandra was deeply skilled in the arts of government, and she had abilities equal to the greatest undertakings: she augmented the militia to the full compliment; kept two armies of regular troops, and had a considerable body of foreign auxiliaries in constant pay: by these means she was powerful at home, and formidable to the neighbouring states. But still Alexandra yielded an implicit obedience to the will of the Pharisees.

A man of distinction named Diogenes, who had been the particular friend of the deceased king, the Pharisees caused to be put to death, on an accusation of having been concerned in procuring the death of the eight hundred Jews, who were crucified by the order of Alexander, as we have before mentioned; and they urged the queen to pardon no man who had advised or countenanced that abominably cruel act. Their influence was so great that she complied with their request: and under the pretext of justice they wrought the destruction of every person who was so unfortunate as to incur their displeasure. They carried their tyranny to such excess that many persons of distinguished rank, judging their situation to be extremely dangerous, applied to Aristobulus for protection: he expostulated with his mother, and prevailed in behalf of these persons, and likewise obtained a grant that banishment only should in future be the punishment of those suspected of guilt. About this period, Alexandra, upon the pretext that Ptolemy was continually annoying the city of Damascus, sent an army thither, which assaulted and conquered the place, without any occurrence worthy to be recorded. Tigranes, king of Armenia, having besieged Cleopatra in Ptolemais, Alexandra made him frequent and considerable presents, and urged him to comply with terms of accommodation: but upon receiving intelligence that Lucullus had entered Armenia with an army of Romans, he abandoned the siege, and led his forces to protect his own dominions.

Alexandra being soon afterwards attacked by a dangerous illness, Aristobulus, the younger son, attended by a numerous company of his domestics, who were in the vigour of youth, and firmly attached to their leader, and other persons, who espoused his cause, gained possession of the castles, whence he seized the money therein deposited, which enabled him to engage the assistance of a body of mercenary troops; and he then arrogated to himself the regal dignity. Herupon Hyrcanus complained to his mother, who, to pun
nigh the usurper, caused his wife and sons to be imprisoned in the castle, situated on the north side of the temple, and formerly called Baris, but during the government of Anthony, named Antonia, as Sebae and Agrippias derived their names from Augustus and Agrippa. The illness with which the queen was afflicted, put a period to her life after she had reigned nine years, and deprived her of the opportunity of protecting Hyrcanus against the ambitious views of Aristobulus.

The queen bequeathed all her wealth and possessions to Hyrcanus, and confirmed his right to the sovereignty. The contest was still continued between the brothers; but Aristobulus had greatly the advantage, both in point of interest and power. They proceeded to an engagement near Jericho, when the greatest part of the army of Hyrcanus deserted to Aristobulus. With great difficulty Hyrcanus and the remainder of his people escaped to Antonia, where they had good hostages for their security in the persons of the wife and sons of Aristobulus, who, as we have before observed, were confined in that place. At length the brothers came to an accommodation, the terms of which were, that Hyrcanus should resign the regency to Aristobulus, who was to allow him the privileges, honours and dignity to which he had a right in virtue of his relationship to the king. This agreement was ratified in the temple, in presence of the people; and the brothers embraced with mutual affection. Aristobulus repaired to the palace, and Hyrcanus to the habitation where his brother had resided.

CHAP. V.

Antipater persuades Hyrcanus to solicit the assistance of Aretas in recovering his kingdom. Aretas, with an army of fifty thousand troops, compels Aristobulus to retreat into Jerusalem. Scarrus bribed to raise the siege. The brothers respectively supplicate the assistance of Pompey. The humiliation of Aristobulus to Pompey, who makes him prisoner. Jerusalem besieged, the temple taken, and twelve thousand Jews destroyed. The moderation of Pompey, who declares Hyrcanus high-priest. Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, escapes.

The enemies of Aristobulus* were equally surprized and affrighted by his unexpected advancement to the regal dignity; but this event proved the source of particular mortification to Antipater, who had long entertained an enmity against him. Antipater was a native of Idumæa, and in point of family and wealth he was one of the most considerable men of the country. He urged Hyrcanus to solicit Aretas, king of Arabia, to support him in his endeavours to regain his crown; and for obtaining this point he exerted his utmost influence with Aretas, to whom he represented Aristobulus as a most abominable character, and recommended Hyrcanus as a man of extraordinary merit; he exhorted him not to deny succour to a prince most cruelly oppressed, observing that he would derive great honour from generously affording Hyrcanus relief, and that kings were reciprocally bound to support each other.

* Vide Ant. l. 14. c. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.
each other in their legal claims and privileges. Having prepared Hyrcanus to petition, and Aretas to comply with his request, Antipater conducted the former out of the city by night, and accompanied him to Petra, where the royal palace of Arabia was situated: he introduced him to the king, and recommended him to his protection: and Aretas promised his utmost endeavours towards restoring him to the regal dignity.

In a short time the Arabian king entered Judæa with an army composed of fifty thousand men, including horse and foot, and in the first attack completely routed the troops of Ariobarzus, who retreated into Jerusalem for refuge. Aretas besieged the city, which he would inevitably have subdued but for the following circumstance: a war subsisting between Pompey the Great and Tygranes, the former ordered Scaurus to lead the army under his command from Armenia into Syria; upon the arrival of the Roman general at Damascus, he found that Metellus and Lelius had conquered the place, and drawn off their forces; and upon gaining intelligence of the situation of affairs in Judæa, he judged that the most advantageous measure he could adopt would be to lead his army into that country; and having reached the borders, he was encountered by two ambassadors, who were commissioned to supplicate the Romans to espouse the cause of their respective employers. The ambassador from Ariobarzus presented Scaurus with three hundred talents, which sum prevailed beyond the just pretentions of Hyrcanus, and induced him to dispatch ambassadors to Hyrcanus and Aretas, commanding them in the name of Pompey the Great and the Roman Senate, instantly to raise the siege and draw off their troops, and threatening them with a declaration of war in case of refusal. Aretas, dreading to provoke the indignation of so powerful an enemy as the Romans might prove, retired from Judæa to Philadelphia; and Scaurus returned to Damascus. Ariobarzus was of too enterprising a disposition to repulse the desire of conquest, because the departure of the enemy had left him in a state of security: he collected his troops, and pursued Hyrcanus and Aretas to a place named Paphion, where he encountered them, and put near seven thousand of their men to death, and in the number of the slain was Cephalon, the brother of Antipater.

Delving to succour from the Arabian, Hyrcanus and Antipater resolved to submit themselves to the generosity of Pompey, and to sue to him for protection and relief: upon the arrival of Pompey at Damascus they presented to him valuable presents, and farther to attach him to their interests, they repeated the arguments and supplications that had been enforced to prevail upon Aretas. The influence he had obtained over Scaurus, by the means of bribes, inspired Ariobarzus with the idea that he could not possibly fail of success. In this disposition, being attired in a superb habit, and attended by an equipage of royalty, he went to pay his compliments to Pompey: when he had waited till his pride suggested to him that a longer attendance would be to derogate from the dignity of the royal character, he retired, and directed his course towards Dioepolis.

The abrupt and disrespectful departure of Ariobarzus proved so highly offensive to Pompey, that he was the more readily induced to comply with the request of Hyrcanus and Antipater. He immediately marched in pursuit.
suit of him with the Roman troops, and a considerable body of Syrian auxiliaries; and having passed Pella and Scytopolis, he arrived at Corceda, where he learnt that Aristobulus had taken refuge in Alexandrium, a castle of great strength situated on a high mountain, and dispatched a messenger to require Aristobulus to come down to him. Considering this message as an insult, he determined not to comply; whereupon his people expressed great dissatisfaction, and his friends representing the impossibility of withstanding so formidable an enemy as the Romans, he was, at length, prevailed upon to descend. Having urged to Pompey his right to continue in possession of the throne, he returned. At the instance of Hyrcanus he descended a second time: and when the brothers had pleaded before Pompey in support of their respective pretensions, Aristobulus again repaired to the castle. He was now in a state of irresolution, being agitated between the extremes of hope and fear: he frequently conceived an intention of entirely submitting himself to the pleasure of Pompey, and in this disposition proceeded half way from the castle, but as often returned, lest he should be guilty of a conduct unworthy the regal character. Pompey having learnt that Aristobulus had commanded his governors to obverse such orders only as were given under his own hand, instilled upon his writing to his officers, authorizing them to surrender the castles and other places. Aristobulus judged it necessary to comply with this injunction; but the imperious conduct of Pompey so exasperated him that he immediately departed for Jerusalem, in the full resolution of commencing hostilities.

In order to deprive Aristobulus of all opportunity of making preparations for war, Pompey marched after him; and when he was near Jericho he was animated to greater expedition upon receiving information of the decease of Mithridates. Jericho is the most fruitful province in Judæa; it abounds with palm-trees, and is celebrated for producing the excellent balsam which issues by drops from the plant, when incisions have been made in the bark, by means of sharp stones. The morning after his arrival Pompey left this province, and hastened to Jerusalem. Aristobulus was astonished at the expedition, and alarmed at the appearance of Pompey, to whom he offered great sums of money, and the surrender of his person and the city. This submission appeared in some degree, the indignation of Pompey; but the other was not able to make good the conditions he had proposed; for Gabinius being appointed to receive the money, the persons who commanded in the town, in the name of Aristobulus, refused him admittance. This so greatly offended Pompey that he detained Aristobulus a prisoner, and proceeded to reconnoitre the fortifications, in order to determine where he could make an assault with the greatest prospect of success. He found the walls of surprising strength, and to be defended by a terrifying precipice: he judged it scarcely possible to subdue the city, and that if the exploit could be effected, the people might take refuge in the temple, which appeared to be absolutely impregnable.

At this time and insurrection happened in the city between the two parties respectively attached to Aristobulus and Hyrcanus. The adherents
of the former were for rescuing their king by force of arms: the other party
was equally strenuous for admitting Pompey into the city, and a majority of
the people, conscious of the superiority of the Romans, were friends to the
latter measure. The partizans of Aristobulus took possession of the temple,
and cut away the bridge of communication with the city, resolving to defend
themselves to the last extremity. The other party admitted several Romans
into the town, and gave them possession of the royal palace. Hereupon
Pompey dispatched one of his general officers, named Piso, with a strong
detachment to take possession of the palace. Finding that the Jews who had
retired into the temple were absolutely determined in their purpose, he enter-
tained no further thoughts of a compromise, but made the necessary prepara-
tions for an assault; and he received every possible assistance from Hyrcanus
and his adherents.

Pompey resolved to attack the wall on the north side; and preparatory to
this, he ordered the enormous ditch to be filled: the place was of such sur-
prising depth, and the Jews had so great an advantage of annoying the
enemy from above, that the undertaking could scarcely have been accom-
plished had not Pompey ordered his soldiers to employ themselves in filling
up the ditch only on the sabbath-day, when the superstitious veneration of
the Jews would not permit them to offer the least interruption, or even to
perform any kind of work, except what was indispensably necessary for the
immediate support or defence of their lives. The ground being levelled,
Pompey caused strong towers to be erected thereon; and every necessary prepa-
ration being made; the assault was commenced with a species of engines
of war that had been brought from Tyre; the soldiers stationed in the
towers continuing to annoy the Jews who defended the walls.

During even the utmost extremity of danger the Jews continued to offer
up daily prayers and sacrifices, and to perform every other religious cere-
mony with the regularity usual in times of profound peace: and this instance
of fortitude and resolution proved a matter of great admiration to Pompey.
The temple was taken by assault after a siege of three months, during which time
only one of the towers belonging to the Jews was lost. The breach was first
entered by Faustus Cornelius, the son of Sylla, who was followed by Furius
and Fabius, two centurions, with the troops under their command. Such
of the people as attempted to escape, or offered resistance, were instantly put
to death. Several priests, who were occupied in the holy function, paid no
regard to their personal safety even when the swords of the enemy were pointed
to their breasts, but yielded up their lives while exercising the duties of
their profession. The Jews attached to Pompey felt no compassion for those
who espoused the cause of Aristobulus; and the latter, being driven to
the utmost despair, threw themselves down precipices, or set fire to such
materials as they could collect, and cast themselves into the flames. On this
occasion twelve thousand Jews perished: no considerable number of Romans
fell in the action; but many were wounded.

Amidst the general calamities of the Jews nothing so sensibly afflicted them
as the unprecedented event of the holy of holies being exposed to profane
eyes. To this place only the high-priest was to be admitted; but it was entered
entered by Pompey and his attendants, who saw the candlesticks, lamps, tables for incense, and divers other vessels composed of gold, besides great quantity of curious perfumes, silver utensils, and other sacred treasure, to the value of two thousand talents. Pompey would not permit any one of the articles dedicated to the Almighty to be touched; and on the day after the taking of the temple he ordered that it should be purified, and that the oblations and other ceremonies of religion should be performed as usual. In consideration of the assistance he had received from Hyrcanus during the siege, Pompey appointed him high-priest, the humanity, justice and moderation of the conqueror obtained him an high place in the esteem of the people. A person who was both father-in-law and uncle to Aristobulus was among the number of prisoners. The promoters of the insurrection Pompey condemned to the loss of their heads; but he conferred liberal rewards upon Cornelius Fuscus, and others who had signalized themselves in prosecuting the siege. He subjected Judaea to a tribute; deprived the Jews of the cities they had gained possession of in Coele-Syria, and by annexing them to the jurisdiction of the Roman government, reduced the possession of the Jews to their former limits. In favour to one of his freedmen, named Demetrius, who was a native of Gadara, he rebuilt that city which had been laid in ruins by the Jews. Hippion, Scythopolis, Bella, Samaria, Maris, Azotus, Jannia, and ArBetha, which were inland cities; and the coast-towns of Gaza, Joppa, Dora, and that formerly called Straton’s Tower, but afterwards rebuilt, and named Caesarea, by Herod, he took from the Jews and restored to their ancient inhabitants, at the same time annexing them to the province of Syria. He appointed Scaurus to the government of Judaea, Coele-Syria, and all the country of Egypt to the borders of the Euphrates, giving him likewise the command of two legions. Pompey now hastened towards Rome by the way of Cilicia, taking with him Aristobulus, his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, and his two daughters, prisoners: but on the way Alexander effected an escape.

**CHAP. VI.**

A reconciliation between Aretas and Scaurus. Alexander being subdued by Antipater retreats to Alexandria, whither he is pursued by Gabinius. The intrepidity of Mark Antony. Gabinius commits the care of the temple to Hyrcanus; regulates the civil administration, and divides the province of Judaea into five jurisdictions. The Romans vanquish Aristobulus; but he forces a passage through the adverse army, and reaches Macherus. The Romans subdue the castle, and send Aristobulus, and his son Antigonus, in chains to Rome. Gabinius vanquishes Alexander. Cælius succeeds to the government of Syria: he despoils the temple of the sacred treasures.

Scaurus* led an army into Arabia, and proceeded towards Petra; but his march was greatly impeded by a passage through a craggy and most difficult tract of country. Notwithstanding his being greatly distressed for

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*S. Vide Ant. l. 14. c. 6, 10, 11, 12.
want of provisions, and having other disadvantages to encounter, he laid the
neighbourhood of Pella in a state of devastation. Through the agency of
Antipater he was, however, occasionally supplied with the necessaries of life
by Hyrcanus. Conscious that a friendship subsisted between Antipater and
Aretas, the Arabian king, Scaurus applied to the former, urging him to
propose terms of accommodation to Aretas. Antipater engaged in the com-
mussion, and managed it with so much address that Aretas paid three hundred
talents to Scaurus, who in consequence thereof declined a farther prosecution
of the war.

Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, who had escaped from Pompey, hav-
ing assembled a considerable number of men, was now committing devasta-
tions in Judæa, and harassing Hyrcanus; he even entertained the hope of
being able to subdue Jerusalem, as the walls which Pompey had destroyed
were not yet rebuilt. Gabinius, an experienced and brave commander, suc-
ceeded Scaurus, and marched against Alexander, who judging it necessary to
take every possible precaution to oppose so formidable an adversary, encreased
his troops to ten thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, and fortified
Alexandrian, Hyrcanian, Machærus, and other places near the Arabian
mountains. In the interim Gabinius dispatched Mark Anthony with a body
of Antipater's chosen troops; and he was to be joined by a considerable
number of Jews under the command of Malichus and Pitholaus. These detach-
ments were followed by Gabinius leading the main body of the army. Alex-
ander finding the enemy was proceeding towards him with a force which he
was by no means in a condition to withstand, judged it prudent to retreat.
He was followed by Gabinius into the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, where a
battle took place, in which three thousand of Alexander's followers were put
to death, and a like number was made prisoners. When Gabinius had ar-
rived at the castle, he proposed an indemnity to such deserters as would re-
turn to his army previous to the engagement: but upon their refusal, he at-
tacked and put many of them to death, and the remainder took refuge in the
fort. On every former occasion Mark Anthony had greatly signalized him-
self: but his conduct in this action exceeded every preceding instance of his
valour. Leaving a sufficient force to prosecute the siege, Gabinius pro-
ceeded to take a view of the several cities and towns of the province: he ap-
plied himself to the re-establiment of good-order in those places which had
eapsed desolation, and to rebuild those that had been destroyed. Hence
the people of Scythopolis, Samaria, Anthedon, Apollonia, Jamnia, Raphia,
Marissa, Dora, Gadara, Azotus, and several other towns, joyfully returned to
resume their former places of residence.

Gabinius now returned, and continued the siege with additional vigour.
Alexander despairing of success in opposing so powerful an enemy, dispatch-
ed ambassadors to supplicate pardon from Gabinius, and offer him posses-
sion of Machærus, Hyrcanian, and Alexandrian. The proposals being accepted,
Gabinius reduced the latter place entirely to ruins, in compliance with the
request of Alexander's mother, who urged the destruction of the place, lest
it should prove the cause of future hostilities. From a motive of tendernefs
and affection to her husband and children, who were prisoners at Rome,
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The availed herself of every opportunity to ingratiate herself into the esteem of Gabinius.

Hyrcanus was now conducted to Jerusalem by Gabinius, who committed the temple to his care, and after appointing some of the most considerable Jews to the offices of civil administration, he divided the province of Judah into the five following jurisdictions: Jerusalem was the first; Gadara, the second; Amathus, the third; Jericho, the fourth; and Sepphoris, a city in Galilee, was the fifth. The people were exceedingly happy in the circumstance of living under an aristocratical, instead of a monarchial, government.

Soon after this time Aristobulus escaped from Rome, and was joined by a great number of Jews, some being influenced merely by a desire of changing their situation, and others by a principle of fidelity and affection. He made an attempt to repair Alexandria; but upon receiving information that Gabinius had dispatched an army in pursuit of him, under the command of Sisenna, Antony and Servilius, he retreated to Machaerus, where he dismissed the useless part of his followers, retaining only eight thousand men, including one thousand fugitive Jews, whom Pitholus had brought from Jerusalem. In a short time the Roman army arrived, and a general battle took place, in which Aristobulus and his adherents fought with astonishing bravery; but they were, at length, compelled to yield to the superiority of the enemy, with the loss of five thousand men: two thousand gained a hill, and made some further resistance; and Aristobulus with the other thousand cut a passage through the Roman army, and retired to Machaerus, where he arrived towards evening, and found the place in ruins: but he entertained an opinion that the enemy would consent to a suspension of hostilities, which would enable him to reinforce his army, and repair the castle. The Romans, however, immediately proceeded to assault the place, which was defended with great bravery for two days, when a complete victory was gained over Aristobulus, who, with his son, Antigonus, that had escaped with him from Rome, was made prisoner, put in bonds, and sent to Gabinius, who ordered them to be conducted to Rome. The father was sentenced to imprisonment by the senate, but the son was permitted to return to Judæa, through the mediation of Gabinius, who informed the senate by letter that, when the wife of Aristobulus refused the castle to him, he engaged himself to intercede in behalf of Antigonus.

While Gabinius was preparing to commence hostilities against the Parthians, he learnt that Ptolemy, having retired from the Euphrates, was upon his march towards Egypt; and therefore he declined to pursue his design. Gabinius was supplied with arms, corn, money, and other necessaries for war, by Hyrcanus and Antipater; and they prevailed upon the Jews of Pelusium, who, in a manner guarded the entrance into Egypt, not to intercept the progress of Gabinius to that country. The departure of Gabinius proved greatly alarming to the inhabitants of different parts of Syria; and at the same time an insurrection happened among the Jews. Alexander, the

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Doric, Rufinus.
son of Aristobulus, having collected a very considerable body of followers, made a resolution to put every Roman who should fall into his power to immediate death. Being sensible of his danger, and that the sedition encreased, Gabinius employed his interest with Antipater to effect an accommodation. But Alexander being naturally disposed to martial exploits, and having an army of thirty thousand men, rejected the proposals. The armies joined battle in the neighbourhood of the mountain of Itabyr. The Romans obtained a complete victory, and left ten thousand of the enemy slain in the field. Alexander and his remaining troops escaped. After this victory, Gabinius, in compliance with the advice of Antipater, marched to Jerusalem, in order to introduce a republican government. He afterwards led his forces against the Nabatheans, whom he engaged, and subdued; and he dispossessed two Parthian defectors, named Mithridates and Orfanes, circulating a report that they had effected an escape.

The government of Syria devolved from Gabinius to Crassus, who, in order to defray the expences of the Parthian war, despoiled the temple of the two thousand talents which Pompey had generously declined to seize, and of all the gold contained in the building; and he then passed the Euphrates. The particulars of his defeat and death will come with more propriety hereafter.

Cassius succeeded Crassus in the government of Syria, and intercepted the Parthians, who were preparing to make an incursion into that country. He led an army into Judea; subdued Tarichæa, and took with him from the conquered town near three thousand Jewish captives; and among them was Pitholus, whom Antipater prevailed upon him to put to death for having espoused the cause of Aristobulus. Cypris*, the wife of Antipater, was an illustrious Arabian; she bore to him the four following sons: Phraele, king Herod, Joseph, and Pheroas; and a daughter called Salome. The liberal sentiments and wise conduct of Antipater, obtained him an high reputation among the most eminent characters of his age, and the particular friendship of the Arabian king, to whom he committed the care of his children, when he engaged in the war against Aristobulus. Having concluded a truce with Alexander, Cassius marched in order to occupy his former station near the Euphrates, and repulse the Parthians, in case of their attempting to make an incursion.

* In the Antiq. Cypron.
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C H A P. VII.

Caesar restores Aristobulus to freedom; soon after which he is imprisoned by the friends of Pompey. His remains conveyed to Judea. The death of Alexander. The marriage of Philippon with Alexandra. Antipater joins Mithridates in besieging Pelusium. Mithridates being in the most imminent danger, is rescued by Antipater. The possession of the pontificate confirmed to Hyrcanus.

Pompey, and the senate having departed from Rome, and in a dejection pulled the Ionian sea, Caesar was left to the absolute government of the place: he immediately restored Aristobulus to freedom, and sent him into Syria, attended by two companies of soldiers; firmly believing that the people would readily surrender to him. But this was too flattering an expectation; for Aristobulus fell a sacrifice to poison, which was administered to him by the friends of Pompey. His body was embalmed, but remained some time unburied: Anthony, however, caused his remains to be conveyed to Judea, and to be deposited in the royal sepulchre. The fate of Alexander was not less deplorable than that of his father. Pompey, having sentenced Alexander to death for seditious practices against the Romans, transmitted orders to Scipio to behead the youth at Antioch.

Ptolemy, the son of Mennæus, and the prince of Chalcis, which is situated on mount Libanus, dispatched his son Philippon to Askalon, commissioning him to request that the widow of Aristobulus would lend by him Antigonus and his sisters. Philippon became enamoured with, and espoused Alexandra, the younger sister. This conduct of Philippon greatly incensed his father, who therefore caused him to be put to death: and he soon afterwards married his widow. The tenderness of Ptolemy towards Antigonus and his sisters was considerably encreased by this alliance.

Upon the decease of Pompey, Antipater fought to ingratiate himself into the esteem of Caesar. Mithridates, a Pergamenian, who had meditated an expedition in Ægypt, finding his progress impeded by means of his ships being denied at passage at Pelusium, remained with his army at Askalon; and, though a stranger, he had the address to gain over the Arabians to his side, and to prevail upon about three thousand Jews to take up arms and join his troops. He attached to his interest Ptolemy of Libanus, another personage named Ptolemy, Jamblichus, and many other Syrians of great consideration; and the example of these distinguished people was followed by great numbers of their countrymen. The power of Mithridates being so considerably encreased by the affiance he had received from Antipater and other quarters, he marched against Pelusium; and being opposed by the inhabitants, he besieged the city. In this action Antipater acquired additional reputation; for a breach being made by the troops under his command, he first entered the town, and was followed by his people.

After

Vide Antiq. l. 14. c. 13, 14, 15.
After the reduction of Pelusium, the Jews inhabiting that province of Ægypt, called Onias, resolved to oppose Mithridates: but Antipater prevail’d upon them to decline their intentions, and even to furnish provisions for the army. The example of the people of Onias was followed by those of Memphis, who voluntarily surrendered to Mithridates. Having marched without interruption to Delta, Mithridates and Antipater encountered a body of Ægyptians at a place called the camp of the Jews. Mithridates commanded the right wing of the army, and Antipater the left. The former being in the most imminent danger of a defeat, Antipater, having routed that part of the enemy’s army which he had engaged, hastened along the bank of the river to the rescue of his friend, many of whose pursuers he put to death, and chased the rest to their camp, which he riddled of a considerable booty. In this exploit Antipater lost only eighty men: but eight hundred of Mithridates’s party were slain; and it was beyond all expectation that he himself escaped. Mithridates transmitted an account to the emperor, gratefully acknowledging the very important services rendered him by Antipater; and Cæsar expressed his deep sense of obligation to the victorious hero, who was thereby more zealously attached to his interest, and the marks of the wounds he had received bore an honourable testimony of his willingness to hazard his life in the service of so illustrious a matter. The war in Ægypt being concluded, Cæsar returned into Syria; and he made Antipater a free citizen of Rome, allowing him all the privileges annexed to that character, and conferring upon him other signal honours; and as a farther instance of the sincerity of his esteem, he confirmed Hyrcanus, the friend of Antipater, in the pontifical dignity.

CHAP. VIII.

The friends of Pompey accused as being the authors of the death of Aristeobulus. Cæsar creates Hyrcanus high-priest, and promotes Antipater to the government of Judea. Antipater rebuilds the walls destroyed by Pompey, and exhorts the people to observe due submission to Hyrcanus. Herod makes a prisoner of Hezokias, the leader of the banditti. The envy of Hyrcanus towards the sons of Antipater. The command of the troops in Syria and Samaria given to Herod; who, in revenge for the injuries received from Hyrcanus, resolves to depose him: but the expostulations of his father and brother prevail upon him to relinquish that design. Cæcilius Bassus causes Sextus Cæsar to be murdered, and the officers of Julius Cæsar, being joined by the sons of Antipater, seek revenge. The government of Sextus desolves to Marcus.

ANTIGONUS, the son of the deceased Aristobulus, appealed to Cæsar, representing that his father had been poisoned by the contrivance of the friends of Pompey; in a file of the most bitter invective accusing Hyrcanus and Antipater as the cause of himself and his brethren being cruelly driven from their native country; and charging them with having oppressed the public for the sake of indulging their private passions and desires. He asserted that the assistance they had rendered Cæsar proceeded from fear rather

* Vide Antiq. l. 24. c. 15, 16, 17.
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rather than respect, and a proper sense of their duty, and was only meant to make some compensation for their former attachment to Pompey. To obviate the intended effect of these reproaches, Antipater exposed his wounds, as the best testimony of loyalty to Caesar. "It is a matter of atoniment (said "Antipater) that this man, the son of a declared enemy to the state of Rome, "and inheriting the rebellious principles of his father, should have the ef- "fionry thus to accuse the most zealous of Caesar's subjects; and to arro-
"gate a merit to himself, when his conduct has rendered him deserving of "death."

Caesar, having heard them both, immediately conferred the pontificate upon Hyrcanus, deeming him in every respect qualified to assume that dignity: and at the same time he desired Antipater to mention any commission he wished to enjoy, and it should be granted. Antipater submitted the matter entirely to the pleasure of Caesar; who appointed him to the government of Judaea, and as a farther instance of his favour, granted him permission to re-
pair the walls, which had been destroyed by Pompey. Caesar ordered these de-
crees to be engraved on brass and placed in the capitol, in testimony of the
 glorious services of Antipater, and of the honourable recompense he ob-
tained.

Having accompanied Caesar to the frontiers of Syria, Antipater returned to Judaea, and immediately undertook a general repairation of the walls: and he visited the several parts of the province, in order, by threats and perfu-
sions, to establifh the public tranquillity. He informed the people, that if they observed a due obedience to Hyrcanus, they should enjoy plenty and happiness: but, that if they fought to gratify their private interests at the expense of the public, he would himself prove a rigid governor, and they would find in the person of Hyrcanus, instead of a gracious and mild prince, a cruel and unrelenting tyrant.

Though Antipater, for political reasons exacted great deference to Hyrcanus, he was conscious of his incapacity to discharge the duties of his office, and determined to take every necessary precaution against the probable ill consequences thereof. He advanced Phaæel, his eldest son, who was captain of the guards, to the government of Jerusalem, and the whole of that province: and to the government of Galilee he appointed Herod, his second son; who, though at an early period of life, discovered himself to be equal to great undertakings. Herod made prisoner of Hezekias, the leader of a considerable band of robbers, who had committed great depredations in Syria, and caused him and many of his followers to be put to death. This enterprize obtained Herod a very distinguished share of reputation; and the Syrians in general celebrated him as the man to whom they were indebted for the secure and happy enjoyment of their lives, liberties, and possessions. The heroic exploit of Herod made him known to Sextus Caesar, cousin to Caesar the great, who at that time held the government of Syria; and the fame of his achievement inspired Phaæel with the generous idea of emulating the conduct of his brother. Phaæel was so moderate in the exercise of power over the people of Jerusalem, and so strictly observant of the principles of

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justice,
justice, that he gained universal approbation. The glory of the sons greatly
increased that of the father, who experienced as high a degree of veneration
as he could have done had he actually been the sovereign of the Jews;
and this wise administrator, so far from being transported beyond the bounds
of moderation by his great success, still preferred his fidelity and respect to-
wards Hyrcanus.

That exalted characters are never secure from the malignant shafts of envy
will be found exemplified in the following instance. Hyrcanus had long en-
tertained a secret enmity against the sons of Antipater, on account of their
great and well-deserved reputation; and his prejudice was increased by the
court-parasites, to whom superior virtue is ever an object of detestation.
They insinuated to him that the brothers acted as sovereigns rather than as
subjects; declaring that Herod had committed a daring violation against the
Jewish law, by putting several persons to death without the authority of Hyr-
canus; and urging that he ought to be rendered amenable to justice for the
iniquities he had committed. These suggestions so powerfully operated up-
on Hyrcanus that he ordered Herod to be summoned to appear before the
council. By the advice of his father, Herod secured his garrisons in Galilee,
and proceeded to obey the mandate; and unwilling to give offence to Hyr-
canus, he was attended only by such a company of soldiers as he deemed
necessary for his personal safety. Sextus Cæsar having conceived a great ef-
teen for Herod, was much concerned, lest, when in the power of his ene-
mies, some fatal event might happen to him; and he therefore applied to
Hyrcanus, requesting that he would dismiss the complaint exhibited against
the youth; and this desire was readily granted. Herod did not consider him-
sel to be in a state of perfect security, conceiving that Hyrcanus had done a
violence to his inclination in acquitting him: he therefore determined not to
appear if he should be a second time summoned, and in this disposition re-
paired to Sextus, who then resided at Damascus. The enemies of Herod en-
deavoured to revive the enmity of Hyrcanus, by representing that the youth
had departed in anger, and had resolved upon some desperate means of re-
venge. Hyrcanus was greatly embarrassed at the idea of having so formidable
an enemy; but upon receiving information that Sextus had appointed
Herod to the command of his troops in Syria and Samaria, his terror en-
creased to so high a degree that he was continually tortured by the imagina-
tion that his adversary was leading an army to depose him. In this conjec-
ture he was not deceived; for, violently enraged at having been treated as a
criminal, Herod collected an army, and proceeded towards Jerusalem in a
resolution to deprive Hyrcanus of the government; and this enterprise he
would indisputably have effected, had he not yielded to the diffusions of his
father and brother. They urged him to “offer no violence to the king, to whose
favour and countenance he was indebted for the dignified station he en-
joyed. They said his indignation at being accused, should, in a great
measure, be appeased by the circumstance of his acquittal; that if he prided
himself in his power, he should consider that the measure he was about to
pursue was wholly unprofitable; that the protection of the Almighty could
not be expected by the man who had revolted against his legal sovereign; that
THE WARS OF THE JEWS.

"that the prince he meant to oppose was his sincere friend and generous " benefactor, and one who had in no instance wronged him, except when ir- "ritated by the injurious suggestions of his enemies." Hereupon Herod re- pressed his indignation, and waved the design of proceeding to hostilities. A civil war between the Romans broke out at this period in the neighbour- hood of Apania; during which Caecilius Bassus, with a view to gratify Pomp- pey, treacherously caused Sextus Caesar to be put to death, and then assumed the command of his troops. In revenge for the murder of Sextus, the party attached to Julius Caesar opposed Bassus with their utmost power: and from a veneration towards the surviving Caesar, and the memory of the de- ceased, Antipater dispatched considerable succours to the avengers of the murderers of Sextus, under the command of his sons. Marcus* was com- manded to depart from Italy in order to succeed to the government of Sextus.

CHAP. IX.

Julius Caesar murdered in the capitol; the terrible disorders consequent on that event. The oppression of Cassius. The treachery of Malicibus. Caesar and Antony in a state of hostility with Brutus and Cassius. Herod promoted to the government of Syria. Malicibus causes Antipater to be poisoned. Herod revenges the death of his father.

The civil dissensions among the Romans† was followed by a still more terrible war. In the seventh month of the third year of his reign, Cassius and Brutus murdered Caesar in the capitol; and his death was followed by the most shocking contentions and disorders among the subjects of the Roman empire. The people were divided into factions; and, regardless of the public welfare, they acted according to their respective interests and passions. Cassius went into Syria, and took the command of the troops employed in besieging Apania: having attached Marcus‡ and Bassus, and some male-contented cohorts to his interest, he raised the siege, and then imposed most enormous taxes upon the cities: he also subjected the Jews to a contribution of seven hundred talents. Antipater appointed his sons and his particular friends to provide for the tax upon the Jews; and the pressing exigency of public affairs induced him to join Malicibus, his proffered enemy, in the commission. The first sum, amounting to an hundred talents, was collected by Herod in Galilee, and his expedition in the business obtained him great favour with Cassius; who was so exasperated by the delay of the other agents, that he entirely destroyed Gophnall, Thamna and two other cities of equal consideration: and he formed a design of punishing the neglect of Malicibus by putting him to death: but his rage was appeased by Antipater, who pre- sented him with an hundred talents.

Notwithstanding Malicibus had repeatedly acknowledged himself indebted to Antipater for the preservation of his life; no sooner had Cassius departed than he contrived measures for the destruction of his generous benefactor, whom

* Cassiusbon says Marcus, Exer. 1. An. DCCVI.
† Velle Ant. i. 14. c. 17, 18, 19, 20.
‡ Al. Marcus.
§ Ammaus. Jos.
whom he considered as the only obstacle to his ambitious views. Antipater knowing him to be a man of an artful and disingenuous temper, entertained a suspicion of his designs, and therefore passed the Jordan, and assembled a body of troops, that he might oppose his measures. Perceiving that Antipater suspected his designs, Malichus employed every plausible means for ingratiating himself into the esteem of Phasael and Herod, the former of whom was governor of Jerusalem, and the latter captain of the guards. He had the address to persuade them that he had never entertained even the most distant thought of injuring their father, who they prevailed upon to consent to a reconciliation; they also negotiated a compromise with Marcus*, governor of Syria, who had resolved to put Malichus to death on account of his factious disposition. Cæsar and Anthony being now at war with Brutus and Cassius, and the latter as well as Marcus being sensible of the great qualities of Herod, they nominated him to the government of Syria, and appointed him a strong body guard of horse and foot; promising that upon the conclusion of the war they would promote him to the sovereignty of the Jews. The merit of Herod however, proved the cause of his father’s death: for Malichus, in order to free himself from the dangers by which he supposed himself to be surrounded, bribed the butler of Hyrcanus to mix a poison with Antipater’s drink. Hyrcanus was advanced to the throne through the means of Antipater, who was a man of consummate wisdom, and undaunted resolution. The multitude were exasperated to the highest degree of extravagance against Malichus, suspecting him to have procured the death of the man to whom he was under innumerable obligations: but they were somewhat appeased upon his making the most solemn declaration of being perfectly innocent of the execrable crime alleged against him. Malichus assembled troops, and put himself into a condition of making a defence, apprehending that Phasael and Herod would seek revenge for the death of their father. Herod was desirous of wreaking instant vengeance upon the abominable traitor: but his brother diffusing him from that measure from an unwillingness to disturb the public peace, they permitted him to make a defence, and assumed the appearance of being perfectly satisfied of his innocence. After this they proceeded to the interment of their father, whose funeral solemnities were conducted with great magnificence.

Herod now went to Samaria in order to quell the disturbances which prevailed in that country: but on all solemn days he continued to repair to Jerusalem, being attended by his guards, Malichus being under great apprehension from Herod, prevailed upon Hyrcanus to expostulate with him on the impropriety of being attended by strangers, by whom the holy religion was profaned and the people interrupted in their devotional exercises. Herod treated the matter complained of by Hyrcanus with contempt, and by night gained admission to the city. Malichus went to him pretending to be excessively afflicted at the fate of Antipater; and Herod, dissembling his rage, appeared to believe him sincere. Herod wrote to Cassius, demanding justice upon the murderer of his father; and as Cassius already entertained an enmity against Malichus, he readily consented that Herod should seek revenge.

* Al. Marcus.
In revenge for the death of Malichus, Felix declares war against the brothers. Marion, king of the Tyrians, after being expelled Galilee, is joined by Antigonus; and they march to oppose Herod. Several accusations against the brothers; but the design of the plaintiffs is defeated. Anthony appoints Phaæel and Herod tetrarchs of Judæa.

After the departure of Cassius from Syria*, fresh troubles took place in Jerusalem. In revenge for the death of Malichus, Felix commenced hostilities against Phaæel and Herod. Herod was at that time at Damascus with Fabius, the governor; and an indisposition rendered him incapable of leading his troops to join his brother. Phaæel, however, was in no want of reinforcements; for, with his own forces, he subdued the enemy. He reproached Hyrcanus in the most spirited terms for his ingratitude in espousing the cause of Felix, and giving the brother of Malichus

* Vide Ant. l. 14. c. 20, 21, 22, 23.

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possession of Maffada, the strongest fort in the country; besides several other castles. Upon the recovery of Herod, he marched against the enemy, retook the places that had been conquered, and humbled Hyrcanus upon his knees: but fought no further revenge for his treacherous behaviour. He recovered three castles that had been taken by Marion, king of the Tyrians, and drove that monarch out of Galilee. He shewed great lenity to the Tyrians whom he made prisoners, by sparing their lives, and many of them he gratified with presents; and by these means he made them friends to his cause. Marion, like the other persons promoted by Cassius, exerted an unbounded oppression in Syria. Marion marched against Herod, taking with him, on account of their being enemies to his adversary, Antigonus, the son of Ari- tombulus, and Fabius, whom Antigonus had bribed to engage in his service: they were supplied with provisions and other necessaries by Ptolemy, father-in-law to Antigonus.

The armies engaged upon the borders of Judæa; and, having defeated the enemy, Herod returned in triumph to Jerusalem, where he was received with the greatest acclamations of joy; and those persons who had been enemies to him, on account of his relationship to Hyrcanus, now fought to cultivate his friendship with the greatest affiduity. Herod had been married to a woman of noble birth of his own country, named Doris, who bore to him Antipater; he afterwards espoused Mariamne, daughter of Alexander, who was son of Ariobulus and Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus; and hence the relation of Herod to the king.

After the decease of Cassius at the battle of Philippi, Cæsar repaired into Italy, and Anthony into Asia; and ambassadors from divers places, and several of the principal people among the Jews, came to the latter at Bithynia, and exhibited violent complaints against the brothers, whom they accused of having usurped, and arbitrarily exercised, the sovereign authority, leaving Hyrcanus only the name of king. To obviate the effect of these accusations, Herod presented Anthony with a very considerable sum of money, which had so powerful an effect that no regard was paid to the complainants. About the time when his amour commenced with Cleopatra, an hundred Jews, distinguished by their rank and abilities, repaired in a body to Anthony, who was then at Daphnis in the suburbs of Antioch, in order to repeat the charges against the brothers; and the most eloquent speakers among them were appointed to urge the complaints. The defence was undertaken by Meffala and Hyrcanus, the latter being induced to plead on account of his relationship to the parties accused. Having heard the cause, Anthony demanded of Hyrcanus, whom he considered as the most perfectly qualified for public administration: and he replied, that he knew no persons so capable of government as Phasael and Herod. This declaration proved highly satisfactory to Anthony, who still held in grateful recollection the friendly reception and liberal entertainment he had experienced from Antipater, whose sons he now constituted tetrarchs of Judæa, investing them with the full powers of administration.

The decision in favour of the brothers occasioned the deputies to express great dissatisfaction, which proving highly offensive to Anthony, he ordered fifteen
fifteen of them to prison; and they were in imminent danger of being put to death. He treated their companions with great severity, and then suffered them to depart. Hereupon the male-contents of Jerusalem were exasperated to the last degree; and they now dispatched a thousand deputies to Anthony, who was then at Tyre, making preparations to march to Jerusalem. These people were so outrageous that Anthony commanded the magistrates of the city to disperse them, and put such as attempted resistance to instant death; and in every respect to maintain the authority of the tetrarchs he had established. Herod and Hyrcanus went to the deputies while they were walking before the port, and in a friendly manner expostulated with them on the dangerous tendency of their conduct, and exhorted them to moderation, left the ruin of themselves and their whole nation should ensue. In proportion to the lenity shewn them, their insolence increased; and Anthony being under the necessity of reducing them to order by the force of arms, many were slain. Hyrcanus ordered the necessary care to be taken of the wounded, and the dead to be interred: but this goodness had no effect upon those who escaped; for they continued their outrageous proceedings till Anthony was provoked to pronounce the sentence of death upon all his prisoners.

C H A P. XI.

A treaty for dethroning Hyrcanus and establishing Antigonus in the regency. Antigonus is joined by the Jews of mount Carmel, who defeat and pursue the enemy to Jerusalem. Antigonus proposes a reconciliation. The perfidy of Pacorus, and of Barzapharnes. The Parthians make prisoners of Phaefal and Hyrcanus. Herod escapes to Mossada; and after vanquishing the enemy, proceeds to Petra. The Parthians commit great devastation in Jerusalem and the adjacent country. Phaefal and Hyrcanus surrendered to Antigonus, who tears Hyrcanus's ears with his teeth. The king of Arabia commands Herod to evacuate his dominions. Cleopatra gives Herod an honourable and magnificent reception at Alexandria. Herod goes to Rome, and is declared king of the Jews.

ABOUT two years after this, when Syria was under the government of one of the principal of the Parthian nobility, named Barzapharnes *, jointly with Pacorus, the king's son, Lyfanius, who succeeded his father Ptolemy, the son of Mennean, engaged to deliver to them five hundred women, and pay them a thousand talents, in consideration of their depositing Hyrcanus and advancing Antigonus to the throne. They readily accepted the proposal; and Pacorus directed his march by the way of the seacoast, while Barzapharnes proceeded through the inland country. The people of Ptolemais and Sidon admitted Pacorus into their cities, but the Lyrians resolutely denied him reception. He sent before him a troop of cavalry, commanded by the king's butler, who, as well as the prince, was named Pacorus; and the business of this officer was to reconnoitre the country, observe

serve the operations of the enemy, and if occasion should require it, to reinforce Antigonus.

The Jews inhabiting mount Carmel voluntarily declared themselves disposed to affright Antigonus; and he commanded them to gain possession of that part of the country called Dryma. They proceeded to an engagement, and put the enemy to flight; after which, upon their forces being considerably encreased, they marched to Jerusalem, where they were courageously opposed by Hyrcanus and Phaæbel, who, after an obstinate battle in the market-place, obliged them to retreat into the temple. Hereupon, Herod stationed a guard of sixty men in the adjacent buildings; but the populace, from their implacable enmity to the brothers, set fire to the houses. This event so greatly exasperated Herod, that he made a sudden and furious attack upon the enemy, great numbers of whom he put to the sword; and not a day elapsed without a skirmish and slaughter. The time for celebrating the festival now approaching, such multitudes assembled from all parts of the country, that all quarters of the city, and even the avenues of the temple, were crowded with people, most of whom were provided with weapons of defence. Phaæbel undertook to defend the walls, while Herod, with but a small number of troops, guarded the palace. Herod attacked the people in the suburbs by surprize, and pursued the assault with so much vigour that many were slain, and the rest put to flight, some taking refuge in the city, some in the temple, and others behind an adjacent rampart.

Matters being arrived to this extremity, Antigonus offered terms for a reconciliation, and that Pacorus, the king's officer already mentioned, should be constituted umpire. Phaæbel accepted the proposition, and admitted Pacorus, with a troop of five hundred cavalry into the city. The treacherous Parthian, concealing his design of rendering service to Antigonus, under the pretext of suppressing the insurrection, prevailed upon Phaæbel to dispatch an embassy to Barzapharnes, respecting the re-establishment of the public peace. Herod was wholly averse to this measure; and he repeatedly exhorted his brother against negociating with, or reposing confidence in, the barbarians, whose dispositions were treacherous by nature; and he urged his brother to put Pacorus to death, instead of suffering himself to be made the dupe to the scheme of destruction which the insinuating traitor was preparing. To avoid the suspicion of Phaæbel, and give an appearance of plausibility to his design, Pacorus with Hyrcanus followed Phaæbel out of the city, where Herod was left with some of the people called freemen by the barbarians.

Upon their arrival in Galilee they found a division prevailing among the people, who had taken up arms; but the governors, however, gave them the meeting: by flattery and pretends Barzapharnes had the address to disguise his treachery: but he had stationed a party of troops to surprize them on the road they were to pursue after parting with him. They were conducted to a place called Leucipon, situated near the sea, where they were informed that the Parthians had engaged to betray them, in consequence of Antigonus having promised a gratuity of a thousand talents, several women belonging to these unfortunate people, and others, amounting in the whole
whole to five hundred; and that the treacherous design would not have been so long deferred but from an apprehension that it would be entirely frustrated if they attempted to put it in practice previous to the arrival of Herod at Jerusalem. The truth of this relation was proved by the appearance of the guards.

A Syrian named Saramalla, the most wealthy man of his country, having related the whole scheme of treachery to Ophelius, he communicated the particulars to Phasacl, urging him to provide for his own safety: but refusing, on any consideration, to desert Hyrcanus, he sought Barzapharnes, whom he violently upbraided with treachery, saying it was in his power to give a more considerable sum for his life than Antigonus had offered for the kingdom. Hereupon Barzapharnes denied the guilt imputed to him with shocking imprecations; and then went in search of Pacorus. Upon the departure of Barzapharnes, Phasacl and Hyrcanus were taken into custody by the Parthian guards.

According to the directions of Barzapharnes, Pacorus endeavoured to entice Herod out of the town, and make him prisoner; but Herod being aware of the treachery of the barbarians, frustrated the design. He had received information that his brother was taken into custody, and imagined that he had written an account of what had befallen him, but that the letters had been intercepted. Mariamne, daughter of Hyrcanus, esteemed one of the wisest women of her time, exhorted him against exposing himself to the evidently treacherous designs of the barbarians. Pacorus advised him to go forth, saying that on the way he would meet his letters, by which he would be convinced that his brother enjoyed his liberty, and that he had not experienced a breach of faith. The several stratagems that Pacorus had put into practice having failed of success, he employed himself in devising other means for getting Herod into his power: but, in the interim, wholly unsuspected by the enemy, Herod, with some of his nearest relations, escaped by night, and directed their course towards Idumæa. Upon gaining intelligence of his escape, the Parthians pursued him; and having sent forward his mother, brother, and Mariamne, to whom he was betrothed, and Mariamne's younger brother, Herod made preparations for opposing the enemy. Several engagements ensued, in which the Parthians were vanquished; and Herod afterwards retired to the castle of Mæladæ. He was now more harassed and annoyed by the Jews than he had been before by the Parthians: they attacked him at the distance of about sixty furlongs from Jerusalem, and an engagement took place, and after the enemy had sustained a great slaughter, victory decided in favour of Herod; who, to immortalize the honour of the enterprize, constructed a magnificent palace, and a castle of great strength on the spot, and, from his own name, he called the place Herodion.

When Herod was at Threffa* in Idumæa he was advised by his brother Joseph to dismiss a part of his followers, whom he judged to be too numerous to be entertained in the castle of Mæladæ, computing them to have en-

* Al. Reffia. Vite Antiq. 1. 14. c. 25. 48
creased to upwards of three thousand. Herod disposed of his relations and the most valuable of his followers in the castle, which he furnished with such provisions as he deemed would be necessary in case of a siege; he appointed eight hundred men as a guard to the women; and lessened the number of his followers by dismissing to Idumæa such as appeared likely to prove of the least service. He now proceeded towards a city in Arabia called Petra.

The Parthians at Jerusalem forcibly entered the habitations of those who were absent, and made booty of all the property they could find; they even feized the treasure of the royal palace: but they entirely spared that of Hyrcanus, which did not amount to three thousand talents. The spoil obtained by the barbarians was not so considerable as they expected; for Herod, being sensible of their rapacious disposition, had the precaution to remove his most valuable treasure to Idumæ; and this example was followed by his companions. After the plunder of the town, the Parthians proceeded to an outrageous and bloody war in the adjacent countries. They laid the city of Marilla in ruins; declared Antigonus king, and surrendered Phasael and Hyrcanus in bonds. Antigonus tore off the ears of Hyrcanus with his teeth, in order to disqualify him from assuming the high-priesthood; no blemished or maimed person being deemed eligible to the pontifical dignity.

Phasael escaped the vengeance of Hyrcanus; for though his hands were confined, he found means to deprive himself of life, which he effected by dashing his head against a stone: and by this resolute act he proved that he was not of the degenerate spirit that Hyrcanus possessed, but worthy to be called the brother of Herod. A report is circulated of Phasael that he repented having offered violence to himself, and that Antigonus sent to him a physician, who administered poison to his wounds. It is also related, that previous to his decease he was informed by a woman that his brother had escaped, wherupon he declared that he should die happy, since he should leave a friend who would revenge his injuries.

The Parthians were highly incensed against Antigonus on account of his incapacity to deliver the five hundred women, agreeable to the stipulation: the matter, however, was settled at Jerusalem, and Hyrcanus was sent in bonds to Parthia. Herod being ignorant of the death of his brother, judged that a sum of money was the only means by which he could redeem him from the power of the avaricious barbarians; and therefore he determined upon a journey in order to solicit pecuniary assistance from Malichus, the king of Arabia, resting his expectations of success on the ancient friendship that had subsisted between the Arabian and Antipater, his father, and proposing to resign the son of Phasael, aged only seven years, as a security: and the Tyrians joined in the request of Herod. But the unhappy fate of Phasael disappointed the laudable and generous intention of his brother; who considered his situation among the Parthians to be very precarious, since Malichus had commanded him to evacuate his dominions, on the pretext that the Parthians, by the agency of their ambassadors, had insinced on his being expelled the country: but the real cause of his ingratitude was a naturally illiberal and contracted mind, which would not permit him to acknowledge and acquit to the son the obligations he had incurred to the father. The people most
most esteemed by Malichus were of abandoned dispositions; and to their advice he paid the greatest deference.

Finding that those very circumstances which he expected to procure him the friendship of the Arabians had made them his enemies, he sent by the messengers a severe reply, and marched towards Egypt. In the evening he joined a number of his people at a castle where he had left them on his journey, and on the following day he arrived at Rinothura, where he received information of his brother's death, which proved exceedingly distressing. After paying a tribute of grief to the memory of his tenderly esteemed brother and friend, he continued his march.

Malichus being now touched with remorse for his barbarity, dispatched messengers to solicit the return of Herod: but as he had by this time reached Pelusium, the Arabian was sensible of his ingratitude too late to repair the injury. He was refused the liberty of taking shipping at Pelusium: but upon an application to the magistrates, they granted him permission of taking what course he approved; and he sailed for Alexandria. Cleopatra was at this time preparing for an important enterprise; and therefore, with a view to induce him to accept a military command, she gave him a most honourable and magnificent reception upon his entrance into the city. Herod, however, was so desirous of proceeding to Rome, that the earnest entreaties of the queen, the extremity of the season, and the danger of the seas, were not sufficient to change his purpose. He embarked, and directed his course by the way of Pamphylia. During the voyage it was judged necessary, for the preservation of the vessel, to cast the cargo into the sea: however after encountering great difficulties, Herod landed at Rhodes, where he found public affairs in a very embarrassed state, on account of the war then prevailing with Cassius. He was received in a generous manner by two friends, named Saphinias and Ptolemy: and though he was distressed for money, he procured a strong vessel to convey him to Brundusium, whence he proceeded to Rome. Upon his arrival at Rome, he repaired to Anthony, hoping assistance from him on account of the friendly manner in which he had lived with Antipater: he related to him an account of his friends and relations being besieged in the castle of Maffada, with the whole of the adventures of himself and his family; saying that he had undertaken a dangerous voyage in the extremity of winter for the purpose of paying his respects to, and supplicating the countenance of, the ancient friend of his father. A regard to the memory of Antipater, and a conscientiousness of Herod's worthinesses, determined Anthony, who had formerly constituted him tetrarch, now to relieve his great afflictions by promoting him to the sovereignty of the Jews; and to this resolution he was in some degree influenced by the aversion he entertained against Antigonus, whom he considered as a man of a violent and sedulous temper, and one disaffected to the state of Rome. Notwithstanding the generosity of Anthony, Augustus proved a still more active patron to Herod: in all conversation he dwelt with peculiar pleasure on the exploits and great services of Antipater in Egypt, the friendship that had subsisted between him and Cesar, and the courage, integrity, and amiable disposition of Herod.
A senate being assembled, at which Herod was present, Masada, and after him, Stratinus, expatiated on the great qualities of Antipater, commending his steady adherence to the interests of the Romans: and they represented Antigonus as a professed enemy to the state of Rome, in contempt of which he had even consented to accept the crown from the Parthians. These discourses greatly irritated the senate against Antigonus; and Anthony declared that, on account of the war with the Parthians, it would be highly advantageous to appoint Herod king of the Jews. He was by an unanimous voice, promoted to the sovereignty. Upon the rising of the senate, the consuls and other magistrates first departed to give orders respecting sacrifices, and deposit the decrees of the senate in the capitol. Herod went forth being attended by Cæsar on one side of him, and by Anthony on the other. Herod concluded the first day of his reign at a superb entertainment provided by Anthony.

CHAP. XII.

Masada besieged by Antigonus, and defended by Joseph. Herod joined by Ventidius and Silo. Joppa subdued and Masada relieved by Herod; who proceeds to Jerusalem, but is compelled to retreat. Herod quells a dangerous insurrection. Sephoris being deserted by the inhabitants, he takes possession of that city, and then conquers and plunders Jericho. He disperses the robbers, and then returns to Samaria. A terrible massacre of the Jews by Machærus. Somofata surrendered to Anthony.

During the above transactions at Rome*, Antigonus laid siege to the castle of Masada, where the people had a sufficient supply of all necessaries, excepting water, the want of which put them to such extremity, that Joseph, the brother of Herod, conceived a design of privately retreating from the castle by night, in company with two hundred of his most particular friends, in order to request the assistance of Malichus, who had learnt repented his injurious treatment to Herod. When he was on the point of deserting the castle, abundance of rain descended, and replenished the reservoirs, cisterns and other vessels, and rendered his removal no longer necessary. Upon being thus seasonably relieved, the troops proceeded to make frequent sallies upon the besiegers, whom they sometimes openly opposed by day, and at other times surprized under favour of the night. In these actions they put a great number of the enemy to death; but they did not always escape without considerable injury to themselves.

In the interim, a Roman general, named Ventidius, being dispatched to chase the Parthians out of Syria, entered Judæa under the pretence of affording relief to Masada: but his real motive was to make booty of the treasure of Antigonus. After having considerably enriched himself, he departed from Jerusalem, in order to quell the tumults raised in several cities by the Parthians, leaving Silo with a small party of troops for the purpose of concealing his deception, for he was apprehensive, that by withdrawing the whole army,
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army, he should incur the charge of having been influenced by motives of
avarice. Upon the departure of Ventidius, Antigonus entertained hopes that
he should still receive succour from the Parthians; and he bribed Silo not to
oppose his measures.

Herod, having now repaired from Rome to Ptolemais, collected a formi-
dable army composed of people of his own country and strangers. At the
instance of Anthony, Delleius prevailed upon Ventidius and Silo to join He-
rod; and thus reinforced, he marched into Galilee to oppose Antigonus.
During his march, he was daily joined by great numbers of people, and al-
most the whole number of inhabitants attached themselves to his party. The
first enterprise he resolved to attempt was to relieve his relations and friends,
who were besieged in Massada: but previous to this he deemed it necessary to
reduce Joppa, as he could not safely march towards Jerusalem while the force
of that city remained behind him. Silo at this time availed himself of an
opportunity of abandoning Herod, and being pursued by the Jews of Anti-
gonus's party, Herod, at the head of a small number of troops, engaged and
vanquished them; and after a faint resistance, brought Silo away.

Having subdued Joppa, Herod hastened to the relief of Massada, and his
army was strengthened by the people of the country; some joining him from
a regard to the memory of his father, some on his own account, others from
the obligations they owed jointly to the father and son, and a still greater
number from the expectation of advancing their fame and fortune. Antigo-
nus stationed ambuses, and pursued other measures, though with little suc-
cess, to intercept the march of Herod, who was now at the head of a very
formidable army. The siege of Massada was, at length, raised without much
difficulty to Herod, who, after relieving his friends, and getting his effects
from the castle, proceeded towards Jerusalem, where many of Silo's fol-
lowers, and of the inhabitants of that great city, submitted to his authority.

Herod encamped his troops on the west side of the town, and the enemy
made frequent fallies against him, and greatly annoyed his troops with their
darts and arrows. He caused a herald to make a proclamation round the
walls of the city, setting forth that he had no view in the present expedition
but the security of the city, and the general welfare of the people; and pro-
posing an act of amnesty to his enemies of every denomination whatever.
Antigonus adopted every probable means for preventing the declaration of
the herald from being heard by the multitude: at length he gave orders for
battle, and the soldiers stationed in the towers discharged immense numbers
of lances and darts, and repulsed the assailants.

The corruption of Silo now became indisputably evident: the soldiers
loudly complained of wanting provisions and money; that the country had
been ravaged by Antigonus; and that they were destitute of winter quarters.
Public affairs bore so threatening an aspect that Herod judged it prudent to
apply to Silo's officers, and to the common soldiers, with a view to prevent a
revolt. He represented to them that he had received his commission from
Caesar, Anthony, and the senate; and requested that they would patiently
wait one day, on which condition all their demands should be satisfied. He

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gave
gave orders for supplies of provisions, which were immediately sent to the
people in great abundance; and Silo was, therefore, left without farther
cause of complaint. Herod, in order to guard against a scarcity in future,
 wrote for cattle, corn, oil, wine, and other necessaries to be conveyed from
Samaria, which was then under his protection. Antigonus dispersed troops
in ambushes among the passes of the mountains, in order to intercept the con-
veyance of provision to Herod’s army.

In the interim, Herod, with five companies of Romans, five of Jews, and a
small party of horse, proceeded towards Jericho. He found the city entirely a-
bandoned, and that five hundred of the inhabitants, with their wives and fa-
milies, had sought refuge among the mountains; and these people he took,
but afterwards let them free. After stationing a garrison in the town, and ap-
pointing the Roman troops to winter-quarters in Idumæa, Galilee, and Sa-
maria, Herod returned. Antigonus, by means of presents prevailed upon
Silo to permit a part of his army to be quartered in Lydda, imagining that he
should thereby obtain the favour of Anthony. The Romans were now happy
in the enjoyment of a state of perfect tranquility, and an abundance of all the
necessaries of life. But Herod, naturally averse to a state of inactivity, dis-
patched an army composed of four hundred cavalry, and two thousand in-
fantry, under the command of his brother Joseph, for the purpose of fortify-
ing Idumæa against any future attempt of Antigonus; and, after accompa-
nying his mother and other relations, whom he had rescued from the castle of
Maffada, to Samaria, he left them there in a state of security, and proceeded
to assail the garrisons that Antigonus possessed in the province of Galilee.
He arrived at Sepphoris during a great fall of snow, and the place being im-
mediately abandoned by the garrison, he took possession of it, and finding pro-
visions exceedingly plentiful, he remained there three months, during which
space he greatly refreshed his troops after the fatigues of the winter. He
now determined to exterminate the numerous banditti who took refuge in the
caverns, and by frequent incursions committed greater devastation than the
country would have sustained from an open war. He dispatched a body of
horse and three companies of foot to Arbela, to which place, at the end of
forty days, Herod went in person at the head of the remaining part of his
army. The robbers collected themselves into a body, and repoling great con-
fidence in the military qualifications of their chief, with undaunted resolution
prepared for an engagement. The right wing of the banditti put the left wing
of Herod’s army to the rout: but at a seasonable moment he wheeled to the
relief of the troops who were in danger of a defeat, and the enemy were not
able to withstand his superior power; he pursued them to the Jordan, and in
their flight put great numbers to death; the rest escaped by crossing the river.
Thus was Galilee delivered from the robbers, but as some few of the frater-
nity still remained concealed in the caves, Herod did not quit the country im-
mediately.

That his soldiers might enjoy the first fruits of their services, he ordered
one hundred and fifty drachmas to be given to each private man, and pro-
portionate rewards to the officers: and he then ordered his troops into winter
quarters. He commissioned Pheroras, his youngest brother, to furnish pro-
visions,
visions, and to enclose Alexandriion with a wall; and his commands were obeyed with punctuality.

Ventidius sent advices to Herod and Silo, signifying, that when the affairs of Judæa should no longer require their presence, they should join Anthony, who was then at Athens, in the war against the Parthians. Though Herod could have retained Silo, he permitted him to depart; determining himself not to leave the province till he had cleared it of the robbers who still were concealed in the rocks. The caverns were situated among the crags of the most horrible precipices, and were only to be entered by the most intricate windings. The hiding-places appearing to be inaccessible, it was not without difficulty that the king resolved upon the means of executing his design. At length he adopted the following expedient: he caused strong cages or chests of wood to be formed, and a number of soldiers therein to be lowered from the top of the mountain to the entrances of the caverns where the robbers were sheltered; from these cages the soldiers, by means of their weapons and fire, put the thieves to death. Herod being desirous that some of the robbers should be faved, ordered a herald to make proclamation that the lives of those who surrendered should be preferred; but they all rejected the offer, and even those who were made prisoners, preferring death to the loss of liberty, put an end to their lives. The wife and seven sons of an aged man earnestly entreated his permission to surrender themselves to the enemy. Here upon he posted himself at the entrance of the cave, and, ordering them to follow each other out, as they appeared he put them to death. From an eminence Herod beheld this shocking scene, and being greatly affected, he endeavoured by signs and entreaties to divert the man from his purpose, but without effect; after he had slain his sons, he subjected his wife to the same fate, casting the bodies down the rock: he then upbraided Herod as being a man of an abject mind, and put a period to his existence.

Having driven the robbers from their retreat, Herod left a number of troops, under the command of Ptolemy, to prevent a revolt, and returned to Samaria. With an army of three thousand foot, armed with bucklers, and six hundred horse, Herod now marched against Antigonus. The insurgents of Galilee, taking advantage of Herod's absence, attacked Ptolemy by surprise, and put him to death; after which they committed great devastation in the country, and fled to the marshy grounds and other places for shelter. Upon gaining intelligence of these events, Herod marched against the rioters, put great numbers of them to the sword, relieved the castles which they had blocked up, and levied a fine of an hundred talents upon the cities.

The Parthians being vanquished in a great battle, wherein Pacorus was slain, Anthony commanded Ventidius to send a reinforcement to Herod of two legions and a thousand horse, under the command of Machærus. Antigonus wrote to Machærus an account of the indignities he had received from Herod, offering a large sum of money on condition of supporting him in the war: but in consideration of his being recommended to the opposite party, whom he judged would prove the more liberal benefactor, Machærus declined the proposal: and contrary to the advice of Herod, he determined to assume the appearance of friendship, and under the pretext of negotiating the
proposed treaty, to reconnoitre the state and disposition of Antigonus’s army. But Antigonus suspecting his design, refused him admittance to the city, and annoyed him with darts and arrows. Machaerus was so disconcerted by this repulse that he retreated to Amman, and in the violence of his rage put to death all the Jews he met with, regardless of their being either friends or enemies.

These barbarous outrages so exasperated Herod, that he determined to execute vengeance upon Machaerus, and treat him as a professed enemy: but upon reflection he deemed it most expedient to submit his complaint to Anthony. Upon the departure of Herod, being conscious of the enormity of his offence, Machaerus hastened after him, and by means of submissions and the most earnest entreaties effected a reconciliation. Herod, however, still held his resolution of going to Anthony; and learning that he was then with a powerful army engaged in the siege of Samothrace, a city of considerable strength, situated upon the Euphrates, he was induced to proceed with the greater expedition; for he considered this as a favourable opportunity of acquiring the friendship of Anthony by a seasonable display of his fidelity and resolution. The reduction of the place was accelerated by the arrival of Herod, who committed a great slaughter upon the barbarians; and a considerable portion of the spoil became his property. This instance of Herod’s attachment and intrepidity served greatly to increase the esteem that Anthony entertained towards him; and it acquired him great honour, and inspired the hope that he should be able firmly to establish himself in his government.

CHAP. XIII.

The death of Joseph. Great alterations in the state of public affairs, consequent on the success of Antigonus. Anthony appoints Sophus governor of Syria. Herod has a foreboding dream: and is three times miraculously delivered from the most imminent danger. In revenge for the death of his brother Joseph, Herod orders Pappus to be beheaded. Jerusalem subdued by assault. Antigonus sent bound to Anthony, and condemned to the loss of his head. The avaricious temper of Cleopatra.

During the above occurrences, an unhappy change took place in the affairs of Judæa, which country Herod had left under the government of his brother Joseph, with a strict injunction against attempting any enterprise against Antigonus; for on account of the former conduct of Machaerus, he entertained doubts of his fidelity, and was unwilling to afford him an opportunity of betraying Joseph. When his brother had departed, however, Joseph, regardless of the orders he had received, marched his own troops, and five companies of horse, provided by Machaerus, towards Jericho, in order to carry away the corn, which had then arrived to perfection. He encamped on the mountains, where he was attacked by the enemy, who having greatly the advantage in point of situation, cut off the five companies of Roman cavalry, who had been lately raised in Syria, there being among them

* Al. Emmaus.
† Vidi Ant. l. 14. c. 27. l. 15. c. 1, 5.
no veteran troops to make amends for their deficiency in point of discipline, skill and experience. In this action Joseph was slain by Pappus; he was esteemed a man of great courage, and other military qualifications.

Not satisfied with victory, the brutality of Antigonus's disposition urged him to inflit the body with blows, and to sever the head of the deceased Joseph, notwithstanding Pheroras offered fifty talents in consideration of the body of his brother being suffered to remain entire. The success of Antigonus produced a great change in the affairs of Galilee: the adherents of Antigonus drowned the most considerable people among the Herodians in the lake: and in Idumea there was also a considerable revolution; in that country Machærus rebuilt the walls and fortified the castle of Gath.

Herod was wholly ignorant of these events for some time. Upon the reduction of Samosata, Anthony appointed Sosius to the government of Syria, commanding him to support Herod in the war against Antigonus, and then directed his course towards Egypt. Having dispatched two companies to join Herod in Judæa, he followed with the rest of his troops. Herod being at a place called Daphne, in the suburbs of Antioch, he had a dream, which he understood to fore-bode the death of his brother: being affected by the vision, he leaped from his bed, and at that instant messengers entered his chamber, with news of the unhappy fate of Joseph. When the violence of his grief had in some measure subsided, he proceeded with incredible expedition to seek revenge upon the enemy. Attended by one Roman cohort, he arrived at mount Libanus, and thence taking eight hundred of the inhabitants, departed in the night, directing his march towards Galilee. He came up with the enemy, put them to flight, and obliged them to retire into a castle which they had quitted on the preceding day. He besieged the place, but was, at length, under the necessity, on account of the approach of winter, of sheltering his forces in an adjacent village. In a few days Herod's army was reinforced by another company from Anthony; and the arrival of these troops threw the garrison into so great a consternation, that, under favour of the night, they escaped from the castle.

Burning with impatience to avenge the death of Joseph, Herod now proceeded with all possible expedition towards Jericho, where he was so miraculously preserved from impending destruction that he must appear to have been an object of the peculiar care of Providence. He had given a supper to a number of persons of distinction, and the company had no sooner departed, and Herod retired, than the roof of the eating-room fell in. Considering this wonderful and auspicious escape as a cautionary presage, he marched away at an early hour in the morning. About fix thousand of the enemy descended from the mountains, and engaged in a skirmish with his vanguard; but dreading a close encounter with the Romans, they ventured only to affail them at a distance with stones and arrows, by which many were wounded, and as Herod himself was passing he received a hurt in his side by a random dart.

Antigonus being ambitious of the reputation of having a more numerous and courageous army than Herod, dispatched a body of troops, under the command of...
command of a man named Pappus, who was his intimate friend, in order to subdue Machærus. In the interim, Herod conquered five towns, committed great devastation in the enemy’s country, and put two thousand of the inhabitants to death; after which he returned to his army, which was encamped adjacent to the village of Cana. He was daily joined by great numbers of Jews from Jericho and other parts; many being influenced by a respect to Herod, others by an aversion to Antigonus, and some merely by the love of change. Herod was exceedingly anxious to proceed to battle; and the adverse army marched against him with great resolution; and such as were not opposed to the troops under the conduct of Herod, made a bold resistance; but wherever he engaged, the enemy were made fatally sensible of his great superiority, to such extraordinary activity and courage was he animated by the thirst of vengeance for the death of his brother. Where Herod observed the enemy in a body, he broke in upon them with surprizing fury, threw them into disorder and contantly put them to the rout. Pappus’s army was thrown into the most extreme confusion; great numbers sought refuge in the town they had before quitted, where being pursued by Herod, the buildings were instantly filled, and the roofs of them covered by the fugitives: the houses were destroyed, and those who escaped meeting their fate under the ruins were put to death by the sword. The slaughter was so great, that it was with much difficulty the victors were able to march over the heaps of dead bodies that covered all the streets and avenues of the place. On this occasion the people of the country experienced feelings terrible beyond all powers of description. Elated by this success, Herod would have led his victorious troops immediately to Jerusalem, had not that expedition been rendered impracticable by the rigour of the winter season; which was the only obstacle to his obtaining a compleat conquest, and effectually ruining Antigonus, who was at that time actually making preparations for abandoning the capital of the kingdom.

In the evening Herod dismissed his people in order to recruit their strength and spirits after the fatigue of the battle; and the king retired to refresh himself by bathing, attended only by one domestic. In his way to the bath he was met by three soldiers following each other, with drawn swords in their hands, who, upon perceiving the king, fled in the utmost consternation from the house where they had taken shelter. Happily the king was not molested by these people, whose whole attention was engrossed upon preserving their own lives, which they effected, there being no persons near to prevent their escape. On the following day Herod caufed the head of Pappus, Antigonus’s general, by whom Joseph had been slain, to be struck off; and he sent the head to Pheroras, with a view to afford him some degree of consolation for the common loss they had sustained in the death of their brother.

Upon the return of spring, Herod marched to Jerusalem, and deemed it expedient to assault the place in that quarter where Ptolemy had formerly made a successful attempt. This siege was commenced in the third year after he had been proclaimed king at Rome. He assigned the officers their respective stations and duties; nominated each man to a post in the suburbs; ordered three ramparts to be raised, and towers to be erected thereon. Having given the necessary
necessary commissions to persons in whose diligence and integrity he could safely confide, Herod repaired to Samaria, in order to engage in a matrimonial alliance with Mariamne, daughter of Aristobulus, the son of Alexander, to whom he had been some time contracted; and on this occasion he evinced the contempt he entertained for his enemies by prosecuting the siege and a matrimonial negotiation at the same time, thereby intimating, that they were not sufficiently formidable to cause him to protract the celebration of his nuptials.

After his marriage Herod returned to Jerusalem with considerable reinforcements; and he was joined by a body of Roman horse and foot, under the command of Sofius, who had directed the greatest part of his forces to march through the midland country, while, with the remainder, he took his course by the way of Phoenicia. The army upon a general muster was found to amount to eleven regiments, and six thousand horse; exclusive of a considerable body of Syrian auxiliaries. The assault was made upon the northern quarter of the place. Herod founded his right upon the decree of the Roman senate, by which he had been constituted king; and Sofius urged that he was authorized by the commission of Anthony to support Herod in the war.

The utmost consternation prevailed among the Jews in the city: great numbers of them assembled about the temple, lamented their unhappy fate, and, in a style of enthusiasm, spoke of matters which they supposed to predict future calamities; those who possessed more courage paraded the town and places adjacent, seizing all the articles which were proper for the support of the people, horses, and other cattle. In the mean time the soldiers were busily employed in counteracting the operations of the assailants. Herod stationed ambuscades to surprize the people who were ravaging the country, and caused provisions to be brought from distant parts for the service of his army. The Jews encountered every danger with the greatest alacrity, and, fearlessly of death, sustained a most resolute defence: but it must be acknowledged that they were surpassed by the Romans in point of military skill and address. By mining, in which they greatly excelled, and by surprizes, they frequently put the assailants to disadvantage when it was least expected; when their fortifications had suffered any injury, they made the necessary reparations with surprizing diligence: and, in short, with undaunted resolution they opposed fatigue, danger, and difficulty, firmly persisting in their determination to defend themselves in the last extremity.

After Herod's immense army had continued the siege for the space of nine months, a breach was made, and a select party of his most resolute troops, led by some of Sofius's centurions, mounted the wall, and effected an entrance into the city. They immediately surrounded the temple: and in the mean time the rest of the army arrived, and a general massacre ensued: no respect was paid to either sex or age, nor were even the lives of those spared who sought refuge in the temple: the buildings and streets were encumbered with mangled carcases. Herod enjoined his people, on their allegiance, to withstand their rage: but they were so irritated by the hardships they had sustained during the siege, that, abandoning every sentiment of humanity,
they still continued the slaughter; and death triumphed in his most horrid forms.

The conduct of Antigonus was unworthy his exalted station: he descended from the tower called Baris, and meekly cast himself at the feet of Sophus, who, while he remained in the disgraceful posture, upbraided him by saying that, instead of Antigonus, he should in future be called Antigona; notwithstanding the effeminacy of his behaviour, however, he was not treated as a woman, but put in chains and retained a prisoner.

Though Herod had gained a compleat victory over his enemies, he had still great difficulties to encounter; for from a curiosity to see the things dedicated to God, the foreign auxiliaries violently crowded into the temple; and as entreaties and menaces proved ineffectual, he was under the necessity of using force to repress their insolence; for he deemed it necessary to disappoint their designs, since if conquest was to prove the cause of the sacred privacies being exposed to common view, it would be a more unhappy event than a defeat.

Herod being resolved that the city should not be plundered, informed Sophus that, if the treasure was seized and the town depopulated, he should be the sovereign of a desert; and that he would not purchase the government of the universe at the expense of sacrificing the lives of his subjects. Sophus replied that after what the troops had undergone, they would naturally expect some part of the pillage. Herod admitted the force of Sophus's plea, and declared that every man should be duly recompensed out of his own private fortune. According to his promise, the king rewarded the private soldiers and the officers, in proportion to their respective stations and deserts; and he presented Sophus with gifts worthy the regal character: in short, the liberality and munificence which he displayed on this occasion afforded universal satisfaction. Having dedicated a crown of gold to the Almighty, the Roman general departed from Jerusalem, taking with him Antigonus in bonds, in order to deliver him up to Anthony. Even to his last moment Antigonus flattered himself with the hopes of preserving his life: but his expectations were disappointed, for he was sentenced to the loss of his head.

The conquest of Jerusalem having established Herod in the sovereignty of Judea, he distinguished those who had espoused his interests from the friends of Antigonus; he treated the former with great honour and respect, and caused great numbers of the others to be put to death. Being deficient in ready money, he sent articles of value to Anthony and other particular friends: but he was not able by these means to establish himself in a state of security; for Anthony had conceived so violent a passion for Cleopatra that he had not power to deny her most unreasonable requests. This ambitious princess had exercised her cruelty so extensively among her kindred that not one now remained; and her unbounded avarice prompted her to direct her vengeance against strangers. As the means of possesting herself of their wealth, she calumniated the most respectable people, and prevailed upon Anthony to put them to death: to gratify her extravagant views, she meditated the destruction of the Jews and Arabsians, and proceeded so far as to solicit Anthony to destroy
destroyed Herod and Malichus*, the kings of those people. Anthony pretended that he would comply: but to take away the lives of two virtuous princes, of whose conduct he had not the least cause of complaint, appeared to be an act of so heinous a nature that he could not reflect on it without horror: but he so far yielded to her intercession as to discontinue his friendship, and to deprive them of a considerable part of their territories, particularly the lands of Jericho, highly celebrated for the production of Palm-trees and balsam, and, excepting Tyre and Sidon, all the cities upon the river Eleutherus, which he presented to Cleopatra; who, when he engaged in an expedition against the Parthians, accompanied him as far as the Euphrates, whence by the way of Apamia and Damascus, he repaired into Judaea.

Though Herod had already parted with considerable sums, her avarice was still unsatisfied, and she exacted from him an annual income of two hundred talents issuing out of the revenue of Judæa; and treating her with great deference and respect, he conducted her to Pelusium. In a short time Anthony returned from the Parthian war, bringing with him Artabazes †, the son of Tigranes; and this prisoner, with the whole booty he had obtained, he presented to Cleopatra.

**C H A P. XIV.**

The artful and treacherous disposition of Cleopatra: she diverts Herod from affilling Anthony. Herod defeats the Syrians: but is after routed by the Arabian. A great number of cattle, and thirty thousand people swallowed up by an earthquake in Judæa. Several Jewish ambassadors put to death. Herod pronounces an animating exhortation to his troops. He encounters and subdues the Arabian, who elect him their protector.

Herod† having recovered Hyrcania§ from the sister of Antigonus, and his kingdom being in a state of perfect tranquillity, he resolved to join Anthony in prosecuting the war declared between him and Augustus. But Cleopatra, who from the desire of obtaining their possession, entertained an implacable enmity against all kings, frustrated the intention of Herod, whose generous conduct she apprehended might increase his interest with Anthony. She prevailed upon Anthony to engage Herod in the Parthian war, flattering herself that if he proved victorious, she should gain the sovereignty of Arabia, and that of Judæa if he was vanquished.

The queen, however, was the involuntary cause of great advantage to Herod; who having collected a very formidable troop of horse, they, by the command of their king marched against and assaulted the Syrians in the neighbourhood of Diospolis, and, after they had made a brave resistance, compleatly vanquished them. In consequence of this defeat an immense

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* Māxus, Jos. Malichus. † Al. Artabasides. § Al. Hyrcanian.
immense Arabian army was encamped at Canatha, in Cœle-Syria, in order to wait the arrival of Herod; who, upon observing their great strength, deemed a more than usual precaution to be necessary; and therefore he commanded his camp to be enclosed by a wall. Their late victory had animated Herod's troops to such impatience for battle that they could not be persuaded to refrain their impetuosity during the time that would have been occupied in erecting the wall. The armies joined battle, and on the first assault the Arabians were put to flight: but an officer in Cleopatra's service, named Athenion, who had been long an inveterate enemy to Herod, leading a body of Canathenes to the relief of the fugitives, they resumed their courage, and returned to the charge, routed the Herodians, pursued them through woods and other places of difficult passage, and put great numbers of them to death. Some of Herod's people escaped to a neighbouring village called Ormiza, where they were surrounded by the enemy, who also took possession of the camp, and made prisoners of the men therein. In a short time Herod arrived with reinforcements, but the injury being already sustained, his presence was of no avail. The disobedience of Herod's troops was the only cause of their defeat: for had not they precipitately urged to an engagement, Athenion would have had no opportunity of relieving the Arabians. Herod made repeated incursions and surprizes upon the Arabians, and by many small victories gained ample compensation for the capital defeat his army had sustained.

At the beginning of spring in the seventh year of Herod's reign, during the height of the war at Actium, his successes were interrupted by a most dreadful earthquake, which swallowed up thirty thousand people, and cattle innumerable; the army, that was then encamped in the field, escaped this judicial calamity, which, though sufficiently terrible in itself, was magnified by report; and the Arabians, imagining Judæa to be utterly ruined, cherished the flattering idea that no difficulty would attend possessing themselves of a province, which had not a sufficient number of inhabitants to sustain a defence: and after having put to death the ambassadors who had been sent to them from the Jews, they advanced into Judæa, in the full confidence of gaining possession of that country. The Jews, whose spirits were greatly depressed by their late calamities, were thrown into the most terrible consternation by the appearance of the Arabians: with a view to revive their fortitude and courage, Herod addressed his people to the following effect:

"It is certainly reasonable to lament the afflictions we suffer from an offended God: but I must observe, that from a dread of the power of man, to sink into despondency argues a degree of pusillanimity unworthy the character you have hitherto maintained. Notwithstanding our late calamity, I am so far from considering our enemies as objects of fear, that I am inclined to suppose the shocking event was intended by providence as a temptation to draw the Parthians into our power, that we may take vengeance for our numerous wrongs: they do not depend on the number or courage of their troops, but rest all their hopes of success in the idea of our being reduced to a state of misery. What hopes can be more deceitful"
ing than those which wholly rely on the distresses of our adversaries, in-" stead of being founded on our own virtues? In human affairs nothing can "be more uncertain than success and adversity; in evidence of this assertion "it is only necessary to mention the late engagement: we were elated with "the idea of a compleat victory, and the next hour subjected to the mercy of "the enemy. The foundation of your fear is to me an assurance of success; "for great confidence renders people unwar. Our defeat is to be attributed "to your inconsiderate and rash behaviour in attacking the enemy contrary "to order, which afforded Athenion the opportunity of turning the event of "the battle in favour of his friends. Our deliberations are now conducted "with judgment and temper; and hence we may reasonably entertain the "hope of victory. Let us preserve our spirit till we come into the field, "and then proceed to convince the iniquitous foe that our reputation is in-"finitely dearer to us than our lives; let us bravely encounter every danger "and difficulty rather than yield to the Arabians, whom we have so fre-"quently subjected to our power. "But whence this conformation on account of the earthquake? Such con-"tentions of the elements arise in the common course of nature, and are to "be considered in themselves as calamities, and not as the prelages of mis-"fortune. Signs may, perhaps, appear to predict pestilence, famine, or "earthquakes; but when these events arrive, the more violent they are, the "shorter is their duration. Suppose we do not succeed in this war, can our "sufferings be greater than those we experienced from the earthquake? "What fate but ruin can those people expect who, in violation of the laws of "God and man, have barbarously murdered our amabassador, and impiously "offered sacrifices to the deity on occasion of their victory? Can these be-"trayers of public faith hope to escape the vengeance of an enraged God? "Let them rather tremble at the impending destruction that, animated by "the glorious spirit of our ancestors, we shall speedily hurl upon them. "Re-assume your courage, my brave friends and brother-warriors, and let "us proceed, not to defend our wives, children, or country, but to avenge "the death of our ambassadors; the very idea of fighting in the cause of "those murdered heroes will animate us to greater exploits than the utmost "efforts of the surviving commanders. Cheerfully follow where I lead, "and I shall be satisfied. But one caution, however, is necessary: be not "rash and precipitate; and rely on my assurance, victory will be the re-"ward of our bravery."

Herod observing that his exhortation had raised the spirits of his people, immediately performed sacrifice, and, crossing the river Jordan, encamped his army at Philadelphia, at no great distance from the enemy. Between the armies was a castle, of which the contending parties were equally desirous to gain possession. A party of the Arabians attempted to gain the castle; but without much difficulty they were repulsed by the Herodians, who afterwards took possession of the hill. Herod daily arranged his men in order of battle, and took every possible method to provoke the enemy to an engagement. In point of numbers the Arabians had the superiority, but the Jews were by far the most intrepid people. A general consternation prevailed in
the Arabian army, and Altemus, the general, was particularly alarmed. Being unable to draw them out, Herod attacked the enemy in their intrenchments, and threw them into the most extreme disorder. During the battle the slaughter was not great; but Herod proving victorious, great numbers of the enemy were slain in the pursuit, and others being trampled to death by their own people, the lots of men amounted to five thousand, and the rest were driven into the camp, where they were soon surrounred and besieged by Herod. Being in great distress from a want of water, they sent ambassadors to offer Herod fifty talents, on condition of his putting a period to the war: but he treated the ambassadors with the utmost contempt, not condescending to hear the terms they were commissioned to propose. Their thirst, at length, became so intolerable, that in the space of five days four thousand of them surrendered to the Jews, and they were put into bonds: and on the sixth day, in the extremity of despair, the rest urged the Jews to an encounter, in which seven thousand of the Arabians were slain. Thus was Herod's revenge gratified: and his adversaries were so effectually humbled, that they supplicated him to become their protector.

CHAP. XV.

The generous declaration of Herod on occasion of the defeat of Anthony at Actium. The liberality of Caesar towards Herod. Augustus splendidly entertained by Herod. Herod is confirmed in his government, which is considerably enlarged. He is appointed governor of Syria. The character of Herod.

The joy consequent on Herod's success was greatly abated by his receiving intelligence of the defeat of Anthony at Actium; but the cause of his apprehension was not so desperate as he imagined; for Caesar could not entertain the idea that Anthony would be entirely ruined while Herod remained attached to his interest. While affairs were in this situation, Herod went to Rhodes, and, being in the habit of a private man, but still preserving an air of dignity, thus addressed himself to Caesar:

"I acknowledge, great prince! that I am indebted to Anthony for the regal state I at present enjoy; and had I not been engaged in the war against the Arabians, I would have manifested my gratitude by joining my forces to those of my benefactor: however, as far as my situation would permit, I supplied him with soldiers and provisions. Notwithstanding the unfortunate event at Actium, I still entertain for Anthony the greatest warmth of friendship, and venerate him as a generous patron. Though I could neither attend him in person, or so effectually supply him with men and arms as I was inclined to do, yet I gave him advice that, had he pursued it, would have been of more material service; I urged him to abandon Cleopatra, saying, that while his connection with her subsisted, he would be in continual danger. On condition of his compliance, I promised him money, troops, places of strength, and even to take an active part in the war; but his infatuation for the queen co-operated with the fe-
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The purposes of providence to effect his ruin. My own fate, mighty Cæsar! is involved in that of Anthony. I have resigned the regal character in consequence of his ruin. And only as an honest man, faithfully attached to your interests, I form my pretensions to your favour and friendship.

To this address Cæsar replied to the following purpose: “Preserve the sovereignty which you have hitherto enjoyed with so much honour; and still be happy: and rest assured that your crown shall be still more safely secured to you; for the man who is capable of such exalted friendship, must necessarily be qualified for the sovereign authority. Let your friendship for the successful be as steady as it has been to the unfortunate; and from the natural dignity of your mind I shall promise myself great advantages. I can scarcely censure Anthony for rejecting your counsel respecting Cleopatra, since it is to that act of imprudence that I am indebted for the proofs I have received of your friendship. I bear in recollection the services you rendered me by sending succours to Ventidius against Anthony’s gladiators; and I must confess that therein you anticipated my design. Be happy in the assurance that you shall be confirmed in the possession of your kingdom; and that my friendship will amply compensate for your unhappiness on account of Anthony.”

Cæsar enjoined Herod to rely on the sincerity of his friendship; and, placing the crown upon his head, confirmed him in the sovereignty by an act of the senate. Having made valuable presents to Cæsar, in order to dispose his mind to favour, Herod solicited the pardon of one of his friends, named Alexander: but Cæsar being highly enraged against the man, declared that the offences he had committed were too enormous to be excused.

When Cæsar was passing through Syria into Egypt, Herod received him at Ptolemais with a magnificence truly astonishing: and while the emperor was reviewing his troops, he caused Herod to ride in company with him. The emperor, his friends, and the whole army were entertained by Herod with the greatest plenty and regularity, and with a degree of splendor that can scarcely be conceived: and he furnished a supply of water at Pelusium, and other places where that element was scarce, and provided the army with the utensils necessary for common use. This unbounded generosity caused Augustus and his whole army to acknowledge that the kingdom of Judæa was not adequate to the capacious mind of Herod.

Upon the arrival of Cæsar in Egypt, both Anthony and Cleopatra being decoyed, he gave to Herod four hundred Gauls, who had served as the guards of the late queen, and annexed to his kingdom that part of Judæa which Anthony had assigned to her, containing Gadara, Hippon, Samaria, and the maritime cities of Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and the tower of Straton. Augustus bestowed great additional honours upon Herod, proportioning his rewards according to the approved merits of the king; to whole command he subjected the provinces of Trachon and Batanaea, and on the following occasion annexed Auranitis to his jurisdiction: a man named Zenodorus, who inhabited a house hired of Lisanias, made a practice of sending peo-
ple to commit depredations in Damascus; the people of which country represented to Varus, who was then governor of Syria, the oppressions they endured, supplicating redress, and urging that he would report their case to Cæsar. Varus complied with their request, and being commissioned by the emperor to suppress the robbers, he exterminated them the land, and confiscated part of the estate of Zenodorus, which Cæsar bestowed upon Herod; whom he appointed governor of all Syria.

Ten years afterwards Augustus came again into that province, when he enjoined the governors to consult Herod in all affairs of importance: and Zenodorus being now deceased, he gave to Herod all the land between Trachon and Galilee. Herod valued himself, above all other circumstances, on that of possessing the next place to Agrippa in the esteem of Cæsar, and being respected by Agrippa above all men, excepting Cæsar. Herod was blessed with the enjoyment of every advantage that could contribute to the happiness of life; and his mind became exalted in proportion to the advancement of his fortune.

CHAP. XVI.

Herod repairs the temple, and builds divers superb edifices. His great and various dedications. The bounty of Cæsar to Herod. Straton’s tower repaired, and a superb palace constructed. Description of a port between Dora and Joppa. Herod’s benevolence. His excellent endowments.

In the fifteenth year of his sovereignty over the Jews*, Herod, at an immense expense, rebuilt the temple in a style of the utmost magnificence that can be conceived. The building was surrounded with superb galleries, raised from the foundation, and adjoining to the northern side a castle was constructed, which in point of grandeur and elegance was not inferior even to the royal palace; and, in honour of Anthony, Herod named this place Antonia. He enlarged the inclosure about the temple to double its former extent. Upon an eminence that commanded a view of the city he erected two spacious buildings, and they were executed in so rich and splendid a manner that there was no temple deserving to be put in competition with them. In honour of his illustrious friends, Cæsar and Agrippa, he called these structures Cæsarian and Agrippion.

It was not to particular buildings that Herod confined himself; for, to immortalize the memory of his two noble friends, he dedicated whole cities to them: for instance, in Samaria he built the beautiful city called Sebaste, the circumference of which was twenty furlongs, and it was inclosed with a wall. This city was peopled by six thousand inhabitants, who enjoyed peculiar privileges, and had granted to them exceeding fine tracts of land. Besides other fine buildings, Herod erected a superb temple, and formed an area about it of three furlongs and an half: this temple he dedicated to Cæsar.

* Vide Ant. I. 15. c. 11, 12, 13, 14. I. xvi. c. 9.
THE WARS OF THE JEWS.

After this Augustus granted considerable additions to the territories of Herod, who, in gratitude to his patron, constructed a temple, composed of white marble, at Panium, which is situated near the head of the river Jordan. Adjacent to Panium, there is a prodigious mountain environed with crags and rocks, and a valley of great depth: At the bottom there is a dark cavern, born by the continual fall of the waters, and it is of such surprizing depth that the bottom cannot be found. A number of bubbling springs issue from the foot of the cavern, and tradition reports them to be the source of the Jordan. But we shall treat more particularly of this matter in the sequel.

Between the castle of Cypros and the old palaces, Herod constructed other buildings, formed after more commodious plans; and to these places he gave names in honour of Augustus and Agrippa. Herod, in short, erected some memorial of the fame of the emperor in every part of his dominions.

Upon visiting his maritime cities, Herod observed that time had made great ravages in the place called Straton's Tower, and judging that city, from its situation and other advantages, to be worthy his particular notice, he caused the necessary reparations to be made with a beautiful kind of white stone; and he erected a magnificent palace, thereby affording a striking instance of the singular greatness of his mind. The city called Straton's Tower is situated between Dora and Joppa, on the coast of the sea, which is there exceedingly dangerous to navigators, and particularly so when the south-west wind prevails even in a very small degree; for it then points directly upon the rocks, and the water breaking back in eddies, the sea is greatly agitated for a considerable time. This liberal-minded and enterprizing king, however, conquered even the disadvantages of nature, and formed a port, more extensive even than the Pyreneum, where the largest vessels could ride in perfect security during the most violent tempests. The contrivance was so admirably planned and executed to resist the violent outrages of the sea, and to give a magnificent appearance to the work, that no addition could be made either of strength or beauty. Upon his taking dimensions for forming the port, Herod ordered a quantity of stones of immense size to be cast into the sea, at twenty fathom water; most of them were fifty feet long, nine in depth, and ten over, and many were of a still greater bulk. The stones, to the extent of two hundred feet, being piled to the surface of the water, they formed a wall which served the purpose of a mole, and thence derived the name of Procymanae. One half of the wall was intended to break the violence of the waves, and on the other were erected spacious and beautiful turrets; the most considerable of which, in compliment to Drusus, a kinsman to Cæsar, was called Drusion. Within the port a great number of magazines were formed for the reception of stores, and before the magazines was a space paved with large stones, which was convenient for landing, and at the same time a most agreeable walking-place: it fronted the north, whence, in that situation, the winds blow the most temperate. Three colonnades, raised on columns, were placed on each side the entrance: a strong tower, formed of an entire stone, supported those upon entering on the left hand; and those on the opposite side were mounted considerably higher than the others upon two large
stone pillars joined together. The buildings adjacent to the port were composed of white stone; and the streets leading from the city to the key were formed after a regular and uniform plan. Cæsar's temple was situated upon a hill opposite the port-gate; and no idea of splendor and elegance can surpass what was displayed in this structure, wherein was placed a statue of the illustrious Augustus, formed on the model of the Olympian Jupiter, to which it was equal both in size and the ingenuity of workmanship; and there was another Roman figure not inferior to that of Juno at Argos. The motive that induced Herod to build this city and port, was a desire to promote the convenience and advantage of the inhabitants of the country, and to provide for the security of travellers: and in honour of Cæsar the place received the name of Cæsarea. A most commodious market-place, a theatre and amphitheatre were built, and the Ludi Quinquinnales were instituted, which were to be celebrated every fifth year in honour of the emperor. Herod also first conferred honourable rewards upon the man who excelled in the exercises, and assigned inferior gratuities to the second and third candidates for the prize: this establishment took place in the hundred and second Olympiad. He compleatly repaired Anthedon, which was nearly destroyed during the war, and changed the name of the city to Agrippion, in compliment to his friend Agrippa, whose name he inscribed upon the gate of the temple which he erected.

Herod's filial gratitude was not less remarkable than his generosity and patriotism: he constructed a city in the most delightful and fertile spot of his kingdom, finely diversified with wood and water; and this place he distinguished by the appellation of Antipatris, in veneration of the memory of his father. He built a strong castle in a fine part of the country beyond Jericho, which, from Cypris, his mother, he called Cypros. He gave many proofs of his regard for his brother Phasael, by whose name he distinguished a magnificent tower which he built at Jerusalem, and of which we shall hereafter speak more particularly; and the same name he gave to a city which he constructed in the northern part of Jericho.

When Herod had compleated the magnificent works by which he meant to immortalize the names of his friends and relations, he built a castle upon a mountain in Arabia, and in allusion to his own name, he called it Herodion; and the same appellation he gave to a hill of surprizing height, about sixty furlongs from Jerusalem, which he caused to be raised in the shape of a woman's breast. The top of the mount was environed with round turrets; and in the circuit were a number of royal palaces, executed in the most ingenious and splendid taste that can be conceived; the stairs were formed of the finest white marble, and consisted of two hundred steps: at an immense charge water was conveyed from a distant part for the supply of the place. At the foot of the eminence the king erected a magnificent palace, and provided spacious buildings for the reception of his friends. Though meant only as a residence for the king, by the great number of structures, variety of conveniencies, splendor, and extent of the whole, the place had the appearance of a city rather than a castle.
The above glorious works being compleated, Herod resolved to extend his generosity to strangers; and therefore, he formed colleges and public baths at Tripolis, Damascus, and Ptolemais; erected strong walls at Byblis; temples, public magazines, council-chambers, galleries and market-places, at Berytus and Tyre; theatres at Sidon and Damascus; he formed an aqueduct at the sea-coast town of Laodicea; and constructed water-works, baths, large and beautiful piazzas and cloisters at Ascalon. To some cities he assigned woods and harbours, and to others lands: thus he seemed to derive satisfaction in dividing his kingdom for the common advantage of mankind. At Coos he established a revenue for the perpetual preservation of the baths; and he conferred similar benefits upon other places. He supplied those with grain who were distressed for that article; and when the people of Rhodes had occasion for money for the purpose of equipping their navy, he repeatedly furnished them with the necessary sums. He cauafed the temple of Apollo, called Pythium, which had been consumed by fire, to be rebuilt. His munificence to the Lyeians and Samaritans was worthy his exalted station and character. The Athenians, the Laecæmonians, the Nicopolitans, and the people of Pergamus in Lycia, extensively experienced the unbounded liberality of Herod. Antioch, the capital of Syria, was rendered so incommodious by the water laying continually on the ground, that for the space of twenty furlongs it was impassable: but Herod removed every inconvenience by causing the place to be paved with white marble, and porticos to be erected for shelter in wet seasons.

It may be urged that the above-mentioned instances of generosity were granted for the benefit only of particular cities: but in the bounties of this truly munificent sovereign to Elyians, he conferred great obligations upon the Grecians, and upon mankind in general, or, at least, upon all those who had any knowledge of the Olympic games. Upon his arrival at Rome, he found these games to be the only vestiges remaining of ancient Greece, and that they were on the point of being neglected from a want of money: and therefore he for that year assumed the office of Agonotheta, and established a revenue for preserving the exercises in perpetuity. To enumerate the debts and tributes that he remitted to the Phalaethes, Balameotes, the inhabitants of several towns in Cilicia, and many other people, would be an arduous task. His generosity would have been still more extensive to strangers, but for the apprehension of attracting jealously and envy by conferring upon them benefits which their own princes were unwilling to bestow.

Herod's strength of body was proportionate to the greatness of his mind; he was perfectly skilled in horsemanship; and took great delight in the chase; in which exercise he greatly excelled. His country abounded in wild boars, but more particularly so in wild asses and deer: in one day he killed forty beasts. He was a most courageous soldier, and in expert a swordsman, that it was scarcely possible to resist him; and as a markman, with either dart or arrow, he was unequalled. Exclusive of his great personal advantages

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* An officer who presided at the exercises, and adjudged rewards to the successful candidates.
† Al. Balanootes.
and mental qualifications, he was exceedingly fortunate in his undertakings; and he never failed of success in war, but through treachery, or the rashness of his soldiers.

C H A P. XVII.

Account of the disorders prevailing in Herod's family. He repudiates his wife Doris, and marries Mariamne, by whom he has five children. The expulsion of Antipater. Hyrcanus put to death, and Antipater drowned, by the command of Herod. A report that Phæroslas had a design to poison his brother. The two sons of Herod contraâ marriage. Herod takes Antipater home, and formally settles the succession upon him. Alexander charged before Cæsar with conspiring to poison his father. The defence of Alexander. The reconciliation of Herod and his sons. Archelaus entertains Herod. An assembly called at Jerusalem by Herod. His speech on the occasion. The character of Antipater. The mother of Antipater conducts a plot. Salome becomes a tale-bearer. The advice of Herod to his sons. Phæroslas and Salome enemies of the brothers. A report that Phæroslas had a design to poison his brother. The cruelty and injustice of Herod. Antipater the source of all the mischief. Alexander apprehended, and his friends put to the torture. He makes confession of a pretended plot. The case argued with Herod by Archelaus. Phæroslas humbles himself, and obtains pardon. Herod becomes an advocate for Alexander. Alexander introduced to his father by Archelaus. Eurycles becomes the favourite of Herod. A charge against Alexander and Aristobulus. Several persons put to the torture. A forgery of Diophtantus. Salome acts the part of an informer. Herod in the utmost rage, orders the brothers into chains. He summons a council to meet at Berythus, and opens the business. Sentence of death passed on the sons. The generous conduct of Tyro, and the baseness of Tryphon. Herod orders his sons to be strangled.

The troubles which arose in the family of Herod* were a great deduction from the happiness of his reign; and these misfortunes were principally occasioned by the person he loved beyond all others: for soon after he was in possession of the kingdom, he discharged his first wife Doris, who was a Jew, and married Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus. The unhappy disputes in his family, particularly after his return from Rome, arose chiefly from this source.

Herod banished from the city Antipater, the son of Doris, on account of the children he had by Mariamne; but on festival days he was allowed to remain within the town. He then cauffed Hyrcanus, his wife's grandfather, (who was now returned from Parthia) to be put to death, on a pretence that he had projected a plot against his life. After the conquest of Syria, Barzapharnes had carried Hyrcanus prisoner to the king of Parthia; but the Jews on that side the Euphrates pitying his case, paid his ransom, and obtained him his liberty; and in this situation he might have lived in peace and happiness, if he had taken their advice, and not returned to Herod: but he was

* Vide Ant. l. 15. c. 3, 4, 9, 11. l. 16. c. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 16, 17.
induced to meet his ruin by the irresistible desire that he had to revisit his native country. In the mean time, the circumstance that wrought on the passions of Herod, was not that Hyrcanus had any view to seize the government, but that it belonged to him by a legal title.

The children that Mariamne bore to Herod were three sons and two daughters. The youngest of the former died while he was in the course of his education at Rome, and the two elder were educated in a manner becoming the high rank both of the father and mother, and as the immediate heirs of royalty. But the circumstance that most endeared the children to Herod, was the excess of his fondness for Mariamne, which encroached so violent a degree, that he seemed almost insensible of the insults and indignities that the daily offered him; for, in fact, she evidenced a degree of aversion proportioned to the excess of his tenderness. It is true that Mariamne was furnished with sufficient pretences for this conduct, and confiding in the excess of that passion which he entertained for her, she made no scruple of directly charging him with the murder of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, and of reproaching him with every circumstance of aggravation. She urged that the latter was a youth of only seventeen years of age when he was advanced to the rank of high-priest, and was destroyed soon after he had been honoured with this distinction. She said, that on a festival-day, when he first appeared in his sacred vestments, to discharge his duty at the altar, there was something so affecting in the spectacle, that the people could not refrain from shedding tears of joy: but that in the night succeeding this very day, Herod did not scruple to give orders for the conveying Aristobulus to Jericho, where, in consequence of these orders, he was drowned in a lake by the Gauls.

These animadversions on the conduct of Herod did not appear to gratify the whole resentment of Mariamne; but she attacked his mother and sister in terms still more severe; while he heard the whole without making any reply, so extravagant was the fondness of his love for her. In the mean time this circumstance mortified the women to so high a degree, that they concerted how they might most effectually inflame the passions of Herod; and having resolved to propagate infinuations against the honour and virtue of his wife, they told him a story, among other things equally plausible, that she had sent her picture to Anthony, and that, through the violence of an ungovernable passion, she had taken uncommon pains to make herself acquainted with him: and they insinuated, that as Anthony was one of the most licentious men of the age, he would not scruple even to sacrifice the life of Herod for the obtaining of his purpose. Herod was inexpressibly alarmed at this intelligence, which threatened the loss of his wife, and even of his own life: and his fears were greatly aggravated when he reflected on the avarice and cruelty of Cleopatra, and the influence she had exerted over Anthony, in the cases of Lysanias, and Malichus, the king of Arabia, the lives of both of whom were forfeited through her insinuations.

Distraught with his jealous fears, Herod formed a resolution of paying a visit to Anthony; and, during his absence, recommended the care of his wife to Joseph, the husband of his sister Salome, of whose affectionate regard he had no doubt; and he secretly enjoined him, that if himself should be destroyed
destroyed by Anthony, Joseph should put Mariamne to death. Now Joseph, thinking to impress the queen with an idea of the extreme fondness the king had for her, which would not allow him to indulge the thought of parting from her even in death, innocently communicated this circumstance to her. When Herod returned, he, in the excess of his fondness, was telling the queen that he never had a passion for any other woman. "I am convinced," said he, "by the confession you left with Joseph to destroy me." Herod was almost distracted at this unexpected reply; for it immediately struck him, that unless Joseph had been too intimate with the queen, he never would have imparted so important a secret. Shocked with this idea, he leaped from his bed, and took a walk in the court-yard, where he met Salome, who immediately seized this opportunity, which she thought a favourable one, of traducing Mariamne; and this she did in such a manner as to confirm the suspicions of Herod, who, during the phrenzy of his rage, gave orders that Joseph and Mariamne should be put to death. He had not long issued these orders before he repented of them; but it was too late; the execution was already past. Herod was now transported to the most violent degree of madness; he would not believe that his wife was dead, though a moment's reflection must have assured him that she was so. He even kept talking to her as if she had been yet living; and after the funeral solemnities were palled, the extravagance of his present grief equalled the violence of his former love.

The two sons of Mariamne now became inveterate against Herod, whom they considered as a common enemy, on account of the barbarity of his late proceedings. They had entertained an unfavourable opinion of him from the time they were at Rome; but since their return to Judæa, they were confirmed in their sentiments, the strength of their minds having grown with their growing years. Being now of age, one of them married the daughter of his aunt Salome, a professed enemy of their mother; and the other espoused the daughter of Archelaus, King of Cappadocia. After their marriage they converted more freely than they had formerly done; a circumstance that subjected them to the malice of informers, who did not scruple to acquaint the king that his sons had joined in a conspiracy against him; and that the son-in-law of Archelaus had formed an intention of retiring to his father-in-law, from whom he would go to Rome, and exhibit a complaint to Caesar against Herod. The mind of Herod was so impressed by these various insinuations, that he took Antipater, (his son by Doris) to reside with him in his own palace, propounding that he should act so as to counteract the plots of his brothers; and in consequence of this idea he treated Antipater with distinguishing marks of his regard.

This alteration was highly disagreeable to the brothers, who thought it a great derogation from the dignity of men of their illustrious descent, to be subjected to the son of a private and obscure woman; on which they freely declared their resentment on all occasions; but this freedom of speech was disadvantageous to their interest, and greatly in favour of Antipater, who partly by flattery, and partly by traduction, (in which he was assisted by his friends and agents,) at length brought affairs to such an issue, that all hope of his brothers
brothers succeeding to the government was absolutely destroyed, since the will of his father made a public and formal settlement of it on himself. Soon after this Herod sent Antipater in a kind of regal state and character to Caesar, in which he wore the royal robes, and was attended as a king. The crown alone seemed to be wanting to his dignity. The vanity of his flattering pomp had such an effect upon Antipater, that, by the help of insinuations and calumnies, he procured an introduction for his mother into the bed-chamber of Mariamne; and by the same disingenuous conduct he practised against his brothers, still he inspired his father with a design of taking away their lives.

In consequence of these proceedings Herod took Alexander with him to Rome, and there exhibited a charge against him before Caesar, as having been an accomplice in the intention of poisoning his father. Alexander being admitted to make his defence, and before a judge whom he thought could not be easily imposed on either by Herod or Antipater, he began by endeavouring to set his father right with regard to the false impressions he had received: he spoke clearly to all the points with which himself was charged, and entirely exculpated his brother Aristobulus, who, as it was alleged, was equally culpable with himself. He then proceeded to a display of the various artful contrivances of which Antipater had been guilty. All this he did with a grace and dignity peculiar to himself, so that the integrity of his mind was illustrated by the powers of his eloquence; for he was a most florid and agreeable orator. He ended his discourse in a modest manner, observing that it could not be a crime in a father to punish his children when they should appear to be guilty. The auditors were so affected by the speech, and this concluding observation, that they burst into tears; and it had like-wisé such an influence on Caesar, that he exerted his authority to unite them all in friendship, on the condition that the sons should, in future, pay all proper obedience to their father, and that the father should be entirely directed by his own pleasure in the disposition of the kingdom.

When Herod returned from Rome, he could not do otherwise than exculpate his sons of the crime of which they had been charged; though he still entertained his suspicions; for Antipater so frequently discoursed to him on the subject, that it was almost impossible for him to banish them: though, at the same time, he did not dare to speak publicly, or do any thing contrary to the determination of Caesar. In his passage Herod went from Cilicia to Eleusa, where Archelaus, on account of his son-in-law, received him with the utmost magnificence and distinction, returned him a thousand thanks, and heartily congratulated him on the favourable turn of affairs. In the interim, Archelaus, by means of letters, and by the interposition of his friends at Rome, exerted his utmost endeavours to promote the interest of Alexander. Archelaus conducted Herod as far as Zephyrium, where he took his leave of him, after having first presented him with thirty talents.

No sooner had Herod arrived at Jerusalem than he summoned the meeting of an assembly, and related an account of his journey, and the success that had attended it; returning his unfeigned thanks to Almighty God, and
to the emperor, that the commotions in his family were allayed, and his sons united in peace and friendship. He then spoke as follows: "I shall always consider this circumstance as a blessing of more ineffable value than the splendor of a crown; and in proportion to the esteem I have for it, I shall endeavour to preserve and improve it. I am indebted to Cæsar for the rank and dignity I sustain; and to him likewise I owe the valuable privilege of appointing a successor. I thus make my public acknowledgements to the emperor, and, at the same time, declare that it is my intention to divide the succession and sovereignty among my three sons, if it prove agreeable to the will of God, and meets with your approbation. The eldest has undoubtedly the natural claim of superiority; and the other two have that pretension which is founded on dignity of birth; while the command itself is sufficient to gratify them all.

"It will be your duty to pay all proper respect to those who have been united by the influence of Cæsar, and whose authority will be recognized by their father. Your respect must be equal, just, and impartial, paying only a proper regard to priority of birth; since it will be less a compliment to any one of them to promote him before his proper time, than it will be an affront to the other two to be slighted. As I am sensible of the ill consequence that may arise from evil counsel or example, (of which the worst kind is that in a man's own family) it shall be my business to see that they are attended by persons of wisdom and discretion, on whose prudence I can rely, and who shall be answerable for their unity, and regularity of behaviour.

"I shall likewise farther expect from these their attendants, as also from the officers of my army, that they shall acknowledge no other sovereign than myself for the present; for I do not now propose to transmit the government itself, but the honorary part of it to my sons. My view is that they shall be gratified by being considered as a kind of regents in the administration: but the weight of public affairs, and the final determination in all matters of importance, must necessarily remain with me. I wish you to reflect on my age, my accustomed manner of living, and the unaffected piety of my behaviour. I am not yet so far advanced in life, but that, by the course of nature, I may expect to live a considerable time: I have not debauched my constitution by intemperate pleasures, so as to expect any abridgement of my life on that account: and then with regard to my duty to God, I have been so constant in my attendance on his holy worship, that I flatter myself my zeal and devotion may entitle me to the blessing of some years still added to my life. If there should be among you any one that, in despite of my authority, shall presume to advance his sons during my life-time, he may expect the most condign punishment. Though at the same time I would have my sons treated with all possible respect; but young men are generally violent in their passions, and the permitting them to be more active than becomes them, is only tempting them to still farther acts of indiscretion. It will be well, therefore, for you to reflect seriously, before you determine on the part you will act;"
"act; for it is incumbent on me to punish or reward men according to their conduct; and you may depend on it I shall not be remiss in this part of my duty. On the whole, it will be proper for the father and sons to be united in sentiments: for it is my interest that they should live in friendship with each other; and theirs that I should hold the reins of government."

Herod having spoken thus, turned to his sons, and said, "And now my dear children, reflect on the natural affection which Providence hath implanted in our breasts and made common even to brutes as well as men; and behave to your father as becomes dutiful and affectionate children: In the next place, pay all honour and respect to Caesar, for his good offices as a mediator; and finally, look upon it as an act of kindness in me, that I have only requested what I had a right to command, which is, that you should live together, strongly united in the social bands of fraternal friendship. It shall now be my care to accommodate you with such equipage and attendants as become your rank. I once more charge you to live in peace with each other, and I pray to God to keep me in the same peaceable disposition."

When Herod had thus finished his address, he embraced his sons, and then dismissed the assembly. Some discontented people went away complaining, and saying that they could not hear anything of what he had spoken; while others made their remarks on particular parts of his address, and expressed their wishes that his performance might keep pace with his promises.

A disunion still prevailed among the brothers, who became so jealous of each other, that they thought it prudent to separate, for fear of ill consequences. Alexander and Aristobulus were highly offended that any preference seemed to be given to Antipater, who, on the other hand, was exasperated to think that any share in the government should be allotted to the other brothers. Antipater was of a temper false, secret, and malicious: he kept his sentiments entirely within his own breast, and never exhibited the least sign of that mortal enmity he had for his brothers. They, on the contrary, were open and unrestrained, and made it a point of honour not to conceal or disguise their sentiments. In the interim their enemies were every where busy, by their agents, to take all advantage of any thing they said. Some provoked them to free and dangerous liberty of speech; while others, under pretence of friendship, insinuated themselves so far into their favour, that not a word passed in Alexander's apartments, but it was immediately carried to Antipater, who reported it to Herod with such circumstances of aggravation as he thought proper. The most innocent language was made to appear criminal by the mode of its interpretation, and even the slightest circumstance was aggravated to a crime.

There was not a day in which the agents of Antipater did not surround Alexander, to learn his sentiments; and a slight fact, being intermixed with a thousand falsehoods, was sufficient to give currency to the whole story. It was remarked that the agents of Antipater were as resented as himself; but whether this reserve arose from a natural clofeness of disposition, or was the
the consequence of the bribes and rewards they received, is foreign to the present purpose: but the truth is, that the whole life of Antipater was one continued mystery of iniquity. In fact, Antipater conducted his affairs in such a manner, that either by the force of flattery or reward, all the friends, acquaintance, and servants of Alexander were prevailed on to discover his secrets. The contrivance of Antipater was such, that he never declared himself an open enemy; but when any of his agents accused Alexander, he appeared at first to take his part; and then artfully turned the whole argument against him; till at length Herod was driven almost distracted from a conviction of the truth of Alexander's plot against his life: for the artful management of Antipater in the business, fully confirmed him in his suspicions.

This conduct of Antipater highly incensed Herod against the brothers, and he obtained the king's good opinion in proportion as they loft it. The friends of the government acceded to Herod's sentiments, some from conviction, and others through fashion, among whom were Ptolemy, the king's particular friend, then his brothers, and at length the whole family; for Antipater was now the particular favourite. Alexander was shocked to think that this wicked plot arose from the advice of Antipater's mother, who bore a mortal enmity to the queen's children. Great respect was now paid to Antipater, on account of the favour in which he was held by the king, who had issued an order that no application should be made to, or intercourse held with, the other brothers. This order alarmed those of the royal houhold, as well as their dilant friends; for Caesar had conferred privileges on Herod, never granted to any other person; particularly that of fetching deferters from the territories of other princes, where he had no command. In the mean time the brothers were ignorant of all offence, as no public charge had been exhibited against them by Herod; and their situation was therefore dangerous, as they knew not how to prepare a defence: but they suspected the fact, and became unhappy thereon, from a visible declension in the royal favour.

In the interim, Antipater spoke with the utmost freedom to Pheroras, and his aunt Salome, against his brothers. The family uneasiness was by this time risen to a great height; but it was considerably aggravated by Glaphyra, the wife of Alexander, who was constantly boasting of the dignity of her extraction, as giving her a right to precede all others. She said she was descended on the father's side from Themenus, and on that of the mother, from Darius, the son of Hyftaspe. She treated the wife and sister of Herod with contempt, as persons of low birth. She said Herod, in marriage, had consulted beauty, not quality. It has been already observed that Herod had several: wives for he was a friend to polygamy, which is permitted by the laws of the Jews. Glaphyra's pride exasperated all these women against Alexander.

Salome, though mother-in-law to Aristobulus, now became his enemy. She thought herself insulted by the unreasonable pride of Glaphyra, who frequently reflected on her, on account of the meanness of her birth. Glaphyra told Aristobulus that his wife was only a private woman, whereas his brother Alexander had wedded a queen. Salome's daughter, affected by this remark, went weeping to her mother with the news; to which she added
that Alexander and Aristobulus had threatened, that if ever they came to
the throne, all the wives and daughters of Herod should be compelled to
spin for their subsistence; and with regard to the boys, they would serve for
parish clerks: though this, in fact, was only a joke on their attachment to
literature. Salome was so enraged by this information, that she went imme-
diately to Herod with the news, which had the more weight, as it was the
evidence of a mother-in-law against her son. To this tale was added another,
which gave Herod more concern than all the rest. It was said that Alexan-
der and Aristobulus, with sighs and groans, often lamented the unhappy sit-
tuation of their mother, and cursed their father. It was likewise hinted, that
when Herod divided the wearing-apparel among his other wives, the two
brothers made their remarks, infusing that mourning would soon take place
of those gaudy drestes.

Reflecting on these circumstances, Herod, considering that his sons were
now in the prime of their vigour, was apprehensive of some violence from
them, but he was unwilling to carry matters to extremities. Being now re-
solved on a journey to Rome, he directed his sons to attend him, and, inter-
mixing the tenderness of the father with the authority of the sovereign, gave
them advice for the regulation of their conduct, recommended an agreement
among themselves, and a mutual regard: and promised them a full pardon
for all past offences, on the condition of their repentance and reformation.
As to what Herod had said, the youths positively denied the charge against
them; and they engaged, if they might be attended to, not only to prove
its falsity, but its impossibility. At the same time they insinuated that ca-
umnious reports would never cease, while he would listen to the tales of the
calumniators.

The brothers having satisfied Herod, made themselves easy from the ap-
prehension of farther danger; but new cause of anxiety soon arose. They
were very sensible that Pheroras and Salome, whose influence was great,
and whose rank considerable, were their determined enemies: and they particu-
larly dreaded Pheroras, who in some degree shared the regal government
with Herod. His personal revenue consisted of an hundred talents, exclu-
sive of the emolument arising from all the lands beyond Jordan, which the be-
nevolence of Herod was the means of his obtaining, for Caesar had been in-
duced to make him a tetrarch on his recommendation. Herod likewise ho-
noured him with an alliance to the royal family, having given him his wife's
sister in marriage; and after her decease he proposed a match between him and
his eldest daughter, with whom he offered, as a marriage-portion, three hun-
dred talents: but Pheroras declined this noble offer, from an attachment he
had to a woman of inferior rank. Herod was so provoked by this refusal,
that he caused her to be married to the son of his brother, the same who was
afterwards slain in the Parthian war. Though at first Herod had been exceed-
ingly enraged by the rejection of his offer, yet, on calmer deliberation, he
thought less of the indignity, which he imputed to the impulse of a violent
passion.
It had, for a considerable time past, been whispered that Pheroras, even during the life-time of Mariamme, had formed a design of poisoning his brother. The spies and informers were so busy in propagating this tale, that Herod, though entertaining the sincerest fraternal affection, could not avoid being alarmed, and giving some credit to the report. Many persons were apprehended, of whom several were put to the torture; and when others had been thus examined, it came to the turn of the friends of Pheroras. These declared their ignorance of any intention to poison, but said that Pheroras had formed a design of retiring into Parthia with the woman that he loved; and that Costobarus, the second husband of Salome, was well acquainted with this his intention. This was the same Costobarus to whom Herod had given Salome, after her former husband's life had been sacrificed on account of her adultery. Salome herself did not escape without having an accusation; for she was charged by her brother Pheroras, with having treated of a match with Syllaus, the governor of Arabia, under king Obodas, and the most inveterate of all the enemies of Herod. There was not a single article that Pheroras exhibited against his sister Salome, of which she was not found guilty: but they both received a free pardon from Herod.

Those who wished to create a disturbance, now levelled their charges against Alexander. Herod had in his service three eunuchs, who had all of them a considerable share in his favour, and were well known in the family by the offices they bore: those were a cup-bearer, a steward, and a valet de chambre. One of them was to fill the king's wine, the second to provide his supper, and the third to put him to bed, and to sleep with him. Now these men, by the influence of gratuities and promises, were all of them the friends and agents of Alexander. Herod having become solicitous of them, caused them to be put to the torture, when the whole secret was discovered; the method in which Alexander had imposed on them, and the promises by which he had prevailed. It was said that he had made a declaration to the following purpose: "You can have no expectations from Herod, who is a wicked old man, that has his hair coloured like a beau, to make him appear young; the respect which you pay to him belongs of right to me, who am to succeed him in the kingdom, a circumstance which he cannot prevent. When this time arrives, it will be in my power to punish my enemies, and reward my friends, of whom you will be considered in the first rank." The informers farther declared that the principal ministers and officers were all attached to the interest of Alexander, and meeting together in a private manner, consulted how they might most effectually serve him. Herod was so astonished at this intelligence, that he was for some time afraid of publishing the discovery he had made; but no time was lost by his agents, who were constantly employed, by night and day, to discover what passed in all families, and in every place; and immediate death was the consequence even of being suspected. In this part of Herod's history there appears an uniform series of oppression and injustice. Calumnies arose from the slightest disafford; and these calumnies were sufficient to make a crime capital: for Herod was but the agent to execute the contrivance of others. However infamous the evidence, however gross and absurd the tale, it was certain to
be credited; and the punishment immediately followed the charge, even without conviction; for Herod seemed to conceive that, in a case where the life of a prince was in danger, all the formalities of the law were superfluous. 

At length the disposition of Herod became so ferocious, that innocence itself was no security against the severity of his nature. Even his friends were treated in the most cruel manner: some of them he banished from the kingdom, and in instances where he could not exercise this power, he indulged his malice by inflicting on them the most approbrious terms. Almost all this mischief, however, is chargeable on Antipater, with his friends and adherents, who omitted nothing in their power to promote the growing evils. The king was at length so terrified by Antipater's ridiculous stories, that he imagined Alexander standing before him, with a sword ready to destroy him. Agitated by these ideas, he caused Alexander to be apprehended, and put his friends to the torture. Many of these, from conscientious motives, remained absolutely silent; while others, whose courage could not afford them resolution to abide the torment, made a charge against the two brothers, as having concerted a plot against the life of the king: which plot, they said, was to be executed during a time of hunting, and the agents in it were immediately to make their escape to Rome. However improbable this story was, the fears of Herod made him credulous enough to believe it; and thereupon, his son was committed to prison.

The jealousy which at this time tormented the mind of Herod, appeared to be at once so inveterate and incurable, that Alexander gave himself no farther concern to make his defence by argument or excuse; but resolved that, for the future, he would acknowledge all the charges which his enemies brought against him, and by such acknowledgement, condemn them equally with himself. Thus determined, he drew up four papers, in which he owned himself a confederate against the life of his father: In these papers he gave the names of the confederates, among whom were Pheroras and Salome, the latter of whom he charged with the insolent audaciously of forcing herself into his bed one night, against his consent. When Herod was in possession of these papers, in which were capital charges against a number of the nobility, it providentially happened that Archelaus, uneasy respecting the fate of his daughter and son-in-law, arrived in Judæa, with a view to serve them to the utmost of his power: and his interference had great success; for by his address and management, the passions of Herod were, in a great degree, allayed.

When Archelaus met Alexander and Herod, he burst out into the following exclamations: "What is become of my abandoned son? Wherefore does he fear me from my personal vengeance, which would tear him in pieces? I will provide a better man as a husband to my daughter: but alas! she is so affected even with the recollection of the relation she has borne to this execrable man, that though innocent of all his contrivances, she is an unfit wife for any other. I am astonished at your patience, which hath thus spared the life of a conspirator, at the hazard of your own. When I hasted from Cappadocia hither, I little thought to have found Alexander living: so that my view in this visit was rather to have conferred
red with you respecting my daughter, whom I gave in marriage to this
man, through the respect that I entertained for you: but as matters are
now situated, something may be urged in behalf of both parties. Your
tendermess as a father and a man will probably induce you to remit the pu-
nishment due to a rebellious son: wherefore let us only change hands: I
will commend my daughter to your generosity, and permit me the favour
of doing justice on your son.”

Herod became more favourable in his sentiments towards Alexander,
through this speech of Archelaus; but, at the same time, Archelaus was en-
ragèd against Pheroras; for the substance of the four papers, which Herod
gave him to read, was principally levelled against him. Archelaus, being
thus possèd of evidence so favourable to his own wishes, exerted himself to
become master of the merits of the case, and laid the blame on the principal
agents in the faction, who were mentioned in the papers, but particularly on
Pheroras. By this time Archelaus, finding that he had made some kind of
interest in the favour of Herod, addresed him in the following manner:
“ I confess it is my opinion that you are in less danger of being injured by
your son, than he is by being destroyed by a faction. Alexander must
have been out of his senses to have been guilty of the practices charged a-
gainst him. In a great degree he does already divide the government with
his father, and has reasonable hopes of succession: nor would he expect
more, if not instigated by those who wish to corrupt his mind. Young men
are inconsiderate, and, through want of experience, liable to be imposed
on by bad company and ill advice. Such sorts of agents are so artful that
neither youth nor age can resist their insinuations: and, when these make
their appearance, kingdoms, as well as private families, fall a sacrifice to
their artifices.”

These arguments induced Herod to think more favourably of Alexander,
and left so of Pheroras than he had heretofore done; for this reasoning was
fairly deducible from the four papers which had been presented. Pheroras
now finding that the temper of Herod appeared to be changed for the better,
and that the interest of Archelaus was very considerable, he assumed all po-
bble courage, and resoluting to supply by impudence what might be otherwise
wanting, he repaired to Archelaus; who told him that it was impossible he
should ever clear himself of a charge that was as fully proved against him as
the nature of it would admit: for that his conspiracy against his brother’s life
was evident, as was likewise his contrivance to ruin Alexander. Archelaus
farther addresed him, saying, “You had better cease all endeavours to ob-
tain your ends by tricks and contrivance, and freely confess the crimes of
which you must be conscious of having been guilty. Your brother’s affect-
tion for you is such as might be expected from a brother; and I have no
doubt but that he would grant your pardon on a proper application. Con-
sider what I have said, make the experiment, and depend on every af-
“fiance within the compass of my power.”

Having reflected on this hint, Pheroras put himself into deep mourning,
and accommodating his countenance to the solemnity of his appearance,
went and threw himself at the feet of Herod, to whom he confessed his
faults,
faults, and most humbly implored his pardon: but at the same time attributed all his offences to a violent passion which he entertained for a woman, who had made him regardless of his duty, and almost incapacitated him from being a proper judge of the propriety of his own conduct. Pheroras had no sooner given this ample testimony against himself, than Archelaus used his influence to reconcile him to Herod, and to abate the violent passions of the king. On this occasion Archelaus addressed Herod in substance as follows: "I confess that such conduct from a near relation has a very bad appearance: yet I have suffered even more from a brother, and greater insults than have been offered to you: but I thought it a point of prudence to make my sentiments of revenge yield to those of duty and natural affection. It is with kingdoms as with the human body; when a disorder descends into any one of the limbs, it is certainly more prudent to endeavour a cure, than to suffer the limb to be amputated."

The disposition of Herod towards Pheroras, being now more favourable, through the interposition of Archelaus, the latter affected to treat Alexander with threats and reproaches, and at length said, that without farther hesitation, he would take away his daughter. This apparent resentment of Archelaus had such an effect on the mind of Herod, that he became an advocate for his son, and most earnestly entreated Archelaus not to take a step which would render the marriage void. Archelaus replied, that, through the regard he had to the honour of the alliance, he was satisfied to leave his daughter to the absolute disposal of Herod, on the single condition that he should not bestow her on Alexander. But this behaviour was the effect of art only. Herod urged that the young couple might remain together, saying, that they had children, and entertained so great a regard for each other, that death itself would not be worse than their separation. Herod said farther, "If she remain, an act of oblivion shall pass; but if she depart, the consequence will be fatal; since nothing endears relations to each other like a friendly correspondence between their families." These words were no sooner spoken than Archelaus went out, and returned in a few minutes, bringing Alexander in his hand, and immediately reconciled him to his father. Archelaus now gave his advice that Herod should repair to Rome, and give the emperor an account of the late tranactions; declaring that he himself had written many of the particulars.

The above-mentioned artful behaviour of Archelaus delivered his son from danger, and gave an opportunity of celebrating the reconciliation by every assistance of friendly festivity. When Archelaus was ready to take his leave, Herod presented him with seventy talents, a throne ornamented with jewels, and several eunuchs, complimenting him likewise with a concubine named Pannychis. Herod likewise ordered magnificent presents for the king's ministers, relations and friends, proportioned to their respective ranks: and then himself and his nobility went as far as Antioch, to conduct Archelaus on his journey.

Soon after this event a person arrived in Judæa, who, in point of political management, was more than the equal of Archelaus; and who not only...
defeated the late scheme of Alexander's reconciliation with his father, but, in
the end, brought the young man to destruction. The name of the man was
Eurycles, born in Lacedæmon. His love of money induced him to assume
the affectation of power; yet he was so profuse in his expenses, that even a
princely revenue was unequal to them. He sent Herod several valuable pre-
"sents, with a view to obtain greater, which Herod actually sent him; but he
thought not much of any bounty that was not the price of royal blood;
wherefore he infinuated himself into Herod's favour, partly by artful tales,
and partly by the grossest flatteries; till at length he had made himself such a
perfect master of Herod's foibles, that he approved of all he said or did.
This infinuating behaviour procured him great interest at court; besides that
his country was honoured, as he was a Spartan by birth.

Eurycles having remarked the diffentions which prevailed in the royal fa-
nily, and particularly the light in which Herod seemed to regard them, went
and lodged with Antipater, and at the same time pretended great friendship
for Alexander, to whom he recited stories of his intimacy with Archelaus,
and the amity that had long been between them. This pleased Alexander,
who communicated the grateful intelligence to his brother Aristobulus.
Eurycles having discovered the dispositions of the several people with whom
he had to deal, accommodated himself to their various humours; his principal
view being to betray Alexander, and posses himself of Antipater's money.
Addressing himself to the latter, he said, "I am astonished that you, who
are the eldest son, and heir-apparent to the crown, can be imposed on by
those who only pretend to your right." To Alexander he addressed him-
self as follows: "It is strange that you, who are the son of one great prin-
cess, and the husband of another, can bear the son of a private woman to
stand between you and the crown, especially when supported by such a
friend as Archelaus." Alexander was imposed on by this address, which
he supposed arose from the friendship of Eurycles to Archelaus, and having
no suspicions, made Eurycles his bosom friend, and spoke freely to him re-
specting Antipater: "It is no wonder (said he) that Herod can think of de-
priving the son of the kingdom, when he robbed the mother of life." On
hearing this, Eurycles affected astonishment at the barbarity of the proceed-
ing, and engaging Aristobulus to discourse on the same subject, involved him
also in the treachery. When Eurycles had possessed himself of the secrets of
both the brothers, he went to Antipater, and told him what he had heard,
with many circumstances of his own invention, infinuating that the king's
life was in danger, and the plot on the point of being executed. For this
service Antipater gratified Eurycles with a present of a large sum of money,
and likewife spoke of him to Herod, in the warmest terms of friendship:
and from this time Eurycles constantly offered himself as an evidence against
the brothers, till the death of Alexander and Aristobulus.

Eurycles now went to Herod, and addresed him in the following man-
ner: "Gratitude brings me hither, to acknowledge your favours, and to of-
fer you your life as the reward. Your death has long been resolved on:
Alexander was at one time armed with a sword, to have perpetrated the
deed; and the horrid fact would have been actually accomplished, if I had
not
not prevented it, by affecting to approve of it, and offered my assistance to carry it into execution. Alexander said, cannot Herod be content with usurping a kingdom, destroying my mother, and distracting the government, without nominating for his successor such a wretch as Antipater, to the disgrace of all royalty? But it is my part to do justice to the manes of Hyrcanus and Mariamne. It would be infamous that the government should descend from such a father to a son so meanly born. Daily provocations furnish fresh arguments to confirm me in my purpose. Every word I mention is made a snare to betray me. If I but speak on the subject of honourable families and extraction, Herod deems it an affront offered to himself, and says that I mean to infringe his baseness and my own honour and dignity. When I hunt with him, if I am silent, he demands why I do not talk; if I speak, he commands my silence. If I praise him, he attributes it to flattery. In fact, I can do nothing to please him: Antipater is possessed of that happiness. If my present plot should fail, death will be more welcome than life in such a situation: and if it be successful, I can easily retire to my father-in-law, and from him to Cæsar, who is little acquainted with Herod’s temper, or the present situation of affairs. When I arrive at Rome, I shall not tremble, as formerly, in terror of a father on the spot. I shall little inflict on the injuries I have received, but dwell on those of the public; the corruptions and oppressions; the impositions of public money, wasted in luxury. I shall shew how, and by whom the money was spent; the slavery of the citizens, and its true cause; and finally, I will relate such a tale of the death of my grandfather Hyrcanus, and my mother Mariamne, and develop the wickedness of Herod in such a light, that the murder of my father will never be laid to my charge.”

This invective against Alexander being finished, Eurycles began to speak highly of Antipater, whom he represented as a dutiful son, who had crushed the plot in its birth. Herod, whose former jealousies were not subdued, broke into the most extravagant rage on this occasion, and this rage was inflamed by Antipater, who produced new evidence against the brothers, in substance as follows: “That Alexander and Aristobulus had maintained a private correspondence with Jucundus and Tyrannus, two commanders of horse, who had been lately degraded for misconduct.” Exasperated by this information, Herod ordered the officers to be put to the torture; but they declared they knew nothing of the affair, other than that a letter had been written to the governor of Alexandriœ, as from Alexander, requiring him to receive himself and brother into the castle, in case of their father’s death; and, in such an event, to furnish them with arms and other necessaries. Alexander declared that this letter was forged by Diophantus, the king’s secretary, who was a daring man, and extremely skilled in counterfeiting hands. It is worthy of remark, that Diophantus was at length executed for forgery. The governor of the castle was tortured, but confessing nothing, the sons were acquitted: yet Eurycles, the contriver of the plot, who was a disgrace to human nature, was cared for by Herod as his friend and preferver, and presented with fifty talents. Before Archelaus could have intelligence of the brothers imprisonment, this execrable villain retired privately
vately to him, and had the assurance to inform him, that Herod and Alexander were good friends, and that himself had been the happy means of effecting the reconciliation. Thence he departed into Achaia with his riches, which he spent in as infamous a manner as he had acquired them. At length he was accused before Cæsar, with having been guilty of fictitious practices, and promoting oppressions and disturbances; and in the end was banished. Thus were his infamous transactions against Alexander and Aristobulus punished.

In this place it may not be improper to contrast the conduct of Evaratus of Coos with that of Eurycles the Spartan. Evaratus was in Herod's court at the same period, and was much the friend of Alexander. The king earnestly questioned Evaratus how far he credited the report of the conspiracy, and the accusations that were founded on it; when Evaratus declared on his oath, that he believed the young princes were perfectly innocent. Notwithstanding this, the unfortunate prisoners met with no better fate; for Herod listened to calumnies only: the more infamous the traduction, the more the traducer was in his favour; and the ready way to please him was to say as he did, and affect to believe what he credited.

At this time Salome, for her own security, inflamed the quarrel between Herod and his sons. Aristobulus had cautioned her to take care of herself, both as a mother-in-law and an aunt; hinting that her danger from Herod was as great as that of any other person, since she had entered into a contract with Syllaæus, the Arabian, with an intention to marry him, though she knew he was a professed enemy to the king; and that she had repeatedly given him secret accounts of the transactions of the cabinet. The view of Aristobulus in giving her this warning, was to involve her in the same fate with himself and brother; but it happened otherwise, and this scheme proved the destruction of them both: for Salome immediately going to the king, informed him of what Aristobulus had said, by which he was so much enraged, that he caused the brothers to be put in chains, and kept separate from each other.

During the violence of Herod's passion, he sent Volumnius, a commander of horse, and Olympus, his own friend, to Cæsar, with an account of what had passed. On arriving at Rome, they delivered their letters to Cæsar, the perusal of which gave him great pain, on account of the young men; but he was diffident of exerting his authority to the prejudice of the natural power of a father over his children; wherefore he sent an answer to Herod, that “He was master of himself, and all those who depended on him.” Yet Cæsar thought it prudent to call a council of Herod's friends and relations, with the governors of the province, to examine into the plot; and then to execute those who had been guilty of wilful malice: but he thought that a lighter punishment might suffice, if the brothers had only entertained an idea of offending.

Berytus was fixed on by the emperor as the place where the contending parties should meet; and, agreeable to his instructions, Herod summoned a council to assemble there. Cæsar appointed the presidents, who were Saturninus and Pedanius, ambassadors, with Volumnius, governor of the province,
and Herod's friends and relations; Salome and Pheroras not excepted. Besides these there were all the chief men of Syria, except king Archelaus, the father-in-law of Alexander, of whom Herod was suspicious. The brothers were kept in custody, at the village of Plantane in Sidonia, the council being averse to admitting them into court, for reasons of prudence; as the very flight of them would have excited compassion, and if they had been permitted to plead their own cause, it was in Alexander's power to have obviated every objection.

When Herod stood up to speak, he expressed his displeasure against his sons in the most violent manner, as if they had been within hearing. On the subject of the conspiracy, he spoke in a low and faint voice, as if unwilling that what he had to say on this topic should be heard; for he could not possibly prove his assertions: but when he spoke of acts of disobedience, injuries, rancorous expressions, and affronts to himself, he was distinctly heard by every one; and he insinuated that death itself was less painful in his idea, than these insults. At length, when he found that there was no opposition to his will, he directed the court to proceed to sentence, after lamenting his unhappy fate, in being victorious in a contest that cost him so dear.

The first opinion was given by Saturninus, who said the sons ought to be punished, but not capitally; for it would look ill to pass such sentence on the absent, while Herod had three sons in the council. The ambassadors, and several others were of the same opinion; but Volumnius adjudged them to suffer death, in which he was followed by such others as the interest or passions of Herod had influenced: but none of them bore any malice to the unfortunate youths. The expected issue of this affair occasioned an alarming suspense in Judæa and Syria; though no one thought that Herod would accede to the murder of his children. However, so little of humanity was there in his disposition, that he first sent them in chains to Tyre, and thence to Cæarea by sea, till he determined in what manner they should be put to death.

At this period advanced one Tyro, an ancient soldier, who was a great admirer of the young princes, and whose son was very much esteemed by Alexander. Now Tyro, in a rage of resentment at Herod's preposterous conduct, went about exclaiming like a madman, that "Justice was insulted, truth was vanished; that villainy and iniquity triumphed at large in the world, while humanity and natural affection had fled from the face of the earth." Thus he continued to rave and exclaim, as one who was grown weary of his life; and at length he went to the king, whom he addressed in the following manner: "Thou, Herod, of all men existent, art certainly the most miserable; since thou art punished by giving credit to the basest and vilest of the people, to the injury of thy best and most approved friends. For instance, there are Salome and Pheroras, whom thou knowest, and haft declared, are highly delerving of death; yet on the credit of these people, art thou rashly proceeding to deprive thy sons of their lives. Thou hast not considered how much Antipater will be gratified by the destruction of the legal heirs, when only thyself and him remains: for the plan of thy enemies..."
enemies is to have a king who will govern according to their wishes. But, in this case, let them beware of the soldiers: for if they resent the murder, no one knows where the destruction may end. Every man pities the brothers; and the men of rank publicly complain of the ill manage-

ment of affairs." Several of the malcontents were now mentioned by Tyro, on which Herod gave orders for their immediate apprehension, and that Tyro and his son should likewise be taken into custody.

One Tryphon, the king's barber, happening to be present at this time, advanced, and offered himself as an evidence against Tyro; declaring that he had, in the name of Alexander, offered him a considerable reward, if he would cut Herod's throat while he was shaving him. Hereupon orders were given that the barber, with Tyro and his son, should be put to the torture. The two latter denied every thing that was charged against them, and Tryphon remained perfectly silent. On this Herod ordered an encreafe of Tyro's torments; till his son, in mere compassion for the father, promised the king a full discovery, if he might be pardoned. In consequence of this he was taken from the torture, when he declared that Alexander had instigated his father to murder the king. Some persons gave credit to this story, while others supposed it was merely a contrivance of the youth, to get his own pains remitted.

Soon after this Herod spoke reproachfully of some great officers of the army, and of Tyro; which so inflamed the mob, that they attacked those officers, as well as Tyro and the barber, with stones and cudgels, and destroyed them all. Herod's unhappy sons were now at Sebafe, near Caœarea, where he ordered them to be strangled, and their bodies conveyed to Alexandrion, and deposited by their mother's uncle, Alexander. Thus ended the lives of Aristobulus and Alexander.

**C H A P. XVIII.**

Antipater conspires against the life of his father. He dreads the children of the murdered brothers. Herod protects the orphans. A council summoned by Herod, who recommends proper alliances for the royal family. Antipater prevails on Herod to dissolve the contracts. The case of Syllaus and Salome. A faction among the women. The king informed of it by Salome. Bad practices charged on the wife of Pheroras. Antipater prohibited from conversing with Pheroras, or his wife. Antipater is sent to Rome by Herod, with his last will, in which Antipater is declared successor. A journey to Rome undertaken by Syllaus, for a re-kearing of the cause between him and Antipater. The corrupt practices of Syllaus. His design against Herod's life discovered.

The succession to the kingdom was now looked on as certain by Antipater*: but the people universally hated him; for they were sensible that he was the author of all the preceding mischief: nor was he easy himself when he reflected on the future vengeance of the children of the murdered brothers. By Glaephyra Alexander had two sons, named Tigranes and Alexander;

* Vide Ant. l. 17. c. 15. 30.
Alexander; and by Berenice, the daughter of Salome, Aristobulus had Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus, and two daughters, Herodias and Mariamne. After the death of Alexander, Glaphyra was sent back to Cappadocia, with her fortune; and Berenice, widow of Aristobulus, had married her uncle Antipater, who concerted this match to become friends with Salome, and put an end to all animosities. Antipater complimented, and made presents to Pheroras, and at the same time sent large sums to Rome, to procure the interest of Caesar's friends. Nor was he less liberal to Saturninus and his friends in Syria. But this profusion of expense had no good effect; his bounty was thought the consequence of fear, and the more he gave the more he was despised; while those to whom he gave nothing, became his more inveterate enemies. Herod being very careful of the orphan children, seemed to shew that he commiserated the death of their parents; a circumstance that made Antipater still more liberal of his bounties.

Herod having now summoned a meeting of his friends and relations, sent for the young princes, and, with tears in his eyes, addressed the company in the following manner: "You now behold the children of an unhappy family. Having been deprived of their fathers by a melancholly fate, I am bound in humanity to protect the orphans, and be a better grandfather than I was a father. With this view, I shall provide that, after my death, my children may be placed in the care of my most valuable friends. With regard to you, Pheroras, I advise you to wed your daughter with the eldest son of Alexander, and be a father and guardian to him. To you, Antipater, I recommend that your son marry one of the daughters of Aristobulus, and that you become a parent to the orphan child. Let the other sister be married to Herod, the grandson of Simon, the high-priest, by my mother's side. This is my earnest request, which will not be despised by any one who has a regard or affection for me. I repeat that this is my will, and I trust that Heaven will bless these connections to the advantage of my family and kingdom, and grant that the children may be more happy than their parents."

Thus saying, Herod united the hands of the princes, and having wept over them, dismissed the assembly, taking leave of each member respectively.

Observing what passed, Antipater was struck in such a manner that every one remarked it; for he considered the friendship that Herod had evidenced towards the children as an insult to himself. He thought that, by this proceeding, all things would become confused, particularly if the tetrarch Pheroras should join his interest with Archelaus, in favour of the sons of Alexander. He was likewise tormented with the idea of the hatred of the public to himself, the compasison of the people to the children, and the interest the whole nation took in the affair, between reverence for the deceased, and regard for the living; so that himself was looked on as a murderer. Antipater having considered these things, thought his business was to dissolve the contracts; but how to effect this was the difficulty; for Herod was of a suspicious nature, of violent passions, and not easily to be managed by artful contrivance; wherefore Antipater openly requested that he would realize the honour of which he had thought him worthy; for as to the rest, it was but the shadow without
without the substance of a kingdom; which would be particularly the case if the son of Alexander should have Pheroras for his father-in-law, and Archelaus for his grandfather. Antipater, therefore, most earnestly solicited Herod to change the disposition of the marriages, which, he said, might most easily be done, as the king had such a numerous family.

The wives of Herod were nine in number, and he had children by seven of them, viz. Antipater by Doris, Herod by Mariamne, Antipas and Archelaus by Malthace, likewise a daughter, named Olympias, married to his brother Joseph; Herod and Philip by Cleopatra of Jerusalem; Roxane by Phaedra, and Salome by Elpis. He had likewise two wives, by whom he had no children, one of whom was his cousin, and the other the daughter of his brother. Exclusive of these, the two sisters of Alexander and Aristobulus were born of Mariamne. It was urged by Antipater that here was sufficient choice among whom to vary the marriages.

Herod now began to conceive the sentiments of Antipater towards the children, and became uneasy, lest he should murder the survivors, as himself had done their predecessors. He therefore severely censured the freedom of his expostulation, and obliged him to leave the apartment: but was afterwards induced, by means of flattery and artful management, to alter his original plan; on which he bestowed the daughter of Aristobulus in marriage on Antipater, and wedded his son to the daughter of Pheroras. By this the influence that Antipater had over Herod became evident. But similar arguments could not prevail in the case of Salome, though she was supported by the empress Julia, and was also his own sister. Salome wished to be united in marriage with Syllæus, the Arabian, and engaged the empress in her favour; but Herod not only opposed the plan, but solemnly swore he would treat her as his worst enemy if she did not abandon all thoughts of it. After this he compelled her to marry a friend of his named Alexas, and then to cause one of her daughters to be espoused to the son of Alexas, and the other to Antipater's uncle on the maternal side. One of the daughters of Mariamne was likewise given by Herod, to Antipater, the son of his sister; and the other to Phaæzel, his nephew on the brother's side.

Every thing being thus altered according to the plan, and settled so as to suit the convenience of Antipater, and of course to the perfect exclusion of the orphans, his pride and malignity were encreased to such an extravagant degree, that he became perfectly insupportable. He was sensible that as the people hated him, his safety could consist only in their fear of him likewise: and Pheroras now treated him as a prince already possessed of sovereign power.

About this time new disturbances happened in the court of Herod, owing to a faction among the women: the wife, the mother and the sister of Pheroras, and the mother of Antipater, all behaved in a most insolent manner towards the king's daughters; a circumstance that gratified the malice of Antipater, who entertained the utmost hatred for them; and with regard to the rest of the women, they were all afraid of the faction, Salome alone excepted, who informed the king of every thing that passed in their private assemblies, hinting that his interest was endangered by their consultations. When the
women were informed that notice of their meetings had been communicated to the king, and that he was greatly offended at them, they declined assembling themselves together, and began a plan of bickering and quarrelling, even in the royal presence, as if they were enemies to each other, rather than conspirators against the king: and under this disguise, Antipater ridiculed Pheroras; but their nightly meetings were still held; and the more spies were on their conduct, the more they adhered together: but none of their transactions could escape the vigilance of Salome, who instantly acquainted the king with all she knew. Herod was enraged at this intelligence, particularly against the wife of Pheroras, who was principally charged by Salome. Hereupon Herod summoned a council of his relations and friends, in which he exhibited a complaint against her for offending his daughters, engaging the pharisees against himself, and giving his brother a medicine to make him hate him. Then Herod said to Pheroras, "If you had your choice of parting from your wife or brother, which should it be?" Pheroras replied, he would rather die than part from his wife. Struck with this answer, Herod deliberated awhile, and then strictly enjoined Antipater neither to discourse nor hold connection with Pheroras or his wife, or any of their acquaintance. Antipater appeared to pay a ready obedience to this order; notwithstanding which they had several meetings; but in the night to prevent discovery. Antipater having many friends in Italy, so concerted matters with them, that letters were written to Herod, to send Antipater to Rome, to pay his respects to the emperor. Hereupon Herod furnished him with money and all necessaries, with a splendid train and sent him to Rome, with his last will, in which he declared Antipater his successor, and that he should be succeeded by Herod the son of Mariamne.

At this time Syllaus, the Arabian, regardless of Caesar's orders, made another journey to Rome, to debate with Antipater the same cause which he had formerly defended against Nicolaus. It was a dispute likewise of great importance which he had with his sovereign Aretas, having executed several of his friends, among whom was Sohemus, the most eminent man in all the city of Petra for wealth and power. Tabatus, one of Caesar's governors, was also corrupted by him with a sum of money, to assist him against Herod. But the latter purchasing his assistance with a larger sum, detached Tabatus from the interest of Syllaus, and made him receiver of his own duties. Syllaus finding that he did not account to him, complained to Caesar that Tabatus was Herod's governor, and not the emperor's. Tabatus, highly incensed at this proceeding, and being in great credit with Herod, betrayed Syllaus to him, informing the king, that he had, by means of a sum of money, prevailed on Corinthus, one of the guards, to join in the conspiracy, and advising that he might be immediately apprehended. Herod did not hesitate at this; for Corinthus, though educated at court, was by birth an Arabian. Soon afterwards Corinthus, and two Arabians who were with him, were taken into custody; one of these was named Phylarchus, and the other a friend of Syllaus. These being put to the torture, confessed,
while on the rack, that, by means of a large sum of money, they had prevailed on Corinthus to undertake the murder of the king. The examinations were taken by Saturninus, the governor of Syria, who dispatched them to Rome.

CHAP. XIX.

Pheroras, refusing to part from his wife, is banished from the court by Herod, and vows not to return during the life of the king. Herod being taken ill, sends for him, but he refuses to attend. The recovery of Herod, and sickness of Pheroras. He is visited by Herod. His death and funeral. Strong evidence of Pheroras being poisoned by advice of Syllaus. An agreement among the witnesses. The rude reflections of Antipater against his father. The great severity of Herod. The testimony of the widow of Pheroras. The dying declaration of Pheroras. Mam- annus's concern in the plot fully proved.

HEROD now finding ample cause to hate the wife of Pheroras*, but no means of punishing her, daily urged him to turn her away; but this not being complied with, he was so incensed, that he banished both husband and wife from the court. This misfortune was borne with apparent patience by Pheroras, who repaired to his tetrarchy, and solemnly swore that he would never return during the life of Herod, for that his banishment should be completed only by his death. Soon after this Herod was taken ill, and sent repeatedly to Pheroras to attend him, as he had something of importance to mention before he died. Pheroras refused to attend, and Herod recovered, contrary to all expectation. Pheroras being now attacked with sickness, Herod gave a proof of his humanity by paying him a visit, and treating him with singular care and affection: but Pheroras soon died of the disorder. The general opinion was, that Herod had a great esteem for Pheroras to his last moments; yet a report was propagated that he had caused him to be poisoned. Be this as it may, the body was conveyed to Jerusalem, interred in a most magnificent manner, and a public mourning appointed. Thus ended the life of one of the murderers of Alexander and Aristobulus: but Antipater, the author of it, afterwards experienced the punishment of his wickedness; and the death of Pheroras gave rise to his ruin; for some of the freedmen of Pheroras, lamenting the los they had sustained, went to the king, and informed him that his brother had been poisoned; for that his wife had given him a kind of food not dressed in the customary way, and that he was immediately taken violently ill after swallowning it. Two days before this circumstance, it had been remarked that a cunning woman had, by the advice of the mother and sister, been brought from Arabia, to prepare a medicine for Pheroras, which proved to be a most rancorous poison, administered by the advice of Syllaus, who was well acquainted with the woman. Presumptions were so strong, and suspicions so numerous, that Herod ordered several persons, both bond and free, to be put to the torture. Among these

* Vide Ant. i. 17. c. 3, 51, 6, 7.
there was a woman, who in the extremity of her pain, exclaimed, "May " that God who rules heaven and earth avenge both thee and us on the " mother of Antipater, on whose account we suffer such excess of misery." In consequence of this hint, Herod traced the discovery; and another woman informed him of all the proceedings between the mother of Antipater, and Pheroras, and his women; mentioned their irregular meetings; and that Pheroras and Antipater, when they retired from court, kept them company all night, not a servant being admitted to the apartment. This evidence was given by one of the freed-women.

The witnesses being separately examined, there appeared to be a perfect coincidence in their informations, so that no doubt remained of the reality of the charge. Herod now conceived an idea that Antipater's retiring to Rome, and Pheroras having procured (for so he thought it) his own banishment, were but stratagems to retire from danger: for they had been often heard to say that Herod would not be content with the death of Alexander and Aristobulus; but themselves and their wives must expect a similar fate; since no one could hope for moderate treatment at the hands of him who had murdered his wife and children; wherefore the most prudent measure would be to retreat beyond the reach of his power.

It was farther deplored by the women, that Antipater would frequently address his mother to the following purpose: "While I begin to grow grey-headed, my father seems to grow younger every day; and what certainty is there that I may not die before I arrive at the throne? Or, as my father may live a long time, suppose I survive him, I may by that time be indifferent to the pleasures of royalty. Besides, the children of Alexander and Aristobulus are so many Hydra heads shooting forth; and with regard to my own children, the will of my father has abridged them of the succession, and made the son of Marianne his heir; if the will of such a dotard may be allowed to have any validity: but he will provide against any disputes on this score, by destroying every one of his family who might claim the succession. Certainly, of all the parents who ever existed, he is the most unnatural and cruel to his sons; and yet more, if possible, to his brothers: an instance of this arises from the hundred talents which he gave Antipater, to have no further connection with Pheroras: and when Pheroras demanded, "What injury have we done him?" Antipater replied, that he only wished he would give them their lives, after stripping them of all they possessed. But what is to be expected from so perfect a savage, with whom it is dangerous to live in the open profession of friendship? But here are we: now (continued Antipater) contenting ourselves with stolen meetings, when we might do ourselves justice in a very different manner, if we had but the common courage and resolution of men."

Thus much was confessed by the women, and likewise that Pheroras had entertained an idea of retiring with them to Petra. This discovery seemed clear; but the circumstance that struck Herod in particular was the hundred talents, which he had mentioned only to Antipater. Herod, therefore made Doris, the mother of Antipater, the first object of his vengeance, taking from her the ornaments, and valuable trinkets with which he had presented her,
her, to the amount of many talents; and he then banished her. When his rage was somewhat abated, he relieved the women belonging to Pheroras from the torture: but he was at the same time tormented with fear of the consequence of this mercy; for so rigid was he in his cruelties, that, least any of the guilty should escape, the innocent were frequently put to the torture.

Antipater, the Samaritan, the deputy of the other Antipater, now gave his evidence; by which it appeared that Antipater had dispatched a friend of Antiphalus into Egypt, to procure poison for the king. This poison was received from Theudion, Antipater's uncle, and by his order, delivered to Pheroras, who had undertaken to perpetrate the horrid deed, while Antipater was at Rome, and consequently beyond the reach of suspicion: and Pheroras committed the care of the poison to his wife.

On receiving this intelligence, the king sent immediately for the widow of Pheroras, whom he commanded to make an instant discovery of the secret. She had no sooner received these orders, than she retired under pretence of fetching the poison; but threw herself from the top of the house, at once to prevent the discovery, and avoid the torture. But Providence would not thus permit the escape of Antipater; for not being killed by the fall, she was taken up, and conveyed to the king; and being somewhat recovered from the hurt she had received, Herod urged her to inform him what could have tempted her to run such a hazard; solemnly swearing that, if she discovered the truth, she should be no farther punished; but that, if she gave a false account, she should be tortured to death, and denied the honours of a funeral.

When her senses were fully restored, she exclaimed as follows: "Now Pheroras is dead, it is not for me to keep secrets in favour of Antipater, who hath been the ruin of us all. Attend to what I say, mighty prince, while I say that God who cannot be deceived, to witness to the truth of my declaration. When you visited my husband in his illness, and was drowned in tears on his account, he called me to him, and declared that he had been mistaken in the opinion he had formed of his brother's kindness: for that he hated you, and had meditated your destruction; though you could then convince so generous a concern for his unhappy situation: whereon he charged me immediately to fetch the remainder of the poison which Antipater had brought, and burn it in his presence, declaring that he should otherwise die with a weight of guilt on his mind. I fetched it, according to his directions, and burnt the greater part of it before him; reserving the remainder for my own use in a case of extremity." Having thus said, she produced a box, with a small quantity of the poison in it. The examinations of the mother and brother of Antiphalus were now taken; by which it appeared that Antiphalus had brought the box which contained the poison from Egypt, having received it of a brother of his, a physician at Alexandrian. It now seemed as if even the ghosts of Alexander and Arisflobulus were agents in making discoveries, by means of persons and circumstances least likely to develop them. It was clear that Mariamne, the daughter of the high-priest, had a concern in the plot, as was evident from
from the testimony of her brothers: but the mother was punished in the son; for the king, who had formerly declared Herod, the son of Mariamme, the successor of Antipater, now obliterated his name from his will.

C H A P. XX.

Bathyllus the most material evidence against Antipater: he brings with him forged letters against the brothers. Antipater alarmed by the death of Pheroras. He proceeds to Sebastæ, where he is universally shunned. He applies to his father, who orders him to prepare for his trial on the following day. The assembling of the court. The witnesses appear. An artful speech of Herod to Varus. Nicolaus ordered to adduce the proofs. The defence of Antipater. Nicolaus severe on him. Evidences of the poison produced. Antipater charged with being concerned with Aune, in a plot against Salome. Herod resolves to do justice on Antipater; alters his will; substitutes Antipas in his place; and adjusts his legacies.

THE most material evidence against Antipater*, was one of his own freed-men, named Bathyllus, who, just at this juncture, arrived from Rome, bringing with him the poison of an asp, and of other serpents; that if the former poison should fail, Pheroras and his wife might put an end to the life of Herod. Exclusive of this, Bathyllus brought several letters, which Antipater had forged, to the prejudice of the brothers.

At this time Archelaus and Philip were pursuing their studies at Rome. They were now become young men of great courage and expectation; and being sons of the king, Antipater considered them as obstacles to his ambition; and had little hope of success unless he could work their destruction. For this purpose he forged letters against them, in the names of several of their friends at Rome; in some of which their supposed reflections on their father were mentioned; their exclamations on the death of Alexander and Aristobulus, and their regret at being sent for from Rome; (their father having ordered their return). This last circumstance affected Antipater more than all the rest.

It was proved that before Antipater left Judæa, he had been guilty of forgery, and procured letters from Rome to Herod on this subject: while, to prevent suspicion falling on himself, he would apply to his father, and become a seeming advocate for his brothers. He used to say he "Hoped the representations exceeded the fact; that some things urged against them "might be false; and for the rest, there might be less of malice than incom- "plicities in them." All this time he was at an enormous expense with his agents, to procure the destruction of his brothers; and to cover the deceit, he purchased variety of rich garments, carpets, gold and silver plate, and many other articles of high value, which he placed to the account of the suit in which they were engaged with Syllaes.

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* Vide Ant. 1. 17. c. 6.
The lesser evil seemed to have been swallowed up by the greater. When the conversation of the whole country turned on the intended murder of Herod, and every letter and witness combined to prove and detect the repeated design on the lives of the brothers; yet, though it was seven months between the proof of the fact and the return of Antipater, not a word was said on the road out of Judea, of the present state of Herod’s family: for Antipater was universally detected; and it seems to have been an act of Providence, to prevent that circulation of report which might otherwise have prevented the execution of the Divine vengeance.

Antipater now wrote to Herod, that he had been honourably treated and dismissed by the emperor, and was on the point of commencing his journey. Herod, still anxious till he had him in his power, left any precaution should prevent his coming, wrote him letters of great apparent kindness, familiarly desiring him to expedite his return; and telling him that, if he made haste, he might compound for the offence of his mother, whom Antipater knew to be already banished. When he arrived at Tarentum, he received a letter advising him of the death of Pheroras, which exceedingly shocked him. Some imputed the extremity of his sorrow to his concern for the death of so near a relation; while others attributed it, not to his regard to Pheroras, but to his concern for the loss of an accomplice and agent in his detestable plot, and his fear that what had been already done should be discovered, and the whole story of the poison revealed.

When he reached Cælesphina, he began to have certain foreboding ideas of what might happen, and could not avoid reflecting very ferionly on the situation of his mother. Those who were more prudent and cautious among his friends, advised him not to go forward to his father, till he received certain information of the cause of his mother’s banishment; lest he himself should be involved in the crime imputed to her: but those of less judgment, who wished to revisit their native place without regard to the consequence to Antipater, urged his proceeding with all possible expedition; saying, that his delay might cause suspicion, and furnish arguments for his adversaries; that if any thing was done against him, it would be during his absence; for that if he were on the spot, no man would presume to oppose him. They said farther, that it would be the height of folly to hazard a real advantage for an idle chimera: that his business was to make all expedition to his father, to be within reach of receiving a crown that could not defied to any other. These arguments had their weight; and Antipater, as if impelled by a fatality, continued his voyage to the port of Sebaist in Cæsarea.

He was astonishecl, at his arrival there, to find himself avoided by the people, no one being willing to come near him. It is true that they hated him as much before, but did not shew it so openly. Some of them stood in fear of the king; the whole discourse was of Antipater; yet Antipater himself the most ignorant of the subject. When he went to Rome it was in a most distinguished manner; but his return was altogether as contemptibly mean. He was now acquainted in general with the disturbances and contentions in the family; but he had the sense to disguise his fears, and conceal an aching heart by a smiling countenance. It was not now possible for him to make an escape,
escape, or relieve himself from his distress in any other manner. Still he was not absolutely certain of the particular state of affairs at home; for no one durst come to inform him of them; so that, at times, he had hope, either that his crimes were undiscovered, or that, by imposition and confidence, he might acquit himself: and in these consolations all his trust was reposed.

Antipater advancing to the palace with his friends, his train was contemptuously refused admittance at the outer-gate; wherefore he went in by himself. It happened that Varus, governor of Syria, was present at this juncture. Antipater was no sooner entered, than he had the assurance to address Herod, as in a way of respectful duty: but, as he approached, Herod extended his hand to stop him; and, with a look of indignation, exclaimed, "Shall I thus submit to the embrace of a parricide? Curst be that "impiety that prompts thee to approach me still thou hast obviated the cri-" minal charges against thee. For what purpose thinkest thou that Varus, " thy judge, appears, but to pass a sentence agreeable to thy deserts? There-"fore be done, and prepare for thy defence against to-morrow, for I shall "not allow thee a longer period." Astonished at these words, Antipater was unable to reply, and immediately retired in gloomy silence. His mother and his wife going afterwards to him, informed him of every thing that had passed; which recovered him from his stupefaction, and induced him to consider what he should urge in his defence.

On the following day Herod assembled a council of his friends and relations, and likewise of the friends of Antipater; himself and Varus presiding in the court. He immediately ordered all the witnesses to be brought in, among whom were several of the servants of Doris, (the mother of Antipater) who had been long in confinement. These servants produced letters from the mother to her son, to the following effect: "Your father is inform-"ed of all that has passed; therefore be cautious how you come near him, "unless you can absolutely rely on the protection of Caesar." Soon after these witnesses were introduced, Antipater came into the court, and throwing himself at his father's feet, said, "I humbly entreat you, Sir, to hear "me with impartiality: prejudge not my cause; and I have not a doubt of "adding the fullest proofs of my innocence."

Herod, with an air of authority, commanded his silence; and then turning to Varus, said, "I am assured, Varus, that you, or any other unbiased "judge, must be convinced that Antipater is deserving of death; but, in "the interim, I dread the opinion you may form of my malignant fortune; "as if my being the father of such children had brought so sore a calamity "upon me. Yet shall I be deemed entitled to your compassion, for the very "kindness that I have shewn to such abandoned wretches. With regard to "the young men that are now no more, I had intended them for the govern-"ment, and caused them to be educated at Rome, in the court, and under "the auspices of Caesar, that they might be the better qualified to rule: yet "when I had raised them to the envy of other princes, they became the "greatest enemies of my peace and safety. Antipater, however, fought to "profit by their ruin, by securing the succession to himself: yet how am I "requited by this monster of iniquity, who has practised against my life, in

"return
"return for my kindness! He thought, and he was grieved to think, that
"I should live too long; nay, that I had already done so. He could not be
"contented with the possession of the crown, unless he waded to it through
"the blood of his father; and I must own that I laid the foundation of this
"conduct, by restoring him to court from a private condition; and declar-
"ing him my successor, in prejudice to the sons born of the queen.
"I must freely acknowledge to you, Varus, the error of my proceedings.
"It was wrong in me to deprive my sons of the succession, in favour of An-
"tipater; nor did I ever shew them the favour that I evinced towards him.
"He was admitted to a great share in the administration during my life;
"and, at my death, the succession was settled on him. He had a revenue
"of fifty talents, besides other gratuitous; and I likewise bore his expences on
"all occasions: when he went to Rome he had three hundred talents, and
"carried my warm recommendation to Caesar as my preferer. The united
"wickedness of all the rest of my family equals not that of Antipater; the
"proofs against them fell short of what I have against him; yet has he the
"audacity of pleading innocence, nor does he despair to confound the
"truth by artifice. Be guarded, Varus. He will recite his tale with plau-
"sibility; but I know him in all his disguises, and am assured of the base-
"ness of his heart.
"Not long since this man would earnestly urge me to beware of Alexander,
"and be cautious not to expose my person. Frequently would he come in-
to my bed-chamber, and affect to make a search, as if he expected some
"treachery. He acted as my guard and protector while I slept; consoled
"me in my grief for the loss of the brothers, and engaged for the duty of
"those who survived: in a word, he appeared to be my guard and cham-
"pion. When I reflect on his address and hypocrisy, the art of his snares,
"and the cunning concealment of them, I wonder that I should have escaped
"him, so as to exist at this moment. However, since my fate has decreed
"that those of my family to whom I have been most kind should be my most
"inveterate foes, I can only lament my cruel destiny, confine my forrows to
"my own bosom, and determine that whoever shall seek my destruction
"shall be condignly punished, though the whole family should fall a fa-
"cricifice."

Having said this, and being much troubled in mind, Herod ordered his
friend Nicolars to produce the proofs against Antipater; who having been
all this time prositrate at his father's feet, now lifted up his head, and spoke as
follows: "Your generosity, Sir, has already pleased my cause. It is im-
possible that he could be a parricide whom you have acknowledged as your
preferer. If my filial piety was pretence only, as you now say, it could
not happen that I should be so artful in one case, and so stupid in another,
as not to know, though impositions may pass on men, yet that such wick-
edness would not pass unpunished by the Omnipotent Being who searches
our hearts. The want of duty in my brothers to you was punished by the
vengeance of Heaven. I could have no temptation to seek your life: not
the hope of a kingdom in which I was already in a kind of possession. I
could not think you hated me, after such abundant proofs as you had gi-
ven to the contrary. I could not fear you, when I knew that the zeal I
entertained for your safety, made others stand in fear of me. I could not
be in want of anything, since your treasure supplied my demands, even
to profusion. I must therefore have been worse than the worst of
men, a perfect brute, to have been deficient in duty to so generous a pa-
rent. You acknowledge that you received me to your favour, gave me a
preference to your other sons, and declared that I should succeed to
the throne. Exclusive of these favours, all men envied me for your other
acts of kindnes.

"But I am now most wretched! My fatal journey hath afforded time and
materials for the treachery of my enemies to be employed: but for the
service of my father I undertook this voyage, and to prevent Syllaus from
affronting you. My loyalty is well known at Rome, and to Caesar him-
self, the governor of Rome, and of the world, who has often kindly spoken
of my veneration for my father. I entreat you, Sir, to receive these let-
ters, which contain more truth than all that has been exhibited to my pre-
judice. These are my justification, and afford a full proof of the regard I
have entertained for you. You will recollect, Sir, with what reluctance I
undertook a journey that was likely to expose me to the malice of my ene-
 mies. Obedience to your orders have been my ruin, by allowing time to
my foes to carry their diabolical plans into execution.

"Either by sea or land, the wrath of Heaven would have met me before
this time, if I had been a parricide: but I rest not my innocence on this
argument, assured that I am already condemned in your mind. In my
present situation, all the favour I ask is, that I may not be punished in con-
sequence of evidence excited by torture: rather let me suffer by fire, racks,
and any other instruments of torment: for if I am really a parricide, my
punishment cannot be too severe." This address was accompanied with
such pathetic tears and lamentations, that the whole court, and even Varus,
seemed to pity the case of Antipater: Herod alone remained unmoved; for
he knew the strength of the evidence, and was so assured of his guilt, that
his artful tears had no effect.

Nicolaus spoke next, and agreeable to the king's orders, prefaced his
speech with remarks on the artifice of Antipater; charged him with crimes
of a capital nature, and left him no room to hope for mercy. All the pub-
lic misconduct was attributed to Antipater; particularly the destruction of
the brothers, which was evidently the effect of his traductions. He was
charged with having practised against the survivors, who were in the way of
his advancement. It was urged that he would not spare the brothers, who
could entertain thoughts of poisoning the father. When Nicolaus came to
prove the intended poisoning, he produced the evidences in order, declaimed
on the crime of Phororas, charged Antipater with having promoted the
wickednes, corrupted the king's best friends, and made the palace a scene of
lewdnes.

Varus now demanded of Antipater, what he had to urge in his own de-
defence; to which he made no other reply than by a solemn appeal to Heaven
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that he was wholly innocent. Hereupon Varus called for the poison, and giving part of it to a person under sentence of death, he expired immediately. Varus now conferred with Herod in private, sent the proceedings to Cæsar, and departed the following day. Herod likewise sent an account of the prosecution to the emperor, and committed Antipater to close custody.

After this, Antipater was charged with a treacherous design against Salome. A servant of Antipater, on his return from Rome, brought the king a letter from Acme, an attendant on the empress, in which he informed him, that having found among the papers of her mistress, a number of letters from Salome to Julia, he thought the receipt of them would be deemed a favour by Herod. These letters, which were the production of Antipater, were filled with the most scandalous invectives against, and reproaches of the king; and Acme was only employed to convey them to Herod, on the promise of an ample gratuity. What made the guilt of Antipater yet more evident, was a letter from this very Acme to him, conceived in the following terms: "Agreeable to your commands, I have written to your father, and have also sent him other letters. You may be assured that, on the perusal of them the king will be sufficiently enraged against his sister. Now I have done my duty, let it be your care not to forget the promise you have made me."

When this forgery had been detected, and other practices against Salome discovered, Herod was alarmed and astonished on the reflection, that she had so narrowly escaped from the snare laid by Antipater: and an idea now strongly possessed his imagination that Alexander himself had fallen a sacrifice to some such artifice: wherefore he was now resolved, without loss of time, to cause justice to be executed on Antipater, in the name of all the family: but, just at this juncture Herod was prevented from carrying his plan into execution, by a violent fit of sickness: however, he transmitted to Cæsar an account of the treacherous practices against Salome, with information how far Acme was concerned in the plot. This being done, he altered his will, and striking out the name of Antipater, inferred that of Antipas in its place, but took no notice of Archelaus and Philip, though they were the elder brothers. To the emperor he bequeathed a thousand talents, besides other pecuniary gratifications. To the empress, her sons, friends, and freed-men, he left about fifty talents; and to other persons, lands, and other legacies. To his sister Salome he likewise made a very considerable bequest.
The unhappy state of Herod in mind and body. Judas and Matthias head a tumult respecting Herod's golden eagle. A report prevailing that Herod was at the point of death, the mob destroy the eagle. The guards seize the principal agents. The people mitigate the king's wrath. The ring-leaders put to death. Herod grows worse, and attempts to kill himself. Antipater killed by command of Herod, who appoints Archelaus his successor. The decease of Herod. A cruel order frustrated. Substance of Herod's last will. The people celebrate the advancement of Archelaus. Account of the funeral solemnities.

Reduced by age, sickness, and vexation, Herod grew every day more weak*. He was now seventy years of age, and so bitterly lamented the death of his sons, that, even when in tolerable health, he enjoyed not any satisfaction. He was now extremely ill; yet the idea that Antipater still lived occasioned him the most pungent sorrow: for he had fixed his mind on giving orders for his execution, on the first proper opportunity.

At this juncture a new disturbance arose among the people, which was headed by Judas the son of Sephorasus, and Matthias the son of Margalus, two Sophists distinguished by their knowledge of the laws, and, of course, in high reputation with the people. These men gave daily lectures, which were attended by amazing numbers of young men. When the Sophists were acquainted with the languishing situation of the king, between the violence of his disorder and the agitation of his mind, they hinted to each other that this was a proper time for vindicating the honour of God, by the destruction of such works as had been erected in defiance of his holy laws: and they urged that the placing of images, or the similitude of any living creature in the temple, was positively forbidden. This was easily understood to refer to the golden eagle which Herod had caused to be placed on the great gate: and the merit of pulling it down was represented to the people, as an object worthy any hazard they could run in defence of their laws and country: death in the attempt was mentioned as an honour, and a circumstance that would be succeeded by eternal felicity. It was said that base minded people, and those only who regarded the present moment, would wish to die in their beds, rather than fall a sacrifice at the shrine of religion. While the people were attending to this doctrine, a report circulated that the king lay at the point of death. This circumstance inflamed the passions of the multitude, some of whom ascending the temple at noon-day, and thence descending by means of ropes, cut the eagle in pieces, while an immense crowd of people attended as spectators. Intelligence of this affair being carried to the captain of the guards, he took a party of soldiers, who seized about forty of the ring-leaders, and conducted them prisoner to the king. Herod asked them if they had been so presumptuous as to break the golden eagle: they replied in the affirmative: he then demanded by what orders: they said by the laws of their own country. He farther interrogated them how it could happen that they were

* Vide Ant. l. 17. c. 8, 9, 10.
were so cheerful, when they were certain of death; and to this they answered, that they were assured of a better existence in a future life. Enraged at this apparent magnanimity, Herod seemed to forget his indisposition through the force of his anger; he said that they were a set of seditionists and abandoned wretches, who sought to destroy the government under a pretence of law: "But (added he) you shall be punished in a way proportioned to the enormity of the crime of which you have been guilty." It was now thought that the king's anger might urge him to too great severity: the people, therefore, requested that he would be satisfied with punishing the present prisoners, and the two principal agents, and extend his mercy to the others. This he at length complied with, ordering the two ring-leaders, and those who descended by the ropes, to be burnt alive, and the others of the combination to be beheaded by the common executioner.

The illness of Herod now encreased so that he was pained from head to foot; he had a burning fever, an itching all over his body, pain in his stomach, the gripes, and the dropsy; his secret parts were putrid, and infected with worms; he breathed with difficulty; his nerves were contracted, and he was universally convulsed. The superstitious imputed this complication of disorders to a judgment on him for the death of the two Sophists: yet he was still so anxious for life, that notwithstanding his numerous disorders, and extreme torments, he hoped to find a cure. He crossed the river Jordan, and tried the warm baths of Callirrhoe, the waters of which are at once grateful to the taste and medicinal. After this his physicians recommended a bath of warm oil; but on the first trial of it, he lost his senses, and his eyes were fixed. His situation now so alarmed his attendants, that they burst out into an exclamation of grief, and were so loud in their expressions of sorrow, that the very noise of them in some degree recalled his senses. At length, however, finding that his situation was altogether hopeless, he directed that each of his soldiers should receive a gratuity of fifty drachmas, and that a large sum of money should be distributed to his friends and governors.

On his return to Jericho, when there was no longer expectation of his life, he seemed to bid defiance to futurity by one of the most horrid resolutions that can be conceived; for the violence of his disorder seemed only to inflame his rage. He sent an order through all the country of Judæa, that all the nobility should be seized, and confined in the circus, or hippodrome. This order being issued, he addressed Salome, and her husband Alexas in the following manner: "I am very sensible that the day of my death will be celebrated by the Jews as a holiday: but if you will pay a proper attention to my directions, I have made an ample provision of mourners, and my funeral solemnities shall be properly celebrated. I therefore charge you that, as soon as I am absolutely dead, you commission the soldiers to enter the circus, and put to death all who are within it. By this mode of proceeding my death will be sincerely lamented by the whole province of Judæa, and every particular family therein."

Herod had no sooner given these directions than his agents arrived from Rome, bringing him letters, which informed him that Caesar had ordered Acme, the servant of Julia, to be put to death; and that Antipater was likewise
likewise condemned to a similar fate; but that the emperor would have no objection to his being punished with banishment only, provided this was agreeable to his father. These letters afforded Herod some present consolation; but his violent pains soon returning, he was tempted to think of destroying himself. Being at this time afflicted with a violent cough, he took an apple, and asked for a knife, as if he intended to pare or cut it. Thus provided, he looked around him, to see if any one took notice of him, and then lifted his hand as if to stab himself. This being seen by his nephew Achiab, he ran to him, seized his arm, and prevented the intended suicide.

This circumstance gave immediate occasion to the circulation of a report that the king was dead. The news furnished great cause of joy to Antipater, who hereupon offered his keepers a considerable sum of money to grant him his liberty: but this the principal officer not only refused to comply with, but instantly went to the king, with an account of the affair. Herod now exclaimed with more strength than could have been expected from one in his situation; and gave orders that his guards should go directly and put Antipater to death, and take care to deposit his body in the castle of Hyrcanian. This being done, Herod again altered his will, leaving the succession to the eldest brother Archelaus, in the stead of Antipas, on whom he bestowed a tetrarchy.

Five days after the execution of Antipater, Herod departed this life, having been thirty-seven years declared king by the Romans, and thirty-four years after the decease of Antigonus. He was one of the most fortunate of men, the troubles in his own family Excepted. From a private station he was raised to the rank of a king. He held the government for a long period, and at length bequeathed it to his family.

The military were as yet unacquainted with the death of the king: during which interval Salome and her husband went to the hippodrome, and gave orders that all the prisoners who had been devoted to destruction should be set at liberty, and every one permitted to retire to his own habitation; and this under the pretence that Herod had altered his resolution. The prisoners were no sooner at liberty than the soldiers were informed that the king was dead, and being assembled together at the amphitheatre of Jericho, Ptolemy, the keeper of the royal seal, addressed them in a speech in honour of the deceased, whom he mentioned as a prince of singular good fortune, and consoled with them on the loss they had sustained. He then read a letter addressed particularly to the military, in which he warmly recommended his successor to the affectionate regard of the public. In the next place he read the will; whereby the kingdom was left to Archelaus, Philip was declared heir of Trachon, and its adjacencies; and Antipas, as before-mentioned, was appointed tetrarch. Herod also directed, by his will, that his ring should be presented to Cæsar, that he should be acquainted with all that had passed, and nothing should be ratified without his consent. In other respects the former will was to be deemed valid.

Hereupon there was a general acclamation of "Long live Archelaus!" The soldiers and common people were equally free of their good wives.
The next care was to buy the deceased king, in which Archelaus was at
THE WARS OF THE JEWS.

BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Account of the ceremony of mourning and feasting. The royal declaration. The people complain of grievances. A violent tumult. The multitude prevail against the guards; but at length the army routs the whole body. Archelaus goes to Rome, and Philip officiates for him. Sabinus proceeds towards Caesarea, but is stopped by Varus. Sabinus retires to Jerusalem, and demands possession of some castles and treasure, but is refused. Antipas makes pretence to the succession. Sabinus and Salome bring charges against Archelaus. His defence. Caesar bears both sides, receives Archelaus graciously, and adjourns the court.

NEW troubles arose from the necessity of Archelaus's* going to Rome on the death of Herod. When the seven days of mourning were ended he advanced to the temple, dressed in white, and was received with all possible respect by the people; to whom, from a throne of gold, he behaved in the most gracious and condescending manner. Having thanked

* Vide Ant. 1. 17, c. 10.
thanked them for the attention they had paid to his father's funeral, and the
honours they rendered to him as the successor, he added, "But till Caesar,
our common sovereign, has confirmed the succession, I shall neither claim
the authority, or even the name of king: and for this reason I refused the
crown, when the army would have bestowed it on me at Jericho; though
I shall ever remember with gratitude the good wishes both of soldiers and
people, when I am possessed of sovereign authority through the favour of
the emperor; and my friends may rely on my promise to serve them, even
more effectually than my father has done."

This declaration gave great satisfaction to the people, who, determined to
see if he would keep his promise, presented petitions, some for the abolishment,
some for the reduction of taxes, and others for the release of prisoners.
Archelaus complied with every request, and then retired to sacrifice
and feast with his friends.

A number of discontented people had now assembled, who complained
much of the public grievances. They said it was infamous in Herod to sacri-
cifice his people for cutting down the golden eagle from the gate of the
temple. The clamour now grew general: some beat their breasts; and others
lamented with violent outcries, the loss of such a number of good men as had
fallen sacrifices for the religion and laws of their country. They demanded
justice on the instruments Herod had made use of to execute his vengeance;
and insisted that Herod's high priest should be deprived of his office, and
a more upright man appointed in his stead.

This circumstance transported Archelaus with rage: but being in haste to
prosecute his journey, he thought it advisable to treat them with mild lan-
guage, and therefore sent his master of the horse, to request that they would
be at peace: but he no sooner came to the temple than the leaders of
the mob began to assault him with stones, and would not permit him to speak.
Hereupon Archelaus sent several other messengers, all of whom were treated
in the same manner; so that, numbers excepted, the riot had the appearance
of a rebellion.

The feast of the passover now approaching, great numbers of the Jews re-
sorted to the city to celebrate their religious rites: among the rest several of
the faction of the two Sophists, who came to lament the death of the pre-
tended patriots; and would not retire from the temple, where they waited in
hope of inflaming the passions of their party. Archelaus, apprehending a
general tumult, had previously sent a band of soldiers, and a tribune, with
orders to seize the ring-leaders, if any irregularities should be committed.
These were attacked, some of them killed with stones, and the tribune dan-
ergously wounded; while the insurgents retired to their devotions, with as
much unconcern as if nothing had happened. Archelaus being now con-
vinced that force alone could quell them, stationed his infantry in the
city, and the horse before the walls. The infantry attacked them while fa-
crificing, and killed three thousand at the altar; on which the rest fled to the
mountains, and Archelaus ordering proclamation to be made that every man
should return home, the festival was at an end.
The tumult being thus suppressed, Archelaus, with his mother, and his friends Ptolemy, and Nicolaus, embarked for Rome; but he left Philip to officiate in his absence. Salome and her children, with the king's nephews, and other relations went with Archelaus, under pretence of assisting his claim to the succession; but in reality to procure him to be punished for the violation of the temple.

When they arrived at Caesarea, they met Sabinus, governor of Syria, who was on his way to Judaea, to take possession of the money left by Herod; but he was prevailed on to drop his journey, by the influence of Varus and Ptolemy, at the request of Archelaus. Wherefore he remained at Caesarea, and promised neither to seize on the castles or money, to the prejudice of Archelaus, without the orders of Caesar. But no sooner was Varus gone towards Antioch, and Archelaus on his progress for Rome, than Sabinus repaired to Jerusalem, took up his residence in the palace, and sent to the governors of the castles, to deliver them into his hands; and to the officers of the treasury, to account with him for the money: in answer to which they said, they were the officers of Caesar, not of Archelaus.

At this period, Antipas made claim to the kingdom, insisting that the former will was most valid, by which the succession was limited to him; and that he was certain his pretence would be supported by Salome, and the other relations who had failed with Archelaus. He took his mother with him, and Ptolemy, the brother of Nicolaus, (a firm friend of Herod) which was greatly in his favour, for no two persons were more esteemed than they: but his chief dependance was on Irnaeus, a man of abilities, and a skilful orator. Thus supported, Antipas thought himself so sure of success, that he would not listen to any one who advised him to pay respect to the seniority of Archelaus, or to the second will of his father. Antipas, on his arrival at Rome, was joined by the enemies of Archelaus, particularly those who wished to shake off the yoke of government, or be ruled by a Roman magistracy; but if this failed, they were content to acknowledge Antipas for their sovereign.

Antipas depended on the assistance of Sabinus, who had heretofore written letters in his favour to Caesar, and likewise complained of Archelaus. Salome and her party raised the charge against Archelaus, and presented it to Caeser: Archelaus, on the contrary, wrote a memorial in his own favour, which, with his father's seal-ring, and an account of treasure left behind him, were presented to the emperor by Ptolemy. Caeser reflecting on the importance and revenues of the kingdom, the numerous family of Herod, and the letters of Varus and Sabinus, assembled the Roman nobility in council, to try the merits of the case.

The cause was opened by Antipater, the son of Salome, who insisted that Archelaus had, in fact, long exercised the sovereign authority, and it was idle now to contend about the name. "Why, (said he) should that man appeal to Caeser, who has already denied his judicial authority? Instantly on Herod's death the people were suborned to put the crown on his head. "He sat like a king, in royal state, on a throne of gold; and affixed his authority
authority by changing the order of the militia; by disposing of places;
by receiving and granting petitions; by setting prisoners at liberty, and
assuming the power of life and death; all which are royal prerogatives.
If this man, who has thus exercised royal power, be permitted to ask the
title of royalty of Cæsar, he makes Cæsar no more than a shadow; a king
in name, and not in reality. Let me farther ask, why Archelaus makes this
farcical appearance every day of mourning for his father, when he spends
each night in feasting and carousing? Was not the late sedition occasioned
by the detestation that the people had for this hypocrite?

Antipater proceeded to recount the slaughter near the temple; said, "It
was the festival day, when the people assembling to worship were sacrificed;
that their throats were cut, and such numbers of dead bodies piled round
the temple, as had not been known in the most violent of foreign wars.
Now (said he) the implacableness of this man's nature was so well known
to Herod, that it could not be thought he would demit the crown to him
while he was in possession of his intellects. The king's conduct justifies
this observation: when he made the latter will, his mind was more disor-
dered than his body, and he was not master of his own conduct. No de-
fect is charged on Antipas, the successor by the former will; on the con-
trary, he is spoken of as a prince admirably calculated for government,
But if it should be allowed that Herod was in his right senses, Archelaus,
by subverting the laws of the constitution, has, in effect, abdicated the
throne: and what mischief would not this rafh youth do if he had Cæsar's
authority to countenance his cruelties, since he has done thus much in de-
spite of all authority?"

Much to the same purpose having been urged by Antipater, and several
of the relations of Archelaus having given evidence against him, Nicolaus
stood up to speak for the defendant. He insisted that the slaughter com-
mitted in the temple was not only absolutely necessary, but that the parties who
were slain were enemies of Cæsar. He likewise proved that the other alleged
crimes were advised by those who now opposed Archelaus. With respect to
the second will, he observed that it ought to be deemed valid, because the
testator, when he made it, referred the confirmation of it to Cæsar: a plain
proof that the man must have sense enough to appoint the right heir, who had
so properly recognized the undoubted sovereign.

Nicolaus having finifhcd his plea, Archelaus suddenly threw himself at the
feet of Cæsar, who raised him so graciously, that it was thought he deemed
him worthy to succeed his father; but for the present no resolution was taken.
Cæsar now dismissed the council, and deliberated with his friends how he
should act. It was doubted if any of those named in the will should be chosen
to the succession; or whether the principality should be divided among the
family; for they were too numerous to be all properly supported at a moder-
ate expence.
Malthace, the mother of Archelaus, dies. The Jews continue violent. The quarrel inflamed by Sabinus. The people resort to the feast of Pentecost. Their mode of assembling. Sabinus applies for relief to Varus. The temple assaulted. A battle ensues. The galleries fired by the Romans. The holy treasure pilfered by the soldiers. The Jews summn the palace, and offer conditions to Sabinus, which are refused. Violent troubles in Judea. The conduct of Judas, son of Eleazarias the robber. The depredations of Simon, a servant of Herod. Avenge, a shepherd, and his four brothers, men of enterprise.

MALTACE, the mother of Archelaus, died * before Caesar had come to a resolution respecting the succession. In the interim Varus sent letters from Syria, respecting a revolt among the Jews, which he having foreseen, went to Jerusalem, when Archelaus departed to Rome, to keep the peace, taking three legions with him: but finding his endeavours ineffectual, he left one of the legions in the city, and returned to Antioch.

Sabinus going afterwards to Jerusalem, inflamed the quarrel; for finding the troops left by Varus, besides a number of his domestics, armed, and ready to second his violence, his intention was to take possession of the castles and money of Herod, by menacing the governors, and officers who had them in possession. The feast of Pentecost happening at this time, the people assembled in prodigious numbers, not from motives of religion but of rage: vast multitudes came from Idumæa, Galilee, and Jericho, and the country beyond Jordan, exclusive of the inhabitants of Judea, who were more courageous and numerous than the rest. Having separated into three bodies, they pitched their tents in different divisions; one to the westward of the palace, one to the north of the temple, and the other to the south of it, towards the hippodrome; so that the Romans were beleaguered on every side.

The courage of Sabinus began to fail; wherefore he sent repeated messengers to Varus, to bring him immediate relief; or the consequences would be fatal. In the mean time he retreated to the tower of the castle of Phasael, which commands all the rest; and from thence made a signal to his troops to attack the enemy; but he had not courage to lead his men to the attack in person. The Romans now assailed the temple in a furious manner, and a bloody fight ensued; for while the Jews had no assistance from above, either with darts or arrows, the advantage lay with the Romans, from their superior skill: but when the Jews obtained possession of the galleries, they called the Romans from thence, so that numbers were killed, and their companions too distant to revenge their lots.

Thus pressed, the Romans set fire to the galleries, which were distinguished by the elegance and ornament of their workmanship. Numbers of the Jews were burnt to death; many slain by the enemy when the galleries fell; and some pushed from the battlements; while others destroyed themselves with the sword, choosing rather to perish that way than by fire. Those who attacked the Romans from the walls were easily destroyed; and at length, a

* Vide Ant. l. 17. c. 1S.
The compleat conquest being obtained, the soldiers seized the holy treasure, to the amount of four hundred talents, leaving the rest to Sabinus, except what had been clandestinely carried off.

In consequence of this loss, a more numerous and valiant body of Jews assembled; and setting down before the palace, summoned it to surrender, threatening to give no quarter on other conditions; but offering Sabinus leave to depart with his troops, among whom were numbers of volunteers, and three thousand courageous men of Sebafe; of these Rufus commanded the horde, and Gratus the foot: they were valiant officers, and the favourites of their partizans. The Jews, urging the siege, attempted the walls of the castle; still advising Sabinus to retire, and not provoke his fate, by opposing their resolution to recover their liberties. Sabinus would have retreated, but he was afraid to trust them, suspecting some treachery was intended; wherefore he maintained the siege, in hopes that Varus would relieve him.

At this time disorders were universal in Judæa, and many waited an opportunity of insulting the government. Two thousand veterans, who had formerly served under Herod, were assembled in Jdbæa. They were well armed, skilfully commanded, and had frequently encountered the king's troops, under Achiah, kinsman to Herod, who was no able to cope with them in open fields, but had successfully attacked them in fallacies from fortified towns.

Judas, the son of Hezekias (the celebrated captain of robbers formerly made captive by Herod) was now in Sepphoris of Galilee, followed by a number of men who forced the royal magazines, and furnishing themselves with arms, &c. ravaged the country without opposition.

On the other side of the river was Simon, who had been a domestick of Herod's. He was distinguished by the uncommon size, elegance, and symmetry of his person. He was followed by a set of vagabonds, and ranging the country with a crown on his head, burnt and destroyed as he went, even to Jericho, where he set fire to the palace, reduced to ashes many adjacent buildings, and obtained a very valuable treasure. He would probably have reduced the whole country, but that Gratus arrived with a body of the people from Sebafe, and bowmen from Trachon; on which a battle ensued, when Simon was routed, with the loss of many men; and while he was flying across a steep bottom, Gratus killed him by a violent blow across the neck and shoulders. Thus fell Simon: but there was another gang of desperadoes assembled near Amathus and the banks of Jordan, which ravaged all the adjacent country.

At this time one Athetaengses, a shepherd, presumed on sovereign authority. He was robust of body, of a strength of mind to brave danger or death in any shape. He had four brothers who assisted him, and acted as his officers and counsellors. Each man commanded a troop, and with these they ravaged the country. When business of consequence demanded dispatch, Athetaengses sat on a throne with a crown on his head, issuing orders, and pronouncing judgment, in all the state of royalty. Thus the five brothers proceeded for a while, in despite of all opposition. They attacked the Romans, the king's troops, and even the Jews, when any advantage could be made by
by conquest. On a time when the Romans were convoying corn and arms to one of their legions, they were met near Emmaus, by the forces of Ahronges, who slew Arius the centurion, and forty of his best troops, and would have destroyed them all, if, just at the juncture, Gratus had not arrived, with a number of his followers, from Sebaite. The partizans of Ahronges continued their depredations for a considerable time; equally attacking natives and strangers, and making great booty: but at length three of the brothers were made prisoners, one of them by Archelaus, and two others by Gratus and Ptolemy; and a fourth surrendering himself to Archelaus, the confederacy was dissolved: but in the mean time Judæa was involved in all the distress consequent on rebellious proceedings.

CHAP. III.

The Romans are joined by Varus to oppose the Jews. The city of Sepphoris burnt. Sappho plundered, and Emmaus reduced to ashes. The Jews quit the siege on the approach of Varus, whom the citizens admit, and disclaim all share in the sedition. Almost two thousand of the ring-leaders crucified. The Arabsians disbarged by Varus. His generosity towards the Jews of Idumæa.

Sabinus * and the principal officers at Jerusalem having informed Varus that the legion there was in danger of being destroyed, he hastened to their relief, marching with two legions and four divisions of horse, to Ptolemais, which he appointed as a rendezvous, for the king's and prince's auxiliaries to join him. On his way he was reinforced by fifteen hundred armed men from Berytus: and when he reached Ptolemais he was joined by a large body of horse and foot, under the command of Aretas, king of Arabia. Having drawn up his forces near Ptolemais, he dispatched a division into Galilee, under the care of Gallus, who soon encountered and routed a party of the enemy, entered the city of Sepphoris, reduced it to ashes, and enslaved the inhabitants.

In the mean time Varus proceeded to Samaria, but did not attack the city, because the inhabitants were unconcerned in the revolt. He next encamped at Arus, a village in the possession of Ptolemy, which the Arabsians destroyed because he was a friend of Herod. The army now proceeded to the fortified town of Sappho, which was taken and plundered. The Arabsians destroyed as they went. Emmaus being abandoned, they burnt it by order of Varus, in revenge for the death of Arius and his associates.

Varus now proceeded towards Jerusalem, and the Jews abandoned the siege on his approach. Some fled to the woods and fields; but the citizens in general bade him welcome to the town, declared that they were unconcerned in the sedition, which they attributed to others. They said, that so far from joining the insurgents, they were themselves as much blocked up as the Romans: but as it was a public day, they could not hinder people from coming into the town. Varus was met on his approach by Joseph, the

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* Pudc. Ant. 17. c. 16
nephew of Archelaus, Rufus and Gratus, generals to the king, the people of Sebaste, and the Roman soldiers in their military array. Sabinus was afraid to see Varus, but had privately retreated to the sea-coast. In the interim, Varus dispatched troops through the country, in search of the principal authors of the insurrection, of whom they found great numbers. Varus ordered near two thousand of the most criminal to be crucified, and gave directions that many others should be committed to prison.

Varus now discharged the Arabian, who had not acted like soldiers of honour, but devoted themselves to spoil and plunder, and made great devastation wherever they came. He now received information that ten thousand Jews were in arms near Idumæa; on which he put himself at the head of his troops, and marched directly to oppose them: but before an attack was made, the Jews, advised by Achias, surrendered, and laid down their arms. Varus was not severe with the common men; but sent the officers to Cæsar, to answer for their conduct. Some he pardoned; but finding some relations of Herod among the number, he caused them to be treated as traitors to the king. Varus having thus adjusted affairs at Jerusalem, returned to Antioch, leaving behind him the legion which had been previously established as a garrison to the city.

C H A P. IV.

Cæsar being petitioned by the Jews for the free exercise of their religion, summoned a council to take their advice. Account of the proceedings. Archelaus defended by Nicolaus. The cause heard by Cæsar. He settles the government, and adjusts the will of Herod.

During the above-mentioned transactions in Judæa an affair happened at Rome that postponed the views of Archelaus. Fifty deputies, with the consent of Varus, had been sent from Jerusalem to Rome, to petition Cæsar, in the names of their employers, that the Jews might be admitted to the free exercise of their religion; and this petition was seconded by eight thousand Jews, who were resident at Rome. Hereupon Cæsar summoned a council of his friends among the nobility, to meet him in the temple of Apollo, on Mount-Palatine; a building which he had erected with equal expense and elegance. When the council met, Archelaus and his friends ranged themselves on one hand, and a great number of the Jews and their ambassadors on the other. The relations of Archelaus seemed to act a neutral part. The ill-will they bore him would not permit them to espouse his cause; and, at the same time, they were ashamed to oppose a prince of the blood, by taking part with his enemies. Among others who were present was Philip, the brother of Archelaus, whom Varus had dispatched on two friendly motives: the first was, that he might be ready to aid his brother, if his service should be wanted; and the other, that he might obtain a share in the government, if Cæsar should determine to divide it among the children of Herod.

* Vide Ant. l. 17. c. 11.
The first question asked in council was, "What Herod had done contrary to law." In answer to which it was said, that "He had never acted like a king; but that his whole conduct was that of a lawless tyrant: that he was guilty of shedding innocent blood, and perverting justice to such an extent that he made his subjects' death rather than life: that he not only tore their bodies in pieces by violent torments, but pillaged their cities and towns of every thing that was most valuable, which he lavished in an ostentatious manner on foreigners; and that he even sacrificed the lives of the Jews to strangers." It was further urged that he deprived his people of their ancient laws and liberties, leaving them only beggary and misery in return; so that they had endured more hardships since his advancement to the throne, than their ancestors ever had experienced since their deliverance from Xerxes, out of the Babylonish captivity."

"But (it was further said) the Jews had been so habituated to slavery that they were so resigned to the yoke as almost to submit to entail slavery on their posterity, by paying obedience to Archelaus, son of the late tyrant, whom, on the death of his father, they had hailed as king. They lamented the death of Herod, and preferred their prayers for the long and happy reign of his successor; who had given full proof that he was the true son of so barbarous a father, by murdering three thousand citizens on his entrance on his government: that he had amply entitled himself to the succession, by offering these victims in the holy temple, where the carcases were piled up at the time of a solemn festival."

"Is it then astonishing (said the orator) that men who have survived such miseries, and escaped such imminent dangers, should declare their aversion to this man; and if they are inclined to destruction, their wish to fall with their faces to the enemy, like men of honour? The sole request that the Jews have to make to the Romans, is that Caesar will take so much pity on them as to protect them from the cruelty of their oppressors, annex the country of Judaea to Syria, and subject them to the laws and regulations of the Roman government: thus, when they come under the dominion of moderate and reasonable governors, it will appear whether they are or are not so turbulent and seditious a people as they have been represented."

In answer to all this, Nicolaus extenuated the crimes which had been alleged against the kings; and then proceeded to draw the general character of the Jewish nation. He insisted that they were a people averse to regal government, and impatient of control of any kind; and he concluded by remarking on the conduct of the relations of Archelaus, who had taken part with his accusers.

Cæsar having heard both parties dismissed the council; and, after a few days' consideration, gave Archelaus half the kingdom, with the title of ethnarch, and promised him that of king, if he should appear to merit it. The other half he divided between Philip and Antipas, sons of Herod, (the latter of whom had disputed the sovereignty with Archelaus) and these were called tetrarchs. To the share of Antipas fell the country near the river, and Galilee, of the annual value of two hundred talents. Philip obtained Batania, Trachon, and Auranitis, with part of the land of Zenon, near Jamnia,
Jannia, with one hundred talents yearly. The ethnarchy of Archelaus amounted to four hundred talents, and consisted of Idumæa, all Judæa, and Samaria; but to this last was remitted a fourth of its tribute, as a gratuity for not being concerned in the rebellion with their neighbours. To Archelaus's lot there fell Straton's Tower, Sebast,e, Joppa, and Jerusalem: but the Greek cities of Gaza, Gadara, and Hyppon were separated from the kingdom, and annexed to Syria. To Salome, exclusive of what the king had left her, Cæsar gave Jannia, Aflotus, and Phasaclis, with a palace at Askalon; all estimated at sixty talents: but the palace was made subject to the dominion of the ethnarchy. When Cæsar had adjusted the affairs of Herod's will, he gratified his two daughters with a present of five hundred pieces of minted money, on their marriage with the sons of Pheroras; and finally, on the divisions of Herod's patrimony, he distributed among the family a thousand talents, which were left to himself; reserving only a few trifling articles, in remembrance of the testator.

C H A P. V.

An impostor personates Alexander. The mode and management of the deception. The impostor detected, and condemned to the galleys; and the author of the scheme put to death.

Certain young Jews, who was educated at Sidon, with the freedman of a Roman citizen, now undertook to personate Alexander, who had been put to death by Herod; and went to Rome for the purpose of carrying on the imposition. There went with him, in order to advise and support him, another Jew, who was a perfect master of the persons of the court of Herod, and their intrigues. This man instructed his companion to say, that the men who were engaged by his father to put him and his brother Aristobulus to death, had relented in their favour, and having conveyed them out of danger, substituted other bodies in their stead. Many Jews of Crete believing this story, furnished the impostor with abundant necessaries for his support; on which he went to Melos, where he was received and accommodated in the most bountiful manner. His behaviour was so plausible that he prevailed on many friends to attend him to Rome. When he came to Puteoli he was presented with valuable presents by the Jews of that place, while the friends of his supposèd father paid him the respect due to a sovereign prince. In fact, there was such an amazing likeness between him and the real Alexander, that those who had seen the latter did not scruple to swear that he was the same. So much credit had this story gained in the world, that the Jews of Rome flocked about him, thronging every street through which he was to pass; carrying him about in a chair of state, and contributing by every instance of respect and munificence, to give an air of reality to the counterfeit.

Cæsar recollected the features of Alexander, whom he had seen when brought before him on the accusation of Herod: however, he sent Celadus, who

* Vide Ant. 1. 17. c. 12.
who was perfectly acquainted with the deceased, to bring this young man to him: not that Caesar gave any credit to this alleged story; but it was proper that something should be done in a matter of so much importance. Celadus had a strong suspicion of his being an impostor at the first view: and his opinion was confirmed beyond all doubt, when he remarked the composure of his skin, the inelegance of his shape, and the awkwardness of his address: but what particularly struck Celadus was the confidence of his manner. Enquiring respecting Arístobulus, he said, "He was in health, but "lived at Cyprus, to be out of danger: for, if they were together, the cons-. . . sequence of a surprize might be fatal." Celadus now took him aside, and told him he knew he was an impostor; but that if he would give up the contriver of the plot, Caesar would spare his life. This he readily engaged to do, and attended Celadus to Caesar, to whom he discovered the name of the Jew who had put him upon this plan of raising money. And, in fact, more money had been acquired from the credulity of those citizens he had visited, than the real Alexander could have procured. Caesar could not help smiling at the absurdity of the contrivance; but, in the end, condemned the counterfeit Alexander to the galleys, a service adapted to his athletic frame; and ordered his associate to be put to death. With regard to the people of Melos, he thought them sufficiently punished in the expense they had incurred.

**CHAP VI.**

The banishment of Archelaus, and seizure of his estate. A dream, with its exposition and accomplishment. A strange dream of the princess Glaphyra. Her vision of her first husband, and her death, two days after relating her dream.

**ARCHELAUS** was no sooner settled in his autocracy, than old animosities revived in his mind*: and he was very severe both on Jews and Samaritans; and these joining to send an embassy to Caesar against him, he was banished to Vienne, a city of Gaul, and his whole estate seized on, in the ninth year of his government.

A story is related of a dream that Archelaus had, previous to his being summoned to attend Caesar. He dreamt that he saw some oxen eating nine large full ears of corn: and he applied to divers Chaldaens and magicians for an interpretation. Their opinions were various; but Simon, an Essene, interpreted it as follows: "Nine years are meant by these ears of corn: the oxen signify overturning, or changing of things, as the earth is overturned by the plough. You will reign as many years as there were ears of corn, and die after various changes of fortune." Archelaus was summoned to plead his cause before Caesar within five days of this interpretation of the dream.

The princess Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and wife of Archelaus above-mentioned, had likewise a singular dream. She had been first married to Alexander, brother of Archelaus, and son of Herod, who.

* Vide Ant. L. 17. c. 12.
who caused him to be put to death. After his fatal exit she was married to Juba, king of Lybia, and on his demise she went and lived with her father. On the first seeing her, Archelaus, the ethnarch, fell so violently in love with her, that he dismissed his wife Mariamne, and married her. Not long after this she returned to Judæa, where she beheld her first husband in a vision, who reproached her in the following manner: “Abandoned wo-
man! would not one husband after me suffice thee? And art thou shame-
less enough to wed a third, and even under my roof? This third, too, my "own brother? This is an infult not to be borne: but thy conduct will not "avail thee: I will have thee again, in despite of thy will.” Glaphyra died
two days after she had related this dream to her friends.

**CHAP. VII.**


The ethnarchy of Archelaus being reduced to a province, Caponius, a Roman knight, was dispatched by Caesar, as the governor of it. During his government one Judas, a Galilæan, incited the people to a re-
volt, hinting that by acknowledging the sovereignty of the Romans, and paying them tribute, they treated God and man in the same manner. Undoubtedly the sentiments of this man were peculiar to himself.

Among the Jews are three sects of religion: Essenes, Pharisees, and Sadducees; of which the first are most distinguished for their moral and religious conduct. The Essenes are the most friendly among each other of any people existing. They are enemies equally to pleasure and to vice, and deem contin-
ence, and the subjection of their passions as the first of virtues. They have no exalted idea of marriage; but are fond of the children of other people, whom they take when young, and educate them as their own. Their objec-
tions to marriage do not lead them to wish the extinction of mankind; but they think the women frail, and doubt their fidelity to any single man.

They despise abundance of wealth; and one principal cement of their so-
ciety is the enjoyment of their possessions in common, so that none of them shall experience the extremity of riches or poverty: but the whole society, like brothers, share in the common bounties of Providence.

They cannot bear that oil should touch their bodies; and if such a thing happens by accident, are uneasy till they get rid of it. They affect great sim-
plexity in their apparel, not regarding how coarse it is, so it be clean and white.

* Vide Ant. 1. 17. c. 21.*
From the best men of their society they chuse stewards, to whom they commit the receipt and management of their revenues, leaving it to them to distribute to the brotherhood, according to their several necessities.

They do not reside in any fixed habitations, but wander about in different cities, where they are always ready to accommodate such of their party as may happen to come there, though they have been perfect strangers till such accidental meeting.

When they travel they carry nothing with them but arms for their protection. There are always some of the fraternity in every city, to accommodate their friends; so that they are in no want of lodgings, provisions, cloaths, or the other necessaries of life. Their dress is not unlike that worn by children when under the care of their preceptors.

They neither change either their cloaths or shoes till they are ragged, or worn out. They neither buy nor sell one with another; but cheerfully supply each other with such things as are wanted; and this not in the way of exchange; for their laws compel the one to give, and leave the other at liberty to accept.

They are the most conscientious men existing. They will not speak a word of common business before the rising of the sun; but, at that time, use traditional forms of prayer, in which they ask of God that the sun may shine on them. These devotions ended, they engage in their various occupations till eleven in the forenoon, when they again assemble, with linen cloaths thrown over them, and wash themselves from head to foot with cold water; which being done, they retreat to their cells, where no person of any other profession is permitted to come near them. Thence they proceed into a refectory, which they deem almost as holy as the temple. Here they remain some time without speaking, when the baker brings each man his loaf, and the cook a plate, or mess of soup to every one, and sets it before them. The priest then says grace, before which no one must presume to touch his food. After dinner solemn thanks are returned, and then they strip off their habits, which they deem somewhat sacred, and proceed to their common employment till evening. When they go to supper they sit at one table, and if they have any visitors they fit with them.

No noise or disturbance is heard in these houses. They speak alternately; and their gravity makes them greatly admired by strangers. These are the consequences of their sober life, and moderation in eating and drinking. The advice of their superiors is necessary to every act they do, except those of charity, in which they are left to their own discretion, every man being at liberty to assist the virtuous in distress. Yet they are not permitted to give any thing to their relations, without consent of their governors.

They have great command of their passions; are men of firm faith, fond of peace, and deem their word as sacred as an oath: in fact, they consider the taking an oath as worse than perjury; and have no opinion of a man who cannot be credited without calling God to witness what he says. They are great admirers of ancient wisdom, as far as it relates to the good of soul or body; particularly respecting remedies for diseases; and the virtues of plants, minerals, metals, and stones.
If a person is disposed to enter into their society, they do not hastily admit him, but keep him on trial for a year. Those thus on probation receive each a pick-ax, a girdle, and a white garment. After a man has given some proof of his continence and virtue, his diet is changed, and he is allowed the use of the purifying waters: but he must be two years on probation before he is admitted to the table in the refectory. After this he is admitted into the society; but not deemed an established member of it, till he has bound himself to the following conditions.

He must first solemnly profess to love and worship God; to do justice to all men; not to injure any one, even if commanded to do it; to abhor all wicked men; to associate with the friends of justice and equity; to keep faith with all men, but especially with princes, who are the appointed servants of God. He must declare that, if he should be promoted above his companions, he will not abuse his power to the injury of those beneath him, nor by elegance of dress disingenuously himself from his inferiors: but that he will love the truth, and devote himself to it, and punish those who speak falsely. He must bind himself to keep his hands free from theft and false dealing, and his soul unpolluted with desire of unlawful gain: not to conceal the mysteries of religion from his brethren of the profession, nor develope them to the profane, even to save his life. With regard to his doctrine, he must promulgate only what he has been taught; endeavour to preserve the doctrine he professes, the books written concerning it, and the names of those from whom he received it. These professions and protestations are used as a test to new members, to bind them strictly to their duty.

When any person is detected in a notorious wickedness, he is turned out of the society; and these generally make an unfortunate exit. The man who is reprobated by these solemn vows is not permitted to receive a single mouthful of bread from the hands of a stranger, even though his life depended on it; so that they are driven to graze like beasts, till the flesh perishes from their bones. The society have sometimes received them again, when they have been in this utter extremity, and at the point of death: conceiving that the punishment they had undergone was a kind of atonement for the crime.

They are singularly strict in the administration of justice: nothing is determined on without being carried by a hundred voices; and there is no revoking the judgment when it is once past.

Second to the authority of God they deem that of their law-givers, to speak ill of, or blaspheme whom is punished with death. They pay the utmost respect to their elders, and to the majority of the people; deeming it reasonable to obey the former, and attend to the opinion of the latter. When ten of them meet in council, no one is permitted to speak if the other nine oppose him. Spitting towards the midst of the company, or on the right hand, they deem an act of immorality.

No Jews are so strict observers of the sabbath as these people. On the preceding evening they eat a meal to suffice for the sabbath, that they may not kindle a fire on that day, on which they dare not remove a pot or dish from one place to another, or even relieve themselves by a natural evacuation. When, on other days, they have these necessary calls, they dig a hole near a foot
a foot deep with a pick-ax, and having disburthened themselves, fill the
hole again, superstitiously careful that such an object may not pollute the beams
of the sun. Thus they attempt a solemn purification, after a common re-
lied of nature.

The perfons professing this way of life, are in four divisions, agreeable to
the respective obligations they have taken; and the younger are deemed so
much inferior to the elder, that if they happen to touch each other, they are
compelled to purify, as if they had touched a stranger. They live to an ad-
vanced age; many of them to more than a hundred years; which may be at-
tributed to the purity of their food, and the simplicity of their manners.

They are fearlefs of danger, and despife torment to such a degree, that
they deem an honourable death preferable to life. For proof of this it is
only necessary to refer to the war between the Jews and Romans. On many
occasions the Jews sustaine excessive torments; such as burning alive,
breaking of bones, and pains of every kind, rather than speak disrespectfully
of their law-giver, or eat a mouthful of prohibited food. This they did, de-
pifing idle supplications, and dejections of mind, but with serene and cheer-
ful countenances amidst all their pains, triumphing over their tormentors, and
yielding their lives with a resolution that evidenced their hope of a glorious
future exifence.

The Effenes believe that the body is mortal; and that the soul, being no
more substantial than the most subtil air, is incorruptible and immortal; but
that it is enclofed in the body, as in prison, by a sort of natural inclination
or attraction: and that when it shall be seperated from these bodily ties, as re-
lieved from a long slavery, it will ascend to the regions of eternal bliss. These
sentiments are not disimilar to those of the Greeks, who imagine a place
beyond the ocean, where neither rain, snow, or extreme heat prevails, but that
it is refreshed by gentle gales. This they deem the seat of the happy souls:
but with regard to the wicked, they hold them sentenced to regions of violent
tempelts, severe frosts, and eternal pains. Nor is the Grecian glory of the
Fortunate Islands unlike this: these are deemed places appropriated to the
reception of the spirits called heroes, and demi-gods. The Greeks
have likewise their hell, described as an infernal pit, provided with plagues
and punishments for such as Sylphus, Tantalus, Ixion, and Tityus. They
deam the soul immortal, from its love of virtue and hatred of vice: since
the hope of future rewards makes virtuous men flill better in this world: it
likewise checks impiety, from the reflection that though men may escape the
stroke of justice in this life, yet the Divine retribution will not fail to
meet and punish them eternally in a future. Similar to all this is the opinion
of the Effenes on the soul; and it rarely happens that any one who has em-
braced these sentiments is ever induced to change his opinion.

Among the Effenes are fome who pretend to predict future events; ground-
ing their predictions on the prophecies in the sacred writings, and preparing
themselves by purification for the businefs: and it generally happens that
their predictions are fulfilled.
There is another sect of Essenes who agree with the former with regard to laws, manners, and food; but not in that of marriage; for they say that those who oppose this institution are declared enemies of mankind, as they would prevent the propagation of the human race: urging, that if every one held this sentiment, the world would soon be at an end. These latter, however, are cautious; for they subject the women to a probation of three years, and if, at the end of that period, they are in health proper for child-bearing, they are then deemed qualified for marriage. Among these the women are convened when they wash, in the same manner as the men.

The Pharisees are the most eminent doctors of the law, and men of the greatest learning in all the rites and ceremonies of the Jews. The principal article in their creed is that “Every thing is effected by God and fate;” yet that it is much in our own power to determine whether we will do well or ill; only fate sometimes interposes in particular instances. They acknowledge the immortality of the soul, and believe that the souls of good men are transmigrated into other bodies; but that the souls of the wicked are sent into a state of eternal misery.

On the contrary, the Sadducees absolutely deny the doctrine of fate. They say that “God is incapable of doing evil, but leaves men at liberty to act as they please; and that they have their choice of good and evil.” With regard to future rewards and punishments, they have no idea of them. The Pharisees are a sociable people, and live in harmony with each other; but the Sadducees are perpetually disagreeing among themselves, and are remarkably severe in their conduct towards strangers. Thus much with regard to the philosophy of the Jews. I will now resume my subject.

CHAP. VIII.

The death of Augustus, who is succeeded by Tiberius. Judea governed by Pilate. Caesar’s ensigns being conveyed to Jerusalem, occasions a tumult. The Jews summoned by Pilate, under pretence of hearing them. Pilate prevailed on to remove the ensigns, by the determined behaviour of the Jews. Another contention arises, respecting the tax on the holy treasure. Agrippa prefers a complaint to Tiberius against Herod. Agrippa made prisoner till the death of Tiberius. Caius Cæsar succeeds Cæsar, and promotes Agrippa, to the mortification of Herod and his wife. Herod applies to the emperor for his favour; but the latter gives his tetrarchy to Agrippa. Herod dies in Spain.

Herod and Philip (named Antipas) now remained in possession of their tetrarchies, the archarchy of Archelaus being reduced to a province. Salome died, and left her estate to the empress Livia, and also a nursery of palm-trees at Phasaelis.

After a reign of something more than fifty-seven years Augustus died, and Tiberius, the son of Livia, succeeded to the empire of Rome. A city called Caesarea, was built in Paneas, by Philip the tetrarch. It was situated at the head

* Vide Ant. l. 17. c. 1, 2.
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head of the river Jordan. He likewise built another in Gaulanitis, which he named Julias. Tiberias in Galilee, and Julias in Pærea, were built by Herod.

At this time Judæa was governed by Pilate; and Tiberius sending him thither to take charge of his government, he privately conveyed into Jerusalem, by night, some ensigns of Cæsar, with his image on them. Hereupon the Jews grew tumultuous, apprehending the loss of their religion and liberties, by this insult on their laws, which strictly forbid the bringing of images into the city. Great numbers of people from all parts of the province soon inflamed the uproar in the city; on which the Jews went in a body to Cæarea, beseeching Pilate to shew his regard to their laws, by directing the images to be removed. Pilate paid no attention to their remonstrances; on which the Jews threw themselves on the ground near his house, and continued in that posture five days and nights.

Pilate ascended a tribunal in the great court on the sixth day, and summoned the Jews, as if to acquaint them with his determination; but, on a signal being given, they instantly found themselves surrounded by armed soldiers three in depth. The Jews were alarmed at this circumstance, and still more when Pilate declared that, unless they received the ensigns into the city, they should all of them perish; and hereon, he commanded the soldiers to draw their swords. On this the Jews threw themselves on the ground before the soldiers, and stretched out their necks to the stroke of the sword, unanimously declaring that they would die, rather than submit to a violation of their laws. This magnanimity of behaviour astonisbed Pilate to such a degree, that he gave immediate orders for the removal of the ensigns.

Another contention immediately followed the above. The Jews possess a sacred treasure, which bears the name of corban; and on this Pilate imposed a tax towards the expense of bringing water, by means of aqueducts, from the distance of three hundred furlongs. This circumstance so enraged the common people, that they freely complained of it to Pilate, while he sat upon the tribunal. But Pilate had taken care to provide for the consequences of a riot, by ordering disguised soldiers to mix with the mob, and attack them when directions should be given; but they were commanded not to draw their swords, but make use of cudgels only, in case of an insurrection. The mob growing riotous and ungovernable, Pilate gave the signal to the soldiers, who obeyed his orders by doing great execution. Many of the Jews were destroyed; some by the blows they received, some were trampled to death in the crowd, and others killed in the pursuit. This chastisement affected the multitude to such a degree that they made no more complaints; and thus the riot was effectually quelled.

Some time after this, Agrippa, (the son of that Aristobulus who was put to death by his father Herod) went to Tiberius with a complaint against Herod the tetrarch; but the emperor disregarding it, Agrippa remained at Rome in the character of a private gentleman; and infinuated himself with persons of the first rank, particularly with Caius the son of Germanicus. It happened that when Agrippa was entertaining Caius at his table, he, in the height of his festivity, extended his arm, and said, "I should be happy to see Caius
master of the world instead of Tiberius." The emperor being informed of this speech, Agrippa was committed to prison, where he remained, in a shocking situation, till the death of the emperor, which happened at the end of about six months, and in the three and twentieth year of his reign.

When Caius Cæsar was advanced to the throne he released Agrippa, and bestowed on him the tetrarchy of Philip, (lately deceased) with the title of king. Herod, the tetrarch, greatly envied him for this promotion; and Herodias his wife inflamed his ambition to the hope of possessing the kingdom. She used to tell him that he had lost it by his idleness; that he might have had it for the trouble of a journey to Cæsar, and making the request. "Caius, (said she) would not have made the least scruple of advancing you to the dignity of a king, from that of a tetrarch, when he could so readily promote Agrippa to that rank, from that of a private man." Thus stimulated, Herod went to Cæsar, and was immediately followed by Agrippa; but the emperor was so far from complying with the ambitious views of Herod, that he reprimanded him for his avarice, and bestowed his tetrarchy on Agrippa. The expectations of Herod being thus frustrated, he and his wife retired to Spain, where he died.

CHAP. IX.

Caius Cæsar pretends to be a god. His bloody executions. Orders given by Petronius to place Cæsar’s statues in the temple. Petronius marches towards Judea. Particular description of Ptolemais. Account of Memnon’s sepulchre. The Jews at Ptolemais petition Petronius for relief. He assembles them at Tiberias, and expostulates with them. He promises his interest with Cæsar in their behalf. He dismisses them, and retires to Antioch. Petronius writes Cæsar an account of the transactions. Cæsar sends an order to put Petronius to death; but his own death prevents the execution of the order.

ANIMATED by success, Caius Cæsar was impious enough to assume the character of a god, and to demand Divine honours. He cauased such numbers of the Roman nobility to be beheaded, that he almost extirpated the order, and debilitated his country by those frequent executions. Nor did his cruelty stop here; but he extended it to Judea, whither he sent Petronius, with a commission to erect his statues in the temple, to execute every one who might oppose this order, and to make slaves of the rest of the Jews. But Providence mercifully interfered. Petronius hastily marched from Antioch towards Judea, with three legions, and a number of auxiliary forces from Syria. The Jews were so amazed at the intelligence of this expedition, that few of them could credit its reality; and those who did were unable to defend themselves: and when the army had reached Ptolemais, an universal anxiety ensued.

Ptolemais is a city situated on a large plain, on the coast of Galilee. It is surrounded with mountains to the eastward, distant sixty furlongs. These mountains
mountains belong to the south part of Galilee, with mount Carmel, distant one hundred and twenty stadia northwards; where is likewise a high mountain, called the Tyrian Ladder, which is also distant one hundred and twenty stadia. Two stadia from the town is a small river in the neighbourhood of Belus, near which is situated the sepulchre of Memnon, adjacent to a prospect near a hundred cubits over, which has something very singular in it. It appears like a circular valley, yielding a sort of glady sand. This sand is met by ships, which carry it away; but a fresh flock is still supplied by the winds from the top of the mountains. This place naturally turns any thing that comes into it to glass; but the most singular circumstance is, that when the sand has been vitrified, it will turn to sand again, only on its being thrown on the banks; such is the peculiar nature of the soil.

In the distress above-mentioned, the Jews, with their wives and children, repaired to Petronius at Ptolemais, where they entreated him, by every argument respecting themselves and their country, not to urge the violation of the laws, to the destruction of so many unoffending persons. So numerous were the petitioners, and so unfortunate their situation, that Petronius was induced to leave his army, and the statues of the emperor at Ptolemais; and proceeding towards Galilee, he summoned the Jews of every denomination to attend him at Tiberias. When he arrived there he represented to them the strength and power of Rome, and the threats of the emperor; adding, that the request of the Jews was a kind of affront, since they had no right to dispute the orders for placing the emperor's statues in their temples, among the other gods, as they were submitted to by all the other subjects of the empire. He insinuated that their expostulations had the air of rebellion, and himself, next to Caesar, was interested in the affair.

The Jews had nothing to urge, but that the erecting images, either of god or man, in any place, sacred or profane, was altogether contrary to the laws and customs of their country. "But (said Petronius) ought I not to "keep the laws of my master, as well as you those of yours; and if I should "violate them in your favour, should I not deserve punishment? You are "not now oppressed by Petronius, but by Caesar; for I am equally a servant "with yourselves." Hereupon all the people made a declaration that they would never submit to a violation of their laws, though their lives were to pay the penalty of their resistance.

The tumult having somewhat subsided, Petronius asked if they were determined to take up arms against Caesar. They replied in the negative; and that they offered up daily prayers for him, and for all the inhabitants of Rome: but if that Caesar persisted in his resolution to place images in their temple, he sought the ready method to sacrifice the whole body of the Jews; for that themselves, their wives, and their children, were all ready to yield up their lives on the occasion. This united resolution of such a multitude, all zealous in the cause of religion, had such an effect on Petronius, that he broke up the assembly without coming to any determination.

On the following day, however, he went privately to some of the most distinguished persons among them; and likewise, on the same day, addrest
himself in public to the common people; at one time advising them as a friend; then urging the invincible courage of the Romans, and the danger of incurring the displeasure of Cæsar; and representing likewise the obligations he was under of obeying his commands. When he found that all these arguments were in vain, and that the Jews had already lost the favour of sowing their corn (for the controversy had continued near fifty days,) he told them he had determined to run an imminent hazard on their account: “I will engage (said he) either to satisfy Cæsar, and thereby save both you and myself; or, if that cannot be done, my life shall pay the sacrifice of my zeal.” The multitude now offered up vows and prayers for his welfare, on which he dismissed them, and retired with his army from Ptolemais to Antioch. From Antioch he dispatched a messenger to Cæsar, with an account of his method of entering into Judæa, where all the people had united in one general request, the denial of which he thought would risk the loss of the whole province. He said they demanded only the protection of their own laws against all innovations. In answer to this letter, Caius gave immediate orders that Petronius should be put to death for not having executed his orders. But contrary winds detaining those who carried this express, it did not arrive till twenty-seven days after news had come, by a shorter passage, that Caius was dead.

C H A P. X.

Claudius declared, by the army, successor of Caius. The consuls meet in the capitol. Claudius and the senate favour Agrippa. He takes part with Claudius, and is dispatched on an embassy to the senate. Agrippa attempts to justify Claudius and the army. The answer of the senate. The return of Claudius to the senate. A soldier affirms the honour of Claudius. The soldiers desert, and their example is followed by the senate. Agrippa prevents the loss of Claudius’s party. Claudius becomes popular, and offers regular sacrifices. His princely benevolence to Agrippa and Herod. The riches and power of Agrippa. Account of the walls of Jerusalem. Agrippa dies at Cæsarea, after reigning three years. Account of the family of Alexander and Aristobulus.

After a reign of three years and six months, Caius was treacherously destroyed*; and the army, which was then at Rome, bestowed the government on Claudius. Three companies were appointed as a guard to the city, by Sentius Saturninus, and Pomponius Secundus, the consuls, agreeable to the order of the senate, which assembled in the capitol, and resolved to oppose Claudius, in revenge of the cruelties of Caius, and with a view to reduce the government to an aristocracy, as it anciently had been, when the administration was composed of the most worthy men. Agrippa happening to arrive at this period, the council invited him to a seat in the senate, and Claudius solicited him to side with the army; as he was deemed a valuable acquisition to either party. Agrippa, considering Claudius already in the

* Vide Ant. i. 17. c. 14.
light of an Emperor, made no scruple of attaching himself to his interest, and was by him dispatched on an embassy to the senate. His business was to declare that Claudius having been chosen emperor by the army, it was entirely their act, without any consent of his own; and as the transaction was irretrievably past, it was not in his power to rescind, consistently either with his safety or honour: for, to decline the dignity would appear as if he defpised the soldiers; and if he seemed insensible of the obligation, they would be instigated to revenge. Agrippa repeatedly urged, that as Claudius was already chosen, he could not think of resigning; since, even if he did, he should be still envied as the sovereign of their choice: but that as the essential point was gained, and he was in actual possession of the government, he was determined to discharge the duties of his office, as a prince who had a real affection for his people, and not as a tyrant, seeking the gratification of his own will. He said that Claudius would not be satisfied with the name of emperor, but take advice of the senate in state affairs: "For (said he) the shocking fate of Caius would make Claudius unassuming, if he was not naturally disposed to temperance and moderation."

Agrippa having delivered his commission, the senate (who relied on their own conduct, and their influence with the army) replied that "They were not men who would submit to voluntary slavery." This message was carried to Claudius, who immediately sent Agrippa back with an answer to the senate, importing that Claudius was not of a disposition to betray those friends who had advanced him to the empire: that he was disturbed at the idea of having any dispute with the senate; but that if the affair must be determined by force of arms, he wished they would fix on a spot without the city for their decision; since it were pity that Rome itself should be made a scene of blood, and reduced to ashes, only to indulge the humour of a few violent men. Agrippa delivered this message to the senate, agreeable to his orders from Claudius.

While affairs were in this situation, one of the soldiers who was present advanced, and drew his sword, saying, "Why, my companions, should we remain thus in rancorous enmity with our best friends, and stand on the precipice of a civil war, because we adhere to Claudius, who is an emperor of unblemished character, and a prince whom we ought not to oppose with arms, as an enemy, but rather treat him with duty and respect, as our protector?" Having thus said, he proceeded through the midst of the court, and was followed by the rest of the soldiers. The nobles were alarmed at the probable consequences of this defection; and finding that opposition availed nothing, they followed the example of the military, and retired, declaring for Claudius. In the mean time a number of officious soldiers were watching under the walls, with drawn swords, to kill them as they came out; and all of them would probably have been sacrificed, before Claudius was acquainted with the affair, if Agrippa had not apprized him of it, in time to prevent the slaughter, and expressly told him that if he did not restrain the licentiousness of the army, particularly towards the nobility, devastation would stalk at large, and, in a little time, he would be reduced to a prince.
a prince of a desert only, instead of being the sovereign of a mighty empire.

This advice was followed by Claudius, who brought his soldiers to obedience, treated the senators in his camp with respect and friendship; and then, agreeable to custom, proceeded with them to offer sacrifices and prayers for the welfare of the empire. Claudius now gave to Agrippa not only the whole of his father's kingdom, but likewise those places which Augustus had bestowed upon Herod, viz. Auronitis, and Trachonitis; with a district that bore the name of the kingdom of Lyflias. The emperor ordered the particulars of this grant to be signified to the people, and directed that the senate should have the same engraved in brass, and placed in the capitol. On Herod, the brother of Agrippa, he bestowed the kingdom of Chalcis; this Herod, by marrying his daughter Berenice, being now become his son-in-law.

The wealth and power now possessed by Agrippa exceeded all description; but he did not waste his riches in trifling or idle pursuits. He soon set about the walling of Jerusalem; and if it had been completed in the manner it was begun, it would never have yielded to the Roman force: but he left this great work unfinished, dying at Caesarea, after a reign of three years, having governed as a tetrarch three previous years. By his wife Cypris he left three daughters; Berenice, Mariamne, and Drusilla; and a son named Agrippa, who being very young at the time of his father's death, the kingdom was reduced into a province by Claudius, who bestowed the government of it on Cuspius Fadus, who was succeeded by Tiberius Alexander, who held the people in peace, by leaving the laws and customs of the country unviolated. Soon after this, died Herod, the governor of Chalcis, who left two sons, named Berenicianus and Hyrcanus, by Berenice, the daughter of his brother, and Aristobulus, by Mariamne, his former wife. Another brother, Aristobulus, died a private man, and left a daughter, called Jothama. It has been already mentioned that these were the children of Aristobulus, the son of Herod. But Mariamne bore to Herod two sons, named Alexander and Aristobulus, who were put to death by order of their father. After this the children of Alexander were governors in Armenia the greater.
CHAP. XI.

The death of Herod of Chalcis. He is succeeded by Agrippa. Tiberius Alexander succeeds Cumanus. A vile affront to the Jews, and its consequences. A robbery occasions a tumult. The books of Moses torn and burnt by a soldier, who is put to death. Account of a quarrel between the Jews of Galilee and Samaria, which occasions great disturbance in Jerusalem. The authors of these outrages. Cumanus marches to relieve the country. Complaints of them made to Quadratus. The origin of the tumults charged on the Samaritans, and the consequences on Cumanus. Quadratus repatri to Jerusalem for better information. Cumanus and the Samaritans beard at Rome, by Caesar, who passes judgment, and orders execution. The death of Claudius, who is succeeded by Nero. The infamous character of the latter.

Herod of Chalcis being dead, Agrippa, the son of Agrippa, was advanced by the emperor to the kingdom of his uncle; and that of Judæa was governed by Cumanus, who succeeded Tiberius Alexander. During the administration of the latter many fresh misfortunes overtook the Jews. While the people were assembled in prodigious numbers at Jerusalem, to celebrate the festival of unleavened bread, a guard of soldiers was stationed at the gate of the temple, to prevent disorders, according to the usual custom. Among these soldiers was one, who, turning up his bare posteriors in the midst of the company, made a disagreeable noise, corresponding with the indecency of the action. This inflamed the multitude to such a degree, that pressing in crowds to Cumanus, they demanded justice on the soldier for the insult; and among the rest, some violent young men proceeded to high words, and quarreling, and struck the soldiers, and pelted them with stones. Cumanus, fearing the consequences of a popular insurrection, sent other soldiers to support the former; which occasioned such terror to the Jews, that they endeavoured all in their power to get out of the temple; but the throng was so great in the passages, that near ten thousand were pressed or trod to death. This circumstance turned the Jewish festival into mourning: there were tears and lamentations in every house; for the calamity was so general that every family shared it.

No sooner was this misfortune ended, than it was succeeded by another. A domestic of Caesar, named Stephen, being on a journey with some household-goods belonging to his master, was attacked by a set of thieves who robbed him, near Bethoron. Hereupon Cumanus sent a party to seize the inhabitants of the adjacent villages, and bring them in bonds to answer for not apprehending the robbers. While searching for these people, a soldier happening to meet with the books of Moses, tore, and threw them in the fire. Affronted by this insult, the Jews assembled in multitudes, and in the hurry of their zeal repaired to Cumanus in Cæsarea, and urged him in the most violent manner to punish the author of so daring an outrage on the law of God. Cumanus, finding that the people would not be appeased, or-
ordered the soldier to be brought forth, and put to death in their presence; and thus the tumult subsided.

At this period an unhappy dispute likewise happened between the Jews of Galilee, and those of Samaria. A Galilean Jew, being going to worship at a festival at Jerusalem, was killed as he was passing through the village of Geman in the plain of Samaria. Hereupon the Galilians assembled in a body, to take vengeance on the Samaritans by force of arms. Those of better rank applied to Cumanus, and advised him to go to Galilee before the matter went too far, and do justice on the murderers, on a strict scrutiny. Cumanus, otherwise employed, would not interfere. The report of this violence reaching Jerusalem, the people were beyond measure inflamed, and resolved to attack Samaria, notwithstanding all the arguments that could be used to restrain them. The ringleaders of these outrages were Eleazar, the son of Dinias, and Alexander; who making inroads into the district of Acrabatena, destroyed men, women and children, with the sword, and burnt the country.

Cumanus hearing of these ravages, advanced with a party of horse from Sebaste, to relieve the country; and destroyed and made prisoners many of Eleazar's adherents. With regard to those who had made such ravages in Samaria, the officers and principal people in Jerusalem went after them in sackcloth and ashes, entreating them, by every persuasive argument, to abandon their design. "Do not (said they) let your rage against Samaria destroy Jerusalem. Pity your country, temple, city, and wives; the fate of all being at stake in this contest; not let the idea of avenging one poor Galilean, cost you all that you hold dear in the world." The Jews were at length pacified by these remonstrances.

Peace being naturally productive of sloth, robberies of every kind became now very common; the countries were infested with men of violence, and the greater villains preyed upon the less. At this time Numidius Quadratus being governor of Syria, was applied to, at Tyre, by the principal of the Samaritans, who represented how greatly their country was infested by robbers. Jonathan, the son of Ananus, the high-priest, was present, with a considerable number of Jews of distinction. Jonathan replied to their complaints by blaming the Samaritans, as the authors of the insurrection, by the death of the Galilean; and likewise hinted that Cumanus's neglect of properly punishing the offenders had produced all the fatal consequences.

When Quadratus had heard thus much of the affair, he postponed the farther consideration of it till he should arrive in Judea, where he might obtain fuller information respecting it. He now went to Cesarea, and ordered the execution of those persons whom Cumanus had made prisoners; and then proceeded to Lydda, where he again heard the cause, and ordered, eighteen of the principal Jews, who were proved to have been concerned, to be beheaded. He sent some of the noble Samaritans to Cesar; likewise Jonathan and Ananias, high-priests of the Jews, Ananus son of Ananias, and other Jews of distinction. Cumanus, and Celer the tribune, he also sent to Rome, to answer for their conduct to the emperor. Having thus adjusted affairs, he went
went to Jerusalem; but retired to Antioch, on finding that the people were in the peaceable celebration of their feast of unleavened bread.

The trial coming on at Rome, Agrippa was an advocate for the Jews, and Cumanus had many friends to support him; but when Caesar had heard his defence, and that of the Samaritans, he ordered three of the most eminent of the latter to be beheaded; Cumanus to be banished; Celer the tribune to be sent in chains to Jerusalem, dragged through the city and beheaded, and the Jews to see the sentence executed. This done, he constituted Felix, brother of Pallas, Governor of Judæa, Samaria, Galilee, and Peræa. He advanced Agrippa from the kingdom of Calcis to a better government, giving him likewise Trachonitis, Batanaæ, with the tetrarchy that Varus had held, and the kingdom of Lyfania.

Claudius died after a reign of thirteen years, eight months and twenty days; and was succeeded by Nero, who had been artfully introduced to the government by his wife Agrippina, though the emperor had a lawful son named Britannicus, by his former wife Messalina; and Octavia, a daughter, whom Nero married. He had likewise a daughter called Antonia, by Agrippa Petina.

Nero made a most profligate use of his power and fortune. He imbued his hands in the blood of his mother, wife, and brother, and treated other near relations with equal inhumanity. He degraded the character of the emperor by the buffooneries of a stage-player. But these facts being commonly known, and foreign to my purpose, I proceed with my narrative.

CHAP. XII.

Commissions granted by Nero. Robbers defeated by Felix, and their captain made prisoner. A set of murderers named Sicarii. They kill the high-priest, which causes great disturbance. Account of some enthusiasts. A magician pretends to be a prophet, and advances towards Jerusalem with thirty thousand men. He is met and routed by Felix. The magicians and robbers form a plan of total liberty. The Jews and Syrians near Caesarea quarrel. The elders in vain attempt to appease them. The cause referred to Cæsar. Felix is succeeded by Feltus.

Nero bestowed the government of the leffer Armenia on Aristobulus*, the son of Herod, and to Agrippa's territory he added the cities of Taricheæ and Tiberias in Galilee, and Abila and Julias in Peræa. He granted the remainder to Felix, who was no sooner vested with his authority, than he made war on the robbers, who had now infested the country for twenty years; making prisoner Eleazar their captain, with several others, whom he sent to Rome. The number of thieves killed, taken prisoners, or put to death judicially, with those kept in prison, including the country people who joined them, was incredibly great.

These miscreants being routed, another set of villains appeared, who were called Sicarii, from Sica, the weapon used by them. These used to commit murders in the open streets of Jerusalem, particularly when the city was crowded

* Vide Ant. l. 20. c. 5, 6, 7.
crouded on public days. They carried short daggers under their cloaths, and privately stabbed those they had an enmity to; and when a murder was committed were the first to wonder at the crime. This practice was continued some time before the authors of it were suspected. Jonathan, the high-priest, was the first who fell by their hands, and daily murders followed his death. The citizens were so alarmed, that their apprehensions aggravated the reality: for the danger in battle was not greater than in walking the streets: every man at a distance was suspected for an enemy, and people were afraid of their approaching friends: yet the murderers were so dextrous at their work, that vigilance itself could not guard against them.

Another set now arose, whose tongues were as mischievous as the weapons of the former. Though they shed no blood, their doctrines were worse than daggers, utterly contaminating the minds of the people. These enthusiasts, under pretence of religion, propagated strange doctrines. They enticed the people into woods and solitary places, pretending that God had determined to give them absolute liberty, of which he would grant them infallible assurance by signs from Heaven. Felix, foreseeing that this plan tended only to foment a rebellion, dispatched a body of troops after the enthusiasts, by which great numbers of them were destroyed.

This calamity was followed by another, not less disagreeable than the former. An Egyptian magician, pretending to be a prophet, had collected a body of thirty thousand men, whom he marched, by the way of the wilderness, to Mount Olivet, whence he proposed to proceed to Jerusalem, drive off the Roman garrison, and take possession of the city and country; being properly provided for this enterprise with counsellors and guards. Felix, foreseeing that delay would encroach danger, assembled his Roman legions, and a body of Jews, and advanced towards the Egyptian, whom he totally routed, killing numbers of his people, making many prisoners, whom he bound in chains, and dispersing the rest. The Egyptian, and some of his friends, sought their safety in flight.

When the body is distempered, one disorder frequently succeeds another: and thus it is with nations. The robbers and magicians now concerted, with each other, how they should engage the people to shake off the Roman yoke, and assert an absolute liberty. To effect this they used arguments and menaces, threatening with death those who denied their authority. Their view was to reduce those by terror, who would otherwise have submitted to voluntary slavery. These people were dispersed through the country, plundering the houses of the rich, and killing and burning as they went: so that Judaea was reduced to the utmost degree of confusion and despair.

Some disorders now likewise arose near Caesarea, on a dispute between the Jews and Syrians, who lived together in a promiscuous manner. The Jews insisted that the city belonged to them, as it was founded by king Herod, who was a Jew. The Syrians insisted that it could not have been built by a Jew, but that it had belonged to the Gentiles: for if it were the property of the Jews, they would not have permitted the erection of temples and statues therein. This debate at length grew to such a height, that each party had recourse to arms, and many violences were daily committed by the most active
the disputation of each party. On the one hand the elders gave their best advice, and exerted their utmost authority, to appease the Jews; but they would not submit to reason: and, on the other hand, the Greeks thought it beneath them to yield in any respect to the Jews. It was acknowledged that the Jews were richer and more courageous than the Greeks; but the latter had greater interest with the soldiers: for at this time the Roman army being in Syria, were ready to take part with the Greeks, as their relations and countrymen. The magistrates and officers exerted themselves, by severe discipline, to suppress the disturbances: the most obstinate being imprisoned, whipped, chained and otherwise punished. But though some of them suffered severely, it had no effect on the rest; for they only grew more daring through the exertion of that authority which was used to suppress them.

At length, when Felix found that nothing could reduce the people to reason, he ordered proclamation to be made for the faction immediately to quit the city; but many remaining in contempt of these orders, the governor dispatched a party of soldiers, who killed several of them, and seized their effects. Still, however, the sedition increased, on which the governor chose and sent some of the leading men of each party, as commissioners, to Nero, to plead their own cause. Felix was succeeded by Festus, who vigorously attacked the robbers who had principally infested the province, many of whom he apprehended, and put to death.

C H A P. XIII.

Festus is succeeded by Albinus, who proves a corrupt and tyrannical governor. He is succeeded by Celsus Florus, who is still more abandoned. A comparison between Albinus and Florus. Syria governed by Celsus Gallus. A complaint against Florus made to Gallus. Florus endeavours to incite the Jews to rebellion. Caesar decrees in favour of the Greeks of Cæsarea. The origin of the Jewish war.

Festus was succeeded by Albinus, whose government was unlike that of his predecessor. This man was so abandoned as to be equal to every vice. Avarice, corruption, extortion, oppression, public and private, were equally familiar to him. He accepted bribes in civil and personal causes, and oppressed the nation by the weight of arbitrary taxes. If any offender, however atrocious, convicted of robbery or assault by himself, or any other magistrate, was under sentence of the law, a friend and a bribe would ensure his liberty; and this governor never found a man guilty who had money to prove his innocence.

At this time a faction prevailed at Jerusalem; and, wishing a change of government, the most opulent of them previously compounded with Albinus, in case a disturbance should happen. There was likewise a set of men who could not be easy while the state was at peace; and Albinus engaged these in his interest. The leaders of these mutineers were each of them attended by daring fellows of their own turn of mind; but the governor was
the most abandoned villain of the whole, and had guards always ready to execute his orders. The event proved that the injured did not dare to complain; those who were in any danger of losing part of their property were glad to compound to save the rest, and the receivers proved the worst of thieves. In fact, there appeared to be no senfe of honour remaining; and a new slavery seemed predicted from the number of tyrants already in power.

Such were the manners and character of Albinus, who was succeeded by Gessius Florus, whose principles were so much more abandoned, that the former seemed innocent on the comparison. Albinus was treacherous, but observed a secrecy in his crimes that had the appearance of modesty: but Gessius was so consummate in his wickedness, that he boasted of his atrocious behaviour, and declared himself the general enemy of the nation. His conduct in his province was more like that of an executioner than a governor; for he treated all the people like criminals, and extended his rapine and tyranny beyond all bounds. He was equally devoid of compassion, and dead to all senfe of honour; cruel to the unfortunate, and utterly abandoned in cafes so enormous that impudence itself would blush at the recollection of them. He exceeded all the men of his time in making lies and imposition pass for truth; and was equally artful in discovering new modes of doing mischief. He could not be contented with the idea of destroying a whole nation by slow degrees; but his vengeance extended to the sweeping away whole cities entire, and extirpating the body of the people at once. He gave such encouragement to the sons of rapine and plunder, that he might as well have proclaimed that every man was at liberty to seize whatever he could lay his hands on, provided that he himself obtained a share of the plunder. His avarice was carried to so extravagant a pitch, that the inhabitants of the province were reduced to a degree of poverty little short of starving; and many of them left the country in absolute want of the necessaries of life.

At this time Cælius Gallus had the command in Syria, and it was then deemed dangerous for any Jew to complain of the conduct of Florus; notwithstanding which, when Gallus went to Jerusalem, at the feast of unleavened bread, a number of Jews, not less than three hundred thousand, applied to Gallus, to have compassion on a wretched people, and relieve the province from the infamous government of Florus. This proceeding was immediately made known to Florus, who was so far from being concerned at it, that he made a perfect jest of the affair. In the interim, Cælius, having used his utmost endeavours to calm the passions of the multitude, by assuring them that Florus should treat them with more humanity for the future, returned to Antioch. Florus attended Gallus on his journey as far as Cæsarea, recounting many improbable tales to him as they travelled; but, in the mean time, revolving in his own mind the necessity of a war with the Jews, as the only method to prevent a rigid scrutiny into his actions, and thereby remain unpunished. He apprehended that, if peace should continue, the cause would be brought before Cæsar, which might be attended with dangerous consequences; and, that if he could but incite them to a revolt, the lesser calamity might be lost in the greater: wherefore he thought the most effectual
effective method of consulting his own safety, would be by gradually forcing them into a rebellion.

At this time the Greeks of Caesarea had carried their cause against the Jews before Cæsar, who had pronounced sentence in their behalf; a circumstance that was the origin of the Jewish war. This sentence is dated in the month Artemius, in the seventeenth year of the reign of Agrippa, and the twelfth of Nero.

CHAP. XIV.

An affront offered to the Jews respecting their synagogue. Florus is bribed, but proves perfidious. A sacrifice in mockery of the Jews. A great uproar ensues. Jucundus in vain endeavours to appease it. The books of the law removed by the Jews. They solicit redress. They are punished by Florus, who continues to foment the dissension. They complain bitterly of his inhumanity, yet seem to pay him respect. Florus treats them with contempt. His threats respecting the Jews; and their moderation. The ill effect of good advice on Florus. His savage orders to destroy. The nobility whipped and crucified. Six hundred and thirty murdered in one day, by the agents of Florus.

REBELLION appeared to be the natural consequence of a tyranny, such as that exercised by Florus: but the Jews bore their insults with patience, and the end was at length accomplished by the affair of Caesarea.

Adjoining to the place which the Jews used as a synagogue, a certain Greek of Caesarea had a house, which the Jews wanted to purchase; and frequently treating with the owner of it, offered him more than its value: but he was so far from regarding their offers, that instead of endeavouring to accommodate them, he, in mere malice, crowded a number of small shops into the passage, which almost blocked it up, so that the way to the synagogue was barely sufficient for a single person to pass. Affronted by this insult, some Jewish young men, in the heat of passion, went to the workmen, and warned them to proceed at their peril. This order of theirs was countermanded by Florus, whom the Jews now, therefore, thought it necessary to soften by means of a bribe. Some of the chief of them assembled on this business, among whom was one John, who farmed the royal customs; and these contracted with Florus to forbid the building, on the receipt of eight talents. The governor took the money, and promised to give the necessary directions: but he had no sooner received it than he went from Caesarea to Sebaste, as if on purpose to encase the dispute; and as if he triumphed in the opportunity he gave them of murdering each other.

The Jewish sabbath falling on the following day, a malicious Caesarean placed an earthen vessel before the door of the synagogue, while the people were assembled within at their devotions. This ridicule and mockery of their solemnities had such an effect on the Jews, that they lost all patience at the profane derision. The principal and more moderate men among them were for making an appeal to government for redress of the injury; while the young
young men, of warmer passions, were only for verbal disputes and blows; nor were the Cæfareans less forward to come to an encounter; for the previous sacrifice had been made on purpose to produce a quarrel, and the event was as follows.

It happened that Jucundus, a captain of horse, who had been appointed to keep the peace, arrived at the critical juncture; and having given orders for the vessel above-mentioned to be removed; he did all in his power to quell the disturbance. The Jews finding that the Cæfareans were too powerful for Jucundus, took the books of their law, and conveyed them to the province of Nahrata, at the distance of about sixty furlongs from Cæarea. Then twelve of their principal people, attended by John, the farmer of the customs, repaired to Florus at Seballe, complaining of what had happened, and petitioning for redress; with a slight hint of the eight talents he had received. Florus instantly ordered them into custody; and his pretence was their having removed their law from Cæarea.

The Jews of Jerusalem were inexpressibly astonished at this conduct of Florus; but they thought it prudent, at present, not to be free in expressing their sentiments. In the mean time Florus continued to foment the sedition; and that he might do it the more effectually, he sent and demanded seventeen talents out of the treasury, in the name, and as for the service of the emperor. This circumstance caused great confusion among the Jews, who ran backwards and forwards about the temple, exclaiming as if they were distracted, and calling on the name of Cæsar, demanding a deliverance from the inhumanities of Florus, whom they pursued with curses, clamour, and every kind of insult. One of them, in derision of the governor, carried a basket on his back through the streets, begging of alms for the poor unfortunate Florus. These reflections, however, had no other effect on him, than the making him more avaricious, and more malignant Florus, likewise, instead of suppressing the sedition at Cæarea on its first commencement, as it was his duty to have done, marched with a body of horse and foot to Jerusalem, where he made the power of Rome subservient only to the gratification of his passions of revenge, pride, and avarice; and he filled the minds of the people wherever he went, with terror and apprehension.

Notwithstanding all the indignities that he had offered to the public, the people still continued to pay an apparent respect to Florus, going out to meet him in his way, and complimenting him by those honourable marks of esteem which are customary in similar cases. While they were thus disposed to pay him every possible honour on his entrance into the city, Florus defeated the compliment by sending to them a centurion, named Capito, with fifty horse, to impede their journey. Capito delivered to them a message to the following effect: “In the name, and by the command of Florus, I am to direct that you return home; and to inform you that the man whom you have so freely treated, partly in a serious way, and partly in ridicule, cannot be induced to form a more favourable opinion of you for your fallacious and complimentary speeches. If you are really men of courage and resolution, as you would wish to be thought, why do you not abuse, by four-rilous language, that man to his face, whom you have been so free to cen-
The Wars of the Jews.

Sure in his absence; and affert, by force of arms, that liberty for which
you have clamoured so loudly?" Daunted by this rebuke, and frightened
by the sudden attack of the soldiery, the terrified multitude dispersed, without
waiting to congratulate Florus, or to pay those respects to the soldiery which
are usual on such occasions. In fact, every man retired to his own habitation,
not a little disturbed by the restless anxiety of his fears.

At this time Florus resided in the palace; and on the following day he af-
cended the tribunal, attended by the high-priest, and the principal persons
of the city. He made many severe reflections on the free and insulting speeches
that had been made to his prejudice, and positively demanded that the au-
thors of them should be discovered, and delivered up; threatening, at the
same time, that he would be revenged on those in the place, if the guilty
were not surrendered. To this the Jews replied, that "The majority of
their people were peaceable; and with regard to those who had spoken
freely, they entreated pardon for them; since it could not be supposed but
that, in such an immense number, some rash and violent men would be
found. Nor was it possible clearly to distinguish the innocent from the
guilty; since those who might have repented of what they had done,
would not be free to acknowledge the fact. Therefore they submitted to
the consideration of Florus, whether the greatest service that could, in
this case, be rendered to the empire of Rome, would not be to consult the
safety of the city and people, by keeping them firm in their allegiance to
the emperor. They said they would farther advise, in case matters came
to extremities, that some of the criminals might be spared, in compassion
to so many innocent persons; rather than that the unoffending should be
destroyed, in revenge of the insult of the guilty few."

All the effect this reasoning had on Florus, was to encrease his rage to such
a degree, that he ordered the soldiery to the great market in the upper town,
to pillage the place, and kill all they should encounter. The soldiery finding
their commander had given them this licence to plunder, not only executed
their orders against those places and people within their directions; but made
equally free with every house, and destroyed the inhabitants without distinction;
committing similar violence on those they found on their flight, in by-
ways, and in secret places. In a word, they hesitated not to make booty by
any means. Several of the nobility being seized and conducted to Florus, he
gave orders that they should be whipped and crucified. It is estimated that
fix hundred and thirty persons were sacrificed on that day, including women
and children; for even infants at the mother's breasts were not spared. This
misfortune, however terrible in itself, appeared the worse for its singularity:
for before the time of Florus it was never known that the Jewish nobility were
whipped and gibbetted like slaves: for the Roman dignity was held sacred,
though they were Jews by extraction.

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C H A P. XV.

Berenice repairs to Jerusalem to pay a vow. The mode in which that duty is performed. She applies to Florus in behalf of the Jews. The animosity of the people against Florus. They grow more calm; and his concern thereon. His contrivance to foment new troubles. Arguments used for a compliance. The success of Florus's scheme. Florus is repulsed in his attempt on the castle. He retreats to the palace. The communication between Fort Antonia and the temple destroyed. Florus abandons his design, and retires to Caesarea.

NERO having made Alexander governor of Egypt, Agrippa was now gone to Alexandria, to pay him a visit. Berenice, sister of Alexander, was at Jerusalem, greatly afflicted on account of the tumults which had arisen, so that she sent some of her officers and guards to Florus, to entreat that he would restrain his indignation, and shed no more blood. But Florus was alike insensible of the crime he had been guilty of, or of the honour of the mediatrix. His soul was prostituted to the lust of plunder, and he despised all other considerations: so that the soldiers were permitted to continue their massacres, notwithstanding the presence of Berenice, who would certainly have been sacrificed if she had not escaped from her palace, where she had spent a sleepless night, attended by her guards. She now went to Jerusalem, for the purpose of paying a vow to God, as usual after deliverance from sickness, or other imminent danger. Agreeable to custom, she continued in prayer thirty days, abstaining from wine, and shaving her hair. It was now the sixteenth of the month Artemius, when Berenice was in the daily course of her devotion, standing bare-foot before the tribunal, and soliciting Florus in behalf of the people: but she had not met with any success; and her pious office was undertaken at the risk of her life.

On the following day the people assembled in the market-place of the upper town, exclaiming most violently against those who had murdered their friends on the preceding day; but Florus was particularly the object of their rage and resentment. The high-priests and men of eminence were so apprehensive of the danger of again exciting the wrath of Florus, that they rent their garments, and going among the people, entreated them not to talk so freely, for that every ill consequence was to be dreaded from the vengeance of Florus. The passions of the people now began to subside; partly through respect to the mediators, and partly in the hope that the malice of the governor was at an end.

This return of peace was painful to Florus, who began to consider how he might foment a new disturbance. With this view he sent for the high-priests, and principal people among the Jews to attend him; and informed them that two companies were coming from Caesarea, and if the people would go out and meet them on the way, it would be deemed a substantial proof of their affection to the government. This proposal being readily acceded to, Florus gave directions to the centurions, that if the Jews, on their meeting should treat
treat them with civility and respect, they should not pay the least compli-
mint in return: and if this behaviour should be resented, even in the slight-
eft degree, that they should immediately have recourse to arms.
The high-priests having assembled the Jews in the temple, solemnly charg-
ed them to go out, meet the Romans on the road, and pay them great respect; left any ill consequences should ensue. There were several rash people a-
mong them who opposed this motion; and the rest of the company, inspired
by sentiments of revenge for the late slaughter of their friends, were ready e-
nough to coincide with them in opinion. At this juncture all the priests and
Levites arrived, exposing to view the holy vessels, and other precious orna-
ments of the temple: likewise the choristers, and the organists with their mu-
sical instruments, all addressing the people, and earnestly imploring them to
preferve sacred the honour of the temple, which would probably be rifed by
the Romans, if they should be irritated. Several of the high-priests appeared,
with ashes on their heads, their breasts bare, and their garments torn; who
first applied themselves to every person of eminence, separately, and then ad-
dressed the people in general, entreating that they would not permit a slight
disagreement to encourage the proceedings of those people who wished the
ruin of their country. "In what manner, (said they) will the Romans be
benefited, if you treat them with the same degree of respect that you have
formerly done; or how can the Jews be sufferers by refusing this degree
of respect? On the contrary, if you treat them in an honourable manner,
and according to the rules of good breeding, Florus can form no pretence
for molefting you; and, in the end, this conduct will relieve your coun-
try from the calamities that are otherwise to be dreaded. You will like-
wife reflect on the great disproportion between the peaceable majority of
the people, and a few turbulent incendiaries; and how probable it is that
the smaller number should be over-ruled by the greater."
The arguments, and the authority of those who reasoned, had such an ef-
fect upon the multitude, that the most violent men among them were at
length prevailed on to listen to the dictates of reason. When affairs were
brought into this happy way, the principal people attended the priests, and
marched out to receive the soldiers; being followed by the multitude in a
regular manner. The Jews being come near enough to pay their compli-
ments, saluted the Romans; but their salutation being received with silent
contempt, the more violent among them began immediately to revile Florus,
as the author and contriver of all the calamities they had endured. Agreea-
tle to the hint given them, the soldiers instantly attacked the Jews with
clubs, and cudgel; totally routed them, and trampled numbers under the
feet of their horses. Many of them died of the blows they received, others
were crushed to death in the crowd, or smothered by striving to get first out
at the gate, where they only hindered each other; so that, on the whole, the
spectacle was a dreadful one; many being maimed and bruised in such a
manner, that their bodies were so disfigured, that the survivors could not
know their friends, so as to afford them a decent funeral. In a word, the ene-
my destroyed all within their reach; but their principal aim was to get be-
tween the Jews and the gate of Bezeth, which was a passage leading to the
castle
castle of Antonia and the temple. In the mean time Florus fell from the
castle, with all the troops under his command, on the rear of the Jews, with
a view of making himself master of the castle: but the Jews rallying, and
making head against him, his design was frustrated. By this time many of
the Jews had taken possession of the houses, from the roofs of which they affaulted
the Romans with such violent showers of stones and darts, that, unable
to make any resistance, or press through the crowds of people in the
narrow streets, Florus was compelled to retreat to the palace, with the re-
mainder of his troops. As the Jews apprehended Florus would return to the
attack, and make an attempt on the temple by the way of Fort Antonia, they
immediately cut down a gallery which communicated between that fort and
the temple. Florus was so mortified by this circumstance that he abandoned
the enterprise, finding his project hopeless, and his avarice disappointed;
for his principal view was to seize the holy treasure. He now held a con-
ference with the high-priest and the senate; informing them that he meant
to quit the city; but would leave them such a garrison as they should require.
To this they answered, that if no new innovations took place, they thought
one company would suffice; but hoped it might not be that company with
which the people had already quarrelled; for having greatly suffered by
them, they were prejudiced against them. Agreeable to their request, Flo-
rus ordered another company, and then returned to Caesarea with the re-
mainder of his army.

CHAP. XVI.

Florus represents the Jews to Cælius, as the enemies of Cæsar. Cælius takes advice
on the subject. Politianus fixed on to make the enquiry. He meets, and consults
Agrippa. They are received with respect. Politianus is convinced of the havoc
made by Florus, and the loyalty of the Jews to their other governors. Politianus
returns to Cælius. The populace urge a complaint against Florus to Nero. Agrippa
makes a conciliating speech to the Jews; diffuses them from seditious practices;
represents the Romans as sovereigns of the world; that they had been masters of the
Athenians, Macedonians, Lacedæmonians, &c. Agrippa reflects on the war in a re-
ligious and conscientious view: and represents that all the Jews are engaged in a
common cause. Agrippa abates the tumult; but the rage of the people is re-
inflamed.

As soon as Florus arrived at Caesarea, he endeavoured to devise a new
mode of propagating a war, which he communicated in a letter to
Cælius, governor of Syria, in which he charged the Jews with having re-
volted; but that was so notorious a falsehood, that he himself was guilty of
the very crimes which he imputed to the Jews. The queen Berenice, and
the chief people of Jerusalem acted nobly on this occasion; informing Cæ-
tius of the real matter of fact, and acquainting him with the mode in which
Florus had governed. Cælius having obtained this information, held a
consultation with his principal people on the most prudent mode of proceed-
ing.
THE WARS OF THE JEWS.

...Congress the sending an army immediately into Judæa, to punish the offenders, if the account proved true; but wished he would encourage their loyalty, if it was false. Cestius thought it prudent previously to send a man of credit and address, to enquire into facts, and give him a faithful account of the successes of his enquiries. The person fixed on was a tribune named Politianus, who meeting king Agrippa near Jannia, on his return from Alexandria, informed him who was his employer, whence he came, and his business. At this time many senators and personages of rank, and among them several high-priests, attended to pay their duty to the king. When the first respectful compliments were passed, they gave a melancholy description of the condition to which the inhumanity of Florus had reduced the Jews. Agrippa was of their opinion; but he thought it incompatible with his rank to encrease the complaint; and therefore he artfully seemed to take part against the Jews, whose situation he nevertheless commiserated: but his wish was to moderate, rather than inflame the passions, since the less they appeared to suffer, the less temptation would they have to seek revenge. He thought this conduct would be taken kindly by those who had most to loathe, and consequently the greatest reason to wish for peace.

Agrippa and Politianus were met about sixty furlongs from Jerusalem, by the people of that city, who conducted them thither with every mark of respect: in the interim the women grievously lamented the loss of their murdered husbands; and all the multitude, as if infected by their sorrow, burst into tears and lamentations. Some of them earnestly solicited Agrippa to compassionate their nation; and others entreated Politianus to go into the city, and see what havoc had been there made by Florus. Hereupon they took him to the market-place, showed him the houses in ruins, and the devastation that had been made. After this, through the interest of Agrippa, they prevailed on Politianus to go through the city as far as the pool of Siloah, attended by one servant only, whereby he might witness the respect the Jews paid to the Romans in authority: but they said that the cruelties of Florus were insupportable.

Politianus having taken a view of the city, and indisputably convinced himself of the loyal disposition of the Jews, he assembled the people, and went up to the temple, where he made a speech, in which he highly commended their known fidelity to the Romans; and then, having given them a variety of good council and advice, respecting the preservation of public peace, he offered praise and thanksgiving to God, in the place and manner prescribed by law, and with all possible veneration for the rites of religion. This being done he retired to Cælius.

No sooner was Politianus gone, than the people in general made their addresses to the king and the high-priests, soliciting permission to send ambassadors to Nero, to exhibit a complaint against Florus: urging, as a reason for this request, that if they should remain supine, and not attempt to bring so violent an outrage to examination, and make the authors of it abide a severe trial, it would appear as if themselves were the criminals, and therefore durst not bring the affair to a judicial determination.
On the one hand it was evident that a refusal of this liberty would be attended with danger to Agrippa; and on the other, he thought it would have the appearance of malice, to permit, under the name of an embassy, such an immense multitude to attack their governor in an inveterate manner. Reflecting on the courageous and martial disposition of the Romans, and on the danger of provoking the Jews to an insurrection, Agrippa summoned an assembly to meet in a large gallery, and having placed his sister Berenice in a chair of state in the Amonasen palace, which overlooked that gallery from the upper part of the town, (a bridge uniting the temple with the gallery,) he addressed the people to the following effect:

"I should have spared myself and you the trouble of this meeting; if I had been convinced that a disposition to make war upon the Romans was general amongst you; but I find the contrary to be the fact, as a great majority of your people are men disposed to peace and order. To what purpose would any advice or interference of mine have been to men who were already predetermined by their own prejudices? Yet as I find that some entertain a vain and ill-founded hope of obtaining liberty; and that others, from principles of avarice, have a view to the pecuniary advantages which may be made by a general confusion; finding: I say, that sentiments of these kinds have prevailed amongst you, I have thought fit thus to assemble you together, to acquaint you what I think are the measures that ought to be pursued in your circumstances; that I may be the means of rectifying your errors, and preventing the inconsiderate passions of a few of your people from bringing down ruin on the heads of the peaceable majority. I now earnestly entreat to be heard with patience and silence, and that whether you approve of what I say or not, you will attend without clamour or complaint. With regard to those who are such friends to disorder and confusion as to promote them at all events, they are at liberty to pursue their own opinions, notwithstanding they may totally disagree with mine: but it will be altogether in vain for me to attempt to speak, unless those who desire to hear me may be at liberty to do.

"I am not insensible that men of violent passions are fond of declaiming on the failings of governors, and the supreme blessings of liberty. Before I proceed to the consideration of what you yourselves are, and what is the force which some of you are aiming to encounter, it will be proper to divide two circumstances, which you, by uniting them together, have confounded. If you contend for revenge on your oppressors, (or justice, if you like the term better) wherefore do you extol liberty at so extravagant a rate? If subjection be a thing in itself so intolerable, why do you find fault with your governors? Since, though they may be the most humane men that ever were born, still this will not alter the nature of subjection, which will be thought as disgraceful as heretofore.

"Let us now consider things a little more particularly. Let us reflect what pretence you have for cavil and calumny, and in what way you are to conduct yourselves, even if your governors should be culpable. Your duty and interest are equally concerned that you should endeavour to accom-
accommodate matters by respectful kindness, and not treat your superiors
with abusive language. When you exaggerate the grievances you com-
plain of, you tempt your governors to be more severe than otherwise they
would be, and become tyrants, when they were almost ashamed of their
former mal-administration. Patience is most effectual to blunt the edge of
oppression; and resignation under unreasonable and unjust persecution, is
the most ready road of stopping its progress.

Let us for a moment suppose that the Roman governors treat you with
extreme severity. Can you conceive that this is the act of the Romans at
large, and that Cæsar has sanctified it by his authority? Yet this is the
ground of your dispute. You cannot think that the governors are com-
missoned to oppress you, or that the emperor can at once pervade every
part of his extensive dominions, when it is so difficult for a true account of
what is doing in this place to reach Rome. How absurd then is it for you
to think of running the hazard of a dangerous war for mere trifles; in fact,
you scarcely know for what? Reflect, too, that affairs may soon mend:
governors neither rule nor live for ever: they frequently succeed each
other; and there is nothing unreasonable in the supposition that the next
may be preferable to the former. But if you once commence a war, it is
neither to be abandoned nor continued without the utmost inconvenience.
Those who are most vociferous for liberty should be very cautious, in the
first place, lest they lose it by their violence. The utmost degree of slavery
is indubitably most intolerable; and war may be very justly undertaken
to avoid such a yoke. He that is once a subject, and departs from his al-
legiance, is from that time rather an obdurate slave, than a manly advoc-
ate for liberty.

Had it been deemed a right thing to oppose the power of the Romans,
the proper time was when Pompey broke in upon us: but your ancestors,
and the princes of those times, though possessing greater abilities, more
men, and better resources than you have, found themselves unable to op-
pose a small detachment of the Roman power. How then can you think of
bidding defiance to the combined force of the empire? You are now, like-
wise, bound by a kind of hereditary allegiance, derived, through many
ages, from your ancestors.

What opinion form you of those gallant Athenians, who, fighting for
the liberty of Greece, laid their country in ashes? These reduced the pride
of the insolent Xerxes; made him fly to Salamis, and having broken the
power of Asia, compelled his escape in a small boat. That Xerxes who
turned sea into land, and land into sea, to make room for his armies,
which appeared as if they would have ravaged all Europe: yet this nation
is now in subjection to the Romans, and Italy gives laws to Greece.

The Lacedæmonians furnish somewhat of a similar instance. Notwith-
standing their great actions at Thermopylæ and Platae: notwithstanding
Agesilaus carried their conquering arms to the center of Asia; yet
these gallant heroes still own the Romans for their masters.

Let me now mention the Macedonians, who, notwithstanding the con-
duct and courage of their Philips and Alexanders; notwithstanding even
their present view to the empire of the universe, have been reduced by for-
tune to become subjects instead of conquerors, and subjects likewise to thetsame governors. I might mention many other nations, more distinguished
than you are, who from an ambitious view of liberty have been reduced
to absolute submission; and ought you alone to be too proud, to pay obe-
dience to the acknowledged lords of the universe? What militia, what
arms have you to depend on? What fleet to scour the Roman seas? And
where are the resources to pay the charge of the undertaking? You seem
to have calculated for an Egyptian or Arabian war; but you are mistaken
in your measures; nor seem to have made a comparison of the difference
between a weak and irregular people, and the power of a mighty empire.
It has often happened that the Jews have been invaded and insulted by
their next neighbours, while the Romans have been subduing the world:
nor was the government of the whole world equal to their ambition; for
having possessed themselves of the course of the Euphrates to the east, the
Danube to the north, the Lybian desert to the south, and as far as Cadiz
on the west, they meditated the conquest of another world beyond the
ocean, and carried their arms into Britannia, then thought inaccessible.

But what are your views? Do you wish to be thought richer than the
Gauls, more hardy than the Germans, and wiser than the Greeks; or
think you that you are a match for all the rest of mankind? Wherefore
are you thus confident against the Romans? It may be said that submission
is disagreeable; but is it less so to the Greeks than to you? And yet they
live in obedience to the Romans, though they possess ample dominions,
and are deemed of the noblest extraction of any people. This is likewise
the case of the Macedonians, whose claim of liberty is preferable to yours.
What think you of the five hundred cities of Asia, which quietly submit to
a conful, without even a garrison to keep them in subjection? Need I men-
tion the Heniochians, the Colehians, the nations near Bosporus, the in-
habitants of the coasts of Pontus, and the lake of Maeotis, all of whom
were ancienly so free as not even to have a governor of their own? Yet
these are kept in subjection by three thousand Romans: and forty gallies
are deemed sufficient to keep those seas in obedience on which, formerly,
no person would venture.

The point of liberty might be contested by the Bythinians, Cappadoci-
ans, Pamphilions, Lydia's, and Cicilians; yet all these pay their duties,
without military enforcement. A guard of two thousand soldiery keeps all
the Thracians in order, though their country is seven days journey in
length, and five in breadth, and much more defensible than yours, being
almost impaflable, through frotl and frozen. The Illyrians beyond the Dan-
ube, even to Dalmatia, and the Dacians, are guarded by two legions
only. The Dalmatians frequently contested for their liberty, and as often
failed; yet a single legion now keeps them in easy subjection.

After all I have said, if a revolt was defensible on any pretence, the
Gauls would be best justified in such revolt, from the situation of their
country, which is bounded on the east by the Alps, on the north by the
Rhine, on the west by the sea, and on the south by the Pyrenean moun-
tains: yet notwithstanding these advantages, three hundred and fifteen na-
tions,
What advantage arose from the golden mines of Spain, when the Spaniards came to contend with the Romans for their freedom? I could mention nations more remote from Rome, both by land and sea; as the Cantabrians and Lusitanians; who could not be protected from the power of the Romans by courage, distance, or situation; though their country borders on such a tempestuous sea, that the thought or mention of it must strike one with horror. Of what avail were the pillars of Hercules, or the Pyrenæan Mountains; what the distance, the difficulty, or the interposition of warlike nations, to stop the victorious arms of the Romans? These countries yielded like the rest, and held their obedience even without a guard.

It would be superfluous to mention the populousness of the German nation, the great extent of their country, the size and strength of the inhabitants, their proportionable courage, and their resolute defiance even of death. Of this you are in some measure witnesses, since the Romans have, in all places, slaves of that country. These Germans, when provoked, are more outrageous than wild beasts. The Rhine is the frontier of their country. Eight Roman legions form the guard over them, making slaves of as many as they apprehend, while the rest owe their safety to flight.

With respect to those who pride themselves in the walls of Jerusalem, it may not be improper to mention the walls of Britain; surrounded as that country is by the sea, and forming a new world little inferior to the old. The Romans have assigned only four legions as the guard for this extensive island. Need I mention the Parthians, a great and warlike people, who in past times gave laws to so many nations? How happens it that these people send their principal nobility as hostages to Rome, but that they thereby mean to sue for peace, and acknowledge the Roman power? Are we, then, the only people in the world to make war on that empire, in the dread of whose valour all other nations have submitted?

Recollect the fate of Carthage, the inhabitants of which boasted of being branches of the noble race of Phœnicians, who were commanded by the famous Hannibal. Did not the conquering arms of Scipio subject even these courageous people?

The Cyrenæans, of the race of Lacédæmon; the Marmaridans, whose country extended even to the fultry desarts; the Syrtes, of whom we form such horrid ideas; the Nafamonians; the Moors, and the innumerable numbers of the heathen world, have not a foot of their country under their own power.
bers of the Numidians, have equally submitted to the Roman power. In
a word, they have reduced one third part of the world to their subjection,
so that the nations are scarcely to be counted, beginning from the Atlantic
Sea and the Pillars of Hercules, extending to the Red Sea, and compre-
hending the whole country of Ethiopia. This vast district was conquered
by arms, and out of it was received an annual tribute of corn, sufficient to
support the people of Rome for eight months; exclusive of other duties
which are readily paid, though there is but one legion in garrison to col-
lect the said taxes.

But it is not necessary that I should recite these distant instances to prove
the unbounded power of Rome; when we have so many nearer examples
to testify its reality. Let me mention Egypt, a kingdom that extends to
Ethiopia and Arabia Felix; that borders on the Indies, and contains an
amazing number of people exclusive of those of Alexandria; yet the inha-
itants of this wide-extended kingdom scruple not to be rated by a poll-
tax, as a contribution to the state, and a tribute due to the Romans. In
fact, they pay the tax cheerfully, though there are sufficient reasons to be
urged why they might evade it.

How has it happened that Alexandria has not revolted? It is strong
and rich, extending in breadth ten furlongs, and in length thirty; its inha-
itants are numerous, and it is strongly fortified by nature, on one side
by a sea without ports, and on the other by deep rivers, quagmires, and
deferts. Yet the Romans surmounted all these difficulties; and two le-
gions in the city were deemed sufficient to secure the peace of Egypt, and
keep the Macedonian nobility in subjection. Exclusive of ready money,
and four months provision of corn for the inhabitants of Rome, this city
paid more tribute in a month than you do in a year.

But I would enquire to what deserts you intend to repair to assist you in
this undertaking; for you will be opposed wherever the country is inha-
bited, since the inhabitants are in effect Romans; unless you expect assis-
tance from your countrymen the Adiabenians on the opposite side of the
Euphrates. But acknowledging these people should rashly engage in a
contest so ill-founded; the Parthians would not give the least support to a
war, which they would deem such an insult offered to the Romans as must
unavoidably produce a rupture. In this case you would have no ressource
but in the power of God, in opposition to his providence, which is evi-
dently manifested in the progress and establishment of the Roman em-
pire.

Reflect that, even if you had power to prosecute this war, it would be
contrary to the rights of religion and conscience. With what face can you
violate your own laws as well as those of God, or how expect that the
blessing of Heaven will support you in an act of disobedience? If you keep
your sabbath as religiously as by law and custom you are bound to do, you
will infallibly be ensnared in the same manner as your predecessors form-
erly were by Pompey: advantage will be taken of your scruples of con-
sience, and you will be attacked on those days when you dare not exert
yourselves in your own defence. But if you make no scruple of violating
your
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"if your laws, by fighting indifferently on any day, how can it be said that your battles are undertaken for the support of those laws; or how can you expect the favour of that God whose commandments you break? No people ever engage in war without hope of assistance either from God or man; and when both are evidently against you, what is to be expected but a slavery brought on yourselves? If you are absolutely determined, you had better at once destroy your wives and children, and reduce your country to ashes: this will save them the dishonour of being conquered by the enemy, and the madness of the action will be its own apology.

"Believe me, my friends, it is a necessary thing, and an evidence of prudent forecast, to prepare for a storm while the ship is yet in harbour; and, on the other hand, it is equally dangerous to postpone all thought of the tempest till it actually arrives, and you know not how to act. Those are to be pitied who fall into calamities unforeseen and undreaded; since no human wisdom could prevent them: but with regard to those who rush headlong into evident danger, they perish disgracefully, and without pity.

"One would be tempted to think by your present conduct, that you had already agreed with the Romans how they shall behave, in case they are successful: that is, that they shall be humane and moderate; that they shall not follow the custom of other nations, destroying you by fire and sword, burning your cities, and killing those in the pursuit who escape the fury of the battle: for which way could you fly but among your enemies; those who are already subjected to Rome, or live in daily apprehension of such subjection?

"Nor are you to expect that the devastation would end here; since all the Jews throughout the earth would be partakers of your fate, and the whole world would unite in punishing such an unprovoked rebellion. What I now mention to you will be worthy your remembrance, when you see your streets stream with blood, to gratify the violence of a few impetuous men. Nor will the Romans be blamed for doing what you will compel them to do. Reflect farther, that if they should spare you, what crimes you will have to repent of, in the abuse of such singular humanity and benevolence.

"If after all I have said, you have no compassion for your wives and children; at least retain some regard to your chief city, and its sacred walls; spare the temple, the law, and the holy sanctuary, which by your present conduct appear doomed to destruction; for after so ungenerous an abuse of the favours you have received from the Romans, you cannot reasonably expect farther obligations from their hands.

"In fine, I implore God, and his holy angels, and all our country, and every thing that is sacred, to bear witness that I have exerted my utmost abilities to save you from destruction. If you follow my advice, and do your duty, you may live in peace; but if you proceed in your late irregular and tumultuous manner, I abandon you to your fate."

Agrippa and his sister Berenice were so affected with this speech that they both wept; and the violent passions of the multitude were abated: but they said
said one to another that they had no complaint against the Romans; they, only refented the indignities offered them by Florus. In answer to this Agrippa said, "You have acted as the professed enemies of Rome would have done. You broke down the Antonian galleries, and refuse the tribute due to Cæsar. Your business then, if you would prevent any farther complaint of your conduct, is to rebuild the galleries, and pay the taxes: for this is neither the fort or tribunal of Florus."

The passions of the people now subsiding, they attended the king and Berenice to the temple; immediately began to rebuild the galleries; and dispatched officers and agents through the province, to collect such duties as were yet unpaid. These duties, amounting to forty talents, were immediately collected and paid.

The insurrection having now, in a great degree subsided, Agrippa advised the people to a patient submission to Florus, till another governor should be appointed by Cæsar. This again inflamed the passions of the people, who treated him with the most opprobrious language, and pelted him with stones, till he was compelled to abandon the city. This contemptuous treatment, had a very disagreeable effect on the mind of the king, who finding the people ungovernable, dispatched several men of rank to Florus at Cæsarea, desiring he would chuse collectors for the province among them: and Agrippa departed when he had discharged his duty.

CHAP. XVII.


By this time many of the factious Jews had privately got into the Roman garrison named Mæsada, where they surprized the soldiers, killed every one of the Romans, and in the room of them substituted a guard of their own people.

About this juncture there likewise happened another commotion in the temple of Jerusalem. A bold and enterprising young man, named Eleazar, (son of Ananias, the high priest) who was at that time a military officer, urged a number of his friends among the priests, that no offering or sacrifice might be accepted but from the Jewish people. This single circumstance was the foundation of a war with the Romans; for, in consequence of this request of Eleazar, when the sacrifices of Cæsar were presented, according to custom,
custom, to be offered up for the success of the people of Rome, they were rejected. This new and extraordinary proceeding gave offence to the high-priests and person of distinction, who protested against it, and earnestly recommended the continuance of so reasonable a custom as that of offering prayers for princes and governors. But the insurgents were obstinate for obedience to their orders, relying on the strength of their numbers; for every one was of their side who wished for innovation; and they considered Eleazar, who was a man of courage and in office, as the head of their party. On this occasion the princes and high-priests, and the most eminent of the Pharisees, assembled to deliberate on the most proper mode of proceeding; for they apprehended that the present tumult in the city must be attended with the most fatal consequences. Having consulted for some time, they at length resolved to try what could be done to appease the passions of the multitude; and for this purpose assembled the people before the brazen gate, on the inside of the temple to the eastward. Here they represented to them the rashness of the enterprize in which they had engaged, which would involve their country in a ruinous war. They then adverted to the unreasonable ground of the dispute, and the evident injustice in which it was founded; they said that their ancestors were so far from their refusing or forbidding the oblations of strangers, (which they would have deemed a kind of impiety) that they considered them as, in some degree, a part of their own worship. They likewise mentioned the presents which they had from time to time made, which were still preserved as ornaments in the temple, and in remembrance of those who gave them.

They represented that the provoking a war with the Romans would be disgraceful, if not ruinous to Jerusalem; since new modes of religion would be adopted; as nothing less could be imported by the interdiction of every sort of people, except Jews, from offering oblations and prayers to God in his holy temple. It was urged that this was such an inhuman injustice as could not be excused in the case of a private person; but that it was utterly unpardonable to extend it to the whole people of Rome, and, eventually, excommunicating the emperor himself. It was asked what would be the consequence if this contempt should be returned, and that those who had refused others the liberty of offering their prayers and oblations, should themselves be denied the privilege of public worship. It was urged that the city would be left void of discipline; and every ill consequence would happen, unless they repented of all the uncharitable things they had done, and made satisfaction, before Caesar was apprized of their transgressions.

Thus much having been advanced, several persons well read in the laws and ceremonies of the Jews produced precedents and authorities from the practice of ancient times, respecting the point in dispute; and they were unanimous in their opinion and declaration that the oblations of strangers had never been refused by their ancestors: but the innovators, who wished for war rather than peace, paid no attention to their authorities; and even the Levites abandoned the altar, as a war was likewise the first wish of their hearts.
The people of rank, finding the populace despised obedience to law, and that themselves would probably be the first to be censured by the Romans, consulted together, and agreed to send deputies to Florus and Agrippa, to represent their conduct in its true light. Simon, son of Ananias, was the principal of the deputies to Florus; and Saul, Antipas, and Cæsareus, the chief of those who went to Agrippa; Cæsareus being a relation of that king. They were commissioned to solicit forces to be sent to Jerusalem, to put a speedy end to the rebellion.

This news was highly agreeable to Florus, whose disposition led him to inflame the war, how ruinous soever the consequence might be to himself or others. This was evidently evinced by his delay in giving an answer to the deputies, on purpose to afford the rebels an opportunity of augmenting their forces. On the contrary, Agrippa consulted only the general welfare, being willing to do all in his power to save both parties; the offenders and the offended; and by this means to secure Jerusalem in the possession of the Jews, and bind the Jews in subjection to the Romans. But as his own interest was likewise at stake in this general confusion of affairs, he dispatched two thousand auxiliary horse, with Darius at their head, and having Philip, the son of Joachim, also for a general. The people sent on this expedition were inhabitants of Auranitis, Trachonitis, and Batanaea.

The high-priests, with the princes of the people, and those in general who were disposed for peace, received these deputies into the upper town; the insurgents being already in possession of the lower town and the temple. A skirmish with darts and stones now commenced, and then the combatants on both sides made use of their bows and arrows, with which they galled each other incessantly; and occasionally they made sallies and excursions on each other, and frequently fought hand to hand. The insurgents made their attacks in the most desperate manner: but the royal forces appeared to have a superior knowledge of the military art. The principal operation they had in view was to compel the factitious faction to abandon the temple; while, on the contrary, Eleazar and his adherents laboured with equal zeal, to get the upper town into their possession. The contest continued, without intermission, for seven days, in all which time, though there was great slaughter on both sides, not even the shadow of an advantage was obtained by either.

At this period a festival approached, which is named Xylophoria, and acquires that denomination from the custom of carrying wood to the temple, to keep the fire throughout the year. Advantage was taken of this circumstance to exclude the insurgents from their worship: but while a number of the Jews were engaged in this office, the Sicarii (a band of murderers so called from their custom of carrying their daggers privately) broke in upon these people, and improved the advantage they had gained to such a degree, that the royal troops, equally overcome by superior numbers, and more determined resolution, were obliged to abandon the upper town; of which immediate possession was taken by the rebels. After this exploit they broke into the house of Ananias, the high-priest, and reduced to ashes the palaces of Agrippa and Berenice. This being done, they resolved, in the next place, to set fire to the offices of record, and consume both them and all their contents;
tents; thinking that if they deprived the people of fortune of those papers which might prove their riches, they should bring over to their interest the whole body of debtors and beggars; and by that means change the quarrel into a direct war between the rich and the poor, under pretence of asserting the liberties of the people. In fact, the persons who had the care and security of the public records, were so terrified as to abandon their trust, each man seeking his own security in flight; on which both offices and records were burnt to ashes. This fatal stroke being given to the credit and safety of the city, the insurgents began to consider the prosecution of the war as the principal object worthy their attention.

While things were in this unhappy state of confusion and disorder, the high-priests and many of the nobility were compelled to fly for their lives, and seek for safety in vaults and other secret places; while others got into the upper palace, among the royal troops, bolting the door after them, and making the passage secure from assault: and of this number were Ananias, the high-priest, his brother Hezekias, and the deputies who had been sent from Agrippa.

The victory being thus obtained, the insurgents seemed to be contented, for that day, with the mischief they had done; and paused a while, to reflect on what was past: but on the following day, which was the fifteenth of the month Lois, they made an attack on the castle of Antonia, which resisted no longer than two days, and was then carried by assault; on which the rebels burnt the castle, and put all the garrison to the sword. They now proceeded to the palace, in which the troops of Agrippa had taken sanctuary: having divided their force into four bodies, they made an attempt to undermine the walls; while those within were under a necessity of remaining inactive, as their strength was insufficient for them to sally forth with hope of success. In the mean time the assailants continued their operations; and several of them perished under the walls of the castle, among whom were some of the Sicarii. The operations were continued night and day without intermission, the assailants hoping to starve the besieged into a compliance; and the latter, by a constant and vigilant attendance to their defence, flattering themselves that the insurgents would be fatigued with the attack, and abandon the enterprise.

Among the rebels was a man named Manahem, the son of Judas, of Galilee: he was a person of great cunning, and an artful orator. He was the same person who formerly reflected on the Jews under Cyrenius, for acknowledging themselves as subject to the Romans, and at the same time professing to worship only one God. Now Manahem had formed a design on the arsenal of Herod, at Masada; on which he induced several men of quality to join him, and taking them with him, he seized the place by force; and then arming a number of low vagabond fellows, which he found there, he took them with him as his guard, and marching to Jerusalem, entered that city like a petty sovereign. When he arrived there he put himself at the head of the insurgents, and issued out his orders for besieging the palace in form.
The assilants were principally in want of machines; for they found it impracticable to work at the foot of the wall, while they were annoyed by an enemy directly over their heads. Hereupon they began to break the ground at a considerable distance from the castle, and having carried on a covered way to the foundation of one of the towers, they supported its weight as they worked, by several props of timber. This being done, they retreated, having first set fire to the props, which being consumed, the turret fell to the ground. Now the royal troops, having been apprized of what was going forward, had run up a wall behind the turret, to support the rest of the building. The assailants had reckoned their work almost complete; but when one of the towers only fell, the discovery of what had been done caused an astonishment and confusion among them that is not to be described.

Notwithstanding the success of this counter-scheme, the royalists who were in the palace, sent a message to Manahem, and the other chiefs of the opposition, requesting that they might have leave to depart: which request was immediately complied with, as far as it related to the king's people, and others who were of the same religion; who accordingly departed without loss of time.

The Romans who were left behind were quite dispirited by this circumstance; for they found themselves unable to cope with the superior number of the enemy; thought it inconvenient with their character to submit to treat with rebels; and dreaded the hazard they should run, when exposed to the mercy of men totally destitute of all faith and honour. Reduced to this extremity, they abandoned the place as not being defensible, and retired with all expedition to the royal forts of Hippon, Phasael, and Mariamne. No sooner did the soldiers begin to quit the place, than the rebels under the command of Manahem broke in, murdered every person they could seize on; and stripped the places of all the valuable furniture; and concluded the outrage by setting fire to the camp. It was on the sixth day of the month Gorpaeus that this circumstance took place.

**C H A P. XVIII.**

*Ananias and Hezekiah put to death.* The vanity of Manahem induces him to assume the state of a prince. An assault made on him in the temple. He is dragged from a secret place, tortured, and put to death. The two parties are but factions opposing each other. Metilius, a Roman general, capitulates with Eleazar on terms. The treaty ratified on oath, and the articles signed. Eleazar's horrid perfidy, and its consequences. The prelude to the destruction of the Jews. A shocking execution on the sabbath.

Ananias, the high-priest, and his brother Hezekiah were found together, on the day succeeding the above-mentioned events, in one of the vaults adjoining to the court, where they had secreted themselves; and being brought forth, they were both put to death by a band of the Sicarii.
The rebels now placed strong guards about the forts, so that it was impos-
possible for any of the soldiers to effect their escape.

The success which had attended the ravage of the fortified places, added
to the death of Ananias, the high-priest, gave Manahem so advantageous an
opinion of his own importance, that he grew most insufferably vain, sup-
posed himself an oracle in all affairs of government, and became more infu-
portable and inhuman than any other tyrant extant. The insolence of his be-
aviour became the subject of conversation between Eleazar and a number of
his select friends, among whom one of them spoke to the following purport:

"Any man who has once assumed courage to assert his liberty against the
tyranny of the Romans, ought to blush at the idea of betraying that liberty
again to any private man. He ought particularly to despise the thought
of submitting to such a master as Manahem, who, if his wanton cruelties
had not disqualified him for government, would have been absolutely inca-
pacitated by the meanness of his extraction. If there should be an unavoidable
able necessity of advancing one man above his companions, Manahem is
certainly the last man that should be thought of."

When they had conversed together till they had formed their resolutions
and inflamed their passions, they lost no time in repairing to the temple,
where they found Manahem at his devotions, drested in royal robes, with all
the pomp of a prince, attended by a train, and having armed guards for his
protection. While he was thus enjoying himself in all the pride of his newly
assumed dignity, some of the people who had accompanied Eleazar, made a
sudden and violent assault on his person. Hereupon the people began to pelt
him with stones, convinced that if he was destroyed, things would go on in
their proper channel. For some little time after the first attack, his guards
made a faint shew of resistance; but when they saw that the people in gen-
eral were his enemies, every man of them fought his own safety by a speedy
flight. The adherents of Eleazar desisted as many as they could get into
their custody, and pursued the rest till they effected their escape. Some few of
them retired in a private manner to Maffada, among whom was Eleazar, the
son of Jairus, who was nearly related to Manahem, and lived to exercise a
tyrannical government in that place afterwards. With regard to Manahem,
he was apprehended in a place named Ophlas, where he was sculking about
for shelter; and being dragged from his lurking-place, he was first exposed
to the public view, and then put to death with circumstances of aggravated
torture. His assistants, and those who acted by his immediate direction, were
treated in the same manner; among whom was Abfalom, who had been a
principal fomenter of the sedition.

Those who were in the opposition to Manahem found themselves supported
by the people in general, who (as hath been heretofore observed) thought
that this would be a ready method to the bringing about of an accommoda-
tion: whereas, in fact, one faction was but acting as an opposite to the other,
since the opponents of Manahem, whose view was to establish themselves,
did not consider that they were erecting a new tyranny, on the ruins of the
old. The people in general were at this time extremely solicitous with those
persons who had the direction of the faction, not to act with such severity towards the Romans; but rather to raise the siege, and permit them to depart: but the more this matter was urged on the one side, the more obstinately it was refused on the other. The Roman general Metilius, and those who accompanied him, having exerted themselves to the utmost of their power for the defence of the place, and being now reduced to the greatest extremity, proposed terms of capitulation to Eleazar, and offered to deliver up the place, together with every thing contained in it, on the single condition that their lives might be spared.

These terms were too moderate to be rejected; whereupon Goriah, the son of Nicodemus, Ananias, the son of Saddaca, and Judas, the son of Johnathas, were fixed on as commissioners to ratify the treaty on oath, and give validity to the articles, by signing and sealing. No sooner were the formalities ended, and the agreement properly ratified, than Metilius, fully confiding in the honour of his opponent, drew off his soldiers, equally without interruption, and without suspicion of any, while the Romans remained under arms: but no sooner, in conformity to the agreement that had been made, had the soldiers delivered up their swords and shields, than the troops of Eleazar broke in upon them, seized them, and most inhumanly murdered them; the Roman soldiers neither supplicating for their lives, nor making any resistance; only reflecting on their barbarous foes by the pronunciation of the words oaths and articles. Metilius alone was mean enough to solicit his life, which was at length granted to his earnest prayers, on the condition of his solemnly promising to turn Jew, and submit to the ceremony of circumcision.

The Roman power, however, was very little injured by this atrocious outrage, since the loss of the troops that were thus destroyed was inconsiderable, proportioned to the vast armies of which they were possessed: but this circumstance was an evident prelude to the destruction of the Jews: for an inevitable war was actually in view, and that founded on a good cause: the city, which had taken the principal share in the dispute, was so corrupted by perfidy and rebellion, that admitting it might escape the vengeance of the Romans, it was not reasonable to suppose but that it must fall a sacrifice to Divine justice. The face of affairs was now more mournful, melancholy, and desponding than it had been at any former period: those who were innocent dreaded to share the fate of the guilty, and feared that they should be made answerable for crimes which they had not committed. The above-mentioned afflation took place on the sabbath day, which was deemed a great aggravation of the crime; since, on that day, all labour whatsoever, even the most sacred, is totally forbidden to the Jews.
A slaughter of twenty thousand Jews at Caesarea, on the same day. Some Jews sent in chains to the galleys by Florus. Dreadful havoc made in Syria and its neighbourhood. The miserable situation of Syria. The Jews oppose each other. The men of Scythopolis destroy thirteen thousand Jews. The exploits of Simon, son of Saul, a man of remarkable courage and strength. His confession and recantation. He destroys his father, mother, wife and children, and, at length, rather than submit to the enemy, he puts a period to his own life.

The Divine Providence so directed affairs, that on the very day, and at the same hour of the above-recited massacre, there was a slaughter of the Jews at Caesarea, in which above twenty thousand persons fell a sacrifice, not a single Jew in the town being left alive. With regard to the few who sought to escape by flight, Florus took care to have them apprehended, and sent them to the galleys in chains. The whole nation of the Jews became outrageous, on occasion of this horrid slaughter, and dividing themselves into distinct bodies, dispersed into different quarters. They first laid waste a number of villages of Syria, and then destroyed several of the adjacent cities, among which were Philadelphia, Gibonitis, Gerasa, Pella, and Scythopolis. This being done, they made their attacks on Gadara, Hippom, and Gaulonitis, proceeding from thence to Ptolemais, Gaba, Caesarea, and the Tyrian Cesarea, some of which places they burnt, and levelled others with the ground. In the next place they attacked Sebaste and Aka-lon, which surrendered without opposition. When they had effectually reduced these places, and laid them in ruins, they destroyed Anthedon and Gaza, and continuing their ravages, laid waste a number of villages on the frontiers, putting to death as many of the inhabitants as they could get into their custody.

On the other hand, the Syrians wreaked their vengeance on all the Jews they could find in country places, whom they put to the sword; and extended the persecution against the inhabitants of the several cities. This was done not only from motives of policy, in the weakening of a determined enemy, but from those of revenge on an ancient animosity. At this time the condition of Syria was far more deplorable than language can describe; since, in fact, there were in every city two armies; nor was any safety to be expected for the one, but in the destruction of the other. The whole day was spent in spilling of blood, and, on the advance of the night, the fears of the parties were worse than the reality. The Syrians asserted that they meant only to destroy the Jews; but there being a number of people whom they only suspected to be of the Jewish faith, they knew not how to act with regard to them: they were afraid to leave them unpunished, lest they should be Jews, and yet thought that the destroying them on suspicion only would have the appearance of cruelty.
At this period many persons who had been heretofore distinguished by their benevolence, became of savage and cruel dispositions, from the mere lust of gain; for those they killed they plundered, and the booty was allowed them as a reward of their courage; that man being accounted most valiant who obtained most pillage; for in this case, the terms victory and robbery were confounded. It was a dreadful spectacle to behold the streets filled with the bodies of men, women, and children, who had been murdered, stripped, and left, not only unburied, but uncovered. But still more melancholy events were yet to take place.

To this period the Jews had only made war on strangers; but when they approached the confines of Scythopolis, they found the Jews themselves of that district to be their enemies; so much had the latter preferred the consideration of their own interest to that of their king and country: the Jews of Scythopolis having actually combined with the inhabitants of that place against their own countrymen. But the Scythopolitans were suspicious of the good faith of their new allies, who had entered into the agreement with an eagerness for which they could not account. They reflected what might be the consequence, if these people should unite against them with the other Jews, surprize the town by night, and then affect that what they had done arose from the necessity of their situation, or was in revenge of their own sufferings. On this occasion the citizens proposed to the Jews of their confederacy, that if they were willing to give a proof of their integrity, and love of justice towards strangers, they would, for the present, withdraw with their families, into a grove adjacent to the town. The Jews complied with this requisition, and every thing remained in peace at Scythopolis during the two following days: but on the third night, intelligence being brought of the defenceless situation of the Jews; that some of them were asleep, others in careless postures, and all of them off their guard; the people of Scythopolis attacked them unawares, destroyed them all to the number of thirteen thousand; and departed, having first seized every thing of value in the camp.

Having thus given a general account of this transaction, it will be proper particularly to mention the death of Simon, the son of Saul, who fell a sacrifice on the occasion. He was a man of a distinguished family, and very remarkable for the strength of his body, and the dignity of his mind; and these advantages he had made use of in behalf of the Scythopolitans, to the injury of his own countrymen. The Jews living in the neighbourhood of Scythopolis were almost daily the objects of his vengeance; and he would often pull whole troops to the rout, for his courage was such that an army seemed combined in his person. But at length his crimes were punished by an adequate vengeance. Observing how the Jews in the grove were surrounded by the people of Scythopolis, who plying them incessantly with arrows and darts, Simon drew his sword, and without offering to attack any one, (which indeed would have been a fruitless attempt amidst such a multitude) he addressed the Scythopolitans, and, with many lamentations, spoke to the following purpose: "Behold in me an instance of just punishment for the evils I have done, in obtaining your confidence and esteem, by sacrificing so many of my unhappy countrymen. Why should I have expected a greater
"a greater degree of faith from strangers, than from my own friends and "fellow-citizens? My death is now approaching; and it would ill become "the man who has boasted of his honour, to fall by the hands of the ene-"my. He ought rather to sacrifice himself: this will be the punishment I "have justly merited, and consistent with the heroic character I have af-"fumed. It shall not be said that I have put it in the power of an enemy "to triumph over me in my calamity, and glory in my destruction." Hav-"ing said thus much, he cast his eyes, in which were an equal mixture of rage "and tenderness, on his ancient parents, his wife, his children, and all his fa-"mily, who now surrounded him. Having gazed a while, as in suspense how "to act, he seized his father by the hair, and placing his foot on him, flabbled "him through the body: then approaching his mother, who appeared willing "to become a devoted sacrifice, he killed her also: he next advanced to his "wife and sons, on whom he likewise did execution, while they seemed rather "to meet than avoid that weapon, which, by putting a speedy end to their "lives, would prevent their being sacrificed by the enemy. Having thus put "all his relations to death, he laid their bodies one on another, and then stand-"ing upon the deceased, he extended his right hand, that he might be gene-"rally noticed, and then plunged the sword into his body. If we reflect on the "strength and courage of this extraordinary young man, we shall be tempted to "lament his fate; but when we consider how faithful he was to strangers, and "how severely inhuman to those of his own nation, it must be acknowledged "that his fate was such as he had well deserved.

**C H A P. XX.**

The Jews massacred in several other places. A journey to Antioch undertaken by Agrippa, who leaves Varus to act in his absence. Seventy men sent by the province of Balannea, to solicit for a garrison. They are intercepted and slain by a party sent by Varus; who is removed from his government by Agrippa. The rebels get possession of the castle of Cypros. Macberas delivered up to the Jews by the Romans.

The example of the massacre at Scythopolis had spirited up the people in several other places, where also the Jews were massacred. In Aika- lon two thousand five hundred fell a sacrifice; in Ptolemais two thousand; and many of them were put to death at Tyre, where, likewise, several were imprisoned. All those who were most active at Hippon and Gadara were destroyed, and the rest thrown into prison. In other towns where they were ei- ther dreaded or hated they were treated with similar severity; but the Jewish inhabitants of Antioch, Sidon, and Apamia, remained in the peacable enj oyment of their lives and liberties. It is doubtful whether this legity arose from an apprehension that they were too weak to be dreaded, or from a ge- nerous view to spare a body of people who did not appear to harbour any sinister design against the state; but, in fact, this latter idea seems to have the best foundation. Those Jews who chose to remain with the Gerafenes **Vol. II.** were
were permitted so to do; and those who declined staying were safely conducted to the borders of the country.

At this period a singular and unprecedented misfortune attended the Jews in the kingdom of Agrippa. This prince, having resolved to make a visit to Cælius Gallus, at Antiöch, commissioned a friend of his, named Varus, who was related to king Sohemus, to transact the public affairs in his absence. It happened at this juncture that seventy persons of the province of Batanea, distinguished by their rank and wisdom, were sent to request the favour of a garrison, with a view that they might be enabled to suppress any tumult or commotion, if such circumstance should arise. Varus, being informed of this circumstance, sent out a party of the king's troops to destroy them on their approach; which he was rash enough to do, not only without the knowledge, but, as it afterwards appeared, greatly against the opinion of Agrippa. Varus was stimulated by an excess of avarice to this infamous outrage on his countrymen: and having thus began his depredations, he proceeded to debauch the manners of the whole kingdom, by all possible degrees of vice and tyranny. When Agrippa came afterwards to be informed of the depredations that had been made by Varus, he was unwilling to put him to death, on account of his regard to Sohemus; but he gave orders that he should be immediately deprived of his government.

In the interim, the possession of the castle of Cypros, on the frontiers of Jericho, was obtained by the rebels, who destroyed the place, after first putting the garrison to the sword. About the same period the Romans of Maccharas were treated with by another large body of the Jews, for the surrender of their garrison; and they accordingly agreed to the terms on which it should be given up, thinking it was better to yield it by capitulation, than to be driven out of it by force.

**CHAP. XXI.**

The favours heretofore conferred on the Jews by Alexander the great, and afterwards by the Roman emperors. A violent contest in Alexandria between the Jews and Greeks: the place would have been reduced to ashes, if Cæsars had not suppressed the insurrection. Two Roman legions, and five thousand Libyans commissioned to destroy at pleasure. Fifty thousand Jews killed on the spot, and the rest spared on submission. The Alexandrians are provoked to the utmost rage.

FROM the time of Alexander the great the natives of Alexandria were very averse to the Jews residing in that city. That commander, in consideration of the services they had done him against the Egyptians, had granted them the freedom of the city, and bestowed on them all those privileges of citizens which were pooffessed by the Greeks. The successors of Alexander continued these privileges to them, and allotted them a particular quarter of the town for their own residence, where they lived in a great degree separate from all other people; and they were likewise indulged with the favour of bearing the name of Macedonians. In process of time, when the Romans came into possession of Egypt, Cæsar and his successors conti-
rued to the Jews their former privileges; but there was a perpetual disa-
grreement between the Jews and Greeks: and although either party was in-
discriminately punished for misbehaviour, this served only to inflame the rage
that rankled in their breasts.

At this time the general state of the country was extremely confused; but
the disorder at Alexandria was greater than at any other place. The Greeks
having assembled together, on the subject of dispatching ambassadors to Ne-
ro, on a matter of importance, a number of Jews and Greeks rushed together
into the amphitheatre. Hereupon the Greeks called out, that "The Jews
were enemies and spies;" and had no sooner spoke those words than they
immediately attacked them, when all of them made their escape but three,
whom they seized, and dragged them away, with an intention of burning
them alive. The whole body of the Jews, inflamed by this circumstance,
fled to their rescue, and began the attack by throwing stones at the Greeks;
after which they ran to the amphitheatre with flambeaux in their hands,
threatening to burn the building and all that were in it: and this would have
been certainly done, if Tiberius Alexander, the governor of the city, had
not found means to allay the ferment of their rage. This he did not effect by
any violent methods; but engaged some of the Jews who were held in the
greatest estimation, to use all possible arguments to reduce the people to rea-
son; to advise them to moderate measures, and caution them against pro-
voking the resentment of the Roman soldiers. In the mean time many of the
Jews ridiculed this interposition of their friends, and made farcicfie remarks
on Tiberius for sending them on such an errand.

Tiberius, finding that the tumult could not be suppressed without mis-
chief, commissioned two Roman legions, which were at that time in the ci-
ty, and five thousand Lybian soldiers, who happened to arrive at the critical
juncture, to bear down on the insurgents. They were commanded not only
to destroy all who opposed them, but likewise to seize their goods, plunder
their houses, and set them on fire. These orders were no sooner eluated than
the troops marched to a quarter of the town named Delta, (where the Jews
had then assembied in great numbers) and executed their orders with the
strictest attention to military severity. Those among the Jews who were best
armed were placed in the front, and for some time they made a valiant re-
sistance; but when the ranks were once broken they were soon routed and
cut to pieces; and upon the whole, the victory had a most bloody appear-
ance. Never did death and destruction assume a greater variety of forms:
all ages and both sexes fell a sacrifice to fire and sword; the whole place
streamed with blood, and plunder prevailed in every part. No less than fifty
thousand dead bodies lay at once on the spot, and the rest of the Jews would
have been reduced to a similar situation if they had not submitted to beg their
lives. Thus situated, Alexander gave orders to the soldiers to stop their de-
predations; which were immediately complied with, through a strict regard
to military discipline: but, on this occasion, the animosity of the Alexand-
drians was such, that it was with difficulty they were prevented from inful-
ting the bodies of the dead.
Cestius, on his march to Ptolemais, is reinforced by the country troops. He is joined by Agrippa. The defection, pillaging, and burning of Zabulon. The return of Cestius to Ptolemais. The Jews destroy near two thousand of the Syrians. Cestius proceeds from Ptolemais to Caesarea. The inhabitants of Jeppa destroyed without distinction.

Cestius remarking the antipathy in which the Jews were every where held, took advantage of this circumstance to prosecute the war with vigour. On this occasion he assembled his troops, and marched towards Ptolemais; taking with him the whole twelfth legion, which he commanded at Antioch; two thousand select men from the other legions, and four divisions of horse, exclusive of the royal auxiliaries; and these last consisted of two thousand horse, and three thousand foot, belonging to Antiochus, all armed with bows and arrows; one thousand horse, and three thousand foot, of the troops of king Agrippa; and a body of king Sohemus’s troops, consisting of four thousand men, about a third part of which were horse, and the rest foot, and the greater number of them archers. As Cestius continued his march towards Ptolemais, the country people flocked to him as he passed. It is not to be supposed that these soldiers were equal in skill to his own; but their antipathy to the Jews, and their zeal in the cause, amply compensated for what they wanted in judgment and experience.

Cestius was afflicted by Agrippa both with soldiers and instructions; and being thus provided, the general proceeded, with part of his army, towards Zabulon, (otherwise called Andron) the most defensible city of Galilee, and by which Judæa is divided from Ptolemais. On his arrival at the place, he found that it was amply stored with provisions of all kinds, but not a single person was visible in the town, all the inhabitants having fled to the mountains: on which he gave his soldiers permission to plunder the city. The general was astonished at the beauty and elegance of the buildings, which bore a great resemblance to those of Tyre, Sidon and Berytus: yet, notwithstanding his amazement, he caused them to be burnt, and levelled with the ground. This being done, he proceeded to ravage the adjacent country, laying waste wherever he came. When he had made all possible depredations, and burnt the adjacent villages, he left them in that situation, and then returned to Ptolemais. On this occasion the Syrians were so intent on the obtaining of plunder, that they could not prevail on themselves to retire in time; but many of them remained behind: and, on the retreat of Cestius, the Jews taking courage, fell on these plunderers, and destroyed near two thousand of them.

Cestius proceeded from Ptolemais to Caesarea, whence he dispatched a division of his army to Joppa, with directions that, if they could get an easy possession of the place, they should preserve it; but if they found that the inhabitants made preparation to defend it, in that case they should wait for the
the arrival of the rest of the army. However, the Romans attacked the place both by land and sea, and became masters of it with very little difficulty: for the inhabitants were so far from being able to resist the attack, that they had not even an opportunity of making their escape; but all of them, men, women and children, masters and servants, were indiscriminately put to the sword; the number of persons slain being reckoned at eight thousand four hundred; and the city was plundered and reduced to ashes. A body of Roman horse made similar destruction in the toparchy of Narbatane, not far from Cæsarea, where they ravaged the country, killed great numbers of the inhabitants, took possession of their effects, and burnt their cities to the ground.

C H A P. XXIII.

The command in Galilee given to Cæsennius Gallus. Sepphoris and other places take part with the Romans. The rebels by no means a match for the Romans. Gallus retires to Cæsarea, and the army of Cæsennius to Antipatris. The burning of the city of Lydda. The encamping of Cæsennius near Jerusalem. A furious sally made by the Jews on the sabbath-day. The danger of Cæsennius and his army. The Jews are compelled to make a retreat. The Romans retiring towards Bethoron, are attacked in the rear by the Jews.

The twelfth legion was now sent into Galilee by Cæsennius, under the command of Cæsennius Gallus, and as many other troops were sent in their aid as were deemed sufficient for the reduction of that province. The strongest city in this country was Sepphoris, the gates of which were immediately opened to the commander, and the other towns copied the example of Sepphoris. The insurgents and disaffected people retired to the mountain of Afamon, which crosses Galilee, and is directly opposite to Sepphoris. While they were thus situated Gallus approached them; but as long as they were able to maintain the higher ground, they were more than a match for the Romans, about two hundred of whom they killed in the attack; but at length the Romans, making a compas, so as to act on equal terms, the opposite party was soon put to the rout; since the men, being ill-armed, were unable to withstand the assault, and the fugitives were soon cut to pieces by the horse. Some few of them saved their lives by hiding in craggs of the rock; but above two thousand of them were slain on this occasion.

By this time Gallus being convinced that there was no farther necessity for his attendance in Galilee, retired with his troops to Cæsarea; and Cæsennius departed with his army to Antipatris; where, when he arrived, he was informed that a great number of Jews had got into the tower of Aphec, whether he sent a number of his troops to rout them. The Jews finding themselves totally unable to sustain the shock, abandoned the place to the Romans, who first stripped it of every thing of value, then set fire to all the villages in its neighbourhood, and departed as soon as they were destroyed.
From Antipatris, Cælius proceeded to Lydda, in which city he found no more than fifty men, all the rest of them having gone to Jerusalem, on occasion of the feast of tabernacles. These fifty Cælius caused to be destroyed, set fire to the town, and then proceeded, by the way of Bethoron, to a place named Gabaa, about fifty furlongs from Jerusalem, where he encamped.

Convinced of the excessive dangers of the war, the Jews abandoned their former feruples with regard to their sacred days, and applied themselves strictly to their arms. Imagining that their force was now sufficient to cope with the Romans, they made a desperate sally on the sabbath-day, regardless of their ancient prejudices, and, with a furious uproar, attacked their enemies. The rage which on this occasion inflamed them so as to induce them to forget their duty, was advantageous to them in the execution of the projected enterprize: for, on the first charge, they put the front of the Romans into great disorder, and penetrated so far into the main body of the army, that if a body of foot had not yet remained entirely unbroken, and a party of horse arrived to their relief in this critical juncture, it is probable that Cælius and all his army must have been cut to pieces. On this occasion four hundred of the Roman cavalry were slain, and one hundred and fifteen of the infantry; while of the Jews there fell no more on the spot than two and twenty men. Those who were most eminently distinguished in this action were Monobafus and Cenedæus, two relations of Monobafus, king of the Adiabenians: and the valour of these chieftains was well seconded by Niger of Peræa, and Silas, the Babylonian, the last of whom had gone over to take part with the Jews, after having been formerly in the service of king Agrippa.

The main body of the Jews now retreating in good order, went back into the city; and in the mean time the Romans retiring towards Bethoron, they were followed by Gioras, the son of Simon, who destroyed several of them, and seized a number of carriages, and a quantity of baggage, which he found in the course of his pursuit, and which he conveyed to Jerusalem. Cælius remained in the field three days after this action, during all which time a party of the Jews was stationed on the adjacent hills to watch his movements; and it is probable that the Jews would have attacked the Romans, if they had offered to depart during that period.
Boraces and Phæbus sent by Agrippa to propose an alliance with the Romans. Phæbus killed, and Boraces wounded by the people. The Jews pursued to the walls of Jerusalem by Cælius, who advances to the city with his whole army. An offer made to open the gates to him, but, by delay, he loses this advantage. The walls defended by the Jews, and the Romans repulsed on their repeated attacks. A contrivance to secure the pioneers. The siege abandoned by Cælius, whose rear is attacked by the rebels. The miserable situation of the Romans. The unhappy condition of Cælius. The Romans retire towards Bethoron, and are beset by the Jews. Cælius makes his escape by a stratagem. The Jews follow the Romans as far as Antipatris, and then abandon the pursuit.

A Grrippa observing that the Jews made their appearance in amazing numbers on the hills, and on every elevated situation in the neighbourhood, did not think that even the Romans themselves were safe within the reach of an enemy so powerful; wherefore he came to a resolution to try if fair words might not obtain him some advantage, flattering himself that the opposing parties might be reasoned into a better opinion of each other than they at present held; or, at least, that if he should not be able to bring them to terms of perfect friendship, he might abate something of their enmity by promoting a change of opinion on either side.

Impressed with these sentiments, Agrippa dispatched two of his friends and officers, named Boraces and Phæbus, men of unfulfilled honour and reputation, to offer his opponents a league of alliance with the Romans, and full pardon and indemnity for all that was past, on the single condition that they should henceforth entertain new sentiments, and immediately lay down their arms.

This proposal was no sooner made, than the leaders of the opposition, apprehensive that the people in general might entertain thoughts of going over to the party of Agrippa, in hopes of the promised pardon, resolved on the immediate destruction of the ambassadors. Phæbus they killed without permitting him to say a word in his justification; but Boraces made his escape after being wounded. The atrocious wickedness of this action so incensed the multitude, that they pursued the offenders with clubs and stones, and in this manner drove them into the town.

In consequence of this disturbance Agrippa was furnished with the fairest opportunity imaginable of making his attack on the faction; and hereupon he advanced towards them with his whole army; attacked and routed them, and pursued them even to the walls of Jerusalem. This being done he retired to a place named Scopus, at the distance of about seven furlongs from the city, where he pitched his camp, and remained three days and nights, without attempting to make any attack upon the city, flattering himself with the expectation that the people would be induced to change their sentiments. In this interim he did nothing but send into the adjacent country for a supply of corn, and other necessaries.
On the following day, which was the thirtieth of the month Hyperberœus, Cælius advanced with his whole army, in a regular manner, to the borders of the city, where the people in general were so terrified by the faction, that they were afraid to take any step of consequence; while the principal promoters of the sedition were so alarmed by the conduct and discipline of the Romans on their march, that they retired from the extremities of the city, and took refuge in the temple. Cælius proceeded by the way of Beze-tha, and as he passed forwards burnt Cœnopolis, and a place which was denominated the wood-market. Hence he advanced to the upper town, and pitched his camp at a small distance from the palace. If, at this critical juncture, he had made a vigorous attack, he might, with the greatest eas’ have made himself master of the place, and put a period to the war: but he was diverted from this purpose by the mediation of two generals named Tyrannus and Priscus, and several other officers, with the prevailing argument of some of Florus’s money: and this unhappy proceeding was the occasion of the present misfortunes of the Jews, and the source of many of their future calamities.

When affairs were in this situation, Ananus, the son of Jonathan, and several other men of distinction among the Jews, called aloud to Cælius, making an offer to open the gates to him: but either through diffidence or fear, he was so long in considering whether he should comply with the offer, that the intention was discovered, and the people compelled Ananus and his companions to retreat from the walls of the city, and retire to their own houses for protection.

After this the Jews, with a view to defend the walls of the city, repaired to the different turrets, and, for five successive days, defended them against all the efforts of the Romans, though they urged the attack with the utmost impetuosity. Cælius, on the sixth day, made an assault on the north side of the temple, with a select force chosen from his troops and bowmen; but he was received with such a violent shower of shot and stones from the porch and galleries, that the Romans were not only repeatedly compelled to retire from the severity of the charge, but finally obliged to abandon the enterprise. Having been thus repulsed, the Romans had, at length, recourse to the following singular invention. Thoso in front placing their bucklers against the wall, and covering their heads and shoulders with them, those who stood next closed their bucklers to the former, till the whole body was covered, and made the appearance of a tortoise: the bucklers being thus conjoined, were proof against all the darts and arrows of the enemy; so that the Romans could now sap and undermine the walls without being exposed to danger; and the first thing they now did was to attempt setting fire to the gates of the temple. This circumstance amazed and terrified the faction to such a degree, that they considered themselves as ruined; and many of them absolutely abandoned the town: nor were the honest party less elevated with joy, than the rebels depressed by despair. The people now demanded that the gates might be opened to Cælius, whom they considered in the light of a friend and preserver. Matters having proceeded thus far, the general had nothing more to have done, but to have maintained the siege for a very lit-
THE WARS OF THE JEWS.

The time longer, and the town must have submitted: but the providence of God would not permit a war which had been undertaken with so little provocation to end in such a manner: for Cestius, without considering the good disposition of the people in general in the town, or reflecting on the desert into the which the rebels were thrown, as if he had been infatuated, drew off his men all at once, and contrary to all common sense and reason, abandoned the siege, at the time when his prospects were better than they had been at any former period. The revolters were so much encouraged by this unexpected departure of Cestius, that they attacked him in the rear, and destroyed a number both of his cavalry and infantry. On the first night he took up his residence in a camp which he had fortified at a place named Scopus; and on the following day he continued his march, but was closely pursued by the enemy, who annoyed him as he went, and destroyed a considerable number of his troops. A trench, with pallisadoes on both sides of the way, having been thrown up by the Romans, the Jews annoyed them exceedingly with their darts and arrows during their march across the passagé, while the Romans did not offer to revenge this insult, nor even to look back in the face of their enemies. This was partly in consideration of their being unable to secure their flanks, as their numbers were very considerable, and partly in the apprehension that the order of their march might be broken, as they were themselves burthened with very heavy arms, and those of the Jews were remarkably light, so that they were enabled to make excursions and surprizes without any difficulty. On the whole this was a very disastrous attack to the Romans, and not attended with any loss on the part of the Jews. In fact, the roads were covered with dead and wounded bodies in this retreat. Great numbers of the common soldiers were slain; and among those of superior rank were Prificus, commander of the sixth legion; a tribune, named Longinus; and Emilius Jucundus, a distinguished officer of horse. The Romans likewise lost great part of their baggage; but at length they arrived at Gabaon, where they had encamped on a former occasion.

Cestius was now greatly distressed how to act; and, during two days, employed his thoughts on his next operation. On the third day he found that the Jews was so greatly increased in numbers, that the whole face of the country was covered with them. He was now sensible that danger, as well as a hindrance of time, had arisen from his delay; and that as his enemies still increased in number, more danger would arise from a farther delay.

Hereupon he issued orders that the army should be eased of all their incumbrances, that they might march with the greater expedition: he likewise directed that all the mules, asses, and other beasts of burden should be killed, except only as many as might be necessary to carry such weapons and machines as would, probably, be hereafter wanted; and this was done likewise from motives of policy, to prevent their coming into possession of the enemy, and being employed to his disadvantage. This was the situation of the army during its approach towards Bethoron, Cestius marching at their head. While the troops continued in the open country they did not receive the least interruption from the Jews; but as they advanced into hollow ways
and defiles, the enemy charged them in front and rear, to separate some divisions of them from the rest of the army, and force them farther into the valley: and in the interim the Jews discharged shot on the heads of the Romans, from the rocks and craggs. While the infantry were thus distressed, and in doubt how they should act, the situation of the cavalry was still more deplorable; for it was impossible for them to advance against the Jews in the mountains, or secure themselves in the valleys: nor could the order of the troops be maintained amidst such a shower of arrows as descended on them. Many perished by falling from precipices, and by other accidents: in fact, they were in such a distressful situation, that they could neither fight nor fly. Reduced to this shocking extremity, the Romans gave vent to their passion by tears, groans, and lamentations; while, on the other hand, the Jews made the rocks and vallies resound with their transports of joy, triumph and exultation. In fact, such was the situation of affairs, that if day-light had continued some time longer, the whole army of Cælius must have been cut to pieces; but the Romans with difficulty crept to Bethoron, under cover of the night; all the passés near which place were immediately secured by the Jews, to prevent the retreat of their adversaries.

Cælius finding in what a disagreeable manner he was surrounded, and that it would be impossible to retreat within sight of the enemy, devised a scheme to favour his escape. Having stationed near four hundred of his most gallant troops on the tops of the houses, he ordered that they should act the part of centinels, calling as loud as they were able to the watches and guards, as if the army was still in its encampment. While this plan was going forward Cælius collected his troops, and, during the night, marched to the distance of about thirty furlongs. In the morning, when the Jews came to find that the place had been deserted by the main body of the army during the night, they were so enraged that they immediately attacked the four hundred Romans who had acted as centinels; slew every one of them, and then instantly marched in pursuit of Cælius: but his troops having obtained a whole night’s march on them, and proceeding with the utmost rapidity on the following day, it was not possible to overtake them. Such were the hurry and confusion in which the Romans had fled, that they dropped in the roads all their slings, machines, and other instruments for battery and attack: and these being seized by the pursuers, they afterwards made use of them against the Romans. The Jews pursued their enemies as far as Antipatris: but finding it in vain to continue the chase, they carefully preserved the engines, stripped the dead, collected all the booty they could, and then returned towards Jerusalem, singing songs of triumph for so important a victory, obtained with a loss perfectly inconsiderable. In this contest there fell, of the Romans and their auxiliaries, three hundred and eighty cavalry, and four thousand infantry. This event took place in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, and on the eighth day of the month Dios.
Jerusalem abandoned by the Jews. Cælius sends an account of his misfortune to Nero, and attributes the fault to Florus. The people of Damascus confederate to destroy the Jews. The throats of ten thousand cut in one hour. The civil and military establishment of the Jews. Eleazar makes himself popular. Joseph, the son of Matthias, governor of the two Galilees. His sentiments and disposition. His order and method of governing. He opposes a council of seventy. He builds walls round the defensible cities. He adopts the Roman mode of discipline. An account of Joseph's army.

After the above-mentioned misfortune had happened to Cælius, the principal of the Jews in Jerusalem abandoned the city, as a place devoted to destruction. The two brothers, Cæsabarius and Saul, with Philip, the son of Jacimus, who had formerly been general to Agrippa, privately withdrew to Cælius; but Antipas, who was imprisoned with them in the palace, disdaining to owe his safety to flight, received his death from the hands of the faction. The mode of his execution will be hereafter related. At this period Cælius commissioneed Saul and his associates to repair to Nero, in Achaia, with a recital of his miscarriage, the whole of which he attributed to the bad conduct of Florus. Cælius proceeded in this manner, by way of directing on the head of another, the storm which might otherwise have fallen on himself.

Intelligence of this defeat had no sooner arrived at Damascus, than the inhabitants of that place combined to destroy all the Jews resident there; which they thought they might easily effect, if they could meet with them in a body at the baths, or any other public place: but they were in fear left their wives, most of whom were Jews, should get intelligence of this intention. The inhabitants, however, seized a proper opportunity, when the Jews were so assembled, in a confined place, and unarmed; and, in the space of an hour, cut the throats of ten thousand of them, almost without opposition.

By this time the Jews who had obtained so compleat a conquest over Cælius were returned to Jerusalem; and used every means, to bring over to their interest as many of the Romans as they possibly could. On this occasion they held a meeting in the temple for the election of officers for the management of the war: and they made Joseph, the son of Gorion, and Ananas, the high-priest, governors in civil affairs, and to superintend the city; particularly desiring that they would pay a proper attention to the re- edification of the walls. With regard to Eleazar, the son of Simon, though he was possessed of an immense booty which had been taken from the Romans, and had obtained a large sum of money from Cælius, exclusive of a vast public treasure which he had appropriated to his own use; yet they did not think proper to confer any honour or employment on him, as they deemed him a man of a haughty and tyrannical disposition; and thought those who associated with him were rather as guards than friends and companions. But Eleazar was not prevented by this from ingratiating himself into the affections

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tions of the people, which by means of complaisance, money, and popular management, he did fo effectually, that they thought him the most proper man to act as governor.

The people now sent Jesus, the son of Sapphas, one of the high-priests, and Eleazar, the son of the new high-priest, as commanders into Idumæa; directing that their orders should be strictly obeyed by Niger, the present governor of that province. This Niger was likewise denominated Peraites, because he came from beyond Jordan.

Similar care was likewise taken by the people with regard to the other governments. To Jericho they sent Joseph, the son of Simon; Manesies went beyond the river, and John, the Eflene, was dispatched to Thamma. To these governments were added Lydda, Joppa, and Emmaus, which were to be held as toparchies. The government of Gophnitis and Acrobatene was given to John, the son of Ananias, and that of the two Galilees to Joseph, the son of Matthias, to whom was likewise submitted the government of Gamala, the strongest place in the country.

Each of these governors discharged his trust with pleasure, and managed with great prudence. With regard to Joseph, as soon as he arrived in Galilee, he sought to ingratiate himself into the affections of the people, as an interest which would amply atone for any trivial errors he might fall into. He also reflected that the admitting persons of rank to a share in the government was the ready way to make them his friends; and that the most effectual method of obliging the people at large, would be the employing such of the natives as were popular, in all popular business. The method Joseph took was as follows: he selected a council of seventy from among the oldest and wisest men of the nation. To this council he deputed the government of Galilee, restraining them in a few particulars only. These seventy judges were distributed, seven in each city, and empowered to hear and determine all common affairs, agreeable to a plan which was prescribed to them: but the determining in capital cases, and matters of great consequence, Joseph referred to himself.

The council of seventy thus disposed of, and domestic affairs regulated, Joseph began to consider how most effectually to secure himself from foreign attacks. He had no kind of doubt but that the Romans would make interruptions into Galilee, and therefore immediately caused walls to be built round the defensible cities, viz. Jotapata, Bersabee, Selamis, Peregcho, Japha and Sigoh, Taricheæ and Tiberias, and also the mountain called Itabyr. In the lower Galilee he fortified the caves near the lake of Genezareth: in the upper Galilee, Petra, of the Achabarians; Seph, Jamnith and Mero; with Seleucir, Soganes and Gamala, in Gaulanitis. But the Sepphorites, who were a rich people, and naturally of a martial turn, were permitted to build their own walls. Gilchala was walled in, by Joseph's command, by John, the son of Levi. All the rest of the castles were fortified by Joseph's immediate aid and direction.

Having obtained upwards of one hundred thousand men in Galilee, he supplied them with old arms which he had collected in various places. He

* The author of this history.
next reflected on the amazing power of the Romans, and what it was that contributed to render those people so invincible; and he was of opinion that it was owing to their strict discipline and regular obedience. As it was not in his power at present to discipline his people as he wished, he determined to secure their obedience in the best manner he could; and for this purpose he thought the Roman method of multiplying officers would be effectual, dividing and subdividing offices of command beneath each other; and this method he adopted. He appointed officers over tens, hundreds and thousands, all of them still subject to the superior command of others. He caused his forces to be instructed to understand signals; to know the points of war by the sound of trumpet; distinguishing an alarm, a charge, or a retreat, by the different sounds; to comprehend the mode of fighting, and the form of battle; the method of attack and retreat; and how to second the distressed, and relieve those that might be fatigued. He instructed them in the virtues of fortitude, to sustain mental or bodily distress, admonishing them to shew themselves equally proof against trouble and danger. He made use of the Roman discipline in all his warlike instructions, as what might produce an equal force of authority and example. He told his soldiers that if their wish was to obtain his good opinion of their obedience in time of war, it would become them previously to decline every act of unlawful violence; to avoid all fraud, pilfering and robbery; that they should be strictly just in their dealings with every one; and not think that what arose from the defraud of another, could produce any advantage to themselves. "Is it possible (said he) for a war against the rights of conscience to prosper, when it is evident that both God and man must be our professed enemies?" In this manner did Joseph continue to admonish and instruct his people, till he had formed an army agreeable to his own wishes. He was now at the head of sixty thousand infantry, two hundred and fifty cavalry, and six hundred select men for his body guard, exclusive of four thousand five hundred mercenaries, on whom he placed the utmost reliance. The expense of these men to the country was not considerable; for all of them, except the mercenaries, were supported by cities. These cities, while one half of the men were engaged in the wars, employed the other half to provide necessaries for their associates; so that the men were mutual assistants to each other, as those who were in arms served to protect those who provided for them.
During the above-mentioned administration of Joseph in Galilee, a most extraordinary impostor engaged the attention of the public. His name was John, he came from Gischala, and was the son of a man named Levi. He was distinguished by his uncommon craft and subtlety, but had heretofore been so poor as not to be able to carry his wicked designs into execution. He was a most egregious liar, and equally fond of listening to, as of circulating false reports. He was so abandoned as to deem fraud a virtue, and seemed particularly fond of cheating his best friends. He made great pretensions to good-nature, but, when his interest prompted him, was savage and cruel in the highest degree. He possessed the most unbounded ambition, yet had no prospect of distinction but what was founded in his crimes. A disposition to defraud seemed so rooted in his nature, that he wanted no instructor in the art of theft: he began by himself, and continued increasing his companions by degrees, till their number amounted to four hundred. Among all these there was not one man but of approved courage, and of good skill in the use of arms: so careful was the leader to chuse men of resolution and address. The majority of this band were selected from among the villages of the Tyrians. With these banditti John made incursions into Galilee, laid the country waste, and put to the sword many of those who had retired in the fear of a war. The leader, however, had still greater designs in contemplation, and would have put himself at the head of an army, had he not been prevented by the want of money.

Finding that Joseph had formed a favourable opinion of him as a man capable of the dispatch of business, he made sufficient interest with him to prevail on him to commit to his care the rebuilding the walls of Gischala: and on this occasion he procured large sums of money from people of fortune, to carry on the intended work. This device was succeeded by another, more extraordinary than all his former contrivances. He procured an injunction from Joseph to the Jews in Syria, strictly forbidding them to send any oil into
the adjacent countries but such as was made by their own people. This pro-
hibition being inflicted, John engrossed all the oil, and sold it at eight times its
original cost. This year being uncommonly plentiful, and much oil being
produced in Galilee, John gained an incredible sum of money by the mono-
opolizing of it, and sending it abroad, to places where it was remarkably
scarce: and the money thus obtained he afterwards employed to the injury
of his benefactor. After this, reflecting that he had a good prospect of the
government, in case Joseph should happen to be dispossessed of it, he laid
strict injunctions on his followers to harras and torment the inhabitants to the
utmost of their power; that so the people might be exasperated to acts of de-
peration against the governor if he presumed to control them; or to com-
plain against and accuse him if he left them unmolested. Preparatory to this
design, he caused a report to be propagated that Joseph was concerned in a
scheme for betraying the province to the Romans; and he promoted the cir-
culation of other reports, equally calculated to inflame the passions of the mul-
titude against Joseph.

At this juncture there were a number of young men of Dabarith, who kept
guard in the great plain; and while Ptolemy, who was steward to king A-
grippa and queen Berenice, was travelling through those parts, they attacked
him, and robbed him of six hundred pieces of gold, and all his boxes and
baggage, containing silver plate, and costly robes, to a very large amount.
This booty was too considerable for them to think of concealing it; where-
fore they carried the whole of it to Joseph at Tarichææ, who reprimanded
them for the insult they had offered to the king's servant, and directed that
the whole prize should be left in the care of Æneas, a man of distinction in
the city, to be produced whenever it should be demanded. The life of Jo-
seph was greatly endangered by this his regard to the laws of justice; for
when the plunderers found that they were not likely to obtain any share in
the booty, they took it for granted (as was really the case) that Joseph had
reserved the whole for the use of the king. Enraged at this circumstance,
they repaired to all the adjacent cities and villages, making violent exclama-
tions that they had been betrayed by Joseph. These complaints caused a ge-
neral insurrection, so that by day-light on the following morning, a hundred
thousand people had assembled together, numbers of whom repaired to the
circus at Tarichææ, exclaiming against Joseph, some of them demanding that
he should be burnt as a traitor, others that he should be deposed, or stoned
to death; and the insurrection was encouraged by John, and Jesus, the son
of Sapphas, who were the magistrates of Tiberias. The tumult, and the
great numbers of insurgents, so affrighted the guards and friends of Joseph,
that they all fled except four persons. At this time he was in a profound
sleep, but was awakened by his four friends, just as the insurgents were about
to set fire to the house. Notwithstanding this sudden alarm, Joseph retained
his presence of mind, and did not feem in the least surprized that his friends
had left him, or that his enemies were so numerous: but cloathing himself
in sackcloth and ashes, having his hands tied behind him, and his sword a-
bout his neck, he immediately presented himself to the people. This mag-
nanimity had so great an effect on his friends, particularly those of Tarichææ,
that they felt the utmost compassion for his situation: but the unfeeling mob and the borderers, who thought their taxes were too high, cursed and reviled him for his oppression and treachery, and repeatedly demanded that he would confess the fact, and restore their money. In truth, they thought, from his present behaviour, that he was now disposed to confess the truth, in consequence of which he would be at once pardoned and pitied. Thus situated, he imagined he could not act a wiser part than to divide the sentiments of his enemies, and make them become enemies to each other. Having conceived this idea, he engaged to make a full confession of the whole affair: on which the people very readily listened to what he had to say, and he spoke to the following purpose: "It is impossible that I should have entertained a thought either of delivering up this treasure to Agrippa, or retaining it for my own emolument. Be assured, most generous people, that I should disdain to solicit the friendship of any prince who is your enemy; or seek to make the least advantage of any thing that might prejudice you. But (said he, addressing himself to the Taricheans), having considered how defolate your city looks without walls, and that you are not in circumstances to construct them; and having reflected how anxious the inhabitants of Tiberias and several other cities are, to possess this prize, I was the more determined to preserve it for the purpose of building your walls. If your opinion should coincide with mine, you are in honour bound to ratify my proceedings; but if you are of contrary sentiments, I am content to deliver up the whole treasure to you, to be disposed of as you may think proper."

This address was extremely grateful to the Taricheans, but quite otherwise to the Tiberians, as was evident by their mutual calumnies and reproaches. Their rage and envy became more implacable than at any former period; and while they were thus divided in sentiments, their general quarrel with Joseph subsided, and their animosities were solely directed against each other.

As the number of the Taricheans was almost forty thousand, Joseph, finding himself supported in such an effectual manner, had confidence to speak his sentiments freely. He represented the impropriety of the conduct of the people, and said it was his wish to employ the treasure in his possession towards the fortifying of the town. "Be it my care likewise (said he) to take care of the other cities, and to see that nothing is wanting to your general expenses. Only obey my directions, and be not too forward to abuse him who wishes to serve you all." This behaviour had so plausible an appearance, that many of the malecontents retired; but at this instant a body of two thousand armed men rushed violently towards Joseph, who retiring into his house, barricaded the passageways. Joseph was now at a loss for a second invention; and having reflected a while, went to the top of the house, whence he made signs to the people to keep silence; and, when the clamour had in some measure subsided, he addressed them in the following manner: "I am at a loss, good people, to understand what you wish me to do; nor is it possible that we should comprehend the meaning of each other during this confusion: of this, however, I am certain; that I would wish to grant all your reasonable requests; wherefore send some proper persons to me, that after
"fairs may be adjusted in an amicable manner." Hereupon several of the principal magistrates went to Joseph. They were received into his house, and the doors being made fast, they were conducted to a remote place, where they were whipped with rods, till their ribs, and even their bowels were visible. All this time the multitude waited at the gates, thinking the issue of the debate was very tedious, but imputing this delay to the difficulties of the case: when, on a sudden, the gates were thrown open, and the magistrates turned out in the above-mentioned deplorable condition. The people were so shocked and intimidated at this sight, that those who had been foremost in their complaints, were now the most ready to throw down their arms, and confult their own safety.

John was so exasperated by this disappointment, that his envy against Joseph encreased, and tempted him to other practices. He now pretended to be in a bad state of health, and requested Joseph's permission to use the hot baths of Tiberias for his recovery. Hereupon Joseph recommended him by letters to the governors of the city, defiring they would furnish him with the requisite assistance, not suspecting any treachery in this scheme. John being pofpolled of these recommendations, immediately began to corrupt the citizens, by promises and money, to abandon the interest of Joseph. Information of this proceeding being given to Silas, who was at that time governor of the city, he immediately communicated it to Joseph, who received his letter late at night, but instantly hastened away to Tiberias, where he arrived early in the morning. All the people except John and his adherents (who had a suspicion of what had happened) received him with respect. John sent a friend with his compliments, exclaiming a personal attendance, as he was ill in bed, and unable to wait on him. By this time the people of Tiberias were assembled in the great place, by the command of Joseph, who intended to inform them of the intelligence he had received. John, apprized of this meeting, sent a gang of ruffians to destroy Joseph; but in the moment they were drawing their swords, which alarming Joseph, even when the weapons were at his throat, he leaped from the station he had mounted to address the people, which was six cubits high, and escaped into a small boat on the lake, having only two of his guards to attend him.

The soldiers instantly fled to arms, to avenge the caufc of their general: but Joseph was so apprehensive of the consequences of a civil war, and so cautious not to injure the city by a private quarrel, that he sent a positive command to the people not to punish the traitors, farther than might be necesfary for their own prefervation; and this order was punctually obeyed.

An account of this treason, with the plot itself, and the author of it, being reported through the country, the people assembled in great numbers, and marched in search of John; but before they could come up with him he had escaped into his own country of Gischala. On this occasion there was scarce a city in Galilee but what espoused the interest of Joseph; and thousands of armed men joined in offering services against John, whom they called a traitor, and the common enemy of mankind; expressing their wishes to burn him, and the city which afforded him shelter. To these zealous pro-
Joseph replied, "I am sensible of your kindness, but would advise moderate proceedings in every possible instance; since I would rather spare an enemy by forbearance, than compel him to his destruction. I own I should be glad if a decree was published, enacting, that if any man, in any city, who has abetted John in the rebellion, do not, within five days after the publication of such decree, abandon the party and interest of John, and return to his allegiance, he shall be excepted out of the general pardon, his house burnt, and his family destroyed." The leading people of the several cities were fully of opinion that such a decree should be published, that a proclamation should be made in form, and ratified in all its particulars. In consequence of such a proclamation three thousand of the rebels abandoned the interest of John, and repaired to Joseph, to whom they submitted and laid down their arms. But about a thousand Syrian fugitives still adhered to John; who finding he could no longer act openly, had recourse to secret plots and contrivances. He employed private agents in Jerusalem, to traduce the character of Joseph, on a charge of his having made extravagant levies, with a design to obtain the government of the place, which he would have obtained if he had not been deterred by a superior power. Those who were acquainted with facts paid no regard to these infinuations: but there were a number of malicious people, and some even among the magistrates, and other principal inhabitants, who supplied John with money, to enable him to support a war against Joseph; nay, they even went so far as to frame a public act for the removal of him from his government. Nor did even this content them; for they sent two thousand five hundred warlike men, with four persons celebrated for their eloquence and knowledge of the law, whose business it was to supplant Joseph in his credit with the people. If they found he would not depart through their persuasions, they were not to offer him any violence, but to consider him as an enemy on such his refusal. The names of the persons thus commissioned, were Joazar, Ananias, Simon, and Judas.

The friends of Joseph gave him information that a body of troops was sent towards him, but the counsels of the enemy were so secret that they could not acquaint him with particulars. Thus situated, Joseph knew not how to take his measures, and the cities of Sepphoris, Gamala, Gischala, and Tiberias, immediately went over to the enemy; but he soon possessed them again without bloodshed. He sent to Jerusalem four of his principal prisoners both in courage and advice; against whom the people were so violently enraged, that they would have utterly destroyed them all, if they had not saved themselves by a timely escape.
The revolt of Tiberias, which is recovered by a singular device, executed by Joseph and seven unarmed men. The submission and surrender of the Tiberians. They send hostages for the performance of the articles. Clitus blamed for the whole procedure, and justice on him demanded. Clitus sentenced to cut off one of his own bands.

In the mean time John was so much afraid of Joseph, that he could not prevail on himself to make his appearance beyond the walls of Gischala. Within a few days the citizens of Tiberias revolted, and acknowledging Agrippa for their king, invited him to come and take possession of the city. The time of appointment arrived, but Agrippa did not make his appearance; and some Roman cavaliers only coming, the inhabitants abandoned the interest of Joseph. Information of this circumstance arriving at Taricheæ, at a time when Joseph had sent his troops on a foraging party, he was at a loss how to act; for he was afraid to venture alone amidst the whole number of defectors, nor did he dare to trust himself in the town, lest the king's soldiers should surprize him; besides, as their sabbath would fall on the following day, no public business could be transacted.

Joseph had now no other mode of consulting his security, but by an artful deception of the revolters, and on this occasion he planned a scheme which succeeded as he could have wished. He gave directions that the gates of Taricheæ should be all shut and guarded, to prevent the Tiberians receiving any information of what was going forward. This being done, he ordered all the boats on the lake, amounting to two hundred and thirty, to be assembled, and that each boat should be manned by four persons. Thus provided, the vessels failed early in the morning towards Tiberias: and when they were come so near the place that the people therein might easily judge of the number of the fleet, without distinguishing how many men were on board, he commanded that all the vessels should be brought to an anchor, and remain in their present situation; while himself, attended only by seven of his guards, and all of them unarmed, rowed up almost close to the town. At this juncture there were numbers of men on the walls, venting exclamations against him after their accustomed manner: but when they beheld him in the situation above described, they had no doubt but that all the ships they beheld were filled with soldiers. Terrified by this idea, they immediately threw down their arms, and behaving in the most submissive manner imaginable, humbly entreated him to have mercy on a wretched city and people. Joseph paid a proper attention to what they said, and then addressed them to the following purpose: "Is it not enough that you are engaged in a war with the Romans, but you must seek, at the same time, the injury of each other, by the devastations of civil war? What your enemies wished to befall you seems to be accomplished; and you are now anxious to destroy even him who has been your preserver. Do you not blush to engage those walls which I caused
"I caused to be erected for your defence to my destruction? Yet this crime, "aggravated as it is, shall not prevent my inclination to pardon all your past "faults, nor my engaging in a sincere and lasting friendship with you, pro-"vided you will agree to fend such deputies as I may approve to request the "favour."

Hereupon the citizens commissioimed ten of their principal people to wait on Joseph on this busines; and these he immediately directed to be put on board a fishing-veffel, and conducted to a little distance from the shore. In the next place he demanded fifty of the principal fenators to be delivered to him, as a farther security for the performance of conditions; and thus proceeded, with one pretence after another, till he had all the senate in his hands, and of the whole number of inhabitants about fix thousand. These were sent in boats to Tarichæ, and there detained prisoners.

The people in general now exclaimed against Clitus, said that he was the principal promoter of the tumult, and requested that Joseph would make an example of him, and accept his punishment as an atonement for what had happened. Joseph was unwilling to take away any man's life; but, on the request of the people, directed Levi, one of his guards, to cut off both the hands of Clitus. The soldier was afraid to execute this sentence amidst such a number of enemies, which so enraged Joseph, that he was on the point of going on shore, to be himself the executioner. This coming to the knowledge of Clitus, he applied to Joseph, requesting that one hand only might suffice; which Joseph complied with, on condition that he should cut off his own hand: whereupon Clitus drawing his sword, chopped off his left hand with his right: such was the influence Joseph had over these people. Thus was Tiberias recovered by Joseph and seven soldiers only, with a number of boats almost unmanned.

A few days after this Sepphoris and other cities revolted; on which Joseph gave permission to his soldiers to plunder Sepphoris and Gischala: but, on the petition of the inhabitants, he gave orders that all which could be recovered should be restored; for it was his wish to punish and oblige them at the same time.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Galilee remains quiet, and the people of Jerusalem prepare for war. The devastations committed by Simon, the son of Gioras.

At this period all was peaceable in Galilee: but the people of Jerusalem were no sooner at peace with each other than they concerted the means of fresh contentions with the Romans. The high-priest Ananias, and other men of rank who were enemies to the Romans, hurried the rebuilding the walls, the procuring military machines and weapons, with darts, arrows, &c. while every hand was engaged in martial preparations, and the youth trained to the exercise of arms. Affairs were now in great confusion: moderate and thoughtful men wept at the supposed approach of public calamities. The melancholy prospect afflicted every one of a peaceable disposition,
tion, while the incendiaries, triumphed in the general confusion. In a word, the city bore a most dismal aspect, even before the Romans approached it. At this time, Simon, the son of Gioras, headed a band of free-booters, who subsisted on their plunder in the toparchy of Acabatena, where they not only pillaged the houses of all the men of eminence; but likewise made personal attacks on them, assaulting them with cudgels, and treating them more ignominiously than slaves: thus exercising their tyranny in the most open manner. Simon proceeded in this way, till Ananus and the magistrates sent troops, which compelled him and his small party to take refuge among the thieves of Masada; and with them he continued till the destruction of Ananus and some other of his enemies. His ravages in Idumæa and its neighbourhood were such, and his bloody outrages so enormous, that the government was obliged to garrison even the villages, for the protection of the country. Thus were affairs situated in Judæa at that period.

End of the Second Book.
The ill success of his troops in Judæa greatly alarms the emperor Nero: but he pretends that the event gives him but little concern. A powerful army raised by Vespasian and Titus. The Jews, being greatly elated by the advantage gained over Cestius, proceed towards Ascalon, and suffer a defeat. A second engagement, wherein eight thousand Jews are slain. The providential escape of Niger.

Upon receiving intelligence of the defeat of Cestius in Judæa, the emperor was thrown into the most terrible confectionation: but he dissembled his alarm, ostentatiously asserting that it was to the misconduct of his general, and not to their own valour, that the Jews were indebted for victory; for he imagined that it would be derogatory to the sovereign state of the Roman empire, and to his superiority to other princes, to betray...
betray a concern at the common occurrences of life. During this contention between his fear and his pride, he indifferently sought for a man qualified to assume the important task of chastising the revolted Jews, preserving the east in tranquillity, and the allegiance of several other nations who had manifested a disposition to free themselves from the power of the Romans. Upon mature deliberation, Nero, at length, judged Vespasian to be the only man possessed of abilities adequate to the important enterprise. Vespasian was now arrived to an advanced age, and from his early years he had been engaged in a continued succession of military exploits. The empire was indebted to him for the establishment of a peace in the west, where the Germans had revolted; and he completed the conquest over Britain, attributing to the emperor the glory of triumphing over that country, which had not before been entirely subdued. The years and experience of Vespasian, and his approved courage and fidelity, his having sons or hostages of his loyalty, who, being in the vigour of youth, might execute their father's commands, and his appearing to be favoured by the providence of the Almighty, determined the emperor to appoint him to the command of his army in Syria. Immediately upon receiving the commission from Nero, who accompanied it with the strongest professions of friendship, he commanded his son Titus to lead the fifth and the tenth legions into Alexandria, and he himself departed from Achaia, and crossing the Hellespont, proceeded by land into Syria, where he assembled all the Roman forces, and the auxiliaries which the princes adjacent to that province had supplied.

In the interim the Jews, being transported to the most excessive degree of extravagance by the conquest they had gained over the Roman army, under the command of Cestius, determined to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. They formed their best troops into a body, and marched against the ancient city of Ascalon, situated at about the distance of five hundred and twenty furlongs from Jerusalem, determining first to attempt the reduction of that place, against the inhabitants of which they had ever entertained an implacable enmity. The Jewish army was under the command of Niger, of Persea; Silas, a Babylonian; and John, an Essene; who were men equally celebrated for valour and skill in the management of war.

Ascalon was surrounded by a wall of surprizing strength: but the whole garrison consisted only of a troop of cavalry and a company of foot, under the command of Anthony. Being impatient to encounter the Romans, the Jews marched with great expedition, intending to attack them by surprize; but Anthony gaining intelligence of this design, stationed his cavalry without the town, in order to repulse the enemy. The Roman army was composed of veteran troops, compleatly armed, well disciplined, and perfectly obedient to order. The Jews had considerably the superiority in point of numbers; but they were precipitate and wholly ungovernable, but differently equipped for, and by no means expert in the art of war; and the army consisted entirely of infantry. Anthony received the charge with great resolution: his troop of horse broke the first ranks of the adverse army, which was immediately put to the rout; great numbers being crushed to death by their
their own people, and others dispersed over the plain, and wherever they fled they were opposed by the Romans. The Jews exerted their utmost endeavours to rally their forces; but this the Romans prevented; for during the greatest part of the day they, without intermission, pursued the advantage they had gained, till ten thousand of the enemy were slain; in which number were the two generals, John and Silas: Niger, the surviving general, with the rest of the Jews, most of whom were wounded, escaped to a town in Idumææ, named Salis. In this action the Romans sustained no other injury than that of having an inconsiderable number of men wounded.

The resolution of the Jews was not abated by the terrible defeat they had sustained: but,-founded the hopes of success on the recollection of former victories, they were animated to a more violent desire of vengeance. Without allowing time for the wounded men to recover, they collected a much more numerous army than before, and determined to make a second attempt against Ascalon, notwithstanding their want of military skill and discipline; the fatal effects of which they had already experienced. They were surprized by an ambush which Anthony had stationed on the way they were to pass, and entirely routed, without being able to form themselves into the order of battle: eight thousand Jews were slain upon the spot; and the rest, with Niger, their general, put to flight. On this occasion Niger afforded many proofs of his being a courageous and skilful soldier. Being closely pursued, the Jews sought refuge in a castle belonging to the village of Bezedel, which was supposed to be impregnable; and therefore, as the only effectual means of destroying both Niger and the castle, the Romans set fire to the fort; and after this departed, triumphing in the idea that the leader of the Jews must inevitably perish in the flames. Niger threw himself from the top of the castle into a vault of considerable depth, where, after three days, he was found alive by his friends, who were searching for his remains, in order to give them interment. This happy and unexpected event transported the Jews from a state of despondency into the contrary extreme of joy; and the preservation of their general, whom they considered as an instrument essentially necessary in the prosecution of the war, they attributed to an interposition of the Divine providence.

Upon the arrival of Vespasian with his army at Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, which, on account of its extent, beauty, situation, and other advantages, was considered as one of the three principal cities of the Roman empire, he found the king Agrippa, attended by his troops, waiting to receive him. Hence he proceeded to Ptolemais, where the people of Sepphoris, a city in Galilee, had assembled on occasion of his expected arrival. There were a well-disposed people; and being conscious of the great power of the Romans, and desirous of making provision for their own safety, they acknowledged Cælius Gallus as their governor, previous to the arrival of Vespasian, binding themselves to act in perfect obedience to his commands, even against their own countrymen, and at the same time declaring their allegiance to the state of Rome. They received a garrison from Cælius Gallus, and solicited Vespasian to grant them a number of cavalry and infantry sufficient
sufficient for their defence, in case of being attacked by the Jews: with this request he readily complied; for Sepphoris being the most extensive and the strongest city of Galilee, he judged it expedient to keep so important a place in a proper state of defence.

C H A P. II.

Description of the upper and lower Galilees, and of Samaria. The situation of Jerusalem. The division of Judæa.

The upper and the lower Galilees are surrounded by Phœnicia and Syria: on the west they are bounded by the city and territory of Ptolemais, and by Mount Carmel, which place was formerly the property of the Galileans, but is now in possession of the Tyrians; and adjoining to this is Gaba, which received the name of the city of Horfemen, on occasion of Herod, upon the dismission of his horsemen, having appointed that place for their residence. The southern boundaries are formed by Samaria and Sicythopolis, extending as far as the river Jordan; those on the east by Hippene, Gadaris, and the borders of the kingdom of Agrippa; and the city of Tyre and the Tyrian frontiers form the limits on the north.

The lower Galilee extends, in length, from Tiberias to Zabulon, near Ptolemais on the coast, and in breadth from Zaloth, which is situated on the great plain, to Bersabe; from which place to the village of Bacca, is the breadth of the upper Galilee; the length of which is from a village near the Jordan, called Thelta, to Meroth. The Galilees are exceedingly populous, and the inhabitants being naturally of intrepid dispositions, and trained from their infancy to the practice of arms, they have, on all occasions, bravely defended themselves against the surrounding nations. They contain a great number of cities and villages, and the smallest of the former is computed to have fifteen thousand inhabitants. The lands being surprizingly fertile, prove a most powerful incentive and encouragement to the practice of husbandry. Though these provinces are not so extensive as the country beyond the Jordan, they are greatly superior to it both in strength and riches; for exclusive of the natural fertility of the soil, the grounds are cultivated to the utmost advantage: but the most considerable part of the immense tract of land beyond the Jordan is dry and barren: at Peræa, however, and several other parts of this country, the earth is exceedingly prolific, abounding in vines, olive-trees, palm-trees, and divers other articles in the greatest perfection; and these places are refreshed by the waters which fall in torrents from the mountains, and in the excessive heats continually watered by innumerable springs. This country extends, in length, from Machærus to Pella, and in breadth from Philadelphia to the Jordan; and the boundaries are formed by Pella on the north, the river Jordan on the west, the country of the Moabites on the south, and Arabia, Philadelphia, and Gerafas on the east.
Samaria is situated between Judæa and Galilee; it extends from the village of Gimea, upon the plain, to the toparchy of Akrabatane. This country, like that of Judæa, is mountainous and rich; the grounds are easily cultivated, and they produce abundance of both wild and domestic fruits; the land is naturally dry, but that disadvantage is compensated for by frequent rains; no part of the globe is supplied with more excellent water; and the pastures are so remarkably fine that no other country affords so great an abundance of milk: but the most important advantage of these two provinces is the surprising number of their inhabitants: they are both terminated by the village of Annath, otherwise called Borcæus.

Judæa is bounded on the north by the same village; the length of this province runs from the south-side to a village called Jordan, situated upon the borders of Arabia; and the breadth is from the river Jordan to Joppa. Jerusalem is situated in the middle; and it is, therefore, by many not improperly distinguished by the appellation of the Navel, or the centre of the province. This delightful country is remarkably prolific, and all the way to Ptolemais there is a most pleasing prospect of the sea. It is divided into eleven districts, the principal of which is Jerusalem; the other ten are the toparchies of Gophna, Akrabatane, Tamna, Lydda, Ammaus, Pella, Idumæa, Engedi, Herodion, and Jericho. Jamnia and Joppa, which have jurisdiction over the neighbouring counties, are not included in the above account; nor are Gamalitis, Gaulanitis, Batanea, and Trachonitis, which are comprised in the kingdom of Agrippa. This country is inhabited in common by the Syrians and Jews; the breadth is from Mount Libanus and the sources of the river Jordan to the lake of Tiberias; and it stretches in length, from the village of Arphas to Julias.

CHAP. III.

By the command of Vespasian, Placidus leads an army to the relief of Sepphoris. Great devastation in Galilee. The martial discipline of the Romans. The limits of the Roman territories.

VESPASIAN dispatched a thousand cavalry and fix thousand infantry, under the command of Placidus, the tribune, in order to afford relief to the people of Sepphoris. After these troops had been drawn up on the great plain, the foot, for the security of the city, were quartered within the walls, and the horses were ordered into the camp. The Roman troops made daily excursions into the neighbourhood, whereby, though they committed no actual hostilities, they greatly incommode Joseph and his friends: not satisfied with ravaging the country, they made booty of whatever they could obtain from the towns, and treated the inhabitants with so much severity that they were under the necessity of remaining within their walls.

Matters being thus circumstanced, Joseph exerted his utmost efforts to render himself master of Sepphoris; but he found that before his defering the Galileans he had so strongly fortified the city that it now appeared to be impre-
and despairing of success, either by stratagem or force, he abandoned all further thoughts of the enterprise. This conduct so violently irritated the Romans, who have naturally an aversion to every species of treachery, that they subjected the people to the most terrible calamities of fire and sword, putting those who attempted resistance to instant death, reducing the rest to slavery, and making booty of all the property they could find. In this deplorable situation the people of Galilee had no security but the towns which had been fortified by Joseph.

In the mean time Titus repaired to Vespasian, his father, at Ptolemais, with much greater expedition than it was supposed a winter-march would permit; and he there joined the fifteenth, the fifth, and the tenth legions, which were esteemed to be the best disciplined and most courageous of the Roman troops. These were followed by eighteen companies, besides five companies, and a troop of horse, from Caesarea, and a troop of Syrian cavalry. Ten of these cohorts were composed of a thousand men each, and the rest of six hundred and thirteen foot, and an hundred and twenty horse; and the army was strengthened by auxiliaries supplied by neighbouring princes; Antiochus, Agrippa, and Sohemus, furnished each two thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry; Malichus, king of Arabia, sent five thousand foot, most of whom were provided with bows and arrows, and a thousand horse. The army amounted to sixty thousand horse and foot, exclusive of the train of baggage, and a great number of domestics, most of whom, having been trained to the practice of war, were but little inferior to their masters in courage and dexterity.

We cannot sufficiently admire the wise policy of the Romans in so managing their domestics as to make them useful in the common offices, and, at the same time, capable of rendering very essential service in times of war: and if we consider their admirable military discipline, it will appear that it is not to fortune, but to their natural courage and excellent policy, that they are indebted for the sovereignty of the world. In peaceable times the Romans are kept in the continual practice of the art of war; so that they are ever expert in the management of their arms, and prepared to engage in hostilities. It is the daily and invariable custom for the soldiers to go regularly through their exercises; and their very trials of skill have the appearance of actual combats. Though no blood is spilt in these exercises, they effectually serve to preserve the martial spirits of the men, and to enable them to bear fatigue. Thus are they rendered so familiar to the art of war that an undisciplined enemy cannot withstand them. Upon entering the territories of an enemy their first precaution is to guard against surprize. They pitch their tents in an advantageous situation, level the uneven ground, and form the camp in the figure of a quadrangle. The army is attended by smiths, carpenters and other artificers. The interior part of the camp is divided into quarters for the officers and soldiers; and the outside resembles the walls of a fortified city, turrets being erected at equal distances, and the intermediate spaces being supplied with machines for casting stones, darts and arrows. Within the camp, which has four doors, sufficiently large for foot and horse to pass with ease, there are regular streets, and in the middle of them are lodge-
lodgements for the principal commanders, and a tent, bearing the appearance of a little temple, for the general; there are also shops for artificers and traders, and tribunals for determining military and civil causes. The orders are given with so much precision, and executed by great numbers of experienced men with such quickness, that the forming a Roman camp affords an idea of a city being erected in the space of a few hours. If any further security is judged to be necessary, the work is completed by surrounding the camp with a line of circumvallation, and a trench of four cubits in depth, and of an equal measure in breadth. Unanimity and good order prevail among the soldiers, who live in a kind of brotherhood: they have their weapons continually at hand; and for supplying the camp with forage, wood and water, they go out in detachments; they are not permitted to take refreshment as they might be promiscuously inclined, but regular hours are established for their meals; and the times of going to rest, of rising, and of setting the watch, are signified by the sound of the trumpet; and, in short, rules are established for regulating the conduct of the soldiers in every respect, whereby the camp is kept in the most perfect order. Every morning the soldiers wait upon the captains, and the captains upon the tribunes, and then the captains and the tribunes repair to the general, who gives to them the word or signal, and all necessary orders, which it is their business to communicate to their subordinates, so that all the soldiers are instructed when they are to attack and when retreat, and in every other part of their duty. The signal for decamping is given by the sound of the trumpet; and when this is heard they take up their tents, and pack up their baggage convenient for removal; upon the second sound of the trumpet they take up their baggages, and wait the signal for marching with as much attention as it is usual for people to shew when they expect the signal for horses starting at a race; and they now set fire to the camp, lest it should be made advantage of by the enemy. When the trumpet sounds a third time the soldiers begin their march, and the utmost care is observed that none are left behind, and that the men preserve their ranks and proceed with regularity.

The herald is stationed on the right hand of the general, and with an audible voice he proclaims, "Are you prepared for battle?" The soldiers reply, "We are prepared for battle." By stretching forth their right-hands and other signs intimating their impatience to engage, they frequently prevent the question from the herald. The army now advance with manly gravity, resolution and composure. The soldiers are provided with helmets and breast-plates; and each man has two swords, that worn on the right side being about the size of a dagger, and therefore rather deserving to be called a poniard. Those who are selected for the general's guards carry javelins and targets; and the others have pikes and long bucklers, besides which each man is provided with a basket, a pick-ax, a hatchet, a saw, a rein, a foythe, a chain, and a quantity of bread sufficient for three days; so that each soldier carries a burthen nearly sufficient for a horse. Each of the horsemen bears a lance in his hand, a long sword on his right side, and across the horse's side hangs a buckler in a scarf containing three or more broad-pointed darts, rather shorter than the usual length of a javelin: the breast-plates and helmets of
of the cavalry resemble those of the infantry. The company appointed to
attend on the person of the general enjoys a right of precedence; but they are
armed in the same manner as the other troops.

The Romans are exceedingly careful to avoid all rash and inconsiderate
proceedings; and all their martial operations are the consequence of deli-
berate consideration; and therefore their miscarriages are less frequent, and
those that happen are redressed with greater ease, than they would other-
wise be. They are more satisfied with the failure of a well-concerted enter-
prise than with a casual advantage; for in the first case they enjoy the conso-
latory reflection of having done all that prudence required, and in the other they
are instructed to make provision against similar misfortunes.

The bodies of the Roman soldiers are rendered more athletic, and their
minds more firm and intrepid by the continual practice of arms; and the dread
of punishment keeps them in the most exact regularity and order; for de-
serters and all others who are not rigidly observant of their duty are configned
to death by the martial law. This inexorable law is most rigidly enforced
by the officers, who imagine that by conferring honourable rewards upon
men of merit they make ample compensation for inflicting a severity of pu-
nishment upon criminals. The military discipline is observed with so per-
fet an obedience, that the troops perform their operations with the most ex-
act regularity, and from the harmony of their motions they all appear to act
under the influence of the same mind. Their ears and eyes are continually
attentive to the word of command, and to the signals given by their supe-
riors; and regardless of every danger and difficulty, they are ever prepared
to execute their orders with the greatest alacrity. Having once formed the
resolution to engage, neither the superior number and strength of the ene-
my, nor any other obstacle, can depress their spirits: they cut passages through
forests, cross rivers and mountains, and vigorously endeavour to surmount
every impediment to victory, in despite even of the malice of fortune, which
would prove sufficiently discouraging to people of less determined and enter-
prising tempers.

If the policy of their counsels, and vigour with which they are carried into
effect, be taken into consideration, it will not appear extraordinary that the
Romans have obtained the sovereignty of the universal, and that they have
extended the boundaries of their empire to the Euphrates on the east, the
ocean on the west, Africa on the south, and the Rhine and the Danube on the
north. But notwithstanding their great extent of territory it is still too
small for the capacious souls of the people.

My design was not to write a panegyric upon the Romans: but what I
have asserted I meant as a consolation to those who have been subdued by,
and as a means of diverting factious innovators from revolting against, that
enterprising and unconquerable people. And this discourse will perhaps
gratify the curiosity of those who are defrants of gaining a knowledge of the
particular government and discipline of the Romans.
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS UPON

CHAP. IV.

An incursion into Galilee by Placidus, who afterwards leads his army against Jotapata: but he is repulsed.

DURING the time that Vespasian resided with his son Titus at Ptolemais, he ordered every necessary measure to be pursued for the regulation and proper supply of his army; and in the mean time Placidus made an incursion into, and over-ran the whole province of Judæa, where he took a great number of prisoners, most of whom he put to death: these were people destitute of courage, and consequently incapable of making a successful resistance; such of the inhabitants as possessed a greater share of intrepidity took shelter in the cities and other places of strength which had been fortified by Joseph. Placidus determined to direct his arms against those places where the Galileans had fled for sanctuary; and Jotapata being the strongest hold they possessed, he resolved that his first exploit should be to attempt the reduction of that place: and he flattered himself in the full confidence of success, the expectation of acquiring great fame among the other generals, and of spreading terror and consternation in the rest of the cities, the conquest of which would thereby be rendered less difficult. The inhabitants of Jotapata, however, gaining intelligence of the design of Placidus, and that he was already upon his march, fled from the town in order to give him battle: they attacked the Romans by surprize, and as the fate of their wives, children and country, depended on the issue of the contest, they fought with astonishing bravery, and effectually repulsed the enemy. The Romans being well armed, and preserving a proper discipline in their retreat, only seven of them were slain. The Jews not being so well armed as their adversaries, declined a close combat, but at a distance annoyed the Romans with lances and darts: only three of the Jews were slain, and a small number were wounded. After this defeat Placidus drew off his army.

CHAP. V.

Vespasian leads an army into Galilee. Upon gaining information of his approach, Joseph's people desert. Joseph retreats to Tiberias.

HAVING formed the resolution of making an incursion into Galilee, Vespasian issued marching orders to his troops, according to the military discipline of the Romans, and departed from Ptolemais. The auxiliary forces being more lightly armed than the rest of the troops were ordered to march first, in order to reconnoitre the woods and other places where it was supposed ambushes were stationed, and prevent surprizes from the enemy: they were followed by a party of infantry and cavalry, to which succeeded a detachment formed of ten men from each company: next came pioneers to level and make good the ways, cut down trees, and remove other obstructions; and then followed the general's baggage, and that of his principal officers,
officers, under the convoy of a strong company of horse; after these Vespasian marched, attended by a chosen body of cavalry and infantry, a number of men provided with lances, and an hundred and twenty of his own men, selected from the same number of squadrons of horse: the next in course were the engineers, with their various implements and machines of assault; and they were followed by the tribunes and other officers, escorted by a selected body of troops: the imperial eagle, preceding the rest of the Roman ensigns, came next: the figure of the eagle was considered as an omen of success in war, and as an emblem intimating that, as the eagle was the sovereign of all other birds, so were the Romans superior to the rest of mankind: the ensigns of the Romans, which were deemed sacred, were followed by the performers on martial instruments of music, to whom succeeded the body of the army, drawn up in front, the officers attending to keep the men in rank and file, and preserve a regular discipline in every other respect: the domestics belonging to the several legions marched with the infantry, and it was their business to take the necessary care that the baggage was safely conveyed; and the procession was closed by artisans, surveyors, and other mercenaries, who were escorted by a company of infantry and cavalry.

Having marched in the above order to the frontiers of Galilee, Vespasian there encamped his army: he might have advanced farther, but his design was to inspire the enemy with terror by the formidable appearance of his army, and, by affording time for their passions to operate, to render them less capable of resistance before proceeding to an encounter; and in the mean time he caused every necessary preparation to be made for a siege.

Vespasian was not deceived in his conjecture; for the news of his approach threw the Jews into the most terrible consternation; and Joseph's followers, who were encamped in the neighbourhood of Sepphoris, deserted their leader, even before the enemy came in sight. Being thus abandoned, and finding that the spirits of the Jews were entirely depressed, that the majority of his people had already joined the enemy, and that the rest seemed inclined to follow their example, he declined all thoughts of prosecuting the war, and retreated to Tiberias, accompanied by a few of his people who still maintained their fidelity.

C H A P. VI.

Gadara subdued, and the inhabitants put to death without distinction. The purport of Joseph's letter to the council of Jerusalem.

VESPASIAN attacked Gadara, and as that city did not contain a sufficient number of inhabitants to make a successful defence, he, with little difficulty, subdued it on the first assault. The enmity they entertained against the Jews, and a principle of revenge for the defeat of Cestius, induced the Romans to put the inhabitants of the town promiscuously to the sword: and, not satisfied with setting fire to the conquered city, they burnt and utterly laid waste the neighbouring small towns and villages, and subjected the inhabitants to slavery.

The
The appearance of Joseph greatly alarmed the people of Tiberias, who were convinced that he would not have fled to them for sanctuary had not his case been desperate. Joseph was now convinced that submitting to the power of the Romans and acknowledging their faults were the only means by which the Jews could insure their safety. As to himself, he was conscious that if he should solicit it, the Romans would readily grant him a pardon; but he would with greater satisfaction have suffered the most terrible death than have violated the confidence reposed in him, by seeking his safety among the people against whom he was entrusted to prosecute the war. He transmitted to the principal people of Jerusalem a plain narrative of the case; neither representing the power of the Romans greater or less than it was in reality, left, on the one hand, he should incur the charge of cowardice, or, on the other, encroach the rashness and temerity of the Jews. Joseph dispatched his letter by an express to Jerusalem; submitting the matter entirely to the council; requesting that, if they should resolve to negotiate a treaty, they would send him immediate advice thereof; or sufficient reinforcements to enable him to encounter the enemy, if they should determine to prosecute the war.

CHAPTER VII.

From Tiberias Joseph escapes to Jotapata, which circumstance is related to Vespasian by a deserter. Jotapata besieged. An engagement maintained during a whole day. A battle continued for five successive days. Account of the situation of Jotapata. The siege and defence. The disappointment of the Romans by a stratagem of defence invented by Joseph.

VESPASIAN determined that his next expedition should be against Jotapata, which was the strongest city in Galilee, and the place where the Jews in their utmost distress fled for refuge. Preparatory to the intended exploit, he dispatched a company of horse and foot, and pioneers, to cross the mountains and form a passage, the road being at that time wholly impassable for horse, and extremely difficult for foot. In the space of four days a passage was cut sufficient to admit the whole army to march without obstruction or inconvenience.

Joseph escaped from Tiberias on the fifth day, being the twenty-first of the month Artimisius, and retreated to Jotapata, which proved an encouraging circumstance to the Jews. Joseph's retreat was soon communicated to Vespasian by a deserter, who advised the besieging Jotapata, urging that if Joseph could be taken in the snare he had fallen into, the war must inevitably terminate to the disadvantage of the Jews. The information of the deserter so rejoiced Vespasian that he attributed to the Providence of Heaven the circumstance of delivering into his power the most formidable of his enemies: and he dispatched Placidus with a thousand cavalry, and Æbutius, (one of the most celebrated men of the army for bravery and military skill) commanding them to environ the city with all possible expedition, and prevent the escape of Joseph.

The
The following morning Vespasian issued orders for his whole army to march; and in the afternoon he arrived at Jotapata. He established his camp on a hill at about seven furlongs to the north of the city, intending to alarm the enemy by the formidable appearance of his army. The people of Jotapata were so terrified that they dared not venture beyond the city walls. The Romans being greatly fatigued by their march, attempted no exploit on the day of their arrival. Vespasian ordered two strong companies to invest the city, and he stationed another troop at some distance, thereby effectually precluding the enemy from all opportunity of communication. The desperate situation to which they were reduced served to inspire the Jews with additional courage.

On the following morning the Romans began to assault the city, which was defended with great bravery: but when Vespasian ordered the bow-men and slingers to compel the Jews to desert the walls, and he himself with a body of infantry began an assault from an eminence convenient for battering the city, Joseph, at the head of the Jews, made a furious assault upon the enemy, and compelled them to retreat; and the loss on each side was nearly equal. The pressing necessities of the Jews provoked them to desperate acts of valour, and the Romans were no less enraged to find the defence so resolutely maintained. On one side courage and military skill were opposed to a ferocious and ungovernable rage on the other. The battle continued till night, when the combatants were necessarily obliged to suspend the contest. The Romans lost thirteen men, and several were wounded; and seventeen of the Jews were slain, and about six hundred wounded.

The next day the besiegers renewed the assault; and in this action both parties displayed still more extraordinary instances of valour than in the preceding encounter. The Jews were encouraged by the undaunted firmness and resolution with which, contrary to their most sanguine expectations, they had sustained the first assault; and the shame of having been repulsed invigorated the spirit of the Romans, who considered the delay of victory almost as fatal as a defeat. Notwithstanding the great danger and difficulty of the enterprise, the Romans continued to pursue their attacks with still increasing vigour; and the Jews did not act merely the defensive part, but made frequent forays against the assailants, regardless of their great numbers and strength. Thus was the contest obstinately maintained for five successive days.

The city of Jotapata is built on a rock, and on three sides are valleys of such surprising depth that a man cannot look down from the precipices without being seized with giddiness. It is absolutely inaccessible but upon the north, where a part of the city stands upon the brow of the mountain; but this quarter Joseph caused to be strongly fortified and taken into the city, thereby precluding the enemy from taking advantage of another mountain, by which it is overlooked, and which, with other mountains so entirely enclose the place that it can be seen but at a very small distance.

Finding the place so admirably situated for defence, and that he had to contend with an intrepid and determined enemy, Vespasian assembled a council of his principal officers to debate on the means of obtaining victory. The
issue of the deliberations was that a large terras should be raised on that side of
the city which appeared to be the least capable of resistance. Immediately
upon this resolution being taken, Vespasian ordered his whole army to employ
themselves in procuring materials for the intended work. Immense quantities
of timber and stone were conveyed from the adjacent mountains: and
hurdles were formed to protect the Romans from the darts and other weapons
that were thrown from the city. Thus defended, they continued to protract their design, in defiance of the innumerable darts, arrows, lances,
and large stones which were continually thrown from above. What earth
they had occasion for was procured in the neighbourhood, and handed from
one man to another. The whole army being engaged, the work was continued
without intermission, and advanced with surprizing rapidity; and the utmost efforts of the Jews to annoy the enemy proved ineffectual.

The Roman army had now sixty machines employed in throwing lances,
exclusive of larger engines for casting arrows, javelins, stones, fire, &c. and these were managed by Arabian and other skilful engineers. The operations
were pursued with so much vigour that the space between the city wall and
the mount could be no longer occupied. The Jews, however, made frequent sallies by surprize, destroyed the defences, set fire to all the combustible materials they could find, and, in short, did all possible damage to the works of the enemy. To remedy the inconvenience that he sustained from the repeated sallies made by the Jews, Vespasian caused his works to be advanced upon the interval between the walls and the terras, and connected his troops into a close body, which answered the desired end.

The terras being now raised nearly to a level with the city-wall, Joseph considered that it would reflect dishonour upon him if he should omit to engage in as arduous a task for the defence of the place as the enemy had undertaken for its destruction; and therefore he ordered the wall to be raised in proportion to the advancement of the enemy's work, and to be kept at a sufficient height above the summit of the mount. The workmen declined the undertaking, urging the impossibility of pursuing their business, since they should be continually exposed to the enemy. However, Joseph suggested the following invention as a defence against fire, stones, and other weapons: he caused large flaks to be fixed into the ground, and the raw hides of beasts lately killed to be stretched upon them; on account of the yielding quality of the skins, they scarcely received any impression from the lances and stones, and their moisture damped the fire of the enemy. The workmen being perfectly secured through Joseph's contrivance, continued indefatigably industrious both by day and night; and they soon erected a wall twenty cubits high, on which were formed towers and strong embattlements. The Romans who had entertained the utmost confidence of subduing the city, were equally astonished and confounded by the depth of policy and invincible resolution of their adversaries.
CHAP. VIII.

Vespaian endeavours to starve the people of Jotapata. The city being distressed by a scarcity of water, Joseph adopts a stratagem to conceal the want of that article; and at length contrives a means of supply. Joseph mediates an escape; and the Jews supplicate that he will continue his protection to them. Joseph assails the enemy. Vespaian orders his troops to decline the contest.

GREATLY encouraged by the success of Joseph’s stratagem, the Jews suffered not a day to escape without making incursions upon the enemy, and seizing all the property they could find. Vespaian now relinquished the hopes of subduing the place by storm, and entirely blocked it up, flattering himself in the expectation that by cutting off all communication the consequent necessities of the people would perform the business of the sword, or, at least, render them incapable of resistance. There was an abundant supply of corn and all other necessaries in the town, excepting only water and salt. There being neither spring nor fountain about the city, the people had no water for their common uses but what descended in rain. The prospect of a scarcity of water proved exceedingly alarming in that hot country: but having a plentiful stock of other necessaries, and the men being in good spirits, Joseph was determined not to abandon himself to despair; in order, as long as possible, to procrastinate the threatened danger, he limited each man to a daily allowance of water. Hereupon the people became outrageous, and absolutely refused to continue their work. The discontent now prevailing among the Jews could not be concealed from the Romans, who, from an adjacent hill being able to discover all that passed in the city, observed the people assembled to receive their respective portions, and the dissatisfaction that they expressed; and at this time several of the Jews were destroyed by the weapons discharged from the quarters of the enemy. The pit-water being nearly exhausted, and Vespaian being in continual expectation of becoming master of the town, in order to amuse the Romans Joseph adopted the following stratagem: he caused great numbers of wet cloths to be hung upon the battlements; whence, concluding that a scarcity of water could not prevail in the town, since that element was used in so profuse a manner, the Romans no longer entertained the hope that the enemy would surrender through a want of the necessaries of life: and therefore Vespaian had again recourse to arms; which proved a circumstance highly agreeable to the Jews, who, being reduced to the most extreme distress, entertained the most terrible apprehensions of falling miserable sacrifices to famine, to which they infinitely preferred a glorious death in the field.

Joseph recollected that on the west-side of the city there was a hollow or gutter in a place so little frequented that it was not likely to have been observed by the enemy. He wrote to the Jews without the city, to cause water and other necessaries to be conveyed to him through this passage, enjoining them to be careful that the messengers were covered with the hides of beasts,
and instructed to walk upon their hands and feet, that, in case of being observed by the watch, they might be mistaken for dogs or other brutes. An intercourse was maintained till the Romans discovered and blocked up the passage.

Joseph now conceived that it would be fruitless to attempt a longer defence of the city, and therefore he joined with several of the principal men in suggesting the means of escape. Suspecting on what subject they had met to deliberate, the people repaired in great multitudes to Joseph, earnestly supplicating that, as he was the only man from whom they could expect relief, he would not defer them in their present extremity; urging that while he was secure they could not despair of success, and declaring that they could not die more honourably than while acting in obedience to his commands: they said that if it should prove their misfortune to fall into the power of the Romans, he would acquire the immortal fame of having equally scorned to fly from the enemy, or desert the people under his protection; that by now leaving them, he would manifest a conduct similar to that of a man affuming the command of a ship in temperate weather, and abandoning it in a storm; they added, that after losing the only man in whom they could place a confidence of success, they could no longer cherish the hope of relieving their country. Being unwilling to have it believed that his intention was engrossed on the means of providing for his own safety, Joseph, in a public address, represented, that if they were compelled to surrender, his remaining could not possibly operate in their favour; whereas if he obtained his liberty he might be able to draw an army out of Galilee sufficiently early to raise the siege; and that his continuing in the city would be productive of unfortunate instead of happy consequences, since the expectation of making him a prisoner would induce the Romans to continue a vigorous prosecution of the siege, which they might probably decline, if he could effect an escape.

Instead of reconciling the multitude to the measure he had propounded, Joseph's discourse rendered them still more importunate: people of all ages and both sexes threw themselves at his feet, and with the most bitter lamentations urgently supplicated that he would still continue his protection to them. Impressed with tenderness and gratitude towards the people, Joseph considered that if he remained in the town they would attribute his compliance with their request to the influence they had over him, and that if he persisted in a refusal they might probably detain him by force; and therefore, resolving to share the common danger, he thus addressed the multitude: "My dear friends and faithful countrymen, the period is arrived when we are required to exert our utmost bravery, since in that alone we can place our hopes of safety. If we lose our lives, our rewards will be a large share of honour, and our names will be endear'd to the latest posterity." Immediately after this address, Joseph, at the head of the most courageous of the Jews, assaulted the enemy's guards, whom he compelled to desert their trenches, and retreat to the camp; he then destroyed the skins put up for defending their works, to which he set fire; the same conduct was purfued with invincible bravery and indefatigable labour for three or four successive days and nights.
When the Jews gained advantage the Romans pos'ded too high a spirit to retreat; and the weight of their arms prevented them from pursuing when the Jews retired. Vespasian observing the disadvantages under which the Romans laboured, commanded them to decline a further contest with an enemy driven to desperation and wholly regardless of life, whose rage, like flames wanting a supply of fuel, must necessarily subside: he remarked that the Romans engaged in war for the purpose of extending their empire, and therefore it was necessary that discretion should temper their valour. The Arabian and Syrian archers, slingers, engineers, &c. were, however, constantly employed, and their weapons made great havoc among the Jews who resolutely defied all danger, and continued to fight with astonishing bravery.

CHAP. IX.

Vespasian endeavours to destroy the walls of Jotapata by means of a battering-ram; the effect of which engine the Jews defeat. The works of the Romans destroyed by fire. A remarkable exploit performed by Sameas. The heroic behaviour of Nefias and Philip. Vespasian is wounded. A terrible slaughter.

The siege being so long protracted, and the repeated sallies of the Jews, rendered Vespasian's situation nearly as bad as if he had been actually besieged himself. The terras being now raised almost to the height of the city-wall, he determined to make use of the battering-ram, which is an engine of immense size, resembling the mast of a ship; it has an iron head formed like that of a ram, and when used, its motion is somewhat similar to the butting of the animal whose name it bears. It is suspended by large cables affixed to crofs-timbers cramped together and strongly supported; it bears on the middle, and hangs on the balance like a scale-beam; and when put in a swinging motion it strikes with such surprising violence, that the strongest wall must inevitably yield to its repeated attacks.

Conscious that the longer the siege was delayed the difficulty of conquest would be increased, since the enemy would be afforded leisure to make preparations of defence, Vespasian ordered the slingers, archers, &c. to advance with their several machines nearer to the town, in order to beat off the Jews who defended the walls. This business being executed, the ram was brought forward, being covered with hurdles and the hides of beasts, for the purpose of preserving the machine from damage, and defending the men who were appointed to conduct its operations. The first stroke of the engine threw the Jews into a most terrible consternation; and Joseph knowing that the wall could not possibly long withstand repeated batterings in the same place, ordered a number of facks filled with chaff to be lowered by means of ropes; and though the assailants frequently changed the direction of the machine, its intended effects were constantly defeated by means of the chaff-facks which were interposed to defend the wall. At length the Romans fixed sharp curving-irons to the ends of long poles, and therewith cut the ropes which suspended
suspended the lances. The wall being newly repaired, had not yet acquired a hard consistence sufficient to resist the ram, which now performed its office without impediment. The Jews, who had now a most alarming prospect of speedy destruction, collected a quantity of pitch, sulphur, and other combustibles, which they set fire to in three several parts of the enemy's works, and the flames instantly communicating to the habitations, implements of war, &c. of the Romans, the whole were consumed in a very short time.

An heroic exploit performed by Samaes, who was a native of Paeb in Galilee, and the son of Eleazar, deserves to be transmitted to posterity. He cast down a stone of great bulk with such surprizing force as to break off the head of a ram, and then leaping into the midst of his enemies, he seized the head of the machine, which he carried to the foot of the wall, where he remained till five arrows were fixed in his body; in this condition he remounted the wall, and without betraying the least symptom of an abatement either of constancy or courage, he remained some time an object of public admiration, till at length he fell, still grasping the trophy he had so heroically acquired.

Netiras * and his brother Philip, of Ruma, in Galilee, displayed a degree of intrepidity that could not possibly be exceeded. They attacked the tenth legion, and fought with most irresistible fury, dispersing all who opposed them. At the same time Joseph with a numerous company of men provided with firebrands burnt the works and engines of the tenth and fifth legions.

The Romans having repaired the ram, towards the evening of the same day employed it against that part of the wall which had already received damage; and at this time Vespasian was struck on the ankle by an arrow discharged from the town. The force of the arrow being nearly exhausted before it reached the general, his wound proved but slight: the officers, however, quitted their stations, and repaired to the head-quarters, to learn whether the rumour of the general's being wounded was founded in truth; and among the first of these was Titus, who was greatly apprehensive for his father's safety. The disorder among the multitude subsided upon Vespasian's convincing them that the injury he had received was of little consequence. Vespasian exposed his wound to the soldiers, who were thereby inflamed with additional courage, each man considering it his particular duty to avenge his general, in despite of all opposition and danger.

Great numbers of the Jews fell by the arrows and stones thrown by the enemy; but they still continued to defend the walls with undaunted bravery. But they fought under great disadvantages; for the town being illuminated by the fire which they used to annoy the enemy, they were exposed to open view, while they could not discern even the engines from which the Roman weapons were discharged. The stones, &c. thrown by the machines, at length made breaches in the battlements and the corners of the towers, and committed great slaughter among the Jews. A judgement may be formed of the dreadful effect of the engines by considering the havoc that was made on this occasion. A stone thrown by one of the machines struck off the head of one of Joseph's

* Or Neritas.
Joseph's friends, who was fighting upon the wall, and carried it to the distance of three furlongs with as much velocity as if it had been cast by a sling. Another stone struck a woman, and carried the infant with which she was pregnant a furlong from her body. The violent noise occasioned by the engines, the dead and wounded falling from the walls, the shrieks and dismal lamentations of men and women both within and without the town, were rendered still more horrible by the continual echo of the mountains: the town ditch was running with human blood, and crowded with carcases heaped high enough for an enemy to have mounted thereon and made an assault. An immense number of the Jews were killed and wounded; notwithstanding which the defence was sustained during the whole night with astonishing bravery, in defiance of the enemy's machines, which were kept incessantly at work: at break of day the wall gave way: but even in this dreadful extremity the Jews persevered in their generous endeavours to preserve the liberties of their country, by exposing themselves in the breach to prevent the enemy crossing the ditch and pursuing the advantage they had obtained. To give an adequate idea of the horrors of the night surpasses every power of description.

CHAPEL.

Preparations for renewing the assault. Joseph gives instructions to the people. The city thrown into confusion on the approach of the Romans. A terrible engagement. The enemy having advanced to the walls, have scaling ladders poured upon them by the Jews. The courage of the Romans. Vespasian's platforms are raised, and towers erected thereon. The Jews quit the breach, but still make a vigorous resistance.

THE Romans having received some refreshment after the extreme fatigue of the night, early on the succeeding day Vespasian issued orders for every preparation to be made necessary for renewing the siege, and for pursuing measures for deterring the Jews from appearing in the breach. He caufed a party of the most courageous cavalry to dismount, and drew them up in three divisions; these men, being compleatly armed, and carrying pikes in their hands, were first to enter the town; and they were seconded by a chosen body of foot. The rest of the horse were ordered to invest the mountainous parts of the city, to prevent the escape of the Jews after the conquest of the place. The archers with their bows and arrows, and the slingers and engineers were the next in order. A number of men provided with ladders were ordered to attempt scaling parts of the wall which had not been injured, with a view, by making a diversion, to weaken the force by which the breach was defended.

Being apprized of the enemy's design, and conscious that little danger was to be apprehended from the Romans employed with the scaling-ladders, Joseph opposed to them only such men as were either enfeebled by age, or such as had not recovered from the fatigue of the preceding night: but in places where
where the wall had suffered even in but a very small degree, he stationed such soldiers only as were of approved fidelity and resolution; and he put himself, with five of his most intrepid followers, at their head, in order to receive the first assault. He injoined his people to disregard the shouts of the enemy, and either to defend themselves from the arrows shot by the Romans, by means of their shields, or to retire a little till their quivers were exhausted. He informed them that if the enemy should proceed to advance their bridges, every possible effort of valour must be exerted, since all considerations for preserving the country must then give place to the noble ardour of wreaking vengeance upon the conquerors: he added that, if the Romans proved successful it must be expected that the fathers, wives, children, and the other dearest friends and relations of his soldiers, would fall miserable victims to their cruelty and rage.

The common people, women and children observing the adjacent mountains glittering with arms, the town surrounded by three armies, the enemy marching with drawn swords to the weakest part of the wall, and the archers preparing to discharge their arrows, joined in lamentations that could not have been exceeded had the place been actually subdued. The outcries of these people greatly affected Joseph; and left they should dispirit the soldiers, he ordered them to their respective habitations, under a strict injunction of silence. He then repaired to the station he had chosen, totally regardless of the scaling-ladders, his attention being engrossed on the manner of the enemy's assault.

Upon the trumpet being sounded, the Roman troops united in martial shouts, and no sooner was the signal given than such an immense number of arrows was discharged as to obscure the sky. In obedience to their instructions the Jews gave no attention to the clamours of the enemy, and defended themselves with their shields. When the enemy brought their bridges forward, the Jews attacked them with furprizing fury, with equal skill and intrepidity throwing them off as fast as they mounted, and they became more undaunted in proportion as the danger increased.

They were under a great disadvantage by being kept to hard duty without any intervals of relief; while the Romans had a constant supply of reinforcements to take the places of those who were either fatigued or repulsed. The Romans collected themselves as close as possible together, and throwing their long bucklers over them, they proceeded to the wall of the town, appearing to be an entire and impenetrable body.

The extremity to which he was now reduced suggested to Joseph a new means of defence. He caused a large quantity of oil, of which there was a plentiful supply in the town, to be boiled, and, with the vessels in which it was heated, cast from the walls upon the Roman soldiers beneath. The scalding fluid passing through the interstices of their armour occasioned the Romans most exquisite torture, it having the quality of long retaining heat, and threw them into the greatest disorder. This armour being buckled and braced, they were unable to relieve themselves, and the oil flowing from head to foot consumed their flesh like fire. Some were thrown into the most violent contortions, others were drawn nearly double by their pains, and many fell.
fell from the bridge to the ground, and those who attempted to escape were prevented by the Jews.

During the above calamity the Romans displayed a wonderful degree of intrepidity, nor was the policy of the Jews less remarkable. The former, notwithstanding their miserable condition, engaged in a competition for surpassing each other in pressing upon their adversaries, who availed themselves of another project for impeding their progress. They poured boiled fenugreek upon the bridge, which rendered the boards so slippery that the Romans were neither able to stand to their arms or retreat: some of them fell upon the planks, and were trampled to death by their own people; and others, falling still lower, were exposed to the weapons of the Jews. Many of the Romans being slain and a greater number wounded, towards evening Vespasian sounded a retreat. Only six of the Jews were killed, but the number of wounded amounted to upwards of three hundred. It was on the twentieth day of the month Deflus that this action took place.

The Roman general was deafous of complimenting his soldiers for the bravery they had shewn, and confoling them for the ill success they had experienced: but instead of finding their spirits depressed, as he expected, they expressed the utmost anxiety for proceeding again to action; and therefore he ordered his platforms to be raised still higher, and towers fifty foot in height to be erected thereon, and, for the purpose of keeping the towers steady by their weight, and defending them against fire, that they should be entirely covered with iron. The most skilful marksmen and engineers, provided with machines, darts, and other implements, were stationed in the turrets, whence they greatly annoyed the enemy, who were clearly exposed to their view. The Jews being unable either to avoid the weapons, or discern the people by whom they were discharged, were under the necessity of quitting the breach: but they still continued to maintain a most resolute defence, though the loss they daily suffered considerably exceeded that of the Romans.

CHAP. XI.

Vespasian dispatches Trajan against the city of Jotapta. The inhabitants quit the town in order to engage Trajan, who puts them to flight. A terrible slaughter. Titus with a body of troops dispatched to Jotapta. The Romans scale the walls, and put all the people, excepting women and children, to the sword.

The resolute defence made by the people of Jotapata encouraged those of an adjacent city, called Japhtha, to resist the power of the Romans. Upon gaining information of this design, Vespasian dispatched Trajan, the commander of the tenth legion, with an army of a thousand cavalry and two thousand infantry, to assault the place. Japhtha was fortified with uncommon strength, surrounded by a double wall, and so advantageously situated, that it appeared to be wholly impregnable. The inhabitants quitted the town in order to encounter Trajan, who, after a slight resistance, put them to flight, and pursued them into the first enclosure. The people within the town now...
closed the gates of the inward wall, left the Romans, as well as their own people, should gain admittance. Thus were the Galileans, as if by the providence of Heaven, delivered into the power of the Romans. The Romans kept one gate and the people in the city the other; and the Jews confined in the enclosure, earnestly, but in vain, supplicated to be admitted into the town; but being refused, many destroyed themselves, and great numbers fell by the hands of the enemy, without having power to offer the least resistance, so astonished were they at being deserted by their friends. On this occasion twelve thousand perished, venting imprecations against their cruel and treacherous countrymen.

Trajan imagining that the majority of the military people were destroyed, and that those who remained would not venture to make a resistance, sent to Vespasian, requesting that Titus might be dispatched to reap the honour of finally conquering Japhta. Supposing that some important exploit was yet to be performed, Vespasian sent a force of five hundred cavalry and a thousand infantry under the command of his son. Upon his arrival, Titus divided his army into two wings, giving that on the left-hand to Trajan, himself retaining the command of that on the right. The Romans, by means of scaling-ladders, mounted the walls on all parts, and, after a slight resistance, defecded into the town, where a desperate street-battle ensued. The most resolute and powerful of the Galileans attacked the Romans from ambushes and in the narrow passages, and even the women annoyed them from the tops of the buildings. The contest was maintained for the space of six hours: but, at length, the most courageous of the Galileans being cut off, a terrible slaughter ensued, all the male inhabitants who were able to bear arms being put to death either in their houses or in the streets, the women and infants being only spared, and they were carried away captives, being in number two thousand one hundred and thirty. The slain in the first encounter added to those who fell by the Romans when they entered Japhtha, on the twenty-fifth of the month Decius, amounted to fifteen thousand.

CHAP. XII.

Cerealls dispatched to prevent a revolt of the Samaritans upon Mount Garizim: he offers them an indemnity, which being rejected, they are all put to the sword.

The terrible calamities of the war were extended to the Samaritans, who assembled upon Mount Garizim, which they held in high veneration, esteeming it to be a holy mountain, and meditated a revolt against the Romans. Their meeting and general behaviour seemed to indicate their intention. Without properly reflecting on their inferiority to the great and increasing power of the Romans, they were hastening to a rebellion; and Vespasian judged it necessary to oppose their proceedings at an early period; for though great numbers of garrisons were established in Samaria, he considered that there was sufficient reason to apprehend danger from a conspiracy formed by so numerous a body of disaffected people; and therefore, to prevent the consequence that he feared might ensue, he dispatched a tribune of the
the fifth legion, named Cerealis, with six hundred cavalry, and three thousand infantry.

Upon his arrival at the mountain, Cerealis found the Samaritans collected in an immense body; and judging it not prudent to attack them in their present situation, he environed them with a retrenchment at the foot of the mount. Some days having elapsed, the Samaritans were greatly distressed for water, it being the height of summer, and a remarkably hot season, and they having neglected to provide for a supply of that element: their drought encreased to so intolerable a degree that some perished daily, and others deferted to the Romans, preferring slavery to the miserable situation to which they were reduced. The deferters having communicated to Cerealis that the Samaritans who remained were wholly dispirited, he advanced his troops up the mountain, and after surrounding the enemy, offered to grant them life and liberty, on the condition of their laying down their arms, earnestly exhorting them to return to their duty, and giving the strongest assurances that, if they complied, the proposed indemnity should be fully ratified and confirmed. The Samaritans rejected all terms of accommodation; and therefore, on the twenty-seventh of the month Decius, Cerealis attacked them, and not one escaped the sword. The number of slain was eleven thousand and six hundred.

CHAP. XIII.

The Romans raise their platforms above the wall of Jotapata. A deferrer relates the state of the town to Vespaian. The Romans enter Jotapata, and commit terrible havoc. Anthony treacherously murdered. A slaughter of forty thousand men. The city laid in ruins.

The people of Jotapata continued to defend themselves against the power of the Romans with astonishing constancy and resolution. The platforms were now raised higher than the city wall; and on the twenty-seventh day of the siege a deferrer communicated to Vespaian the state of the town, representing that through the loss of men, and the hard duty which the survivors were obliged incessantly to perform, the garrison was so reduced that it must necessarily surrender to a vigorous attack, and more especially if advantage was to be taken of a favourable opportunity for making the assault by surprize; and he advised the Roman general to attempt the enterprise about day-break, when the Jews would be unapprehensive of danger, and unprovided for defence, and the vigilance of the guard abated by fatigue and an inclination to sleep. Being sensible that the Jews possessed a remarkable fidelity to each other, which the most excruciating torments could not force them to violate, Vespaian put no confidence in what the deferrer had related. He had been witness to a recent instance of the amazing constancy and resolution of the Jews, in the case of one of Joseph's people, who being made a prisoner and interrogated respecting the state of the city, refused to divulge a single circumstance, and persisted in that resolution till his death, notwithstanding the application of crucifixion, and other excessive torments. Considering,
dering, however, that the information of the defector might possibly be founded in truth, and that no ill consequences were likely to ensue from his appearing to believe that to be the case, he ordered the man to be secured, and every necessary preparation to be made for the attack.

The Roman army began a silent march at the appointed hour, and proceeded to the walls of the town, being led by Titus, accompanied by Domitian Sabinus, and some chosen men from the fifteenth legion. They put the sentinels to death, cut the throats of the guards, and entered the city: they were followed by the tribune Sextus Ceralis and Placidus, with the troops under their command. Notwithstanding it was open day when the Romans gained possession of the fort and made themselves masters of the town, the garrison was so exhausted and fatigued by incessant labour and watching, that they entertained no idea of their danger till the enemy had actually gained their point; and even those who were awake were almost equally strangers to the misfortune; for they could not clearly distinguish objects on account of a thick fog, which then prevailed, and continued till the whole Roman army had gained admittance to the city. The recollection of their sufferings in the siege suppressed every sentiment of humanity and compassion in the breasts of the conquerors, who threw many of the Jews from the top of the fort; others who had courage and inclination to offer resistance were either pressed to death by the immense crowds of the enemy, or forced down precipices, and killed by the ruins which fell from above. Many of Joseph's particular friends being unwilling that the Romans should acquire the reputation of taking away their lives, retired to a remote part of the city, where they died by the hands of each other.

Such of the guards as first observed the city to be taken fled to a turret towards the north, where they were attacked by the enemy, against whom they for some time made a good defence; but being oppressed by numbers, they offered to capitulate: their proposals, however, were rejected, and they died with great resolution. The Romans might have valued themselves on gaining the victory without the loss of blood on their side, had it not been for the fate of Anthony, a centurion, who was treacherously murdered in the following manner: a number of Jews having fled for refuge to the caves, one of them called to Anthony for quarter; the centurion immediately stretched forth his right-hand, thereby indicating his compliance, when the Jew safely stabbed him in the groin with a dagger, and caused his death.

Every Jew who was met by the Romans on that day was put to instant death; and during some following days they carefully searched the subterraneous and other secret places for the survivors, all of whom, excepting women and children, they destroyed. The whole number of Jews slain amounted to forty thousand, and the prisoners were twelve hundred. In obedience to the orders of Vespasian the castles were burnt, and the city was entirely laid in ruins. The Romans became master of Jotapata on the first day of the month Panemus, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero.
C H A P. XIV.

The Romans engage in a search after Joseph, who being betrayed by a woman is found in a cavern. Vespasian sends Paulinus and Gallianus, and afterwards Nicanor to induce Joseph to surrender: his refusal irritates the soldiers, who are appeased by their general. Joseph recollects former dreams and revelations. He surrenders. Joseph expostulates with his companions, representing the horrid guilt of committing suicide, but finds them irremovable. Joseph and his companions draw lots for their lives. Joseph conducted to Vespasian, who orders him into close confinement. A private interview between Joseph and Vespasian. Joseph predicts the succession of Vespasian and his son Titus. The prophecy confirmed. Vespasian returns to Ptolemais, and thence repairs to Caesarea.

PARTLY induced by personal enmity, and partly by an officious zeal to ingratiate themselves into the favour of their general, the Romans assiduously employed themselves in searching every part of the country, where it seemed probable that a man might be concealed, and among the carcasses of the slain, in order to find Joseph, either dead or living. It was Joseph's fortune to escape through the midst of his enemies, and to find a deep pit, having a passage leading to a spacious cavern, wherein he found forty distinguished Jews had taken sanctuary, having a supply of the necessaries of life sufficient for several days. The enemy being in possession of the whole adjacent country, Joseph judged it unsafe to venture abroad by day, and therefore he left his retreat only by night, with a view to discover if there remained a probability of effecting an escape: but finding the guard extremely vigilant, he returned to the cavern, despairing of success. Upon the third day he was betrayed by a woman; immediately upon which Vespasian dispatched Paulinus and Gallianus, two tribunes, authorising them to assure Joseph that, on condition of his leaving his retreat, he should experience a kind and honourable reception. Conscious that the injuries the Romans had sustained at his hands entitled him to punishment rather than reward, Joseph deemed it unsafe to rely on Vespasian's word of honor, and therefore declined the proposal. Hereupon Vespasian sent another tribune, named Nicanor, the ancient friend and acquaintance of Joseph. Nicanor expostulated with Joseph, representing the generosity and benevolence of the Romans towards those they conquered; that so far from entertaining an enmity towards him, they highly esteemed him as being a man of singular intrepidity and other eminent virtues; that the Roman general must indisputably have favourable views, since he condescended to propose terms to a man who was already subject to his power. "Can you imagine (said Nicanor) that Vespasian would employ a friend in an office of treachery; or that I would accept from him so dishonourable a commission." Joseph still declined a compliance; which so enraged the Roman soldiers that they would have set fire to the cave, but Vespasian prevented them by representing that he was...
determined to take Joseph alive. Nicanor continued his endeavours to prevail upon Joseph, and the rage and menaces of the soldiers became more violent in proportion to the increase of their numbers. Certain dreams now occurred to the recollection of Joseph, wherein the Almighty had communicated the successes and grandeur which the Romans should experience, and the miseries which should oppress the Jews. Joseph possessed a remarkable faculty of interpreting dreams, and of explaining many things which the Lord had been pleased to signify under the veil of mystery. Being himself a priest, and of the sacerdotal line, he was consequently verified in the writings of the holy prophets. At this instant, as if possessed with the divine Spirit, he perfectly recollected, in due order, the several visions he had seen: and he thus rapturously addressed himself to Heaven: "Blessed and Almighty God! Since it is thy pleasure to terminate the prosperity of the Jews, and exalt the people of Rome, I, humbly resigning myself to thy providence, consent to live, and surrender my person to the Romans: but, before thy sacred throne, I pronounce that I act not as a traitor to my country, but as the minister of thy gracious pleasure."

Observing that Joseph had surrendered to the Romans, his companions literally exclaimed against him, saying, "Are we then lost to every respect due to the laws of our country, and the honor of the Jewish profession? What is become of the noble spirit of our ancestors, which enabled us to behold death with contempt? Is Joseph so attached to this sublunary sphere that he can submit to bondage with the view of preserving his existence; and can he bear to look upon the sun after having lost his liberty? He has strongly exhorted his countrymen to sacrifice every consideration to the love of freedom, and yet that freedom he is the first to renounce. You will be wholly unworthy the fame you have acquired by fighting so gloriously in the cause of the Jews, if you can descend to so dishonourable a conduct as to preserve your life through the favour of your most inveterate enemies. Though the successes of the Romans may have caused you to abandon your former sentiments of honor, we still have resolution to retain a just sense of the duty we owe to our country. We still possess our swords, and are ready to make use of them in asserting the honor of the Jewish nation. The time is at hand when you must inevitably perish; therefore resolve either to fall upon your own sword, and die in a manner worthy the general of the Jews; or leave to us the business of depriving you of breath, and conclude a life of glory like a traitor and a coward."

Immediately after the delivery of this speech they all unsheathed their weapons, and threatened that if Joseph surrendered they would put him to instant death.

Apprehending that they might put their threats into execution, and that by delay he might lose the opportunity of communicating to the nation of Jews the charge he had received from the Almighty, he addressed his countrymen in the following manner:

"Why, my good friends, do you suffer yourselves to be so far transfixed, by the violence of passion as to cherish the idea of separating the
foul and body, which are so intimately united by nature? Let the Ro-
mans answer whether my sentiments are altered, or remain as heretofore.
To fall by the hand of a victor in a war maintained according to the laws
of arms is without dispute a glorious fate. I should make no greater diffi-
culty of taking away my own life than of requesting a Roman to perform
that office: but if the Romans are inclined to shew mercy to an enemy,
will reason justify that enemy in having no mercy on himself? No death
can be more honourable than that of the man who yields his life to the su-
perior power of an adversary that means to deprive him of the ineffimable
blessing of liberty. But the Romans with not our deaths; and all animo-
sity should now cease; for the cause of our contention is at an end. The
man who rejects life when his duty requires him to preserve it, is as pufil-
lanimous as he who, in opposition to the dictates of honor, trembles to
meet his fate. Is it not from the fear of death alone that we hesitate to
yield to the Romans? Shall we precipitate ourselves into certain destruc-
tion for the purpose of avoiding a threatened danger, which probably may
not arrive? If you conceive that we ought to die, to avoid slavery, I must
request you to recollect that we enjoy not liberty in the miserable situation
to which we are now reduced. If you suppose him to be a brave man
who deprives himself of life, I would ask what opinion you would form
of the commander of a vessel who, during a calm, should sink his ship
from an apprehension that a tempest might arise? The desire of preserving
life is a principle implanted in the whole animal creation; and therefore
to deprive ourselves of existence is to violate the order of nature, and offer
a sacrilegious insult to the Almighty. We account those people our ene-
 mies, and punish them as much, who endeavour to procure our deaths;
for by a natural impulse every creature existing is prompt to wish for
the continuance of life. We receive our being from the Lord, to whom
we must, in due time, resign it: and what species of ingratitude can be
more enormous than holding the bounty of the Almighty in contempt?
Our bodies being formed of corruptible materials must necessarily be mor-
tal: but the soul is indissoluble, partaking in some degree of the nature
of the Divinity. Life is given to us in charge, and shall we betray the
trust, and hope to escape with impunity and undiscovered? We deem it
justifiable to inflict punishment upon those servants who desert even the
worst of masters. What excuse then can be urged in favour of those who
abandon a gracious and benevolent Creator? You cannot be ignorant that
eternal blessings are reserved for those who return their lives to the Power
from whom they received the bounty; that from generation to generation
their posterity will meet the favour of Heaven; and that upon the expira-
tion of a certain number of ages, past in the celestial mansions, their souls
will return to animate bodies pure like themselves; nor that self-murderers
are condemned to the most profound of the infernal regions, and children
in distant ages to bear the punishment due to the iniquities of their fa-
thers? Our wise legislator adjudged that the perpetrators of so shocking
an offence against the Almighty as self-murder should be refus'd inter-
ment till after sun-set, of which privilege even our most inveterate ene-
"mies are abridged. In some countries the right-hand of the self-murderer
is cut off, it being deemed just that the hand should be divided from the
body which had already separated the body from the soul. However great
our calamities, they are such as all men are liable to endure: but let us
not aggravate our miseries by blaspemously provoking the wrath of our
Creator. If we desire to live, may we not indulge that desire, since we
have afforded exemplary proofs of our courage and virtue? But if we are
resolved to die, let us fall by the hands of our conquerors. I am not so
ignorant of the duty I owe to myself as to rush upon destruction by adopt-
ing a conduct similar to that of people who surrender to an enemy in order
to provide for their own safety. We shall have no cause for regret if the
Romans prove treacherous: but on the contrary we shall resign our lives
with pleasure, since we shall enjoy the satisfaction of knowing that the
perfidy of the enemy must necessarily diminish the glory of their victory,
and render them infamous to the latest posterity."

Joseph imagined that the above, and other arguments which he enforced,
would have induced the Jews to relinquish the determination of putting an
end to their lives: but he was deceived in this conjecture; for, instead of ap-
pealing, his address provoked them to the utmost extravagance of rage; and
they approached him with their swords drawn, upbraiding him in the most
severe terms as being of a contemptibly irrefolute disposition, and threaten-
ing him with instant death. Thus situated, Joseph addresed his compa-
nions in a spirit of authority, which seldom fails to gain respect from those
who have been accustomed to obey, called one by his name, took another
by the hand, and endeavoured to engage the attention of the rest by argu-
ment and such other means as he conceived to be best adapted for obtaining
the end he had in view. Thus, by a singular address in applying to the va-
rious humours and dispositions of his companions, did Joseph avert the dan-
ger that threatened him; as a wild beast surrounded by huntsmen still turns
towards him who is prepared to strike. Notwithstanding the rage to which
the Jews were transported, when they attempted to put their threats in exe-
cution, their esteem and veneration of their general revived, and their wea-
pons dropped from their uplifted hands.

Joseph conducted himself with great temper and judgement, and, resting
his hopes on the providence of Heaven, he thus addresed his companions:
"Since you are determined to die, let it be decided by casting lots who shall
first lose his life, and by this method let every man's fortune be known; so
shall we avoid self-murder, and die by the hands of each other." This
proposal was joyfully accepted, and presently carried into execution; and
Joseph's companions derived great satisfaction from the consideration of dy-
ing in company with their general; to share a common fate with him being
an event that of all others they most anxiously desired.

The persons to whom the lots had fallen being successsively put to death, it
happened, either through accident or the care of Providence, that Joseph
was one of the only two surviving men: he expostulated with his compa-
nion, and, at length, prevailed on him to decline the resolution of dying, en-
gaging himself to provide for his safety.
Being relieved from the extremity to which he was reduced by the Romans on one hand, and by his own countrymen on the other, Joseph surrendered himself to Nicander, who conducted him to Vespasian.

The desire of seeing Joseph appear before the Roman general caused immense numbers of people to assemble; some were extravagantly rejoiced at his being made a prisoner; others vented menaces and the most bitter excommunications against him; while those at a distance endeavoured to obtain a more perfect view, and called for public justice to be executed on the enemy to the state of Rome; and, in short, the greatest variety of sentiments and their different operations was to be observed in the midst of the tumult. Those who were sufficiently near to observe the person of Joseph recollected the many extraordinary incidents of his life, and reflecting on his present situation, were perfectly astonished on the comparison. Notwithstanding the inveteracy which the Roman generals had entertained against Joseph, they now tenderly compassionated him in his captivity; but Titus was most particularly affected, for on account of his advanced age, and the unconquerable dignity of his mind in the most extreme dangers and distresses, he entertained a great veneration towards Joseph, whose former elevated station and great exploits, and the humiliating condition to which he was now reduced, he considered, and then proceeded to make some reflections on the chance of war and the mutability of human affairs. Those who heard Titus adopted his sentiments; and he greatly contributed towards the preservation of Joseph by influencing Vespasian in his favour.

Vespasian intimated that he meant to send Joseph to Nero, and ordered him to be kept a close prisoner. Hereupon Joseph requested a private audience with the Roman general, who ordered all present, excepting Titus and two friends, to quit the apartment. Joseph spoke to the following purpose: "You see me here, sir, your prisoner; and perhaps you consider me in no other character: but I am a messenger from the Almighty, commissioned to impart to you a matter of the highest importance. Had I not been charged with this commission, I should have acted consistent with the character of a Jewish general, and have died rather than have submitted to be made a prisoner. It is unnecessary to send me to Nero, since Vespasian is so near succeeding to the empire, which, upon his decease, will devolve to his son Titus. Let me be kept a prisoner, and guarded with unremitting circumpection: I only request to remain the prisoner of Vespasian, who, by the right of conquest, is become the master of my life and liberty, and will in a short time be advanced to the sovereignty of the universe. If it shall hereafter appear that I have made use of the sacred name of the Almighty to induce you to repose confidence in an impostor, you will perform an act of justice in subjecting me to the most severe of exemplary punishments."

At first Vespasian considered Joseph's address as a mere fiction adopted for the purpose of obtaining his favour; but upon experiencing certain impulses, and considering other indications, and finding them exactly to correspond with what Joseph had related, his doubts gradually subsided, and he gave...
gave full confidence to the prediction. One of the persons who were permitted to be present at the interview said to Joseph that, since he pretended to a knowledge of future events, he requested to be informed by what means it happened that he remained ignorant of the approaching destruction of Jotapata, and of his own captivity. To this Joseph replied, he had predicted to the inhabitants that the town would be conquered and destroyed on the forty-seventh day of the siege, and himself would be made a prisoner by the enemy. Hereupon Vespasian caused a secret enquiry to be made amongst the Jewish prisoners; and they fully confirmed every particular that Joseph had asserted, which induced him to judge more favourable of what had been foretold respecting himself.

Joseph continued to be guarded with the greatest circumspection; but the insecurity of confinement was in some degree relieved by his being allowed every accommodation and convenience, and the particular respect and kindness that he received from Titus.

Vespasian returned to Ptolemais on the fourth of the month Panemus, and thence proceeded to Caesarea, on the sea-coast, which is the most considerable city of Judaea. The majority of the inhabitants being Greeks, Vespasian's army met with a cheerful reception; for they held the Romans in high estimation, and were such inveterate enemies to the Jews that Vespasian was solicited in the most importunate manner to sacrifice the life of Joseph to their desire of vengeance. Vespasian dismissed the petition without an answer, deeming it the act of an inconsiderate and outrageous multitude.

Caesarea is extremely hot in summer, but being temperate in the winter, and situated upon a plain adjacent to the sea, Vespasian judged it to be a convenient place for winter-quarters, and therefore appointed two legions to remain there; and, that he might not overburthen the city, he sent the fifth and tenth legions to Scythopolis.

CHAP. XV.

Joppa, being a receptacle for mutineers and robbers, is surprized and taken by Vespasian: and the inhabitants take flying, and lay at some distance from the shore. Joppa describ'd. Account of a violent tempest. They garrison and otherwise fortify the conquered city. The destruction of Jotapata is disapproved at Jerusalem. A report prevails that Joseph is slain: but it being discovered that he is still living, and in high esteem amongst the Romans, he becomes the object of detestation and envy.

A great concourse of people, composed of revoltors from the Romans and fugitives from the conquered cities of the Jews, had now assembled, and were employed in rebuilding Joppa, which had been destroyed by Cestius. The banditti being unable to procure the means of subsistence, on account of the desolate state in which Cestius had left the country, constructed a number of vessels for the purpose of perpetrating robberies on the sea; and by their piratical practices they proved a great obstruction to commerce on the Syrian,
Syrian, Phoenician, and Egyptian coasts. Vespasian being apprized of their proceedings, dispatched a body of cavalry and infantry to Joppa; and the troops found but little difficulty in gaining admittance by night to the city, it being but indifferently watched and guarded. The inhabitants were so greatly astonished by being thus surprized that they had not power to attempt the least resistance, but fled with great precipitation to their vessels, and remained that night at sea beyond the reach of the enemy's weapons.

Though Joppa is a sea-coast town, it has no port; the shore is exceedingly craggy and steep; on each side of the town stands a pointed rock, projecting a considerable space into the sea; these rocks forming a kind of crescent occasion so violent an agitation of the sea, when the wind prevails, that a more dangerous and terrible situation for shipping cannot be imagined. Here is the impression of Andromeda's chains, which were, perhaps, cut in the rock with a view of giving credibilty to the ancient fable.

At break of day the wind, called by the people of the country the black north, arose, and caused the most terrible tempest that had been known: the vessels of those who had escaped from Joppa, by being thrown against the rocks, or dashed with great violence against each other, were broken to pieces; some who by dint of rowing endeavoured to avoid being foundered by keeping in the open sea, were tossed upon mountainous billows, and then precipitated into the most profound abyss of waters, and great numbers of the vessels sunk. During this violent contention of the elements, the noise occasioned by the dashing of the vessels, and the lamentations and outcry of the miserable people, were dismal and terrifying beyond description. Many of the people were washed away by the billows, and dashed against the rocks; some were drowned; others fell upon their swords, and several perished on board the wrecks: and in short the water was coloured with the blood of the deceased, whose carcases were dispersed upon the coast. During this shocking scene the Roman soldiers waited to destroy those who should be driven ashore alive. It was computed that four thousand two hundred bodies were cast upon the shore by the waves.

The Romans having obtained possession of Joppa without being under the necessity of proceeding to a battle, they soon laid the place entirely in ruins. It was the fate of this city to be twice subjected to the Roman power in a short space of time. Left Joppa should again be inhabited by pirates, Vespasian fortified the castle, and established a garrison therein sufficient for its defence: he also left a strong body of horse, to set fire to and destroy the towns and villages, and lay waste the adjacent country; which in obedience to the command of their general they punctually executed.

A report prevailed in Jerusalem respecting the fate of Jotapata, but it was deemed too improbable to be founded in fact; for it was not supported by authority sufficient to give it confidence, the massacre having been so general that not an individual of the city remained to convey intelligence to Jerusalem of the important loss the Jewish nation had sustained. In a short time, however, the report was received as authentic; for, as it is usual for the news of unfortunate events to circulate with rapidity, the reduction of Jotapata was soon published in the adjacent places. The fact was, at length, aggra-
vated by a report of Joseph being among the number of slain, which proved
the source of infinite affliction to the people of Jerusalem. Private individu-
als were lamented by their respective friends and relations; but the
mourning for Joseph was universal, his supposèd death being considered as a
public and irreparable loss. The funeral solemnities in honour of Joseph
were continued without intermission for the space of forty days, and no ex-
 pense was spared on the occasion.

When the report of Joseph's death was found to be premature, and that
he was in high esteem among the Romans, and so far from being treated as
a slave, honoured, by Vespasian, with every possible mark of respect and
distinction, the most inveterate hatred took place of the regret and veneration
they had expressed while under the supposition of his being deceased.
The public indignation was so general and violent that there was not a man
in Jerusalem who did not vent the most bitter execrations against Joseph, up-
braiding him as a traitor, and a coward, who had infamously defected the cause
of his country. A prudent and wise man will derive advantage from a pre-
sent misfortune, by making it a precaution whereby he may be enabled to
guard against similar events: but when these people are in the wrong, it is
their disposition to perseveré in error, and consequently encrease their afflic-
tions. In short, the Jews were now more furiously irritated against the Ro-
mans than ever, seemimg to imagine that giving way to their rage against
them was to wreak revenge upon Joseph.

C H A P. XVI.

Vespasian and his army entertained twenty days at Cæsarea Philippi, by king Agrippa. Being informed of the revolt of Taricheæ and Tiberias. Vespasian orders his
son Titus to lead a body of troops to Scythopolis. The army encamped within sight
of the insurgents, at a place called Ennarbis. Vespasian orders Valerian to exhort
the rebels to return to their duty. Valerian is attacked by surprize; but effects an
escape. Through the mediation of king Agrippa, Vespasian grants a pardon to the
people of Tiberias. Vespasian proceeds to the city, where, with great acclamations,
he is received as the common benefactor of the inhabitants.

In consequence of an invitation from king Agrippa, Vespasian departed
from Cæsarea upon the sea-coast for Cæsarea Philippi, where, with his
whole army, he was entertained for the space of twenty days; during which
time, by feastings and rejoicings, he gave thanks to the Almighty for his
victories and various other blessings. Agrippa had invited Vespasian into his
country partly from motives of generosity and affection, and partly from the
hope that through his means the malcontents of his kingdom would be
compelled to return to their allegiance. Upon learning that Taricheæ had
actually revolted, and that Tiberias was disposed to a like conduct, Vespas-
ian judged that a more favourable opportunity would scarcely occur for man-
ifesting the great esteem he entertained towards the king; and therefore he
determined to lead an army against the refractory cities, both of which were depend-
dependent upon the kingdom of Agrippa. He dispatched his son Titus to Caesarea, with orders to conduct the troops quartered in that city to Scythopolis, which is the most considerable town in the Canton of Decapolis, and situated near Tiberias. Vespasian repaired to Scythopolis, where he waited for Titus, upon whose arrival, he advanced to about thirty furlongs from Tiberias, and encamped his army within view of the enemy, at a place called Ennabris.

He now dispatched a captain named Valerian, attended by a company of fifty horse, to expostulate with the insurgents, and endeavour to restore them to obedience. Valerian was instructed to represent that the Roman general believed the majority of the people to be naturally of peaceable and loyal dispositions, though they had suffered themselves to be induced to engage in a rebellion by the artful practices of a few malecontents. When Valerian had nearly reached the town he dismounted his horse, and ordered his people to do the same, thereby intimating that he came not with an hostile design. The rebels were headed by the chief of a band of robbers, named Jesus, who was the son of Tobias; and, without permitting him to speak, they furiously attacked Valerian, who, though greatly astonished and provoked by their audacity, would not have presumed to engage contrary to the order of his general, had he been sure of victory, which, indeed, he had no probability of obtaining over an enemy of such superior force. In short Valerian and five of his people escaped on foot; and their horses were seized by Jesus and his companions, who conducted them into the town with as much parade as if they had been trophys fairly obtained in war.

The above conduct of Jesus and his associates proved highly offensive to all the confederate people of the town, who being alarmed by the apprehension that the enemy would seek revenge, presently repaired to the Roman camp, under the conduct of king Agrippa, and humbling themselves at the general's feet, supplicated for mercy and forgiveness; and that he would not attribute the offences committed by certain individuals to the people at large, who had ever entertained the greatest veneration for the people and state of Rome; they concluded with a request that the innocent might be spared, and the promoters of the sedition punished according to their demerits. Though highly offended by the seizure of the horses and the insult offered to Valerian, Vespasian attended to the petition of the deputies, and through the mediation of Agrippa, granted their request. Jesus and his adherents now escaped to Tarichæa, deeming it unsafe longer to remain in Tiberias.

Trajan, with a company of cavalry, was dispatched the next day to possess himself of the castle, and discover whether the inhabitants of Tiberias were inclined to revolt, or if they held the peaceable disposition represented by the deputies. Upon learning that the people were disposed to preserve their allegiance, Vespasian marched his whole army towards the city, and being met on the way by the citizens, they expressed their gratitude by loud acclamations, attended him to the town, the gates of which they threw open that the troops might enter, hailing Vespasian as their benefactor and protector. The gates not being sufficiently wide to admit the troops to march

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with
with convenience, the general ordered a part of the south-wall to be beaten down; and he enjoined his soldiers not to offer the least injury or insult to the people of the town, on the penalty of very severe punishment. Vespasian's regard for Agrippa induced him to be thus favourable to the inhabitants, and to do no farther injury to the wall of the city.

CHAP. XVII.

HAVING departed from Tiberias, Vespasian encamped his army between that city and Taricheæ; and conceiving that the intended siege would occupy a considerable time, he fortified the camp by erecting a wall. Taricheæ, like Tiberias, is situated upon a mountain, and Joseph had constructed a wall encompassing it on every side except on that where it is fortified by the lake of Gennesareth, and the circuit of this wall was nearly equal to that of Tiberias. Nature and art had contributed to render the place exceedingly strong; and it was inhabited by the most desparate of the revolters. At the commencement of the insurrection the people collected great quantities of provisions, and being sufficiently provided with men and money, they were under little apprehension of being subdued. They had a numerous fleet of armed vessels on the lake, in which they meant to embark in case of being repulsed on shore.

Jefus and his associates, regardless of the force and discipline of the enemy, made a violent assault upon them while they were employed in forming intrenchments and other fortifications, and dispersed the pioneers, and did considerable injury to the Roman works. The Romans pursued them to the lake, where they took shipping, and having proceeded beyond the reach of the Roman darts and arrows, they cast anchor, and ranged their vessels in order of battle.

In the interim Vespasian received intelligence that a great number of Jews had assembled on a plain adjacent to the city; in consequence whereof he dispatched a body of six hundred chosen cavalry, under the command of his son, to make discoveries. Titus marched to reconnoitre the situation of the Jews, and finding them to be much more numerous than the troops under his command, he sent intelligence thereof to Vespasian. Though many of the troops under Titus were greatly alarmed by the superior force of the Jews, the majority of them still preferred an undaunted resolution; and this being observed by Titus, he repaired to an eminence that he might be more distinctly heard, and addressed his soldiers to the following effect:

"Ro-
"Romans (said he) I cannot introduce my oration more auspiciously than by distinguishing you by that appellation, which will recall to your memories the great exploits of your illustrious ancestors: and it will be necessary for me to speak concerning the people with whom you have to contend. The Romans have given incontrovertible proofs of that unconquerable spirit which the universe allows them to possess: and respecting the Jews, I will acknowledge that their victories have been great and numerous, and that they have never condescended themselves to have been subdued. It is necessary then that in our prosperity we should manifest a degree of spirit and fortitude at least equal to what the Jews have shewn in a state of adversity. Though I experience great satisfaction from observing that your countenances seem to express noble and generous sentiments, yet I am not wholly free from the apprehension that the immense numbers of our adversaries may depress your spirits. Let us state a comparison between our own power and that of the enemy. The Jews are courageous, firm, persevering in difficulties, and in danger insensible of the fear of death: but they are so unacquainted with the art of war that they deserve rather to be called a confused multitude of people than an army. The Romans on the contrary are perfectly skilled in military discipline, and equally obedient to the commands of their officers. Whence is it that we, in times of tranquillity, are continually kept in the exercise of arms, but for the purpose of enabling us to make amends for the deficiency of numbers by skill and political management, and rendering us superior to an undisciplined enemy? You are not ignorant of the great disparity between cavalry opposed to infantry, armed troops to men unprovided with weapons, and that our army is under the conduct of officers of great skill and experience. Considering the regularity and discipline of our troops, we must necessarily be able to contend with twice the same number of Jews; who being ignorant of the art of war are not more than half so powerful as from their great numbers they appear to be. Victory does not depend alone on numbers; for many instances may be produced wherein surprising exploits have been performed by small bodies. The irregularity and confusion which are incident to large armies frequently prove fatal among themselves; while moderate companies are to be so managed as to take every possible advantage of an enemy. The ferocious and desperate temper of the Jews enables them to perform great achievements when they are in successful circumstances: but under troubles and disappointment their brutal fierceness and impetuosity are productive of great calamities. Fortitude, valour, obedience and resignation, will enable us to support every change of fortune: the object we have in view is more important than that of the Jews, who contend only for liberty and their country; while we pursue the war in order to acquire glory and immortalize the name of our conquests. After having subdued the rest of the world, to find ourselves reduced to engage in a competition with the Jews must inevitably inspire us with indignation. We have powerful allies at hand, on whose assistance we may safely rely, and therefore our prospect of danger cannot be very alarming. Let us not wait for the reinforcements expected from my father,
father, but gloriously anticipate victory, and engross to ourselves the honor of the exploit. It is now to be determined whether my father merits the great share of fame that is allowed him, whether I am worthy to be called his son, and you to bear the name of Roman soldiers. My father has been so accustomed to victory that, after a defeat, I could not presume to appear in his presence. Could you bear the reflection of having been subdued when your chief had opened the way to conquest in contempt of the utmost danger? I will occupy the post of the greatest hazard; and do you but firmly support me, and rely on the Providence of Heaven for success. I have now only to add that we shall find our advantage in fighting close, rather than maintaining the encounter at a distance."

The above discourse inspired the troops with additional ardour and heroism; which, however, received some abatement upon the arrival of Trajan with a reinforcement of four hundred cavalry; for they were ambitious of confining the honor of victory to themselves.

Antonius Silo was at the same time dispatched by Vespasian with orders to lead a body of two thousand archers to occupy a mountain facing the town, and assault the Jews who were appointed to defend the walls; and this order was punctually observed. Being desirous of rendering his army more formidable in appearance than it was in reality, Titus arranged his men in a line answering the front of the enemy’s forces; and he himself made the first assault, being followed by his people with loud exultations and military shouts. The Jews, who were astonished at the intrepid manner of the charge, made a faint resistance; but being soon thrown into disorder, many were beat down and trampled to death by the cavalry, and others fled towards the city. The fugitives were closely pursued by the Romans, who, through the swiftness of their horses, being enabled to attack them again in front, drove back many who were endeavouring to take refuge within the walls. Great numbers were slain, and but few, if any, escaped, excepting those who were so fortunate as to get into the city.

At this period a violent insurrection took place between the natives of Taricheae and the strangers who inhabited the city. The natives urged that they had ever been averse to engaging in the war: but the advantage gained by the Romans was the principal cause of their discontent. The strangers, of whom there were great numbers, opposed the citizens in the most outrageous manner. Titus being near the wall, soon underfoot that outrage and diffention prevailed in the town, and determining to take advantage of so favourable an opportunity, he delivered the following speech to his people: "Let us not delay, my friends and fellow-soldiers, to pursue the advantage that Providence has given us over our enemies. The clamours which now prevail in the city plainly indicate a domestic war, and that those who escaped our vengeance are now disposed to effect the destruction of each other. Victory must infallibly be ours if we are quick in determination and resolute in action. Let us attempt the enterprize before the desperate situation of the Jews restores them to unanimity. Let us not wait for the arrival of reinforcements, but rather perform the exploit ourselves than admit sharers in the honor and profit of the victory." Immediately after
this speech, Titus mounted his horse, and being followed by his troops, rode with great speed to that quarter of the town which is towards the lake; and he was the first man who entered the city. So astonished were the Jews at the intrepid behaviour of Titus that they had not power to offer the least obstruction to his progress. Jesus and his associates escaped into the fields; some of the people fled towards the lake, and fell into the power of the Romans, others were slain while endeavouring to get into their vessels, and many were drowned in the attempt to save themselves by swimming. Some resistance was made by the strangers who were not able to escape with Jesus, but the natives of the town readily yielded to the Romans, from whom they expected favour from the consideration that they had disapproved of engaging in the war, and been compelled to take up arms.

The faction being subdued, Titus granted quarter to the natives of Taricheæ. The insurgents who had embarked upon the lake proceeded to as great a distance as they possibly could from the enemy. Titus dispatched intelligence of the enterprise to Vespasian, to whom it afforded great satisfaction; for the reduction of Taricheæ was considered as a most material point towards a termination of the war in favour of the Romans. Titus now ordered a guard to invest the city, lest any of the Jews should effect an escape: and he went to the lake of Gennesareth on the following day, and commanded a number of vessels to be constructed for the purpose of pursuing those who had made a retreat by water. There being a great number of workmen and a plentiful supply of materials, the vessels were completed in a few days.

C H A P. XVIII.

Description of the lake of Gennesareth. The spring and course of the river Jordan.
The fertility of the lands adjacent to the lake of Gennesareth. Account of the crystalline fountain called Capernaum.

The length of the lake of Gennesareth is an hundred furlongs, and it is forty furlongs in breadth. It lies upon a fine gravel, and there is no river, or even fountain, water more constantly tranquil, or more conveniently to be drawn. The nature of the water is so cold that it will not receive warmth by being exposed to the sun even in the most intense heat of summer. It is remarkably agreeable to the palate, and in no degree partakes of the quality of moffish waters, either in respect of the colour or taste. The lake derives its name from the country by which it is environed. It abounds in a great variety of fish, differing materially, both in formation and taste, from what are to be found in any other waters.

The river Jordan intersects the middle of the lake of Gennesareth. The Jordan * has been supposed to take its rise at Panion; but the fact is that it is

* Many assert that the Jordan has two sources, one called Jor, and the other Dan. Vol. Notes upon Steph. Byz. by Berkélius.
is conveyed to Panion by a subterraneous passage, and that the source of it is Phiala, so called from its figure being round; and it is situated an hundred and twenty furlongs from Caesarea, a little towards the right-hand, and at no great distance from the road to Trachonitis. The waters of the Phiala are so constantly on a level with the margin that they are never to be observed either to decrease or overflow. The head of the Jordan was unknown till the time of Philip, the tetrarch of Trachonitis, who found that straws which he had cast into Phiala were conveyed to Panion, which had before been universally deemed the source of the Jordan. Panion is delightfully situated; and its natural beauties have been improved in a most magnificent manner by the bounty of king Agrippa. The river crosses the fens of the lake of Sc mechonitis, and after running an hundred and twenty furlongs, paffes under the city of Julias, intersects the lake of Gennesareth, and directing its course a considerable way into the desert, is received by the lake of Asphaltitis.

The lands surrounding the lake of Gennesareth are so surprizingly fertile, and situated so favourable a climate, that palms, nuts, figs, olive-trees, and many other articles, seeming to require a very different temperature of air, flourish there in the highest perfection. The natural advantages of the country receive every possible improvement from the inhabitants, who cultivate the grounds with remarkable skill and industry. This place seems to be the spot where nature most delights in reconciling contradictions, and where the seafons contend which shall be productive of the greatest bounties. For ten successive months, grapes and figs abound in the highest perfection, as does a strange variety of other most excellent fruits during the whole year. In this country flows a delightful crystalline fountain, called Capernaum by the inhabitants of the country, which many believe to be a small branch of the river Nile, on account of its producing a certain species of fifth, which is found in no part of the globe excepting in this fountain and in Alexandria. We shall conclude our account of this country with saying that its length extends along the lake thirty stadia, and that it is twenty stadia in breadth. 

C H A P. XIX.

Vespasian embarks upon the lake, and encounters the fugitive Jews, over whom he gains a complete victory. He assembles a council, and condemns a great number of prisoners to suffer death, and others to be sold for slaves.

The vessels being prepared, Vespasian embarked in pursuit of the Jews who had escaped on the lake of Gennesareth. The fugitives had now no probable view of escaping the vengeance of the enemy; for the shore being wholly occupied by the Romans, they could not disembark without meeting inevitable destruction, and besides being too small, their boats were so slightly built and manned that they could not expect to prove victorious in a naval engagement. The Jews endeavoured to annoy their adversaries by casting stones, and by other means, which proved equally ineffectual; for the weapons
weapons they discharged served only to cause a noise by meeting the vessels or arms of the Romans, who were well defended against every assault they could make: when they attempted a close encounter they were either put to death by the sword, or their vessels over fraught and the men drowned. Some of the Romans fought at a distance, and made great havoc with their darts and arrows; others boarded the vessels of the Jews, and cut the men to pieces with their swords. Several of the Jewish boats were conquered by being enclosed within the two divisions of the Roman fleet. Such as attempted to save themselves by swimming were put to death by lances and darts, or sunk by being over-run by the Roman vessels: and those who were urged by despair to attempt saving themselves by getting on board the enemy’s fleet had their hands or heads instantaneously severed from their bodies. At length the Jews were driven to such extremity that they pressed into the middle of the Roman fleet in order to get to shore: horror and destruction now prevailed in the greatest variety of forms: great numbers of Jews were killed on the water, but the carnage was much more terrible on shore: the lake was discoloured with blood, and the banks were covered with the bodies of the slain. In a few days the carcases putrified, and infected the air to such a degree as to render life almost insupportable; and even the Romans lamented the barbarity which had produced so terrible a calamity. The Jews who were slain when the Romans assaulted the city, and those who perished in the naval encounter, amounted to six thousand and five hundred.

The engagement being concluded, Vespasian summoned a council of all his principal officers to assemble in the city of Taricheæ; and placing himself upon the tribunal, he entered upon deliberations as to what measures were most advisable to be pursued in regard to the strangers. The council opposed shewing mercy to the strangers, urging that they would be dangerous to the princes into whose dominions they might retire, since they would indisputably avail themselves of every opportunity for promoting troubles and insurrections. Vespasian was convinced that they were unworthy of mercy, and so sensible of their abandoned dispositions that he entertained not the least doubt of their attempting the destruction even of the very people to whom they might be indebted for the preservation of their lives: but what means to adopt he was at a loss to determine; for he knew that if he put the strangers to death in the city it would prove a circumstance productive of infinite affliction to the natives, who having surrendered to him, had received his promise of shewing favour to his prisoners. The council argued that, from the nature of circumstances, he was under no absolute obligation to observe a rigid conformity to the condition, and that in matters where political necessity is opposed to obligations of honor, the question should be decided by a regard to the public welfare. Vespasian coincided in opinion with his friends, but still determined to proceed in a manner that should not irritate the natives of Taricheæ. He permitted the strangers to depart, under an injunction of pursuing no other road than that leading to Tiberias. Without entertaining the least apprehension that any violence would be offered to their persons or property, they set out for Tiberias; and a great number
number of Romans were stationed on the road, left any of them should escape. When they had got within the town the Romans made them prisoners; and upon the arrival of Vespasian he ordered them to be confined in the amphitheatre, where he caused those who were superannuated, as well as those who were judged to be too young to bear arms, to be put to death; and the number of those who perished in consequence of the general's order was twelve hundred. He sent six thousand of the most athletic men to Nero, to be employed in working upon the Isthmus; three thousand four hundred were sold into slavery; he presented a great number to Agrippa, to be disposed of as his discretion should dictate; and these people were sold by the king. The remaining part of the incendiary fugitives whose restless dispositions had prompted to encourage the revolt were Hippenians, people of Gaulanitis, Gadara, and Trachonitis. It was on the eighth day of the month Gorpiaeus when they were taken by the Romans.

End of the Third Book.
Account of the siege of Gamala, with the strength and situation of that city. Vespasian proceeds to Gamala. The place assailed, and entered by the Romans, who are immediately repulsed, with great loss. The bravery, and presence of mind of Vespasian. Gallus, a centurion, performs a singular exploit. Vespasian's magnanimous speech to his troops. Gamala attempted a second time.

On the taking of Jotapata, several towns and places in Galilee revolted from the Romans; but, on the loss of Taricheæ, these returned again to their allegiance; so that all the cities and fortified places were now in possession of the Romans, except Gischala, and the mountain of Itabyr. The city of Gamala now united in rebellion with these places. This city stands on the lake, opposite Taricheæ, and appertains to Agrippa's government.
government. This revolt was likewise followed by that of Sogane and Selucia, and both they and Gamala are in the province of Gaulanitis. Sogane is in its upper district, named Gaulana; Gamala in its lower; and Selucia is on the lake Semechonitis, the moorish lands on the border of which extend to Daphne, the length of the lake being sixty, and its breadth thirty furlongs. It is a fine country, but particularly remarkable for its springs, which feed the lesser Jordan, and continue their course to the greater Jordan, at the foot of the golden temple of Jupiter. Soon after the commencement of the revolt, king Agrippa made an alliance with the inhabitants of Sogane and Selucia; but the people of Gamala refused to accede to the treaty, relying on the strength of the place, which even exceeds that of Jotapata. Gamala is built on the cliff of a rock rising from the midst of a high mountain: it has crags in the front and back part of it, and took its name from that of a camel, to which it bears a resemblance; but the spelling has been corrupted by time and habit. There are deep and inaccessible vallies on its front and two of its sides: but that side next the mountain would be tolerably easy of access, only that the inhabitants have dug trenches, and thrown up fortifications, so that it is there little less accessible than on the other sides. On the brow of the hill to the south, the houses are so numerous, and hang in such a manner, as if they would fall into the precipice. There is likewise a hill of so extraordinary a height, that it has the appearance of a citadel to the valley beneath. Within the compass of the city there is also a fountain; and this comprehends a full description of the place.

Yet notwithstanding this place was thus fortified by nature, Joseph thought it a point of prudence to build a wall round it, and also to throw up artificial works, with variety of trenches and fortifications, for its farther defence. The inhabitants, though neither so numerous, nor of such a warlike disposition, as the people of Jotapata, were yet more fainthearted, from the inaccessible situation of their city: conceiving that the difficulties of the attack would make amends for the deficiency of their numbers; not that the place was very ill supplied in that respect; for it had been a kind of refuge for all sorts of revolters. King Agrippa obtained no advantage over this place after a siege of seven months.

At this period Vespasian removed his camp from Ammaus, near Tiberias, a place which received its name from a fountain of hot water, deemed a specific in many disorders. Having advanced to Gamala, he found that he could not regularly surround it; but he placed guards at all the avenues which he could reach, and took possession of the mountain above the city. Agreeable to their usual custom, the Romans fortified their camp by building a wall, and then entrenched themselves. The tenth legion was employed in levelling the ditches and other hollow places, the fifth was stationed towards the middle of the town, and the fifteenth was posted opposite a tower on the east side.

During this situation of affairs king Agrippa advanced close to the wall, with a view to urge his utmost endeavours to argue the people into a right notion of their duty, and prevail on them to surrender the place: but at this juncture he received a violent blow on his right elbow by a stone from a sling. His
His friends instantly crowded round him, with a view to promote his safety; while the Romans were in the utmost rage at the barbarity of a people who could act thus severely by their prince and countryman, and a friend who advised them for their own welfare; thinking they would be much more severe to strangers and enemies. Animated by this idea, the siege was urged in the most vigorous manner.

Many hands being employed, and the utmost diligence used, the necessary works were soon constructed; and the next thing to be considered was how to mount the machines. Chares and Joseph, two men of distinction in the town, directed the defensive part, and conducted the soldiers to the walls, animating them to give proofs of their honor, and their zeal in the common cause. But water and other necessaries being deficient, they were averse to the contention, which they thought could not suffice any considerable time. When the machines of the Romans were brought forward, they made a kind of resistance for some time; but when the stones and arrows were thrown among them, they retired into the town. The Romans three times attacked the walls with their battering-rams, and, when a breach was disputed, it is impossible to describe the horror arising from the sound of trumpets, the clangor of arms, and the various noisés that were made both within and without the town. The first shock was so valiantly sustained by the citizens, that the Romans seemed at a loss how to act; but at length, the former being over-powered by numbers, they retreated with the utmost precipitation, and sought refuge in the highest parts of the city, whither they were pursued by the Romans: but the Jews, convinced of the urgency of their situation, faced about on their opponents, whom they drove down the precipices, and through the narrow defiles, killing great numbers in the pursuit. The Romans finding that their enemies had such an advantage in the situation of the ground, that it was impossible to avoid them, and equally impossible to contend with them with any prospect of success, they sought for shelter in the lower houses: but these became soon so crowded by their numbers, that they funk under the weight, one house bringing down another, and so in progression. Great numbers of the Romans were buried in the ruins; yet, disastrous as the situation was, they chose rather to trust to these houses than to continue an open mark for the enemy. The falling of the timbers crushed many of them to pieces, others were stifled with the dust that fell, and a third part were dreadfully bruised in the attempt to make their escape. By these various accidents great numbers of the Romans fell a sacrifice; while the inhabitants were so far from being uneasy at the destruction of their houses, that, on the contrary, they rejoiced in their loss, from a consideration of the consequent destruction of their enemies; and as fast as one house fell they drove them to another, that their weight might bring down that also. When a Roman missed his standing, he was immediately killed by weapons from above: these weapons consisted of arrows and stones, the former of which were taken from the bodies of the slain, and the latter picked out of the walls: the swords of those who were killed being employed to dispatch others, and every thing contributing to advance the general scene of horror. Some threw themselves from the tops of the houses, to avoid meeting death, as they must otherwise have done, by the
fall of those very houses. Some endeavoured to make their escape; but they knew not how or where to fly; for being strangers to the passages and avenues, and almost blinded with the dust which arose, they became only a hindrance to each other. A few of them, and indeed a very few, had the happiness to make a total escape from the place.

Flavius was mortified in the highest degree to behold his troops thus injured by the very ruins of a city of which he had in a manner taken possession; and, disregarding his own personal safety, (for it was his custom to be foremost in all hazardous enterprises) he privately retired to a station at the upper part of the city; and here, in company only with a few men of resolution, he remained in the most distressful situation: his son Titus being at this time on a commission to Mutianus in Syria. His situation was now such that he could not fly, with any regard either to his honour or safety: wherefore, recollecting how magnanimous his past conduct had been, and determining not to disgrace it by his future actions, he was struck with a thought how he might obviate the present difficulty; a thought that seemed rather the effect of inspiration than the consequence of common resolution. He stationed himself, and the few people who remained with him, as close to each other as they could possibly stand; and in this situation, covering themselves with their arms, they were secure from all the assaults of the enemy from above. This singular resolution had such an effect on the Jews, that they could not help considering it as impelled by Providence; and immediately became less vigorous in their attack, from the fear left they should oppose a Divine power. Flavius observing that the rage of the enemy was abated, he and his companions retired by degrees, nor turned their backs till they had got without the walls of the city. On this occasion great numbers of the Roman officers, as well as of the common soldiers were slain; and among the rest, Ebuthius, a Decadarch, whose conduct in life and death was noble, and of whose courage the Jews had repeated proofs.

In the above-mentioned contest, Gallus, a centurion, and ten Syrian soldiers, lay concealed in a house, and while the people of the family were at supper, and in high conversation how they should act with regard to the Romans, Gallus and his Syrian companions overheard and understood all they said: in consequence of which they made an attack on them in the night, destroyed them all, and retreated to the Romans in perfect safety.

The Romans had never received a severer blow than that in the action above recorded: and Flavius finding that the spirits of his soldiers were depressed on the occasion, and that they were the more depressed because they had left their general behind, considered how he might afford them some sort of consolation, avoiding at the same time to reproach them for their conduct, or to mention his own unfortunate situation: wherefore he addressed them to the following effect: "As misfortunes are unavoidable, let us bear them with magnanimity. No particular set of men have a right to expect an exemption from the common lot of humanity. The man who seriously reflects on the nature of war, will be convinced that fortune is ever changing, that blood-shed must certainly precede victory, and that our late loss is amply compensated by the number of Jews we have heretofore slain. As"
it is equally vain and ridiculous to become insolent in prosperity; so an
unusual depression of spirits in adversity argues an unwarrantable meanness
of soul. Reflect farther, in what a gradual manner the change passes from
one extreme to the other: that no man is possessed of true magnanimity,
but he that is equally resolute to preserve the dignity of his mind in all fit-
tuations, and who, by his prudence under his misfortunes, can abate the
malignity of his fate. It would ill become us to impute our present misfor-
tune either to our own want of courage, or the superior valour of the Jews.
If they have behaved more courageously, or we seemed to fight less so,
than usual, all this is to be attributed to the difference of the ground on
which we fought. If there be any thing in your conduct censurable on this
occasion, it is the eagerness with which you pursued the enemy up the
town when they fled from you. You should have restrained the ardor of
your resentment, and having taken possession of the lower town, have
waited in that station till your enemies had been compelled by necessity to
have descended and attacked you, in which case you would have engaged
on terms more equal, and consequently more advantageous to you: but
your impatience of conquest rendered you incapable of taking the proper
method of securing it. You should recollect that the Romans are a people
used to discipline, and not accustomed, like the Jews and Barbarians, to
such an irregular way of making war. Let us therefore return to our own
sober and resolute measures, and act rather like men capable of reflecting
on, and abhorring the impropriety of their own conduct, than as cowards
who would sink under the weight of it. It will be in the power of every one
of us to co-operate in the general work, and, if we have but resolution
heartily to engage, we may revenge the losses of our friends on the heads of
those foes by whom they were slain. Animated by this prospect, you shall
still find me, as I have always been, the first to embrace danger, and the
last to fly from it." The army in general acquired fresh spirits in conse-
quence of this speech of Vespasian.

Flushed with their unexpected success, the people of Gamala were for a
time happy in consequence of their late victory: but on more mature con-
deration their spirits failed them; for they found that there was now no pros-
pect of coming to any terms of agreement, nor any view of escape; and as
they began to be in want of provisions, they were in a most distracting situa-
tion. Notwithstanding this they proceeded to take every step for the defence
of the place, employing the most skilful in repairing the breaches; and the
rest in general duty.

By this time the platforms of the Romans were thoroughly repaired, and
made ready for a second attack. In the interim many of the citizens made
their escape through passages so intricate and difficult, that it had not been
thought necessary to set any guard over them. Others retired and hid them-
selves in vaults and caverns, where, in the fear of being made prisoners, they
were reduced to a starving condition: for no provisions were distributed but
to those who bore arms. Notwithstanding all this accumulated distress, their
unhappy people yet held possession of the place.
A multitude of people being assembled on mount Itabyr, Vespasian sends a troop of horse to reduce them. Placidus destroys them by an artful stratagem.

The troublesome siege above-mentioned furnished sufficient employment to Vespasian; who, however, notwithstanding his other engagements, dispatched Placidus with a party of six hundred horse to mount Itabyr, to disperse a great number of people who had assembled at that place. This mountain is situated between Scythopolis and the great plain, and the ascent of it is deemed about thirty stadia. It is inaccessible on the north side, and on its summit is a plain of twenty furlongs in diameter. It is surrounded by a wall, which, notwithstanding its extraordinary size, Joseph was only forty days in building. He caused water and other necessaries to be brought to it from the valley; for the people had no supply but by rain water.

In obedience to his orders, Placidus reached the place of destination, but finding that he could not ascend the mountain to attack the revolters, he offered them terms of peace and pardon; on which a number of them came down to him, pretending that they were influenced by his proposals: but the fact was, that they had a view to enfringe, and conquer him by surprize; while Placidus had the same view with regard to them, provided he could but get them into the open field. Notwithstanding they seemed to comply with the reasonableness of his proposals, Placidus was, in the end, more artful than themselves. At length an attack was begun by the Jews, while the forces of Placidus retreated, as if intimidated: the Jews pursued them, and in the chase dispersed themselves all over the plain. At this juncture, Placidus turning suddenly on them, killed several, and dispersed the rest: but not one of them got back to the mountain. Some of the inhabitants of Itabyr fled to Jerusalem; after which the natives surrendered the place to Placidus, and gave security for their peaceable conduct.

Gamala destroyed. The people terrified by the fall of a tower. Titus enters the town. Vespasian attacks the castle. His troops put the people to the sword.

By this time the inhabitants of Gamala were glad to secrete themselves; people of the middle rank were flarving; yet the troops still persisted to defend the place till the twenty-second of the month Hyperberetæus, on the night of which three soldiers, of the fifteenth legion, secretly retired to the foot of the highest tower near their quarter of the town, and undermined it so privately that the guards knew nothing of what passed. Having rolled five large stones from the foundation, they instantly retreated. The tower suddenly

* Otherwise called Tabor.
At a certain time, and while the alarm and uproar in the city was as great as if the whole Roman army had taken possession of the place. At this time Charles was in a bad state of health; and the above-mentioned circumstance so affected him that it was thought it shortened his life.

The Romans were now induced to think of entering the town; but they had suffered so much in their late attempt, that they waited for some time, undetermined how to act. In the interim Titus arrived; and was, so mortified at the disaster which the Romans had met with during his absence, that he immediately selected two hundred of his prime cavalry, and a body of infantry, and marched quietly into the city unopposed. An alarm of this proceeding being given by the watchmen, the news of it was instantly spread through the place; and was no sooner known than the citizens fled in the utmost confusion to the castle, taking their wives and children with them, and crying and exclaiming as if they were distracted. The soldiers under Titus destroyed some of them; while others, who could not get into the castle, strolled about, heedless whither they went, till they fell into the hands of the Roman guards. In a word, the streets flowed with blood; nothing was to be heard but the groans of the wounded, and nothing seen but death in its most horrid forms.

Vespasian's business now was to attack the castle, and for this purpose his whole army was drawn towards that spot. This castle was situated on the point of a rock, remarkably high and steep, surrounded by a number of precipices and crags, and almost inaccessible. This being its situation, the Romans could neither reach the Jews from below, nor avoid the stones and shot with which they were assaulted from above. But at this juncture Providence seemed to determine in favour of the Romans, and decree the destruction of the Jews; for a violent wind arose, which drove the Roman arrows directly upon the Jews, and prevented their reaching the Romans, or blew them wide of the mark. This gulf of wind was likewise so strong, that the besieged were unable to make their defence, or even to see the enemies with whom they had to contend. These advantages in favour of the Romans were so great, that they soon became masters of the mountain, which they instantly surrounded, and in resentment of their former unsuccessful attack, they put to the sword all who fell in their way, the unresisting, as well as their immediate opponents. Some were so driven to despair by the horror of their situation, that they threw themselves, with their wives and children, down the precipice from the castle; and in this way about five thousand perished, while only four thousand were slain; so that a greater number of the Jews were sacrificed to their own fears than were destroyed by the Romans. The latter, however, in the fury of their rage, threw the very infants down the rocks; nor shewed mercy to a single person they seized, except the two daughters of the sister of Philip, the friend of Joakim, a man of distinction, and heretofore one of Agrippa's generals. But in fact, these sisters owed their escape rather
rather to their good fortune in remaining concealed till the fury of the carnage was over, than to any intentional kindnefs on the part of the Romans. It was on the twenty-fourth of the month Gorpiæus that the rebellion of Gamala commenced; and on the twenty-third of the month Hyperberetæus the conquest was absolutely compleated.

C H A P. IV.

Titus takes Gischala. The people disposed to peace, but seduced by an impositor. The city of Jerusalem strong and populous. Vespasian provides for all contingencies. The benevolence of Titus, who offers peace. The conditions apparently accepted by John of Gischala. John effects his escape by night. Gischala surrenders to Titus, by which the conquest of Galilee is compleated.

Gischala alone, of the whole province of Gamala, now remained unsubdued. The people in general were disposed to peace; most of them being husbandmen, and depending on their plantations: yet there were some among them of an abandoned disposition, who subsisted principally by theft; and even of the citizens of the best rank there were some of a libertine turn of mind. The principal of these, who chiefly perverted the people, was an impositor, named John, a man of equal wickedness and subtility; of an unsteady, yet ambitious disposition; skilful in the promotion of his artful schemes, devoid of all honor, and fond of promoting disturbances for the advancement of his own interest. He was the son of one Levi, and the common head of the mob. But for his artifices, it is very probable that the people would have sent deputies to treat of an alliance; but they were prevailed on by him to defer taking this step till after the war should be commenced.

At this period Vespasian sent Titus to Gischala with a thousand cavalry; the tenth legion he dispatched to Scythopolis, and returned himself to Caesarea with the other two legions, proposing there to rest and refresh them, that they might be enabled to undertake some future arduous enterprise. Vespasian was aware that the city of Jerusalem would afford him ample employment, not only as it was the capital, and equally populous and powerful, but as it was a customary place of refuge for discontented fugitives from other places; a nursery for bold and desperate men; strong from the nature of its situation, and surrounded by mighty walls; so that, on the whole, it seemed to be almost impregnable. Vespasian reflecting on all these circumstances, exercised his soldiers in the most perfect manner in all the seats of arms, keeping them in spirits to make a vigorous effort on occasion.

Titus riding towards Gischala, took a survey of the place, and finding it was ill calculated to stand an assault; he reflected at the same time, that if ever the soldiers should take it by storm, they would undoubtedly treat the inhabitants as they had done those of Gamala, confounding the innocent with the guilty: wherefore, from a kind regard to the welfare of the people, and in abhorrence of the cruelties that had been practised, he reflected if it might not be possible to possess himself of the place by treaty. At this time the walls were covered with soldiers, and the principal part of the inhabitants of the province...
town being of a rebellious disposition, Titus called out to them, and ad-
dressed them in the following manner: "It is a matter of astonishment to
me, that you should think of making any resistance, after all the rest of
your towns are subdued, places better manned and more strongly fortified
than yours, taken without the least difficulty, and many of them on the
first assault: and I rather wonder at this conduct, since, on a return to your
duty, you may yet remain in safety, happiness, and freedom. All these
blessings I freely promise you, and that your past faults shall be absolutely
forgiven, and attributed to a too zealous attachment to liberty. But if
you refuse thus to consult your own interest, and disdain to rely on the
faith of the Romans; if, I say, you absolutely determine to rush precipi-
tately on certain destruction, by endeavouring to compass impossibilities,
you must expect to experience the full weight of the Roman power and
resentment: and you will be soon convinced how readily your walls will
down before our engines: so that, of all the Galileans, you will become
the most absolute slaves."

No reply was made to this from the town, nor even one of the inhabitants
permitted to come to the wall: for the rebel party was so strong as to over-
rule every thing: they therefore placed guards at all the gates, to see that no
one should pass, to carry on a treaty of reconciliation. At length, John, in
the name of the people, called out to Titus, intimating that he would accept
the conditions, and that the inhabitants of the town should also agree to them,
or he would compel them to it: but he earnestly besought him to postpone
the ratification of the treaty, on account of the rigidness of the Jewish law
with respect to the observance of the sabbath; as this law would no more per-
mit them to treat of peace, than to fight, on that day. He represented that
the Jews complying on that day, or the Romans forcing them to a compliance,
would be acts equally unwarrantable. He said that there could not possibly
be any danger in the delay, since, if it was apprehended that any man would
attempt to make his escape in the night, it would be an easy matter to prevent
this by stationing guards at all the avenues. John farther infinuated that Ti-
tus, by shewing himself as regardful of the Jewish laws as those people them-
selves were, and that he respected their consciences as well as their persons,
would acquire great reputation to himself, as he would confer a favour which
they did not expect.

In this artful address to Titus, John was rather influenced by a concern for
his own personal safety, than by any veneration for the sabbath: for he had no
doubt but he should be given up on the surrender of the town; wherefore all
his dependance for saving his life was on making his escape in the night. In
the end, however, it appeared that John's preservation was an act of Provi-
dence towards the destruction of Jerusalem; since it not only gave occasion to
the truce, but likewise caused Titus to encamp at a greater distance from the
city, at a place called Cydeca, which was remarkably strong and populous,
and the inhabitants of which were mortal foes to the Galileans.

No guards being placed round the town, and the night being somewhat advanced,
John seized the opportunity, and made his escape to Jerusalem, taking
with him his military train, together with a number of creditable people

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of the town, and their families. Many of those who departed were terrified at this resolution. The old men, women and children, with difficulty kept pace with their leader for the space of twenty furlongs; but were then so fatigued as to be unable to continue the journey: wherefore they burst into tears and lamentations; still, however, striving to reach those who had gone forward; and the farther their friends advanced, the more they dreaded their enemies, and were in momentary expectation of being made prisoners. The very sound of their own feet they dreaded as those of their pursuers, and continually looking back, mistook their friends for their foes. Thus terrified beyond description, they fell over each other, and the road was strewed with the bodies of women and children, who were pressed to death in the attempt to get forwards. Many unhappy wretches were now perpetually calling out to their husbands and friends to wait for them. On the contrary John called to them to save themselves by flight, and to seek refuge in some place, where they might oppose the power of the Romans, in case farther attempts should be made. John’s advice having great weight with it, the people shifted for themselves in the best manner they were able.

The morning being now come, Titus advanced to the walls of the town, with a view to ratify the intended treaty. On his arrival he found the gates thrown open, and the men and women of the place equally ready to receive him with shouts of joy, and acknowledge him as their preferver. They now informed him that John had made his escape; besought him to have mercy on the innocent, and to execute the most rigid justice on such of those who should be found in the town, as might be discovered to be the promoters of the revolt. They likewise requested him to send a party of horse after John; which he complied with; but he was got into Jerusalem before they could come up with him. This party flew about two thousand of John’s adherents, and brought back almost three thousand women and children, whom they found dispersed in different parts of the road.

The escape of this impostor afforded matter of vexation to Titus, who was concerned that the people of the town had not punished him in an exemplary manner while he was within their reach. But when he came to reflect on the advantage of taking the town, the number slain, and the prisoners that had been made, he struck the balance in his own mind, thought he was well requited for the escape of such a villain, and entered the town with pacific sentiments towards the people. His soldiers broke off a piece of the wall, as a ceremony by which he took a formal possession of the place; and he reduced the insurgents not so much by actual punishments as by threatenings: for Titus thought that in a place where there were so many family contentions, and so much of pique and passion, it would be very imprudent to punish all who might be charged with crimes, lest he should involve the innocent with the guilty, and subject those to criminal charges, who might not have merited them: he therefore conceived that it would be more consistent with the laws of honor and humanity, to spare the lives of some of the guilty, than to run the hazard of punishing the innocent: since it would be impossible to make an atonement to the latter; whereas the former might live to amend; either
from the impulse of virtue, the sense of shame, or the fear of future punishment.

Finally, Titus placed a garrison in the town, partly with a view to secure the peace of the province, and partly to keep in subjection those of a turbulent spirit. After all the expense of blood and the labor that had attended the conquest of Galilee, it was completed by this action.

C H A P. V.

The arrival of John of Gischala at Jerusalem, where his partizans tell a false tale. The Jews terrified. John animates the people to prosecute the war. The commencement and progress of the quarrel. The ravages of the robbers. Another band of thieves, worse than the former. High-priests made and deposed at pleasure. Ananus opposes them. The insurgents retire to the temple. The party headed by Gorion and Simeon. The conduct of Jesus and Ananus. The people call themselves Zelotes, and the meaning of that word. Ananus argues the case. The Romans more favourable to the Jews than the Zelotes. A combat in the temple. A full account of John of Gischala.

When John and his followers arrived at Jerusalem, the people crowded about them in immense numbers, to learn the state of affairs, and desired to know even the worst news. John and his associates having been so hurried in their flight by fear as to be almost unable to speak, that circumstance might have been an answer to the questions: but the party kept up their spirits, and pretended they had not fled from the Romans; but retired voluntarily, to choose a spot where they might engage on more equal terms. They said fools and madmen only would destroy themselves by seeking to defend Gischala, and such paltry places, while the metropolis itself was endangered, and every man of courage was bound in honour to protect it. John and his companions concealed their disgrace in the best manner they could; but the people saw that their honorable retreat was an absolute flight. The inhabitants were so dismayed at this discovery, and the report of the prisoners who had been taken by the Romans, that they considered the conquest of Gischala as a prelude to that of Jerusalem. In the interim, however, John, regardless of the fate of the wretches he had abandoned on the road, went about among the people, whom he animated to prosecute the war; reflecting on the Romans, and speaking highly of their own merits; by which he gained on the affections of the vulgar: "What, (said he) can you imagine that when the Roman power has been so baffled by two or three trifling towns in Galilee, which they found it so difficult to conquer, that they will ever be able to make a conquest of Jerusalem?" This had a great effect on the young men of violent passions; but persons of reflection and experience looked on themselves as in a ruined situation.

Thus unfortunately were things situated at Jerusalem: but the country people promoted a sedition which had its effect in the city. Titus was now gone from Gischala to Caesarea; and Vespasian went from Caesarea to Jannia, and
and Azotus, both which places he subdued, and having left garrisons in them, returned with an immense number of people, who came over to the Romans. Intensive broils and tumults now prevailed in all the cities. The Jews, at peace with the Romans, began to quarrel with each other; and the subjects of war and peace afforded matter of continual contention. Private families, who had long been at variance on account of hereditary disputes, commenced this quarrel, which soon spread itself among the people at large, who from friends became enemies; till at length all was uproar and confusion: persons of one sentiment opposed those of a different, till the disorder was worked up to a rebellion. The contagion became general. The young, the violent, the tumultuous were fully bent on arms: while people of sense and reflection advised more moderate proceedings: but the sentiments of the former prevailed.

In consequence of this general confusion the people began to rob each other, regardless of conscientious or legal obligations. They then divided themselves into distinct bodies, and robbed in the most open manner through the country; and in this proceeding the Jews behaved in as cruel a manner to each other as the Romans had ever treated them; a circumstance aggravated by the consideration that injuries from friends are less tolerable than from enemies.

The garrisons gave themselves no concern for the sufferings of the people, whom they hated; and at length some of the leading men of the faction repaired to Jerusalem with a large body of people whom they had collected in different places. At this time there was no kind of regular government in the city, so that no opposition was made to the infurgents; besides it had been an ancient custom that the gates should be open to all Jews indiscriminately: and this rule was particularly observed at present, when all who entered were supposed to be friends. This general liberty proved the ruin of the city: for such amazing numbers of the idle and uselefs devoured those provisions that had been kept in store for the use of the soldiers that guarded the place; so that, in fact, to the calamities of war were superadded those of sedition and famine.

At this period another body of thieves arrived from the country, who were worse than the former; and these, uniting with those whom they found in the town, behaved in the most barbarous manner. They robbed and plundered in open day-light, and committed murder, not secretly by night, and on the persons of the obscure; but in the face of the sun, and on the most eminent of the citizens. One of their first exploits was to imprison Antipas, a man related to the royal family, whose credit and authority was such that the treasury was committed to his care. They afterwards treated in the same manner Levias, Sophas, the son of Raguel, and such other persons of distinction as they could get into their power. This conduct made every one consult his own safety, while the city appeared as if in the hands of a common enemy.

Nor did these abandoned people stop when they had proceeded thus far: but finding their prisoners were men of authority, rank and influence, they thought that danger might attend the detaining them in custody; since, thus provoked,
provoked, their friends, or the people in general, might seek to rescue them: and hereupon they proceeded to pass a formal sentence of death on them; and sent one John, the son of Dorcas, an abandoned miscreant of their own body, attended by ten other villains, to execute the sentence, which accordingly took place. To palliate this horrid crime, they caused it to be reported that these people had conspired to deliver the city to the Romans; and assumed to themselves the honor of having done a public service, in the infliction of justice on those who would have betrayed the public liberty.

By this time the people were so dispirited, and the factious multitude became so insolent, that they assumed to themselves the disposal of the office of high-priest, which they removed from the lineal succession, advancing to this dignity one of their own associates, who was equally unqualified for the station by the obscurity of his birth, and his want of virtue. Thus, by chusing ministers like themselves, they gave a criminal uniformity to the government; being assured that the unjust commands of corrupt masters would be readily obeyed by abandoned servants.

During this period the most calumnious stories were invented and propagated, to foment dissensions among those who might otherwise have opposed their designs, and thus to take advantage of the public discontent. At length, when they had gratified themselves even to satiety with the insults offered to their fellow-creatures, they began to offer affronts even to the Deity himself, by an opposition to his holy laws and sanctuary: but in this they were opposed by Ananus, the high-priest, a person equally respectable for his character, his age, his wisdom, and his piety. Ananus prevailed on the people to counteract their proceedings; and he would, in all probability, have preferred the city, if he could have escaped the consequence of a conspiracy that was formed against him.

The temple being now taken possession of by the insurgents, they used it equally as the seat of their tyranny, and as a place of defence against the people. It was now that they took upon them to elect a high-priest by lot, pretending that this had been the custom of former ages: but in fact, no such precedent had ever been known; for the office of high-priest being originally vested in a particular family, it had descended from heir to heir successively. However, the truth is, that this was a contrivance of these people, founded in selfishness, that they might have the government in their own hands: but the plan did not answer their expectations: for, in order to make the proposed choice, they summoned one of the holy tribes (named Nia-cim), when the lot fell on a man, whose incapacity proved the absurdity of that mode of election. This man was Phanes, the son of Samuel, born in the village of Aphetas. He was totally unacquainted with the office of high-priest, bore no relation to the facetious family, and was ignorant in the highest degree. Notwithstanding these impediments, he was taken, against his inclination, from his rustic employments, drest in the robes of the priesthood, and instructed how to conduct himself, as if he had been receiving a lesson for the stage; the whole solemn business being turned to ridicule. The priests, grieved and astonished at this procedure, were spectators of the insult offered to their laws, their worship, and profession, and they ex-
pressed their sentiments by reiterated groans and tears: but the people were
so enraged at the idea of this insult, that they arose as one man, with a
determined resolution to counteract their oppressors, and not to submit any
longer to so infamous a slavery.

Among the most eager to promote this public spirit, were Gorion, the son
of Joseph, and Simeon, the son of Gamaliel, who went among the people,
separately encouraging them to revenge the affront, and assert their liberties;
and zealously unite to vindicate their religion, laws and freedom, against ene-
mies who had conducted themselves in so sacrilegious and profane a manner.

Ananus, the son of Ananus, and Jesus, the son of Gamala, two priests of
distinguished virtue and piety, were likewise very zealous in their discourses
to the people, reproaching them with cowardice and sloth, exhorting them to
vigilance, and inflaming their minds against the Zelotes. These people I
distinguished by this name, because they afterwards appropriated it to themselves,
on pretence of their superior sanctity; though, in fact, of all men breathing,
they lived the most lewd and abandoned lives. By this time the people were
assembled together, and inflamed with the utmost rage, to behold the destruc-
tion that the insurgents had made in the sacred places; and that they still
continued in the uncontrolled practice of plundering and murder.

Yet notwithstanding all this justly excited indignation, no attack was
made; for the people were sensible that they were not yet in a condition to en-
counter the force of the Zelotes. At this time Ananus, the high-priest, be-
ing in the midst of the crowd, cast his weeping eyes towards the temple, with
looks of inexpressible concern; and then addresed the people to the following
purport: "Wretched am I to have thus lived to see the house of God pro-
faned and polluted, and the most impious of men taking possession of those
holy, privileged places, which have been hitherto appropriated to the
high-priest only! Wherefore am I a spectator of this misfortune; and at-
tired, too, in my sacred vestments, with the name of the immortal God
imprinted on my countenance? Why should I seek a longer life, when so
noble an opportunity offers of ending my days with glory? In my situation
what have I to do but to fall fingly, yielding my life as a sacrifice to God
and my duty? Wherefore should any man be covetous of life, at a time of
general insensibility, and when the spirit to resist calamities, only follows
the want of prudence to foresee them? You now stand peaceably to see
yourselves assaulted, injured and robbed; and to behold the murder of
your friends and associates, without a single effort to assent them, or even
speak one word in their behalf. The present tyranny is equally dis-
graceful and insupportable: but wherefore should I speak of those who
take part in this tyranny, rather than those who permit it, and who have
encouraged the tyrants to proceed to the extremities they have already
done? Why did you not crush them when it was in your power; when
their numbers were few, and their force proportionally weak? In fact, it
was your pusillanimity that enabled these people to again the ascendancy
over you: for at the time you should have been united against your enemies,
you were engaged in intestine feuds with each other. You ought early to
have chastised them for the insults they offered to your brethren. You
"should
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...should have reflected that submission to one insult naturally gives encouragement to another; as was evident from what happened: for when they found that you submitted to their insolvencies, they proceeded farther; put several of your principal citizens in chains, and imprisoned them, not only without a legal sentence, but even without an accusation against them. Neither their names nor rank were enquired into, and the whole was transacted without a single person appearing in their favour. Thus they lost their estates and liberty; and their lives were to become the next sacrifice; and, in fine, they were led out like beasts doomed to slaughter, and their throats cut in our presence, while no one exerted himself, or even spoke a word in their favour. These calamities having rapidly succeeded one another, can you now stand tamely by, and behold your sacred altars profaned, and your religion ridiculed, without evincing a manly resentment? Can you be afraid of those abandoned wretches, those enemies of all that is good, whose power results but from your own inactivity? If they commit no more depredations, it is not for want of inclination to every kind of wickedness; but because they have no farther opportunity; for the violent they have already been guilty of cannot possibly be exceeded. You are wilful to their possession of the strongest place in the city, and that they make use of your temple as a castle to defend themselves against you. Now in what manner do you propose to act, reflecting that your enemies occupy this place, of the strength of which you are not unacquainted? What is the true way to expect from the present situation of affairs? You may possibly suppose that the Romans will vindicate your ceremonies, and protect your religion; for, in fact, such is our present abject situation, that we are objects of pity even to our enemies! If a number of beasts were in the condition that you are, hunted, assaulted, wounded, they would not fail of courage to turn on the enemy, and revenge the insults offered them: while you, less sensible than the brutes, patiently submit to all indignities. But will you continue always thus tame? For ever bear the infamous insults that are offered you, both in public and private, without seeking the glorious means of revenge? A conduct so pusillanimous seems to intimate that you have lost all sense of that first and best sentiment of the human heart, the love of liberty: and as if, on the contrary, you had adopted in the place of it, an attachment to slavery. This latter disposition, however, I am certain you could not derive from your ancestors; as is evident by the numerous and glorious wars in which they engaged, in vindication of their freedom, against the Medes and Persians. But it is unnecessary that I should refer to former times for instances to illustrate what I say; since our present war against the Romans, whatever may be the issue of it, is undertaken upon the same liberal principles. Is this then a time for us to submit to slavery to our own countrymen, while we are contending for our liberties with the masters of the world? When persons are conquered in battle by strangers, no imputation lies against them; their honor is untainted, and the misfortune is attributed to the chance of war: but for any people to surrender themselves in abject submission to their own countrymen, and to the most abandoned of them likewise, ar-
gues a tameness of spirit, and servility of soul, that seems to intimate
that they are proper objects of slavery.

"As I have mentioned the Romans, it may not be improper to add what
occurs to me on this occasion. Let us suppose (which God forbid), that
we were at this time actually prisoners to the Romans, could our situation
be more deplorable than it is at present? Are not the sufferings we have
endured equal to any that an enemy could inflict on us? Can any person
patiently behold the Jews robbing the temple of those gifts and oblations
it has derived from the bounty of the Romans? View them despoiling the
noblest city in the world, andembracing their hands in the blood of those
gallant men, whom the Romans themselves, even when flushed with vict-
ory, would have held in high esteem. I ask if any man can behold this
without a mournful heart, and weeping eyes? The Romans have always
acted conscientiously in the distinction between things sacred and profane:
they never encroached on Divine solemnities, or cast a look towards the
Holy place, but at a distance, and in a reverential manner. Yet we have
among ourselves a kind of people, educated according to our own customs,
and bearing the name of Jews, who walk without scruple in the temple, as
in a vulgar place; and this immediately after having committed murder
on their fellow-citizens. While things are thus situated, who will dread a
foreign war, compared with such a domestic one? To speak in plain
terms, those we called our enemies are our friends; for our pretended
friends have destroyed those very laws which the Romans were zealous to
preserve. It is an indubitable fact that the insurgents have betrayed your
liberties, and that no punishment you can inflict can be equal to their de-
merits. In mentioning this I say no more than you are already acquainted
with; and the sense of what you have suffered should sufficiently incite you
gainst the offenders. But perhaps the advantageous situation your oppo-
nents have gained, their great numbers, and the spirit by which they ap-
ppear animated, have repri sediment your ardour. Let me ask what it has been
buty our own pusillanimity that has given them these advantages? And you
have no other method of proceeding but to confererate together speedily
and heartily, to reduce them to their former situation: since any delay will
tend only to increase their numbers, inspire them with fresh courage, and
enable them to adjust their plan. Thus the whole faction will combine
together: and the longer you defer any opposition to them, the more
strongly they will intrench and fortify themselves. All then that you have
to do is to make one vigorous exertion, to appall your enemies; for you
will find that the infamy of their baseness, and the terrors of their guilty
consequences, will combine to render their situation very disagreeable.

Who knows but that the just judgment of an avenging God, may destroy
these impious wretches, who have thus contemned his Divine majesty?
And that the lances they shoot towards us, may, by a Divine miracle, be
turned against themselves, so that they will not be able to look on us but
with terror and dismay? Or allowing for the worst consequences that can
possibly ensue; suppose every man of us should perish in the attempt, can
we wish for a more distinguished fate than to fall before the gates of the
"temple,
“temple, fighting for the honor of our God, and in defence of his holy edifice? I have only to add that my head, my heart, and my hands shall assist your laudable endeavours.”

The people were sufficiently inflamed against the Zelotes by this address: but Ananus considering the number of the enemy, their select men, and their courage; and reflecting on the strength and situation of the place in which they were, had but little hope of success from the consequence of his speech: yet rather than abandon his country in the moment of distress, he was determined to run all risks; while the people, defying every idea of danger, were only anxious for some one to lead them to the attack.

While the people were in this disposition, Ananus selected the best men from among them, and formed them into as good order as the time would admit. The Zelotes had spies to watch the conduct of Ananus; and being informed of his intentions, they began to advance towards him, sometimes in smaller, and sometimes in larger bodies; nor did they spare any one who fell into their hands. Ananus's men were soon formed, and were more numerous than their opponents: but the Zelotes were better supplied with arms: however, courage and good-will compensated for what was wanted by the opposite party; and at the same time the Zelotes were equally inflamed. The inhabitants saw that safety confined only in clearing the city of their enemies; who were convinced that they must either conquer or die. With these sentiments on both sides they began a skirmish near the temple, by pelting each other with stones; many fell on each side; those who fled being destroyed by the swords of their enemies. Those of the inhabitants who were wounded were borne off to their own houses by their friends; while the wounded Zelotes were carried into the temple, where their blood defiled the Holy place. In all these excursions the advantage was on the side of the Zelotes.

By this time the people were encreased in number and strength; and were now so enraged against those who attempted to escape by flight, that they constantly blocked up their passage, and obliged them to turn towards the enemy; so that they were compelled to cut their way through, or be slain. Thus every man was under a necessity of fighting; and the insurgents, unable to sustain the shock of this united force, retreated by degrees towards the temple, whither Ananus and his followers pressed furiously after them. The Zelotes having been driven through the first court, their fears induced them to take shelter in the second, where they hastily made fast the gates against those who pursued them. Such was the reverence that Ananus entertained for this Holy place, that he would not attempt to force the passage, though sufficiently irritated by the enemy, who dispatched darts and lances from the top of the building. Still, however, the high-priest was so unwilling to pollute the sacred temple, by an indiscriminate admission of an unpurified multitude, that he would not have permitted it if the event of the cause had depended on it. Wherefore, for the present, he only placed a guard of six thousand select men on the porches of the temple relieving these with another six thousand, and thus alternately; the principal people not being exempted from this duty: only, when their turn came, they were permitted to depute others to officiate for them.
At this time every thing went in favour of the popular party: but John of Gischala, who has been heretofore mentioned, threw all into confusion. This man was artful, false, ambitious, and an old traitor to the public. To obtain his present views, he fought popularity by affecting to be a patriot. He was the most constant daily attendant of Ananus in council, and affiduously careful of the watch and guards in the night. In the mean time he was a spy for the Zelotes, and as he came to the knowledge of all that passed, immediately informed them of the particulars. To disguise his zeal for Ananus and the people more effectually, he pretended the utmost respect for the high-priest, and the men of rank who attended him: but in this he so far over-acted his part, that they began to suspect him; for his flatteries were too gross, and his conduct seemed to exceed the bounds of reason. Their suspicions were encreased by his still intruding himself, unwated, into their counsels. Ananus discovered that his secrets were developed, and he supposed that John was the betrayer: but so artfully did this villain conduct himself; and so far had he obtained the good opinion of several men of eminence, that it was in vain to think of removing him from his station: wherefore the readiest method that could be devised, was to administer to him an oath of secrecy and fidelity, purporting that he should keep the counsels of the people, and on their behalf, oppose the rebels to his utmost power. John did not in the least hesitate to take this oath, nor were Ananus and his friends backward in crediting what he swore: wherefore they instantly admitted him into their counsels, and soon afterwards sent him to the Zelotes, to offer terms of peace. Their greatest fear was that the temple would be defiled with the blood of the Jews, and the blame thereof attributed to them.

The impostor went to the Zelotes with a story quite different from the purport of his commission, telling them that the oath he had taken was in their favor, instead of the contrary: and he then address'd them in the following manner: “Great has been the hazard that I have encountered in consulting your welfare; by giving you information of the plots and contrivances of Ananus and his party to your prejudice: but the present danger both of you and myself is greater than any former, except it should be diverted by the interposition of Providence: for the people have been induced by Ananus to send deputies to Vespasian, requesting he will instantly come and take possession of the city; and he hath directed the people to purify themselves, that, under a pretence of religion, they may by some means get into the town. I cannot conceive how, in their situation, they should long hold out against such an amazing number of men: but Providence hath so directed affairs, that I am deputed to make a proposa! of peace to you. This, however, is no other than a contrivance of Ananus to amuse you, till you may be attacked by surprise when you imagine yourselves in the greatest security. With regard to your present conduct, I cannot see any choice that you have, but either to submit yourselves to the besiegers, or to call in the aid of foreigners to relieve you: for, if you should be made prisoners, however penitent you may appear, the very remembrance of what is past will exclude you from all hope of mercy; besides, criminals sometimes become worse after seeming penitence; and the more securely re-
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"venge may be taken, the more it is thirsted after. I wish you to reflect on" what treatment you must expect from those whose relations and friends
"you have killed; and from an enraged populace, who resent the abo-
cision of their laws and customs. There may possibly be a few indi-
viduals who may retain some sense of humanity; but what weight can
"these have in opposition to a licentious rabble?" The people were alarmed by
this harangue, which answered the view of the speaker. With regard to
the foreign force he mentioned, he referred to the Idumæans; but he was a-
fraid to lay as much in direct language. When his speech was ended he
took some of the principal people aside, to whom he mentioned the cruelty of
Ananus, and intimated that he had particular enmity to their persons.

C H A P. VI.

The Zelotes apply to the Idumæans for aid; and an army of near twenty thousand men
goes to their relief. The reasoning and proposals of Jesus to the Idumæans. Simon,
the son of Cathlas, addresses the high-priest. The siege determined on by the Idu-
means.

The two most capable men in the council of the Zelotes, and those
deemed best qualified for advice or execution, were Eleazar, the son
of Simon, and Zachary, the son of Amphibalus, who were both of them
of the line of the priesthood. Now these men had no doubt that their own
lives were particularly threatened, exclusive of the general menaces; and
they credited the story of John, that Ananus and his people had called in the
assistance of the Romans. Thus situated, they knew not how to act; fearful
left the people would wreak their vengeance on themselves. With regard to
foreign aid, they feared it could not be expected time enough to prevent the
plot; thinking that the blow would be struck before notice of their distress
could be given to their allies. In the end, however, they determined to apply
to the Idumæans, to whom they wrote to the following purport: "Un-
derstanding that the people have been seduced by Ananus, who hath
formed a plan to betray Jerusalem to the Romans, we have, in support of
our common liberty, retreated to the temple, in which we are besieged;
and, unless immediately relieved, likely to become prisoners to Ananus,
and our other enemies; and the city itself to fall into the hands of the
Romans."

The persons who were commissioned to deliver this letter, had likewise ver-
bal instructions to the principal people of the nation. These ambassadors
were both of the name of Ananias; men distinguished by their resolution,
good address, and being adepts in the arts of persuasion; but, above all, ce-
lebrated for their expedient manner of transacting business. They did not
entertain the least doubt but that the Idumæans would be fond of affording
their assistance; as they were a people devoted to changes and dissensions, of
a quarrelsome and brutal disposition; and as readily disposed to go to war as
other persons would to a feast. No time was now to be lost, and the messen-
gers exerted themselves in the most effectual manner.

When
When they had delivered their dispatches to the governors of Idumæa, their letters had been read, and their instructions made known, the people were transported almost out of their senses through their zeal for war; inciting each other to take up arms; so that in a very short space of time near twenty thousand men were raised for the relief of Jerusalem, under the command of Phineas, the son of Cluloth, Simon, the son of Cathlas, and John and James, the sons of Sofas.

The high-priest Ananus, and his followers, were unacquainted with the above-mentioned messengers having been sent by the Zealотes; but being soon informed of the Idumæan expedition, Ananus directed that the gates should be made fast, and the walls guarded: but no offensive measures taken, till reason and argument had been exerted for adjusting the dispute: wherefore Jesus, the priest in rank next to Ananus, ascended a tower opposite the Idumæan army, and spoke in the following manner:

"It is matter of astonishment to me, that, beyond all the misfortunes that have happened to this distinguished city, fortune should conspire its destruction through the most abandoned of people. It is amazing that you should combine with a band of miscreants to seek our destruction; with more zeal than would have become you even against barbarians, if Jerusalem itself had demanded your assistance. If your sentiments coincide with those of your superiors, it will occur to you that similitude of manners tends to conciliate affection: but this is not the case with you and the people I speak of. Reflect on their conduct, and you will find that an ignominious death ought to be the reward of every man of them. With regard to their rank, they are the meanest of the human race. Their behaviour is such, that having dissipated their own fortunes in luxury and debauch, they proceeded to acts of violence and plunder; and then, creeping into the city like thieves, they committed sacrilege, and shed blood in the temple: nay, devoid of all shame, their drunken excesses profaned the altar; they polluted the Holy place in every possible manner, in confounding the spoils of those they had murdered. Yet while things are in this distracted situation, your army advances, equipped in as regular a manner as if their aid against a foreign enemy had been demanded by the whole body of the citizens. May I not then well say, that fortune is conspiring the destruction of this city, when I see the body of your nation in league against your brethren? I am equally surprized at the suddenness of your resolution, as at the resolution itself. You must have had great inducement, to abandon your friends, in behalf of these outcasts of society.

But you have been told that we have called in the assistance of the Romans, in order to betray the city to them; and this serves you as a pretext for your asserting the liberties of Jerusalem. False and malicious as the story was, it was adapted to the intended end; for men who esteem liberty so highly as you do, and would do so much to preserve it, could never have been prevailed on by our enemies to act as you have done, unless they had enraged you against us, as the betrayers of those privileges you hold in such high esteem. It will be now worthy your attention to consider what kind of people they are that thus traduce us, and form your opi-
"nion on the whole matter, not from idle surmifes, but from the force of
truth and reafon."

"Is it reafonable to fuppofe that we fhould now own the Romans for our
matters, after having fo long disputed our liberties with them? How hap-
pended it that we firft receded from them; or did not return to their sub-
jeftion before the total deftitution of our lands, cities, and villages? If we
were disposed to a treaty, this is an improper time for it, as our enemies
are too proud to listen to us, owing to their late conquest of Galilee. Be-
sides, it would be a degree of infamy worse even than death itfelf, for us
humbly to fue for peace, as foon as they fhould make their appearance
before our walls. I confefs that I am disposed for peace rather than war:
but, on the contrary, when a war is commenced, and appears inevitable,
I prefer a death of glory to a life of flavery."

"I would ask what you think of our fending to the Romans? Have the
ring-leaders privately deputed particular perfons of their own families or
friends on this businefs? Or do you think it was the general act of the
people? If a commiffion of this kind was granted, why are the commiffi-
ioners names a fecret? Can any letters be produced, or have any meffen-
gers been fen, repecting this businefs? How happens it, that of the
thousands daily converfed with in this city, no man has heard of it? And
again, as this fecret has been fo faithfully kept, how comes it to pafs that
it is known only to a few perfons locked up in the temple, and unable to
go without its walls? I own it is extraordinary that this treaflonable pro-
ceeding fhould be unknown till thofe who reported it were in fear that
their own crimes fhould be punifhed. It could not have been an act of the
people, unlefs a general afSEMBLY had paffed the vote, and nothing could
have kept this a fecret fo long. Wherefore fhould a deputation be lent, if
every thing was previously resolved on? If it had, as I before faid, our
enemies fhould have mentioned the commiffioners: but the whole of the
flory is a mere artifice, to fave themfelves. If our city muft at length fall
by treachery, it will probably be by that of thofe of our accusers, who
fek to complete the meafure of their iniquities, by adding treafon to mur-
der, sacrilege, and all other crimes."

"Now, since you are arrived, and in arms, you cannot act a wifer part
than to affift us in the relief of the city, by the extirpation of these mon-
fers of tyranny, who have trampled on our laws, produced tumults and
violence, chained and imprifoned our governors like common flavcs, and
doomed them to death without offending; without any pretence of their
committing a crime; and without admitting any argument in their favour.
Of all this you may be witnefles, if you will enter the city as friends, and
believe the evidences of your fenfes. You may behold houses stripped,
and the citizens lamenting their murdered friends and relations: you will
hear univerfal cries and lamentations, and find that every one shares the
general diftreffs."

"Our oppreflors, having firft committed robberies and outrages in the
country-towns and villages, brought home the devafation to the parent-
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city,
city, the pride of our nation: and hence their violences have entered even the temple, which is become the seat of war. From this holy place they make fallies, and thither they return. There also they keep guard, and deposit their military forces. Thus it is that these abandoned miscreants (unhappily of our own race too) dishonour, insult, and profane the habitation of the most high God, which is held in veneration throughout the world, except among our own people. These are still fond of civil contentions; and are never more happy than when they are promoting differences between cities and nations; and forcing all things into confusion.

Now the most rational, decent, and upright part you can take, would be, (as I before hinted) to proceed, in conjunction with us, to extirpate these incendiaries from our nation, and to avenge yourselves of them for the insult they have offered you, by inviting you to affit them; whereas they ought to have dreaded, from your sense of justice, that vengeance due to their inimical proceedings. If you think it would appear more decent and respectful to pay some attention to their request, I wish you to enter the city in the character of friends, deposit your arms at the gates, appear to take a neutral part, hear the cause without prejudice, and judge of its merits. However, for people guilty of so many crimes; aggravated by the murder of so many persons of rank, without even the form of trial; it will be an indulgent condescension on your part to listen to their defence; and they ought to acknowledge the obligation they have to your kindness. But if you decline either to join with us in a just cause, or to execute the office of judges between us, I beseech you to withdraw yourselves, and neither take part with the traitors against your principal city, nor insult honest men in the hour of their affliction. If you are not by this time perfectly convinced of our innocence regarding any secret correspondence with the Romans, I advise you to send out spies to watch all our avenues; and if you find but a single person thus engaged, spare neither him nor his employers. In the mean time no danger can arife; for as you are situated, no enemy can interpose to hurt you. If what I have said makes a proper impression, I shall be happy: if otherwise, we shall expect you to lay down your arms before we open the gates of the city.

Their exclusion from the town so enraged the Idumæans, that they paid but little attention to what was said by Jefus; and with regard to laying down their arms, the leaders of the army would not entertain a thought of it, as it would so much have the appearance of being conquered. Hereupon a kind of tumult ensued among the people at large, which was appeased by one of the officers, named Simon, the son of Chalcas, who immediately took his station on an eminence, within the hearing of the high-priest, whom he addressed to the following effect:

"It is no matter of surprize to me to learn that those who have defended the liberties of their country should be thus confined within the temple, when the persons who besiege those patriots have likewise not only shut up the city, which ought to be open to the people at large, but have shewn a disposition to hail the Romans in a triumphant manner. You seem to think that we shall be satisfied with speeches from your towers, advising
us to lay down our arms, which we have assumed in support of the common liberty; and not trust our best friends with the protection of the city. Instead of being admitted to defend the capital, we are amused with proposals of deciding the controverted question; and while you are accusing others with destroying their fellow-citizens, contrary to every rule of right and equity; you hesitate not to pronounce judgment on the whole nation, and to keep your brethren by force out of a city, which, from sentiments of piety and devotion, gives admittance to all the rest of mankind. Is this your mode of acknowledging obligations? Will you say that we have taken part with your enemies, or joined in an expedition against you, when we have hastened to your assistance? In the same degree are those within the temple your enemies; nor have you more to allude against them than against us. Those who would support the commonwealth are at this moment prisoners within the temple; and yet you would affect to amuse us by a pretence that it is to avoid their tyranny that you exclude all other persons from your city; whereas, in fact, you exercise the very tyranny of which you complain. Now no man in possession of his senses can permit so gross an imposition to pass. Nor is barely denying us entry into your city all our complaint; since by this exclusion we are prevented from the exercise of our religious rites. Those besieged within the temple have equal cause of complaint, as they suffer for punishing traitors, whom, for the credit of your association, you dignify with the titles of men of rank and honor. In fact, their whole crime was that they did not attack you first, and thus root out the conspiracy. But as they have been too merciful, it will become us to act with more vigour, for the protection of the house of God, and in support of the rites of our country both within and without the city, and in despite of all opposition. Wherefore we have resolved to carry on the siege, either till you are relieved by the Romans, or return to your duty from a conviction of the evil tendency of your proceedings."

CHAP. VII.

The Idumeans take up their station under the walls of the city. A most violent tempest. The Idumeans defend themselves against the storm by their bucklers. Various conjectures on the prodigies. The Zelotes take council how to preserve their friends. The city entered in the night by the Idumeans, who join the Zelotes. An inhuman massacre ensues. Ananus and Jesus murdered.

The repeated shouts and acclamations of the multitude now evidenced their joy at what had been said. On the contrary, Jesus retired in a most melancholy disposition, not only on account of the obstinacy of the Idumeans, but in consideration that the citizens were now engaged in a double war. The Idumeans themselves were not much more at ease, partly from their anger at being repulsed in this manner, and partly because the strength of the Zelotes bore no comparison to the idea they had formed of it;
it; so that they almost repented their engaging in so difficult an enterprize. But all their scruples were overcome by their disdaining to return as they came, without making a single effort: wherefore they came to a hasty resolution of encamping under the walls of the city, and remaining in their present situation.

On the succeeding night there happened such a shocking tempest of thunder, lightning, wind and rain, and such a dreadful earthquake, that every one was astonished, and dreaded the issue of these portentous prodigies. The Idumæans were equally apprehensive with the inhabitants, that the vengeance of Heaven was awake to punish a war so pernicious to the parent-city. In the mean time Ananus and his associates took it for granted that it was a declaration of Heaven in their favour, and that a victory would ensue, even without a battle. But the issue proved that their conjectures were ill-founded; for what they had foreboded of their enemies fell to their own lot.

In the interim the storm continued to such a degree, that the Idumæans were compelled to press as close as possible to each other, and cover themselves with their bucklers; by which they experienced a temporary relief from its fury. The Zealots, who were under more concern for the Idumæans than themselves, took council together how they might preserve their friends. Those who were instigated by the violence of their passions, recommended the seizing of the city guards; and when they should have succeeded in this business, to force the gates for the entrance of the Idumæans; representing that ill-armed and inexperienced soldiers would be so alarmed by such a surprize, that they would not find it an easy matter to re-assemble; besides, that most of the troops had, at that juncture, taken shelter from the storm. However, they urged, that though the danger might be ever so great, it would not become them to desert their allies, who had so readily granted their assistance.

Those of moderate sentiments opposed this measure; urging that there could be no doubt but that at so dangerous a period, the place was doubly guarded, and the Idumæans more strictly watched from the walls than heretofore: besides, it was known that Ananus kept the soldiers strictly to their duty, by constantly walking his rounds. Indeed this had been the regular practice of Ananus, except on this particular night, when he retired to refresh himself; and this not through negligence; but it appeared as if an over-ruling Providence had directed the destruction of himself and people; for the tempest now encreased, the night was far spent, and the guards were asleep in the gates of the temple.

At this period the Zealotes thought that their business would be accomplished, if they could destroy the bolts and bars of the gates: on which they furnished themselves with saws and other instruments appropriated to the use of the temple, and totally unfastened them: the thunder roaring, and the wind blowing at this time, so that the noise could not be heard by the besiegers. This done, they proceeded privately to those gates of the city nearest the Idumæans, and opened them as they had done the other. At first the Idumæans betook themselves to their arms, thinking Ananus meant to sally out on
on them: but finding their error, they made an immediate ingress into the city, filled with such wrathful ideas, that if they had immediately put their resolutions in force, every one of the citizens might probably have been sacrificed to their rage: but the Zelotes entreated them to consider the situation of their friends in the temple, and not expose to danger those on whose account they had engaged in the enterprise: representing, likewise, that it would be better to begin with the guards than the inhabitants; for if the latter were alarmed, they would rise in immense multitudes, and contest the point so that the proposed end might not be answered. This reasoning had its force with the Idumæans, who immediately went through the city, to the relief of their imprisoned friends in the temple, who waited their arrival with great anxiety. As soon as the Idumæans entered, the Zelotes quitted the interior temple, and united with them in an attack on the guards, numbers of whom were killed while sleeping; but others were alarmed by their exclamations, and the people at large, though in great confusion, had recourse to their arms. At first they imagined it was only a party of the Zelotes, and were animated with the thought of supressing them by their superior numbers: but when they found that multitudes of strangers had poured in upon them, and that the Idumæans had joined the Zelotes, numbers were so discouraged as to quit their arms, and lament their unfortunate situation. However, there were a few gallant youths who had courage to attack the Idumæans, and shield those who were more fearful; while the majority ran from place to place, in all the extravagance of grief, lamenting the supposed destruction of the city. But when it was known that the Idumæans were in possession of the place, not a single man would make another effort. Fruitless exclamations, and piteous wailings prevailed in every street; while the women shrieked aloud for the loss of their protectors: and the violence of the thunder and winds, and the shouts of the Zelotes and Idumæans, rendered these clamorous complainings still more horrible. In the mean time the natural rage and ferocity of the Idumæans were encreased to such a degree, by the idea of their being excluded from the city in such extremity of weather, that they spared no one, whether armed, or kneeling to beg their lives. The pleas of consanguinity and religion were equally made in vain; a speedy death ensued; and such was their situation, that they could neither fight nor fly. Even the fear of death combined with the rage of the enemy to accelerate their fate: for they pressed on each other with such vehemence that it was impossible for any of them to retire; so that their very situation was such that their enemies dealt death among them at every blow. Distracted by their unfortunate position, some of them sought one death to avoid another, and in their despair, threw themselves from a precipice. In a word, the whole temple was surronded with streams of blood: and when day-light came it was judged that eight thousand five hundred persons lay dead on the spot.

However, the inatiate appetite of the Idumæans for blood was by no means appeased; for turning their rage against the city, they plundered all the houses, and sacrificed most of the inhabitants they met with: but they were not so intent on the destruction of the common people, as on wreaking their
vengeance on the high-priests, whom they no sooner found than they beheaded; them, and trampled on their bodies; insulting that of Jesus, on account of the speech he had made from the walls, and that of Ananus, on account of his influence with the people. Nay, to such a height had their impiety arisen, that they denied them the common rites of sepulture. Though the laws of the Jews, from reverence for the deceased, have provided that even crucified criminals should be taken down, and interred before the setting of the sun.

If I were to place the destruction of Jerusalem and the death of Ananus on the same day, I should not be much mistaken in my chronology; for, by the untimely fate of this man, the government lost its best support and hope of security: and the death of the city may be ranked with that of Ananus. Exclusive of his birth, and the dignity of his character, he was held in the highest estimation for his regard to justice, and his personal virtues, among which his humility was remarkably conspicuous. He was distinguished as an affteror of liberty, and a friend of the common-wealth. He consulted not his own interest, but the service of the public; and was, on all proper occasions, a promoter of peace: for he was certain that the Romans were not to be trifled with, and that the safety of the Jews consisted in an amicable agreement with them. In a word, if Ananus had lived, the Romans and Jews would have been friends. He was such a perfect orator as to make the utmost impression on all his auditors. The Zelotes had been already reduced to a state of humiliation by his prowess; and the Jews, under the command of so able a leader, might have been a match for the Romans. He was fortunate in having such a man as Jesus for his associate, who exceeded the merit of other men as much as he fell short of that of Ananus. But it was the will of Heaven that the sacred city should be purged as by fire from its pollutions and abominations: and the destruction of these two distinguished personages was deemed necessary to its preservation. These illustrious men, immediately before their shocking fate, were distinguished by their office of priesthood; were considered as the protectors of the most pure religion in the universe; the favourites of their own people, and of all strangers acquainted with their merit: yet, in a moment, on a reverse of fortune, they were exposed a prey to dogs, or wild beasts; to the grief and astonishment of all good men, who lamented that vice should thus triumph in the depression of virtue.

**End of the Fourth Book.**
THE WARS OF THE JEWS.

BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

The barbarity of the Idumæans and Zeelotes. The destruction of twelve thousand persons. Zachariah charged with treason, acquitted by the court, but afterwards murdered in the temple. History of the occasion of inviting the Idumæans, who dismiss their prisoners, and abandon the city. The murder of Gorion, and Niger of Perea. The vengeance of Heaven imprecated on the tyrants.

The cruel murder of Ananus and Jesus was no sooner effected than the Zeelotes and the Idumæans began to exercise the most horrid barbarities on the common people, whom they destroyed without mercy, as fast as they could seize them: but persons of distinction, and particularly those in full health and vigour, they kept in prison, in the hope that they would purchase their lives, by coming over to their party: but this
this they refused to do, and every man of them died, rather than combine with the traitors. Their death, however, was made additionally dreadful by aggravated torments. When they had been whipped till their bodies were ulcerated, the period of their existence was finished by the sword. Those who were apprehended during the day-time, were crowded into prisons at night; as fast as they died their bodies were thrown out, to make room for other wretched tenants, who were treated with familiar barbarity. The people were so terrified by these horrid proceedings, that they did not even dare to shed a tear, or heave a sigh, for the loss of their friends, nor even to bury their nearest relations. Nay they were afraid even to weep or complain in their own houses or chambers, without first making a diligent search, lest there should be any lifters: since any mark of compassion for the deceased would have been punished with death, so criminal was it deemed to possess the feelings of humanity. Sometimes, indeed, they would throw a handful of earth on a dead body during the night: and a few persons were bold enough to do this during the day-time. No less than twelve thousand persons, of some rank, fell a sacrifice to this rage for persecution.

At length the murderers themselves began to blush at the abandoned manner in which their crimes had been perpetrated: wherefore they erected a kind of mock court of justice, to give their murders the apparent sanction of law. Zachariah, the son of Baruch, was at this time distinguished for his wealth, rank, authority and virtue; for his steady support of, and friendship to, all good men, and his determined enmity to the wicked. Now the Zelotes considered the popularity of this man as a circumstance of so dangerous a kind, that their own safety would depend on his destruction: wherefore they came to a resolution to deprive him of life, or, in other words, to bring him to a trial on a capital charge. Hereupon they caused seventy persons of some distinction to be assembled together, under the denomination of judges, though they had no authority to erect such a tribunal. On the meeting of this pretended court, a formal complaint was made against Zachariah by the Zelotes, who urged that he had been engaged in a treaty with Vespasian, to betray Jerusalem to the Romans. Though there was not even the shadow of a proof to confirm this insinuation, yet the Zelotes insisted that it was founded in fact, and that was sufficient.

Though Zachariah knew himself perfectly innocent of the whole charge, and was so well apprized of the contrivance as to consider his life as already sacrificed; yet, notwithstanding his deplorable situation, he conducted himself with a freedom of spirit, and a composed serenity of mind, perfectly consistent with his character. In the first place he severely reflected on the shameless conduct of his accusers; mentioned the inconsistencies of their calumnious suggestions; briefly exposed the futility of all their objections to his behaviour, and turned their arguments against themselves; exposing, in a regular manner, the progress of their iniquitous proceedings, and occasionally hinting at the unsettled state of public affairs. The Zelotes were so enraged by this magnanimous and intrepid behaviour of Zachariah, that they would undoubtedly have murdered him on the spot, if they had not been restrained by the idea of keeping up the dignity of their court, and their wish to
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to see if the new judges would hazard their own personal safety by a favourable determination on such a point. At length the whole court gave judgment that the prisoner was wholly innocent; every man of the seventy choosing rather to risk his own destruction, than to vote the death of such a person, against every principle of justice. The Zelotes were inflamed to the highest degree of rage by this determination, wondering that the judges should not better understand for what purpose they were assembled. Soon after the verdict of acquittal was passed, two of the most abandoned of the Zelotes attacked Zachariah, and murdered him in the middle of the temple; one of them at the same time exclaiming, “We have now given you a full acquittal, of which you are more certain than you were of the other;” and at the same time they threw the body into the precipice under the temple. On this occasion the lives of the judges were spared; and their punishment consisted in being driven out of the temple, and beaten with the flats of the swords that were otherwise to have destroyed them. Thus they dispersed, to be witnesses of the slavery of the capital city.

The above-mentioned proceedings so disgust the Idumæans that they execrated the moment they came on the expedition; and conferring together on this business, one of the Zelotes gave them private information of the history of the people by whom they were invited. His account of the affair was as follows: “It is true that arms were taken, on the circulation of a report that the high-priests were in treaty with the Romans, to betray the city: but, on enquiry, this was found to be false; on the contrary, that those who pretended to afer our liberties had subverted them, and ought themselves to have been suppressed. However, though you have unhappily, thus far engaged with them in their criminal transactions, it will be now your duty to detach yourselves from so improper a connection with the determined enemies of our country and its laws. Your being kept out of the city gave you pain; but do you not think that the death of Ananus, and so many thousand citizens in one night, affords you all the satisfaction of revenge on those who excluded you? Depend on it, many of your people will live to repent of this transgression. I mention these circumstances only to prove how barbarously your adherents have acted, who could thus behave so inhumanly cruel, even in the presence of their preachers, and commit deeds so base as were never before heard of, in the fight of their allies; by which the ignominy was transferred from the Zelotes to the Idumæans; though, in fact, the latter should have either abandoned them, or prevented the transgression. At present, it is indubitably evident that the story of the conspiracy is merely a calumnious report; and that the advance of the Roman army is founded entirely in imagination: besides the strength of the city would be a bar, if the circumstances were true. As matters are thus situated, your best plan will be to return to the place from which you came, and atone, as far as possible, for the evil things you have done in company of these wicked men, by immediately abandoning them. In the part you have taken, you are thus far to be excused:—that you have not acted so much from your own free will.

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"choice, as from an error into which you have been involuntarily drawn." The Idumæans were so affected by this address, that they immediately gave liberty to near two thousand persons, whom they had put in prison; then quitted the city, and repaired to Simon, of whom we shall speak more hereafter; and from him to their own place of residence.

The inhabitants of the city, and the Zelotes, appeared to be equally surprized by the sudden departure of the Idumæans: but the motives of their surprize were different. The populace, who were unacquainted with the change of sentiments in the Idumæans, assumed fresh courage, in the idea of so happy a deliverance; while the Zelotes prided themselves in the assurance of their superior strength; and reflecting that the awe in which they had been kept by the Idumæans was now no more, thought they might proceed without scruple or restraint: on which they executed all their measures in the most hasty manner. They did not hesitate at any proceeding, however wicked, and completed their projects almost in the moment they conceived them.

The principal part of their rage was directed against men of honor and courage, whom they persecuted with unexampled rigour. The nobles suffered through their envy, and men of a virtuous character through their fear; for while any man of distinguished merit was living, they did not think their own persons in safety. From these pusillanimous motives they destroyed several eminent persons, and among them Gorion, who was a man of birth and character, remarkable for his courage, a protector of the people, and an upholder of liberty, and in fact, this sacred attachment to liberty combined with his other virtues to hasten his destruction. The same unhappy fate likewise attended Niger of Perea, a man distinguished by his bravery and good conduct against the Romans: and when he was dragged along the streets, he exhibited the marks of the wounds he had received in the defence of his country, and triumphed in the sense of his honor. When he was conveyed without the gates, and found his life expiring, he begged, as the last favour, that he might be interred: but even this was refused him; and he was put to death while imprecating the vengeance of Heaven on the tyrants. He wished that the Romans might arrive and avenge his murder; that petulance, famine and sword, might be the portion of his enemies; and that their enormous crimes might be punished by intestine divisions.

And in a short time after this, the righteous decrees of Providence inflicted all the above-mentioned punishments, of which their intestine broils were but the prelude. They began to be at ease with regard to people of rank, on the death of Niger: but yet there was not a single man of common credit with whom they did not seek an occasion of dispute. They put some of them to death on charges of long standing, and which had been almost forgotten. In other instances, where there was no kind of proof against a man, they put him to death from circumstances of mere suspicion. If the accused parties made application to the faction, they were confounded as spies: if they did not, their conduct was interpreted into contempt: but whatever the crime, the punishment was the same; and those possessed of either honor or riches were certain not to escape.
Distractions prevailing among the Jews, the Roman officers urge Vespasian to act with rigour; but he advises more temperate measures. Daily desertion of the Zealites to the Romans. Dreadful persecutions and oppression. An ancient prophecy respecting the destruction of Jerusalem.

The conquest of Jerusalem being an object which the Roman officers considered as of the utmost importance, they thought that a better opportunity of carrying it into execution would never happen than during the present distracted situation of public affairs; wherefore they made application to Vespasian, their general, requesting that they might improve the present occasion, before the Jews should have time to recollect themselves; representing that they would be weary of the present contest, repent of it, or agree among themselves; in either of which cases they should have to renew all their former operations. They farther added that these very factions appeared evidently a singular Providence in behalf of the Romans. To this Vespasian replied as follows: "You seem to possess less of true policy than of bravery; and do not attend so much to the rules of prudence, and the advantage that may be made of the present state of things, as to the idea of making a display of your own courage. For if we were to make a precipitate attack on the city, this circumstance, in all probability, would reconcile the contending friends, and induce them to unite their force, and act against us as a common enemy; whereas they will spend their strength, and waste their numbers, and thus accomplish our business for us, if we have but patience to wait the event. Providence is now acting more effectually for us than we could do for ourselves, by granting us victory without battle, and yielding the Jews a prey to the Romans without trouble or hazard. At this moment the most dreadful of all calamities attends them; they are engaged in a civil war, and cutting each other throats like madmen; and who that is in his senses would interpose with them, and hazard the bearing a part in so bloody a tragedy, when his end may so much more effectually be answered by his remaining a spectator of the scene? The passions of these people are uncommonly violent, and they will destroy each other, rather than remain in security. With regard to those who think it inglorious to obtain a victory so cheaply, it will become them to consider that the chance of war is uncertain, and that the advantages are evidently on the side of moderate measures. Such proceedings are no derogation from the credit of the military character; for if the end be accomplished by council, or by arms, it is equally honourable; yet that mode of conduct is certainly to be preferred, which keeps our men in health and spirits by exercise, and at the same time tends to destroy the enemy. Nor is this a proper time for us to think of acquiring fame by our military exploits, when the Jews, by their indifference in making friends, or promoting their interest; by the neglect of their arms, their walls and fortifications, are exerting themselves
on our behalf; and this so effectually, that they are reduced to a situation
fit only to become our slaves. If they are disposed to oppress each other,
it would ill become us to retard them in their progress. Nor can I see
that any credit will be obtained by a victory which, rather than gained by
our valour, would be the consequence of the factions of our enemies: and
these are my plain sentiments on this subject.

Vespasian having thus delivered his opinion, the officers perfectly coincided with him; and the sequel will make it evident that they were right in
so doing: for soon afterwards great numbers of the Zelotes defected to him,
not a day passing but some made their escape, though by what means seemed
incredible; for the paflies were all guarded, and those that were taken were
put to the sword; unless, indeed, they had money to purchase their liberty;
and this never failed of effecting it: so that the poor were sufferers, while
the rich compounded for their freedom. However, this massacre was so pro-
digious, that the dead bodies were piled on each other in the roads; while
many within the city, who were disposed to abscond, chose to remain and
perish there, in the hope that they should at least be covered by their parent
carth. At length the barbarity of these monsters was carried to such a
height, that they denied the rites of sepulture equally to those within and
without the city; and, as if professed enemies to every sentiment of human-
ity and devotion, they permitted the bodies to lie rotting above ground,
thereby offending the Creator, as well as his creatures. The crime of de-
ferting to the enemy was not deemed greater than that of attempting to bury
a friend: and he who had recently interred another, became, almost imme-
diately, in want of some confidante person, to execute the same kind office
for himself. Compassion, the most amiable of all our affections, appeared
to be totally extinguished from the hearts of these abandoned people; and
instead of commiserating those who were sunk in distress, that distress served
only as a fresh incitement to their rage.

In fact, the appearance of things was so gloomy, that the living seemed
only to envy the dead; and the repose of the grave was deemed preferable to
the horrors of a prison. The tyrants not only despised all that was held sac-
cred among men, but even derided the Almighty himself, by accounting the
oracles of his prophets no other than as a collection of fables or dreams. Yet
notwithstanding this contempt of the laws and precepts of their progenitors,
they found, in the end, the predictions that had been denounced against
themselves and their country were accomplished: for a prophetical tradition
had been transmitted to them from remote antiquity, predicting that, in fu-
ture time, a seditious tumult would arise in Jerusalem, during which the
holy temple would be profaned by the hands of the Jews: that the city
would afterwards be taken, and its most sacred possessions destroyed by fire.
The Zelotes did not dispute the authority of this prediction, and by their
own officious zeal seemed to contribute to its execution.

C H A P.
CHAP. III.

John of Gischala pretends to assume the sovereign power. A definition of part of his character. The faction divided into Zealots and Anti-Zelotes; and John puts himself at the head of the latter. The Jews are visited by various deplorable judgments. Engaddi surprized, and taken by storm. Judea becomes the scene of war. The Jews hold a secret correspondence with Vespasian, to whom they apply for relief. Vespasian invited, and received into Gadara. The faithful multitude fly. Placidus is dispatched after them. The fugitives are pursued by the Romans to Bethennabris. The place rifed by Placidus, who lays it in ashes. The Jews, being compelled to a battle, are defeated with the loss of fifteen thousand men.

By this time John of Gischala had swelled his ambitious views to such a degree, that he even aspired to the sovereign power; though, in fact, he had, for a long time, entertained an idea of this kind: wherefore, insensibly withdrawing himself from the company of his old associates, he gradually engaged in his interest a number of abandoned miscreants, and formed a resolution of embarking on his own foundation. It was a distinguishing part of the character of this man to impose his orders in an authoritative manner on others, and to treat their opinions with the most sovereign degree of contempt: and this he practised as the probable means of attaining the supreme authority. Some of his new adherents joined him through a principle of fear; and others from the motives of esteem and regard: for he had the art of moving the affections, and was fluent in words to a very eminent degree: Some of his followers consulted their own security in their adherence to him, imagining, or hoping at least, that whenever a scrutiny should be made into their former evil proceedings, they would, in the gross, be attributed to him, as the first inciter of the irregularities. Many of the martial part of his followers adhered to him on account of his abilities and manly resolution; while numbers of others receded from him, through consideration of his pride, and disdain to submit to the authority of him who had lately been their professed enemy. But the circumstance that had more influence on them than any other, was the averion they had to be governed by any single person; and the idea that if he once became possess'd of unlimited power, it would not be an easy matter to deprive him of it: and they farther thought that those who should oppose his first pretensions, could have no reason to hope for his future favour. Having deliberated on these matters, the people came to a resolution rather to abide all the perilous events of war, than to submit to what they thought would be construed into a voluntary slavery. After this determination the faction divided themselves into Zealots and Anti-Zelotes; John putting himself at the head of the latter. These parties now opposed each other, and some trifling skirmishes ensued; but these skirmishes were directed rather against the people than against each other: for the view of each party was to obtain the principal share of the booty by the exclusion of the other.
At this period the city of Jerusalem was oppressed by the aggravated misfortunes of war, tyranny, and sedition. The populace, imagining that war was the most insupportable of all calamities, fled from their habitations to seek for protection among strangers; and afterwards found that the protection, which they could not obtain from each other, was to be met with among the Romans.

A fourth misfortune, not less destructive to the Jews than any of the former, immediately succeeded them. Within a small distance from Jerusalem was situated the castle of Maffada; which was equally celebrated for its antiquity, strength and magnificence. It had been erected by our ancient kings, who considered it as a royal treasury, a magazine for all the implements and necessaries of war, and a retreat which might be safely used in cases of imminent danger. At this time it was in possession of a set of abandoned miscreants called the Sicarii, whose numbers were sufficient to have totally destroyed and ravaged the country: though the acts they had hitherto done were the effects of surprisal and treachery. At this period it happened that the Roman army was lying in absolute inaction, while the Jews, divided among themselves, were distressing each other by every possible means: and, on this occasion, the affillins made a more vigorous attempt than ever they had before done. The feast of unleavened bread now came on; a festival that is celebrated by the Jews in the most solemn manner, in commemoration of their deliverance from the slavery they had undergone in Egypt, and their being conducted safely to the land of promise. On the night of this festival the insurgents surprized the town of Engaddi, into which they entered, and conquered the people before they had even time to have recourse to their arms. They drove them furiously out of the town, and, in the pursuit, killed above seven hundred of them, the majority of whom were women and children: they then stripped their houses, and made plunder of all the ripe and seasonable fruits they could find; which they carried to Maffada, in their way to which place, they, in like manner, depopulated the towns, villages and castles, and laid waste the country. A multitude of abandoned people constantly coming in to join these depredators, their numbers were daily increased. Till this period Judaea had remained in ease and quiet; but on this irruption the whole country became the scene of every kind of violence and every species of irregularity. As it is in the natural body, so it is when seditions prevail in a city; when the more noble parts are affected, the calamity has an influence on all the rest. In the capital, when a part is disordered, the adjacencies consent to the contamination, and suffer through the force of example. When the parties above-mentioned had acquired all the plunder they could, they retired therewith into defart places, where they associated together, such numbers of the depredators joining their forces, that they had the appearance of considerable armies, sufficient to destroy cities, and lay temples waste. It is reasonable to suppose that the injured parties took every possible opportunity of revenge, when they could meet with those who had insulted them; but this happened but very seldom; for the robbers were generally so diligent as to escape with their booty before their pursuers could come up with them. On the whole, so calamitous was the
the situation of affairs, that every part of Judæa felt a share of the distress
with which the principal city was affected.

All the avenues were guarded with so much strictness and precaution by
the factious party, that not a single person could stir without imminent
danger of his life: yet, notwithstanding this vigilant and rigorous precau-
tion, many persons found means to defect daily, who gave Vespasian an ac-
count of the situation of the place, and entreated his assistance to relieve such
as yet remained in the city: representing that their attachment to the Ro-
mans had already cost many of the citizens their lives, and that many more
were in danger of sharing a like fate from similar motives. Vespasian, con-
cerned for the unhappy situation of the inhabitants, ordered his army to ad-
ance nearer to the city; not with a view, as was imagined, to attack it by a
regular siege, but with a resolution to prevent any siege at all, by reducing
all the fortresses in its neighbourhood, and thereby obviating any obstruc-
tion to his future views.

Vespasian having arrived at Gadara, the most affluent and best-protected
town beyond the river Jordan, and the principal place in the province, the
most eminent of the inhabitants sent commissioners to invite him into the
place, and take it under his protection, which he did on the fourth of the
month Dyfrus. This the inhabitants, who were a wealthy people, did with
a view to the preservation of their own lives and fortunes. The factious
multitude were unacquainted with the meaning of this proceeding, farther
than by Vespasian approaching the walls. The insurgents were now totally
at a loss how to act. They found it impracticable for the town to sustainer
itself against so many internal, and external enemies: for the Roman army
was at hand, and the majority of the citizens were their determined enemies.
Now, therefore, they thought to trust in flight for their safety: but they con-
ceived that they could not honourably adopt this plan till they had first re-
venged themselves on the authors of their destruction. Having deliberated
on this matter, they apprehended Dolefus, a person equally distinguished by
his merit, and his extraction, and an object of envy for having advised the
embassy above-mentioned. Having taken him into custody, they gave orders
that he should be put to death, and then that his dead body should be
whipped: and they privately left the town as soon as these orders were car-
rried into execution.

No sooner had the Romans approached nearer towards the city than the in-
habitants went out to meet Vespasian, whom they conducted into the place
with every testimony of congratulation; and after having taken the oaths of
fidelity which are customary on such occasions, they of their own accord de-
stroyed the walls of the city, in order to give a striking proof of their fidelity
and peaceable intentions, by putting it out of their power to do any injury,
even if they were so disposed. This being done, Vespasian bestowed on them
a garrison of horse and foot for their protection, and then dispatched Placi-
dus after the enemy with five hundred cavalry and three thousand infantry;
after which he retired to Cæsarea with the remainder of his forces.

The fugitives finding that they were pursued, and that a party of horse
gained ground upon them, turned aside to the village of Bethannabris before
the
the Romans had got up to them. In this place there was a considerable number of stout young fellows, some of whom they persuaded, and others they compelled to enter into their service: and being thus reinforced, they fellied forth, and made a desperate attack on Placidus, who at the first receded a little; but this only with a view to get the enemy farther from the town; and this plan having answered to his expectation, Placidus attacked them when they were situated so that he had an evident advantage of them, and totally routed them. The Roman cavalry intercepted those who consulted their safety by flight, while those who stood to their arms were destroyed by the infantry: in fact they were foiled in all their attempts. Their attacking the Romans was indeed a presumptuous enterprise: they might have encountered a wall or a rock with equal hope of success: for the Romans flood so close and firm that it was not possible to break their main body, and were so guarded by their arms that the darts and lances could not affect them. On the contrary, the Jews were so ill-protected, that they were injured by every kind of assault, and reached by any kind of weapons; till, at length, being irritated to the most violent degree of rage, they seemed abandoned to despair, and threw themselves on the swords of their enemies, by which many of them perished: some were cut in pieces, others were trampled under foot by the horse, and others again put to flight. Placidus exerted his utmost influence that none of the fugitives should get back again to the town; and as often as this was attempted by any of them, the horse-soldiers under his command interposed to prevent the carrying their scheme into execution. They killed with their lances such of them as were within their reach, and did every thing in their power to intercept the rest. Some, however, who possessed more strength and swiftness than their companions, reached the walls; and now the guard were puzzled in the highest degree to know whom to admit, and whom to exclude: for they thought it would be extremely unreasonable to open the gates to their townsmen, and shut them against those of Gadara: and, on the contrary, they were fearful that if they opened them indifferently to all, the loss of the place might be endangered; as, in the end, it had like to have happened: for the Romans having pursued some of the fugitives even to the wall, had nearly fallen into the town with them; but with great difficulty the gates were shut, and the ingress prevented. Hereupon Placidus made a vigorous attack on the place; which he urged with so great a resolution, that he became master of it, and took possession of the wall, on the afternoon of the same day. The common people, who had no means of defending themselves, were put to the sword, and the others fought their safety in flight; carrying with them, wherever they went, through the country, the melancholy news of what had happened. In the interim, the victorious party first plundered the houses, and then reduced the place to ashes.

It is true that the misery hereby occasioned was sufficiently great; but the matter of fact was abundantly exceeded by the account of the reporters, who, wherever they went, circulated a rumour that the whole army of the Romans was in pursuit of them. This report alarmed the inhabitants of the country to such a degree, that almost all of them abandoned their houses, retiring towards.
wards Jericho in immense numbers; as they thought it the most safe retreat they could make, from its garrison being fortified, its natural strength, and its populousness. Placidus pursued the fugitives as far as the river Jordan, his forces destroying, without distinction, as many of them as they could overtake. When they arrived near the banks of that river, they found it impossible to pass, as the waters had been swelled by an uncommon fall of rain; and it was equally impossible to fly farther: wherefore, in this situation, it became necessary to abide the event of a battle. Hereupon the Jews planted themselves along the banks of the river, where, for some time, they maintained their ground; but their ranks being once broken, their loss, including the drowned, with those who were slain, became almost incredible. It was estimated that fifteen thousand were killed on the spot, about two thousand made prisoners, and a vast booty acquired in camels, oxen and sheep.

The Jews had never before experienced a defeat so capital as the present, which may be more easily conceived than described. The public roads where they had passed were almost covered with the dead; and the bodies of the slain choked up the river Jordan as to render it impassable; while great numbers floated down the several streams that ran into the lake Asphalitis.

A series of successes now attending Placidus, he pursued his good fortune by the reduction of Belemoth, Julias, Abila, and other places, even down to the lake. In these he placed garrisons of the most able, and those he could best trust, of the deserters from the enemy. This being done, he embarked his troops, having first cleared the lake of all those who had fled thither for refuge; and this he did in so effectual a manner, that the Romans were soon in absolute possession of every place beyond the river Jordan, even down to Machæras.

**CHAP. IV.**

*News arrives of a revolt in Gaul. The marches of Vespasian, and his proceedings. He arrives at Jericho. That place described. Account of the lakes Asphalitis and Tiberias; and of the fountain of Elîsha. A description of the country.*

**DURING** the above-mentioned transactions in Judæa, news arrived from Nero that a revolt had happened in Gaul, which was promoted by Vindex, and several other men in the country; but of this we shall speak more particularly in another place. On receiving this information, Vespasian urged the present war with unusual vigour; for he was apprehensive lest other revolts should follow that above-mentioned, to the endangering a whole empire by the calamities of a civil war: whereas he thought that Italy would have much less to apprehend, if the insurrection in the East was once perfectly reduced. But as winter was an improper time for such a business, he now employed himself to garrison the cities and towns which he had taken, ordered repairs to be made wherever they were wanting, and erected proper offices in each city.
He now marched with his army from Caesarea to Antipatris, and having regulated all things there in the space of two days, he, on the following day, ravaged the country, destroying with fire and sword to the borders of the toparchy of Thamna; and so on to Lydda and Jannia. The two last places yielded to his authority: on which he placed in them such of the inhabitants of the other towns as he thought he could best rely on, and then proceeded to Ammaus. Having taken possession of the passagé leading to the principal part of the city, he pitched his camp, and erected a wall round it. This being done, he left there the fifth legion, and advanced with the rest of his forces into the toparchy of Bethlepton. This he destroyed and burnt, ravaging the adjacent country as far as the borders of Idumæa; except a few strong castles, which he fortified, and placed a number of men in them.

He likewise took the towns of Bethabri and Caphartoba, situated in the centre of Idumæa: and in this enterprize killed more than ten thousand men, made slaves of almost one thousand, while the rest sought their safety in flight. This being done, he left a number of his forces, to sally forth occasionally, and make depredations on the mountains.

He now retreated with the rest of his army to Ammaus, whence proceeding by Samaria and Neapolis, he arrived at Corea on the second of the month Defius, where he encamped, and appeared before Jericho on the following day. At this place he was joined by one of his principal officers, named Trajan, with the forces under his command, who had previously reduced all the places beyond Jordan; putting many of the inhabitants to the sword; though the greater number of them had retired to the mountains opposite Jerusalem, before the Romans arrived.

In fact, Jericho was found a desolate and forlorn place by Vespasian. This city is situated on a plain, above which is a barren mountain of so considerable extent as to reach on the north side to the district of Scythopolis, and on the south to Sodom, on the confines of the lake Asphaltitis. It is impossible for human creatures to subsist in this country, owing to its extreme poverty and barrenness. Opposite hereto, on the other side the Jordan, is another mountain, stretching from Julias on the north to Gomorrah on the south, and bordering on the city of Petra in Arabia. There is likewise another mountain, distinguished by the name of the "Iron mountain," which extends even to the land of the Moabites. A place is situated between these mountains, called the "Great plain," which is two hundred and thirty fur- longs in length, and one hundred and twenty in breadth, the river Jordan crossing it near the centre. This plain commences at Gennabara, and extends to the lake Asphaltitis.

Exclusive of the lake Asphaltitis, there is another named Tiberias. Both these are remarkable, though their qualities are opposite. The waters of the former are salt, and produce no fish; whereas those of the latter are fresh, and of the most prolific nature. In this country the heats of summer are almost infupportable; the earth is parched by them; the air is hot and unwholesome, except on the borders of the river Jordan, where the palm-trees thrive to a greater degree than at any considerable distance from it.
In the neighbourhood of Jericho there is a large fountain, overflowing all the low grounds in its neighbourhood, which takes it rise near an ancient city, which was distinguished by being the first place gained by dint of war from the Canaanites, by Jesus, the son of Nave, the celebrated general of the Jews. A tradition is current that, in former times, this fountain was of so dangerous a quality, that its waters not only corrupted the plants, grain and fruits of the earth, but likewise caused abortions in women, and rendered infectious every thing that was touched by it, which was capable of such infection. This tradition likewise reports that these waters became not only harmless themselves, but of a nutritive quality, from the time of Elisha the prophet, the celebrated successor of Elias. The cause of this remarkable change is thus related. The people of Jericho having treated Elisha with uncommon marks of respect and hospitality, he considered how he might acknowledge the obligation in so distinguished a manner, that themselves, their posterity and country might receive the advantage of it to the latest period of time. Hereupon the prophet went to the fountain, and having directed that a pitcher of salt should be sunk to the bottom of it, he extended his right-hand towards the heavens, and making an offering on the side of the fountain, he put up his supplications to God to correct the impurity of the waters, by purifying the passagés through which they crept; to make the air wholesome and fruitful; to bestow numbers of children, as well as the means of life, on the inhabitants, and to continue those blessings as long as they continued in a disposition to deserve them. This prayer being offered up in the most solemn and ceremonious manner, the nature of the fountain was changed; and the waters became the means of producing plenty, instead of being the forerunners of famine and barrenness: so that their bare touching of the ground occasions its produce to taste more agreeably; but if they lay ever so long on the land, no superior effect is produced; especially when those have a diffidence in the miracle, who should experience its happy effects. Exclusive of the above particulars, this fountain, or river, covers a larger tract of ground than any other in the country.

The breadth of the country we are describing is twenty furlongs, and its length seventy. It abounds in thick groves, and variety of curious gardens: and there are, on the banks of its rivulets, a number of palm-trees, different from each other in name, flavour and quality. From some of these the inhabitants extract large quantities of honey, not much inferior to the other honey of the country, of which they have a great abundance. They have likewise a very great plenty of balm, which is deemed the most choice of their productions; nor is cyprus and myrobalanus in less abundance. A country which produces the most rare fruits of the earth, and those the largest and best of their kind, may be deemed signalized by Heaven with its peculiar favours. This country is likewise equally famous with the most prolific of others for the production, cultivation and variety of other fruits. I imagine that this circumstance may be, in a great degree, owing to the particular salubrity of the air, and the singular nature of the water: the former being fitly adapted to the disclosing of leaves, flowers, and such other
vegetables as are under its influence; and the latter, by increasing the ſap, to bind and fortify the roots so as to be proof againſt the raging heats of the ſun, which are fo powerful in this country, as almost to repel vegetation without ſuch extraneous affiſtance. But notwithstanding the violence of these heats, there are ſuch refreshing breezes every morning, that the water is perfectly agreeable before the rising of the ſun. In winter it is extremely pleas-ant to bathe in this water, which is then warm. In fact such is the happy temperature of the climate, that when frost and snow prevail in other parts of Judæa, the natives of this place drefs only in flight linen. It is ſituated ſixty ſtadia from the river Jordan, and one hundred and fifty from Jerufalem; and the whole country is a mere rock and ſeſſet between that and Jerufalem. It is not leſs rude and barren than that between this place and Jordan, though not in so high a ſituation. The above-mentioned are the natural advantages of Jerichó.

C H A P. V.

The peculiar properties of the lake Asphaltitis. It is found by Vespuſian that nothing sinks in that lake. Its other extraordinary qualities. It is ſituated near Sodom. Account of a fruit of beautiful appearance, which, on being touched, dissolves to ſmoke and ashes.

It may not be improper to relate some particulars reſpeſt ſingling the lake Asphaltitis, and its singular properties. No ſiſh will live in this lake, the water of which is strongly ſtrongly impregnated with ſaline ſubſtances: and even the moſt weighty things thrown into it will scarcely sink; ſo that it would be difficult for a man to drown himſelf herein, if he was absolutely bent on ſo doing. The singular quality of this water having been mentioned to Vespuſian, he undertook a journey on purpose to be ſiſted of the fact, and caused a number of persons, totally ūnacquainted with ſwimming, to have their hands tied behind them, and thrown into it: but ſuch was the buoyant power of the water, that they were immediately borne up, and ſoſte on its ſurface. This lake is likewise famous for another great ſingularity; which is, that three times in a day, according to the refractions of the ſun-beams which play on it, its ſeſſor has a different appearance. On ſeveral parts of it there are likewise to be ſeen, ſoeting about, large quantities of a dark bi-ſtuminous matter, which bears a reſembleſs to the ſeſſons of oxen deprived of the head. The country people get into boats, and ſiſh up these lumps: but they are of fo glutinous a naſure, that the boat adheres ſtrongly to them, and the people are obliged to diſſolve the lumps, before they can ſeparate the part within the boat from that in the water. The bituminous matter serves equally for medicinal purpoſes, and for the use of navigaſors: for it is a ſpe-ciﬁc in the cure of many disorders, and is of admirable ſervice to ſtop the leaks in a ſhip. The lake Asphaltitis is one hundred and fifty ſurſongs in breadth,
breadth, and five hundred and eighty in length, extending even to Zoar in Arabia.

It is situated near the land of Sodom, a country formerly distinguished by the variety of its productions, and the wealth of its inhabitants: but it is now a place totally uninhabited and desolate, the wickedness of its former residents having called down fire from Heaven as the punishment of their atrocious crimes. In its neighbourhood are yet to be seen the remains of five cities of infamous character, which were burnt when Sodom was destroyed. There are likewise visible some things appearing like fruits, that spring out of the ashes: these are very tempting to the sight, but on being touched they resolve into smoke and ashes. So that the credit of this history is not confirmed only by tradition, but by ocular demonstration.

CHAP. VI.


Being determined to attack Jerusalem on every side, Vespasian erected a fort at Jericho, and another at Adida, in each of which he placed garrisons, consisting of Romans and auxiliary forces. This being done, he dispatched Lucius Annius to Gerasa, with a party of cavalry and infantry, and, on the first attack, that place was reduced by storm. A thousand young men who were intercepted in their flight were destroyed by the sword: great numbers of families were made prisoners, and the plunder was given to the soldiers: after which the place was burnt, and the commander proceeded in his depredations. Persons of property fled; but many were killed in the attempt to escape. The ravage was universal: those on the mountains and in the vallies felt equally the effects of war. With regard to those who were in Jerusalem, it was impossible that they should quit it; for those who were friends to the Romans were strictly watched by the Zelotes: nor did the Zelotes themselves dare to venture out, left they should fall into the hands of the enemy, who surrounded the town on every side.

Vespasian having returned to Cæsarea, was making preparation for the main body of his army to advance to the attack of Jerusalem, when he received an account of the death of Nero, after a reign of thirteen years, and eight days. It is no part of my present province to arraign the character of this emperor, on account of the disgrace derived to government through his means, by his permitting himself to be directed and governed by Nymphidius and Tigillinus, two of the most abandoned miscreants in his service: nor would I speak of the infamous manner in which these wretches betrayed him: how he was deserted by his senators and guards, and compelled to seek his safety in the suburbs, having only four freemen who adhered to his interef;
terest: how he there destroyed himself in a violent manner; and what was the fate of those who were the occasion of his untimely end. Nor is it my purpose to speak of the event of the war with the Gauls; of the advancement of Galba to the empire, and, in the sequel, when he came from Spain to Rome, how he was traduced by the soldiers, as a person of an abject disposition, and at length slain by them in the center of the great market-place. Equally foreign from my present view is it to relate the circumstances of the making Otho emperor, and his subsequent march against Vitellius; nor need I mention the troubles of Vitellius; the battle before the capitol; or how an end was put to the civil war by Antonius Primus, and Macianus, after they had killed Vitellius, and defeated the German troops. I have not thought proper to insist on these particulars, because they have been already so admirably discussed both by the Greek and Latin historians: wherefore I have only made these short remarks, that the regularity of my history may not be broken, and the desired uniformity preserved.

On receiving the information above-mentioned, Vespasian suspended his preparations for the expedition towards Jerusalem; and finding that Galba was destined to succeed to the empire, he thought it would not be a prudent measure to take so important a step without express orders for so doing: whereupon he immediately dispatched his son Titus to wait on Galba, at once to congratulate him on his succession to the supreme command, and to take his directions how to act in the present exigency of affairs. King Agrippa being desirous to embark with Titus on this interesting occasion, they set sail in the same vessel; but while they were on their voyage, and near to Achaia, they received intelligence that Galba was slain, after having governed seven months and one week; and that Otho succeeded him, who reigned only three months. This change in affairs did not prevent Agrippa from continuing his journey to Rome: but Titus, as if impelled by a Divine power, failed from Achaia to Syria; and thence retired, in happy time, to his father in Cæarea.

This sudden revolution caused such an amazing change in the face of public affairs, that the empire appeared to be shaken to its foundation. The Jewish war was now no longer thought of; nor could the Romans turn their attention to the extention of the empire, when it was almost shaken to its foundation by intestine broils.

C H A P.
CHAP. VII.

A fresh war breaks out in Jerusalem. Simon is at the head of it, but is driven from his government by Ananus, and flies to Maffada. On the death of Ananus he makes incursions into Idumæa. A terrible battle betwixt Simon and the Zealots. Eleazar sends a summons to Herodion, and is received by the garrison. He is detected, and leaps from the precipice of the wall. James of Idumæa, pretending to be an informer, acts with baseness. Idumæa taken without bloodshed. The wife of Simon made prisoner by the Zealots. Simon's rage on this occasion, and the restoration of his wife.

On occasion of the revolution above-mentioned a fresh war broke out in Jerusalem. At this time there was a man, born at Gerasa, who was named Simon, who had taken possession of the city. This man was in the prime of life; less artful and contriving than John of Gischala; but he had the advantage of him in youth, strength and intrepidity. Now Simon was deemed so dangerous a person, that the high-priest, Ananus, routed him from his government in the toparchy of Acrabatana, and compelled him to take refuge among the Sicarii at Maffada. These abandoned people were at first so suspicious of him, that they, for a time, compelled him to remain, with the women he had brought with him, on the first floor of the fortress, while the rest of the people remained above. But when they came to be better acquainted with him, and found how admirably he was adapted for their purposes, they changed their opinion of him, and deputed him to command the parties they sent out to rifle, and join the other troops in the plunder and depopulation of the district of Maffada. In the mean time Simon endeavoured to inspire them with more ambitious views (for his own thoughts were bent on obtaining the sovereign authority); but this was in vain, till he received advice of the death of Ananus. This obstacle to the dignity after which he aspired being removed, he now repaired to the woods, where he issued proclamations, offering bounties to all freemen, and freedom to all slaves, who would enlist under his banners. Great numbers of abandoned and desperate people were induced to join him on this occasion; and by the assistance of these miscreants he assailed and pillaged the villages on the hills, the number of his people daily increasing, till at length he descended into the lower countries, and spread terror through all the cities within the limits of his expedition. The consequence of his credit for courage and success was such, that numbers of men of power and rank now came over to his interest, and the people of distinction in general made application to him, and paid him the reverence and respect due to sovereign princes; so that he no longer appeared to be a commander only of slaves and vagabonds. These successes induced him to make several incursions into the toparchy of Acrabatana, and the greater Idumæa; and at length he fixed his retreat in the town of Nain, a place which he had before walled and fortified. He found, in the valley of Pharan, a number of caverns admirably adapted to his purpose; and he enlarged
larged others, and converted them into magazines, stores and granaries, for
the reception of such articles as he obtained by plunder. Thus provided
with forces and provisions, it seemed to be the prevailing opinion that the
principal view of Simon was to make an attack on Jerusalem. In this op-
inion the Zealots coincided; and thinking that ill consequences might arise
from the permitting him thus daily to increase in numbers and power, they
determined to make one vigorous effort to suppress him, while it were yet pos-
sible to effect it. With this view they advanced in a body to attack him at
the head of his forces: but he received them in a manner that equally de-
monstrated his courage and skill, and routed them with great slaughter.
Simon did not yet think his force equal to the attack of Jerusalem, but
determined to begin with an assault on Idumæa, towards the borders of
which country he immediately marched an army of twenty thousand men.
Instantly hereupon, the principal people of the Idumæans assembled an army
of almost twenty-five thousand select troops, leaving likewise a sufficient
number to protect the country against the inroads of Maffada. With the forces above-mentioned the Idumæans waited for Simon on the bor-
ders of their country; and, on his approach, a battle ensued, which con-
tinued from the morning till evening; the destruction on each side being so
equal, that it was impossible to determine which party had the advantage.
Both of them, however, were sufficiently weary of the contest; for Simon
withdrew his forces to Nain, and the Idumæans retreated to their respective
habitations.
Simon having received considerable reinforcements to his army, took the
field again in a short time, being now stronger than on any former occasion;
and having encamped near the village of Thecue, dispatched one of his af-
sociates, named Eleazar, with a message to the commander of Herodion,
demanding that the castle of that name should be delivered up to him. On
his first arrival he was received by the officers with every testimony of mili-
tary honour and respect: but when they became acquainted with the nature
of his commission, they all drew their swords on him in a moment: where-
upon, finding his escape impossible, he threw himself from the precipice of
the wall, and was killed on the spot.
The idea of the courage and power of Simon had now struck the Idumæ-
ans in so forcible a manner, that they were by no means disposed to engage
him, till they were first well acquainted with the strength and situa-
tion of his army. On this occasion one of their commanders, named James, voluntarily
undertook the office of a spy or informer: and this he did with a generous
appearance of public spirit, but, in fact, with the most treacherous inten-
tions. At this time the Idumæan army was encamped at Oiusus; and James
being commissioned to act for them, he repaired to Simon. When some con-
versation had passed between them, he made a solemn compact with Simon to
deliver up the whole country to him; on the consideration that, in return for
this obligation, he should be considered as his first minister, and favourite,
and that he should likewise possess the whole country of Idumæa. This in-
famous bargain was succeeded by Simon’s entertaining James in the most
splendid manner, and gratifying his ambition by the most liberal promises.
This being done, James returned to those who had sent him on the embassy; to whom he magnified the situation of Simon greatly beyond the truth, with regard to his numbers and strength, and the admirable disposition of his forces. This representation had a great influence on the minds of the people in general; and at length the officers of the army began to listen to the intelligence, so that they determined that it would be a vain attempt to contest the matter farther by force of arms, but that they would surrender to Simon, lest worse consequences should ensue. At this juncture James sent repeated messengers, requesting that Simon would advance without loss of time, and take possession of Idumæa, which he would pledge himself should submit to him without bloodshed or opposition, if he would not lose the present favourable opportunity. All this was accordingly verified: for Simon advancing with his army, James immediately mounted his horse, and fled with the utmost rapidity, being followed by those who adhered to his principles. This proceeding had such influence on the people in general, that they likewise fled in the utmost confusion, each consulting his own safety, so that the whole army was dispersed, and an absolute victory gained without the least effort on the part of the enemy.

Idumæa having been thus, in a most astonishing manner, subjected to Simon without bloodshed, he advanced to the city of Chebron, which he took by surprize, and found in it corn and other treasure to a great amount. This city is celebrated for its great antiquity. It is confessed to be the oldest in the whole province: and, if the accounts of the inhabitants may be credited, its age is not less than two thousand three hundred years, being greater than that of the famous city of Memphis in Egypt. A traditional report prevails that Abraham, the great father and founder of the Jewish nation, took up his residence at this place, when he left the country of Mesopotamia; and that from this town his descendants removed into Egypt: in which kingdom there are yet visible a number of elegant inscriptions on marble, corroborative of the tradition I have mentioned. About six furlongs from Chebron there is still to be seen a most extraordinary turpentine-tree, which is yet sound and healthy, though if tradition may be credited, it had its origin at the time of the creation of the world.

Simon advanced from Chebron through the whole country of Idumæa, being followed by above forty thousand people, exclusive of his regular forces. He destroyed towns and villages, and depopulated the whole country in the course of his progress. A flight of locusts through a wood could not have destroyed more effectually than his army: they rendered the country a perfect desert, destruction marking every part of their course. It was not possible that the necessaries of life should be furnished for such an immense multitude; and the misfortunes of want were still aggravated by the natural violence of Simon's temper, and his peculiar animosity against the people of Idumæa. In a word, in a country which had been heretofore fruitful and well cultivated, not a trace was left of its former happy situation, owing to the waste and devastation made by the troops under the command of Simon.

The Zelotes were exceedingly shocked at the inhumanity of the above-mentioned proceedings; but they were yet afraid to engage in an open war;
contending themselves with such advantages as they could gain by occasional surprizes; and at length they obtained a prize which they deemed of the utmost importance; for happening to take prisoner the wife of Simon, with a number of his domestics, they hurried her away to Jerufalem, with as many tokens of triumphant joy, as if Simon himself had been their captive: for they did not entertain the least doubt but that he would willingly lay down his arms on his wife being restored to him. The effect, however, was contrary to their expectation; for the violence offered to the wife transported the husband to the most extravagant degree of rage.

This extravagance was evidenced by the future conduct of Simon. He advanced, without loss of time, to the gates of Jerufalem, where his behaviour was as furious as that of a wild beast who is wounded, and finds himself incapable of reaching the party who has injured him. He sought vengeance on every thing that fell in his way: men, women and children, were equally the objects of his fury. Those who went from the city only to pick herbs or gather sticks, were, by his order, apprehended and whipped to death; the ancient suffering equally with the young: and it was remarked as something extraordinary that he did not eat the flesh of those he caused to be destroyed. The hands of many of these unoffending people were cut off, as a terror to his enemies, and to prevent other persons adhering to their party. Thus maimed, he sent them into the city, instructing them to say that, “Simon made an oath in the name of that God who governs the world, that if his wife was not immediately restored to him, he would make an assault on their walls, and treat all the inhabitants, old or young, guilty or innocent, with the same severity that the messengers had experienced.” The people in general were terrified by these threatenings, which had likewise such an effect on the Zelotes, that they sent Simon’s wife back to him; on which his anger was so far appeased, that the cruelties which he had hitherto committed, began now in some degree to subside.

CHAP. VIII.

The Roman empire distasted by civil broils and contentions. Otho and Vitellius fight two battles, the first of which issues in favour of Otho, but Vitellius is successful the following day. Galba puts an end to his life. The complete conquest of Judea is intended by Vespasian. Capparis submits to Cerealis, who attacks and burns the town of Chebron. Nothing is now wanting to finish the war, but the capture of Jerufalem.

The civil war now became more extensive, not being confined merely to the district of Judea; for its baneful influence had spread even into Italy. Otho having succeeded to the empire, Vitellius was elected in opposition to him by the German legions; and in consequence of this election he disputed the title with him. Two battles were fought between the contending parties, near Bebracia in Lombardy. On the first day the advantage was evidently on the side of Otho: but, on the second, fortune declared in favour
favour of Vitellius, whose army, on this occasion, was commanded by the
generals Valens and Cæcinna. The number of slain in this battle was very
considerable; and intelligence of it being brought to Galba, who was at that
time at Brixellum, he stabbed himself with a dagger, after he had reigned
only three months and two days. This revolution occasioned the soldiers
under the command of Otho to take part with Vitellius, who hereupon pro-
ceeded to Rome with his army.

In the interim, Vespasian having formed a design of making a complete
conquest of Judæa, by reducing such parts of it as yet refused to submit to
the Roman authority, he quitted Cæsarea on the fifth day of the month De-
cius. Having began his operations on the mountains, he made a complete
conquest of the toparchies of Gophnis and Acrabatana: and afterwards took
possession of the cities of Ephraim and Bethel, placing garrisons in each of
them. This being done, he removed towards Jerusalem, on his way to
which he flew a great number of the Jews, and made many prisoners.

While these transactions were going forward, Cerealis, one of the chief
commanders, ravaged the country of the upper Idumæa, with a body of ca-
vally and infantry, took the castle of Caphetra, and burnt it to the ground;
and besieged the well-fortified town of Capharis, which it was thought would
have been able to make a vigorous defence: but, contrary to expectation,
the inhabitants opened the gates, gave up their town, and submitted them-
selves to the mercy of the conqueror. Cerealis, having been successful thus
far, advanced to Chebron, an ancient town on the mountains (not far from
Jerusalem), of which mention hath heretofore been made. This place he
attacked, and it surrendered without offering to make any defence; on which
he pillaged and burnt the city, and put all its inhabitants to the sword.
Maffada, Machærus and Herodion were now the only castles which re-
mained in the hands of the faction: and, after those, the taking of Jeru-
alem by Vespasian seemed to be the only circumstance necessary to the putting
a total end to this horrid and destructive war.

CHAP. IX.

Simon wreaks his vengeance on the Idumæans, on account of his wife, and becomes a
more desperate enemy without the town than the Romans; and the Zealots within,
still worse than either. The dreadfully brutal behaviour of the Zealots. The Zealots
routed in consequence of a revolt of the Idumæans, who pursue them to the palace,
and even to the temple. John voted out of the government, and Simon invited to
supply his place. Simon is received and congratulated with the most cheerful ac-
clamations. The temple assaulted by the partizans of Simon.

The wife of Simon having been restored to him by the Zealots, the
rest of the Idumæans were exposed to the utmost malice of his revenge.
He persecuted them with such a savage ferocity, and harrassed and drove
them from place to place with such unremitting cruelty, that many of them,
in mere despair, fled for refuge to Jerusalem. To the very walls of this city
they were pursued by Simon, who sacrificed to his rage all he could lay his hands on, that were passing or repassing: so that, without the walls, Simon became even a worse enemy than the Romans; and, within the walls, the Zelotes were still worse than either. At this time, however, the Zelotes received their instructions from the Galileans, who, by the force of precept, encouragement and example, incited them to the practice of every iniquity. Now John, considering himself as the creature of the Zelotes, made not the least scruple of employing the power they had conferred on him to the gratification of his patrons; and therefore left them at full liberty to indulge their lusts without control. With regard to plunder and rapine their avarice was not to be satisfied: they considered the murder of men, and a violation of the chastity of women, but as circumstances of mere diversion and entertainment: and when they had indulged themselves in every act of cruelty and oppression, they launched into the utmost gratification of their sensual appetites. They curled and powdered their hair; painted and dawbed their faces with variety of washes, and dressed themselves in the apparel of women: nor did they imitate the other sex only in their personal ornaments, but copied the most abandoned of them in an excess of impudence: for they corresponded with each other in the open face of day, with as little reserve as they would have done within the public stews: they courted each other to, and practiced, unnatural lusts; defiling the whole city by acts of impurity which ought neither to be named or thought of among men. Yet notwithstanding they thus assumed the appearance and impudence of women, they possessed the hands and hearts of murderers: and though their air and manner was effeminate and affected in the highest degree, they never failed to carry offensive weapons about them, and were at all times ready to draw their swords to dispatch a man, with or without provocation. Those who thought themselves happy in escaping John, were certain to be destroyed by Simon, whose nature was still more savage and ferocious. He who escaped the fangs of the domesical tyrant, could not fail of falling into the hands of the heathen; besides, all the passageways were so effectually blocked up, that those who were disposed to have sought the protection of the Romans, had not an opportunity of so doing.

At length the Idumæans, envying the power, and detesting the savage inhumanities which were practised by John, revolted at once from their obedience, and determined to oppose him. Hereupon a battle ensued, in which great numbers of the Zelotes were killed on the spot, and the remainder retreated to the royal palace, which had been originally built by a woman named Grapte, who was a relation to Izates, sovereign of the Adiabenians. The Zelotes were driven into the temple by a number of Idumæans, who pushed in at the same time, and made a prize of the whole of John’s riches, which he had carefully accumulated, and deposited under the roof of his own dwelling. Hereupon the Zelotes, who were dispersed in various parts of the city, associated together, and joined those of their companions who had retreated to the temple; and John immediately disposed himself to fly forth on the Idumæans and the citizens. Now no idea of fear was formed respecting the number of the Zelotes, for the opposite party was too numerous for
them: but it was apprehended that they might attempt to retire in the night, first murdering such as they could seize, and setting fire to the city. On this occasion they summoned a council, and concerted with the high-priest what measures were proper to be taken: but the providence of Heaven prevailed to the destruction of their politics, and rendered the disease they complained of less obnoxious than the remedy they sought: for they came to a resolution to abandon John, and advance Simon in his stead; by which conduct they subjected themselves to the dominion of one tyrant, while they sought to get rid of that of another. However, the vote passed; and Simon, of whom they had fled so much in dread, was sent for to take on him the government, Matthias, the high-priest, being deputed to wait on him on this occasion. Many other persons, who had been compelled to leave Jerusalem, and wished to return to their former habitations, joined with Matthias in the request to Simon. The latter answered them, with an air of authority, that he condescended to grant their request: and entered the city in the character of their protector; while the people received and congratulated him in that character, with the loudest and most cheerful acclamations. Simon had no sooner entered Jerusalem with his troops, than he began to consider how he should most effectually maintain the post of which he had taken possession: for he looked on those against whom he was invited, and those who requested his presence, to be equally his enemies. The above-mentioned event took place in the third month, which is called Xanthius.

John now finding that himself, and the Zelotes, his associates, were close prisoners in the temple, and that the city had been completely rifled by Simon and his companions, he began to look upon his destruction as inevitable. In the interim Simon encouraged, and led forward the common people to make an attack on the temple. This they did with great readiness; but the besieged, who had taken possession of the galleries and battlements above, affailed them in such a furious manner with darts, arrows and stones, that they were compelled to make a retreat, with considerable loss. Many of them were killed, and numbers were borne off from the place of attack, dangerously wounded, the expedition in general being totally frustrated: for the Zelotes had so much the advantage of situation, that it was impossible to attack them on equal terms. Besides this necessary advantage arising from situation, they had themselves erected four large towers, with the professed intention of annoying the enemy. One of these towers was situated to the north; a second to the east; a third on a gallery at the corner opposite to the lower town; and a fourth on the place which bears the name of Pallophoria. On the place last mentioned, the priest, in ancient times, used to stand, to make proclamation to the people, by the sound of the trumpet, of the commencement of the sabbath, and, in like manner, when it ended. From this place, likewise, notice was given to the people of the time proper to keep holiday, and when they should renew their accustomed labour. In the towers above-mentioned the Zelotes had placed their archers, slingers and engineers, armed with arrows, stones, and every other necessary military implement. The obstinate resistance made by the Zelotes furnished matter of great fur-

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CHAP. X.

During the transactions above-mentioned a civil war breaks out in Rome. Vitellius is returned to that city with a numerous army. Vespasian is greatly afflicted at receiving intelligence that Vitellius is chosen emperor. The officers calumniate Vitellius and his party, and speak in praise of Vespasian and Titus. The military people seem determined on a change, and urge Vespasian to take the command of the army; to which he at length consents.

While the disturbances above-recited were going forward in Jerusalem, a calamity of still greater magnitude took place in Rome; which was no other than a civil war. By this time Vitellius was returned from his expedition into Germany, attended by an immense number of foreign troops. In fact, the multitudes he brought with him were so prodigious, that they could not be accommodated in the places customarily assigned to soldiers, but were compelled to take up their lodgings in private houses, so that the whole city appeared to be a general barrack. The strangers were struck by the appearance of the gold and silver that they saw among the Romans (fights with which they had been unacquainted), that it was with no small degree of reluctance they refrained from forcibly seizing these valuable effects, and murdering those who prevented their depredations. Such was the unhappy situation of affairs at that period.

Vespasian having ravaged all the country in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, now returned to Caesarea, where he received the disagreeable intelligence of the disorders which had arisen at Rome, and that Vitellius had been elected to the dignity of emperor. Vespasian was a man who had a just opinion of the respect that ought to be shewn to our superiors, and was as well calculated to obey as he was to command; yet notwithstanding this circumstance, he was extremely chagrined to acknowledge the supreme authority of that man who rather feized the empire as a plunder, than became possessed of it as an honor. In a word, this astonishing change in the public affairs affected him to such a degree, that he could no longer entertain any idea of prosecuting foreign wars, when his country at home was distracted by circumstances so extremely disagreeable. Yet, though his indignation, on the one hand, urged him to a speedy revenge; yet on the other, he was deterred from pursuing his schemes in execution, by the consideration of the difficulties and hazards that would attend so long a journey, in the midst of winter; besides, he did not know but that many unexpected incidents might happen, before he could arrive in Italy. Having reflected seriously on these things, his mind became at length more composed than before.

During the time that Vespasian was debating this subject in his mind, the officers and soldiers associated together, and in separate societies, and discussed...
coursed with the utmost freedom on the affairs of the state and government.

Many of them declared freely that another change was necessary. Among other things they exclaimed most violently against the German soldiers, ridiculing them as a band of dissolute and effeminate creatures, who would be afraid to abide even the usual terrors of war. "What (said they) shall people like these dispose of empires, or rather sell them to the highest bidder? Is it possible for them to imagine that we, who have undergone all the fatigue attending excessive labour, till we are grown old in the use of arms; that we will ever submit to be governed by an emperor chosen by them, when we have a prince of our own who is much more worthy of the government? Besides, if we omit the present opportunity of testifying our gratitude for the numerous obligations we owe to the generosity of Vespasian, it is not very probable that a similar prospect of paying him the proper compliment will ever again offer. Exclusive of these considerations, the personal merit of Vespasian hath as much better qualified him for the dignity of emperor, than that of Vitellius, as our merits have qualified us for the choice, beyond that of those who have elected him. Have we encountered hazards less imminent: have we taken a less active part in the war than the German legions who have brought the usurper into the capital city? Or are we more uninstructed in the art and discipline of war than they are? With regard to Vespasian, there can be no debate or competition; for the senate, and people of Rome are entirely in his interest; nor would they listen even to an insinuation of the licentiousness and debauches of Vitellius being put in competition with the modest and temperate behaviour of Vespasian; for this, in fact, would be to prefer an abandoned tyrant to an humane prince. Nor can we think that his son Titus, though of acknowledged virtue, would be preferred to his father. Let us reflect that the peace of a throne is established by the honor and justice of the prince. Now if the length of experience, or the vigour of youth will render a prince worthy your choice, Vespasian is recommended by one quality, and Titus by the other; besides the accumulated merit attending wisdom, resolution and power. It is farther worthy our consideration, that by electing the deserving father of this accomplished son, we shall unite in one interest all the power of the east with that of the three imperial legions and their auxiliaries; and likewise that part of Europe which is out of the reach of Vitellius; together with the interest that Vespasian's friends, his brother, and his other son can make in Italy; for one of these is prefect of Rome, a station which gives him great influence at the commencement of a reign; and the other is in possession of so much popularity, that the principal part of the nobility will certainly adopt which ever party he shall adhere to. After all we have said, let it be considered what a ridiculous figure we should make, and how egregiously we should be duped: we, who of all men living, have the greatest obligation to Vespasian, if the senate themselves should elect him emperor, and thus take out of our hands the merit of so distinguished an action, while we are idly debating on the method of proceeding in such an exigency."

To
To this purpose was the conversation among the military people; their first meetings were held in a secret manner; but as their encircling numbers gave them fresh courage, they came to an unanimous determination to make choice of Vespasian as emperor, and entreated him to take under his protection an empire that was shaken to its foundations. This distinguished man had for a long time been the support of the empire; but he was so far from being ambitious of the dignity of emperor, that he absolutely declined it (the refusal itself shewing that he deserved it), declaring that he chose rather to pass the remainder of his days in the ease and retirement of a private life, than in the pomp and dignity of the troublesome situation to which he was invited. The more anxious Vespasian was to avoid this office, the more earnestly did the military people press his acceptance of it: till, at length, on his repeated refusal, they advanced to him with drawn swords, and threatened his destruction, if he longer refused an honor of which he was so deserving. Still, however, he, for a while refused them; but at length yielded to an importunity that was not to be resisted.

CHAP. XI.

Vespasian is urged by Mucianus to march with his army against Vitellius; but Vespasian seems inclined rather to make a conquest of Alexandria. A description of Egypt, and its situation. Account of the dangerous port of Alexandria, and of the tower of Pharos. The friendship entertained for Vespasian by Tiberius Alexander.

The government of the empire had no sooner been accepted by Vespasian, than Mucianus, and the other officers who had urged him to accept the dignity, joined with the whole body of the army to solicit that he would march his forces against Vitellius: but Vespasian thought it would be more proper to attempt, in the first place, the conquest of Alexandria; as Egypt, on account of the immense quantity of corn which it produced, was deemed one of the most important branches of the empire. Wherefore, Vespasian was of opinion that if he could but once possess himself of that country, the people of Rome might be induced rather to expel Vitellius, than run the risk of starving, if they refused to do; which would be the necessary consequence if they did not obtain proper assistance from Egypt. Vespasian likewise desired that two legions, which then lay at Alexandria, might assist him in this expedition.

Vespasian had likewise a view to make the district of Egypt a place of retreat, in case of any disagreeable turn of fortune. This country is so situated that it is not easy to approach it by land; nor has it any sea-ports. On the west it is bounded by the burning sands of Libya; on the east, as far as the city called Coptos, the Red Sea answers the purpose of a rampart; on the south the Syene divides it from Ethiopia and the unpassable cataracts of the Nile; and on the north this country extends even to Syria, and as far as the sea, which is called the Egyptian Sea, all the coast of which is totally deflittute.
THE WARS OF THE JEWS.

defitute of ports: so that the security of Ægypt is abundantly provided for by nature, from the peculiarity of its situation. The distance from Syene to Pelusium is estimated at two thousand ftaia, and that from Pelusium to Plinthe, by sea, at three thousand six hundred. As far as Elephantine the Nile is navigable; but, as hath been observed before, the cataracts render it impassable.

There is great danger in entering the port of Alexandria, even if the weather be fair; for the entrance is so narrow, and the rocks which are dispersed in shoal-water are so numerous, that it requires the care of a skilful pilot to evade them. On the right-hand is situated the ifle of Pharos, which had been so long celebrated as a sea-mark; and on the left the port is encompassed by a dike partly circular. The light from the ifle of Pharos is seen three hundred furlongs out at sea, and serves as a direction to sea-faring people how to steer their vessels. Around this island there is a number of substantial walls and strong quays, erected for the purpose of breaking the waves that beat on the coast, and withstanding the rage of the billows that render the navigation so dangerous. Yet, notwithstanding all the difficulties described, the port of Alexandria, when a navigator has once passed the bar, is one of the most safe in the world. It is in length thirty furlongs; and it is furnished with proper store-houses for the reception of merchandizes of all kinds, for exportation or importation.

It was rightly judged by Vespasian when he fixed on Alexandria as the proper place in which to commence the establishment of his empire. This being resolved on, he informed the governor, Tiberius Alexander, that the importunity of his soldiers having prevailed on him to take the government into his own hands, he thought he could not act more prudently than to request the favour of his advice and assistance, in the office of administration. This intimation was conveyed by a letter, which Alexander had no sooner read, than, with the utmost freedom and good-will, he administered an oath of fidelity to Vespasian, to the legions and the inhabitants. This oath was taken with every possible demonstration of joy and ecstacy; for they were previously apprized of the good intentions of the new emperor, and confided in his virtue and honor. In the interim Alexander made a generous use of the power entrusted to him for the public welfare; and immediately began to make proper dispositions for the reception of Vespasian.
The news of Vespasian's advancement gives satisfaction to the people. Vespasian attributes his success to the interference of Providence. A prophetical hint of Vespasian's future greatness. Joseph, while a prisoner, and during the life of Nero, gave Vespasian the title of emperor: in gratitude for which, Vespasian now gives Joseph his liberty.

Intelligence of Vespasian being advanced to the dignity of ruling the empire was now propagated with the utmost speed through every part of the eastern country; and wherever this news arrived it was so grateful to the people, that the inhabitants of the several cities kept a holiday on the occasion, making sacrifices, and offering vows, that the reign of Vespasian might be long and happy.

At this time there were certain legions quartered in Asia and Pannonia, who had lately taken up arms against Vitellius, on account of his tyrannical disposition; and these legions immediately, and with the utmost pleasure, took the oath of fidelity to Vespasian.

As the new emperor was on his return from Caesarea to Berytus, he was met on his journey by several ambassadors, from Syria and other provinces, who congratulated him with addresses in behalf of the cities and their inhabitants, and honoured his procession with garlands. Among the rest was Mucianus, the governor of Syria, who gave the utmost assurance of the loyalty and affection of the people in general, expressing their regard to the person and authority of Vespasian, which they had testified by taking the oaths, and demonstrated in every other manner possible.

Every thing which had been undertaken by Vespasian having now succeeded to the utmost extent of his ambition, he began seriously to reflect, that such an amazing concurrence of apparent accidents in his favour, had left the appearance of being the work of chance, than the immediate effect of a disposing Providence; and he thought it appeared that he had not been raised to his present elevation by the power of fortune, but by the immediate interference of the Deity. Reflecting on this subject, there occurred to his mind several prophetical hints which had happened in the course of his life, all tending to the same end. Among the rest, he could not but recur to the circumstance of Joseph having, while he remained a prisoner, and during the life of Nero, hailed him with the title of emperor. This singular predictive speech had great influence on the mind of Vespasian; and the greater, because the party was still his prisoner: wherefore, sending for Mucianus, and others of his officers, he spoke of the singular courage and bravery of Joseph, and how gallantly he had behaved at the siege of Jotapata. After this he mentioned several other particulars respecting him, and at length adverted to the subject of his predictions; "These (said he) I at first imagined to be nothing more than contrivances for his own preservation: but the event has proved that they were actually the result of Divine inspiration: wherefore,
VeS PACIAN, in his way to Rome, goes to Antioch. He sends Mucianus into Italy with a considerable army. Caecina prevails on the soldiers of Vitellius to take part with Vespasian; but they repent, desert, and seize Caecina as a traitor. An encounter between Anthony and the Vitellians, in which the latter have the disadvantage, and, taking their flight towards Cremona, are totally vanquished. Caecina is set at liberty, and dispatched to Vespasian with an account of the victory. He is received in a most honourable manner. The capital seized on by Sabinus. A desperate engagement between Anthony and the Vitellians. Vitellius, in a fit of intoxication, is dragged through the streets, and stabbed in the city. The choice of Vespasian acquires the universal sanction of the people.

Vespasian, having dispatched the ambassadors who had attended on him, and committed the care of all his governments to officers of tried and approved fidelity, he changed his original intention of going to Alexandria, and went to Antioch, determining to go from thence to Rome: for by this time Alexandria was reduced to a state of peace and safety; while Rome, being exceedingly disturbed by Vitellius, there was the greater occasion for his attendance at the latter. Having determined on this plan, he dispatched Mucianus over land, through Cappadocia and Phrygia into Italy, with a large army of infantry and cavalry; being afraid to trust his troops by sea, during the winter season.

Antonius Primus was among those who were sent on this occasion. He was governor of Mycia, and had under his command the third legion, which had been quartered in that province. Now Anthony withdrew for an immediate engage-
engagement with Vitellius; and, on the other hand, Vitellius sent a strong army, under the command of Cæcina, to oppose him. While Cæcina was on his march towards Rome, he met Anthony on the confines of Italy, in the neighbourhood of Cremona. On this occasion he halted to take a view of the numbers, order and discipline of the enemy; but he was afraid to encounter them. He was totally at a loss how to act: he did not dare to risk a battle; nor could he think of running away, on any principle of honor; wherefore he chose rather to be considered as a deserter than a coward. Having assemled his centurions, tribunes, and all the rest of his officers, he exerted the utmost powers of his oratory in a declaration on the different degree of merit in Vespasian and Vitellius. The one he extolled in the highest degree, and depreciated the character of the other; and all this with a fixed design to prevail on the soldiers of Vitellius to take part with Vespasian. His speech was to the following purpose: "Vitellius possessest nothing more than the name of an emperor; whereas the claim of Vespasian is not only founded in the strictest equity; but his very person is stamped with the indubitable marks of the imperial character. Besides, the troops of Vespasian are so numerous and well choosent, that it will be in vain for us to think of entering into a contest with him. This being the case, had we not better now act the same part, as of our own choice and free-will, that we shall otherwise be soon compelled to do, through the force of mere necessity? While I say this, I am certain that Vespasian is able to carry his designs into execution, without our aid or assistance; but Vitellius, so far from being able to protect his adherents, is by no means in a condition to defend himself."

The arguments of Cæcina were urged with so much zeal, that he obtained the point at which he laboured, and prevailed on his troops to go over to Anthony: but on the following night, Cæcina's people, partly repenting of what they had done, and partly in fear of the consequence, in case Vitellius should prove successful in the contest, advanced in a rage with drawn swords, with a determination to destroy Cæcina, which they certainly would have done, if the tribunes had not interceded strongly in his favour. Hereupon they refrained from taking away his life; but instilled that, as a traitor, he should be immediately sent to Vitellius in chains.

Anthony was no sooner informed of this event, than, without losing a moment's time, he dispatched a party to attack them as deserters. For some time they made a faint resistance; but receded upon the first violent shock, and betook themselves to flight towards Cremona: but Anthony, interposing his cavalry between the fugitives and the town, and entirely surrounding them, destroyed great numbers of them on the spot, and permitted his troops to make plunder of all they couldfind in the place. The whole army of Vitellius, amounting to thirty thousand two hundred men, fell on this occasion: and of the merchants and townsmen great numbers were sacrificed. Four thousand five hundred of the men whom Anthony had brought out of Mysia were likewise slain: but Anthony gave Cæcina his liberty, and dispatched him to Vespasian with an account of the victory. Vespasian received him
him with all imaginable honor and respect, which was deemed a counterpoise to the disgrace he had received by deferring his former commander.

No sooner was Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian, informed that Anthony was on his march towards Rome, than he was inspired with fresh courage; wherefore he, on the same night, assembled the city guards, and seized on the capitol. On the following day great numbers of persons of distinguished rank came in and joined his party; among them was his nephew Domitian, who took a principal part in the glorious enterprise in agitation.

Vitellius paid little regard to the proceedings of Anthony, the principal view of his resentment being directed towards Sabinus, and the other persons who had joined with him in the revolt: and being by nature of a savage and ferocious disposition, but particularly to those of distinguished rank, he dispatched a body of his own troops to attack the capitol. In this enterprise singular instances of bravery were exhibited betwixt the assailants and those in the temple: but, in the end, the Germans made themselves masters of the hill, their numbers being too great for those of their opponents. Domitian, and other Romans of the first rank, escaped in a manner almost miraculous: the greater part of the people were totally destroyed: the soldiers first plundered the temple, and then set it on fire. With regard to Sabinus, he was made prisoner, and conducted to Vitellius, who commanded that he should be instantly put to death.

On the following day Anthony arrived with his army, when a desperate battle ensued between him and the Vitellians. The encounter was in three different parts of the city, and the Vitellians were all slain. The action being ended, Vitellius came out of his palace in a fit of intoxication; for he was much addicted to excesses, both in eating and drinking. Hereupon he was seized, dragged through the streets, calumniated with every possible term of degradation, and at length stabbed to death in the center of the city. His reign had continued eight months and five days; but his extravagance was so great, that it was imagined that the revenue of the empire would not have been equal to his expences had he lived much longer. Exclusive of those already mentioned it was reckoned that there were above fifty thouand men slain. It was on the third day of the month Appellæus that this interesting action took place.

On the following day Mucianus and his army entered Rome, where he found the soldiers of Anthony engaged in searching every spot for the troops of Vitellius, whom they put to death the moment they apprehended them, without the least enquiry respecting their guilt or innocence. When the fury of this carnage had in some degree subsided, Mucianus intimated that the people would act a wise part in electing Domitian for their governor, till his father should arrive: but the people apprehending no farther danger, would not consent to accept of any other governor than Vespasian, whom they extolled to the skies with the loudest acclamations. On this occasion they united two festivals; the one for their deliverance from the tyranny of Vitellius, and the other for the happy advancement of Vespasian to the supreme command.
WHEN Vespasian arrived at Alexandria, he heard a particular account of all that had happened at Rome; and he received great numbers of addresses, to congratulate him on his advancement to the dignity of emperor. If Rome be excepted, it is thought that Alexandria is the largest city in the world; and yet it was scarcely large enough to contain the multitudes that were assembled on this occasion. The Roman empire being now adjusted and settled, the inhabitants of it in a state of ease beyond their former expectation, and the winter being ended, Vespasian thought of considering the state of Judæa, and then making preparation for his journey to Rome. Having adjusted all things at Alexandria, he dispatched his son Titus, with the best of his troops, on an expedition against Jerusalem. Titus having gone by land to Nicopolis, about twenty furlongs from Alexandria, he there embarked his forces in long-boats, and sailed down the Nile, on the banks of the Mendesian Canton, to the city of Thmuis, and landed at Tanis. Hence he proceeded to Heracleopolis, and thence to Pelusium, where he remained two days to refresh his troops. Then he marched across the desert, and encamped near the temple of Jupiter Cassius. On the following day he proceeded to Offraine; which is so remarkable for its drouth, that the inhabitants have no water but what they procure from other places. Thence he went to Rinocorura, where he remained some time. Raphia, the first city on the confines of Syria, was his fourth stage, and Gaza his fifth; from which he went to Ascalon, Jamnia and Joppa; and from Joppa to Caesarea, in the view of adding some reinforcement to the troops under his command.

END of the FIFTH BOOK.
Eleazar, John, and Simon had three several factions in Jerusalem. An encounter between John and Eleazar; after which John and Simon engage. Terrible calamities prevail in Jerusalem; and the people of that city are lost to every sentiment of humanity. The disposition and march of the Roman army under the command of Titus.

HAVING passed the deserts situated between Egypt and Syria, as we have already related, Titus repaired to Caesarea, where he had determined to assemble his people, and make the necessary regulations for forming his army in the most advantageous manner. During the time that he remained at Alexandria with his father, issuing orders respecting the government of the empire which the Almighty had been pleased to commit to his charge, the malecontents of Jerusalem divided themselves into three distinct
distinct parties, and severally opposed each other: and this division was considered as a favourable rather than as an unhappy circumstance, since by engaging in an opposition the promoters of public mischief seemed to be labouring to procure their own destruction.

We have already related the rise and progress of the faction of Zelotes, whose arbitrary proceedings were unquestionably the principal cause of ruin to the city of Jerusalem. In consequence of their private dissensions, the people formed themselves into different factions: and their conduct had some resemblance to a savage beast that, wanting another object on which to exercise its fury, turns its rage on itself, and preys upon its own entrails.

The separation of the faction was commenced in the temple, through the means of Eleazar, the son of Simon, who irritated the Zelotes against the people, under the pretext that the turbulent and audacious conduct of John of Gischala had daily encroached till it was at length become wholly intolerable. Eleazar was equally remarkable with John for an unrelenting cruelty of disposition; and he was influenced to desert his associates, and put himself at the head of a faction, from an impatience of inferiority and an invariable desire of tyrannical power. Judas, the son of Cleopas; Simon, the son of Ezron, men of high distinction and great interest; and Ezechias, the son of Chobar, descended of noble ancestors, attached themselves to the party of Eleazar, and each of them was attended by a company of Zelotes. This faction took possession of the interior part of the temple, and stationed guards upon the sacred doors and porches; and as they had impiously determined to obviate no distinction between sacred and profane things, they entertained a full confidence of gaining a plentiful supply of the necessaries of life, since provision would continue to be brought into the place for the purpose of the daily oblations. Their only apprehension now was that their numbers were not sufficient to effect any important enterprise.

The party headed by John of Gischala was considerably more powerful than that of Eleazar, whose deficiency in point of numbers, however, was fully compensated for by the elevated situation of his post, which gave him a great advantage over his adversary. Notwithstanding the superior strength of men that John possessed, he was sensible that, on account of his unfavourable station, all attempts to annoy Eleazar must terminate to his own disadvantage: he was unable to determine on what means to pursue; for, if he rashly followed the impulse of his rage, he feared he should have cause to repent his conduct, and he was uneasy under the idea of being driven to the necessity of repressing his desire of vengeance: but every suggestion of prudence, at length, yielded to his animosity, and he made repeated assaults upon Eleazar; in consequence whereof the temple was defiled with dead carcases, and the blood of the slain.

The people being in circumstances of great distress, had chosen Simon, the son of Gorias, for their governor and protector; and he being in possession of the whole upper and the greatest part of the lower town, directed his arms against the faction under the command of John; who being hard pressed from above by Eleazar occasioned Simon to pursue his attacks with
additional vigour. Eleazar being possessed of the most elevated spot, had a considerable advantage over John, who had an equal power over Simon, his party being stationed on still lower ground. Thus was a double war pursued against John, who had but little difficulty in repulsing the attacks made by Simon; and he exerted his utmost efforts to defend himself against Eleazar, whom he annoyed with stones and darts cast by slings and machines. The weapons discharged by these engines killed many of Eleazar’s people, and others who had repaired to the temple for the purpose of performing the duties of religion. These iniquitous people gave ready admission to all who came to the temple from religious motives; but the Jews were subjected to more particular examinations than others. Many of the strangers who escaped the rage of the soldiers, were killed by the stones and lances discharged by the faction under John, and numbers of these weapons reached the very altar, and destroyed the priests who were employed in discharging the duties of the sacred function. Persons who had repaired from distant parts of the globe were sacrificed in the holy temple, where they meant to offer prayers and adorations to the Almighty; and the altar, which not only the Greeks, but even the most barbarous nations, held in the greatest veneration, was polluted with their blood. The carcases of persons sacred and profane, strangers and natives, were promiscuously heaped together, and the blood issuing from them flowed up to the very altar.

Alas, Jerusalem! Most unhappy city! Thou wert now reduced to a state of misery infinitely surpassing the horrors that ensued when thou wert entered by the Romans, who endeavoured by fire and sword to purify thee from thy apostasies, factions, and other abominations! No longer wert thou worthy to be called the residence of the Almighty, whose place of abode thou hadst changed for the sepulchre of thy citizens: and it could not be expected that the impious provocations of thy degenerate sons would escape with impunity. But it is, however, still possible to appease an incensed Creator, who hath been pleased to afflict thee with a judicial punishment; he is all benevolence and righteousness; and, I say, by a sincere humiliation and repentance it is still possible that he may be moved to compassion. But it is not the province of an historian to indulge private passions: I must therefore proceed to a relation of the events which followed the dissensions above-recited.

Eleazar and his faction, who had the charge of the first-fruits and oblations, were frequently in a state of intoxication; and they made repeated assaults upon John; who attacked Simon as well as the people who supplied Simon with provisions, thereby the better enabling him to withstand the other two factions. When John was attacked by Simon and Eleazar at the same time, he divided his forces, and annoyed the former with darts discharged from the tops of the porches, and against the latter he directed his engines for casting stones and arrows. Through the intoxication or fatigue of Eleazar and his people, they allowed John frequent intervals; and he, availing himself of these opportunities, made more powerful assaults upon Simon, whom he compelled to retire, and in the pursuit set fire to store-houses, graneries, habitations and other buildings, wholly regardless of what they contained; and
a like conduct was adopted by Simon when John was under the necessity of returning to his quarters. In short, they destroyed all that was necessary for the defence of the city; and had they been actually engaged in a conspiracy for betraying the place into the power of the Romans they could not have pursued more certain means for effecting that purpose. All that surrounded the temple was entirely consumed by fire. There was a flock of grain and other necessaries of life sufficient for the maintenance of the inhabitants during a siege of several years; but nearly the whole of this supply being burnt, a famine ensued, which produced the utter destruction of the city.

Being at the same time besieged by the Romans, and distracted by internal divisions, Jerusalem resembled a body exposed as a prey to savage and furious beasts. The women and ancient men put forth prayers for the success of the Romans, hoping to be relieved by a foreign enemy from the intolerable calamities of civil discord. The situation of the inhabitants was deplorable beyond description: the resolutions they formed they were wholly unable to execute: there remained no possibility of escape, all the avenues being strictly watched and guarded; for the leaders of the factions, notwithstanding their inveterate enmity in other respects, united in the determination to sacrifice to their barbarity each of the people as were even suspected to entertain the most distant wish of success to the Romans, and to put every man to death who was worthy to enjoy life. The shouts of those who were engaged, the lamentations of the wounded, and the clashing of arms, were incessantly heard both day and night. They were made sufficiently unhappy by the dread of the evils with which futurity seemed to be pregnant; but when those evils actually arrived, their miseries were greatly increased. When afflictions are multiplied to a certain degree, they throw us into a kind of stupor, and deprive us of the power of complaint; and then grief, like a canker, silently corrodes the heart. All distinction of persons was lost; nor was more respect paid to the dead than the living; for funeral rites, and all other decencies which it is usual to observe towards the dead, were entirely neglected. Those who were not engaged as parties in either of the factions abandoned themselves to despair, and became regardless of their safety, expecting every moment to be involved in irretrievable destruction. The people who composed the factions, mounted the heaps of slain, and fought with a seeming triumph and ostentation, whence it appeared as if the horrors of the scene had rendered the living as insensible to the feelings of humanity, as were the dead beneath their feet. These people were so determined upon wickedness, that they engaged in the most cruel and impious undertakings without the least hesitation. John applied to profane purposes a quantity of materials appointed for the service of the holy temple. The people and the high-priests had formed a design of raising the temple twenty cubits, and erecting an arch for the support of the work; and for the purpose of carrying the plan into execution, King Agrippa, at an amazing expense, and with much labour, caused a quantity of timber, remarkable for its length, breadth, and excellent quality, to be conveyed from mount Libanus: but the war taking place, the undertaking was of course interrupted. John caused the trees to be cut into lengths, and to be employed in forming turrets for defending himself against the
the attacks of Eleazar. The turrets were erected along the wall to the westward, opposite the great hall; and indeed there were no other places which would admit of these works being formed, on account of the many flights of steps by which they were occupied. John cherished the flattering idea that, by the impious contrivance of perverting the sacred materials to his own use, he would be enabled to subdue his enemies; but through the providence of Heaven, the Romans were made the instruments of rendering his design abortive.

Having assembled one part of his army, and commanded the remainder to march to Jerusalem, Titus repaired to Cæsarea. Exclusive of the three legions which had made great devastation and havoc in Judæa, while under the command of Vespasian, he was accompanied by the twelfth legion, which was composed of brave and well-disciplined troops, whose natural trepidity was greatly increased by the desire of revenge for the defeat they had sustained under the command of Cestius. He commanded the fifth legion to march by the way of Ammaus, and the tenth by that of Jericho; and he himself led the rest of the army, with a more powerful body of royal auxiliaries than had been supplied on any former occasion, and a numerous company of Syrian troops. Detachments from the four legions having been sent into Italy, under the conduct of Mucianus, Titus completed the companies by supplying the places of the draughted men out of the two thousand chosen Alexandrian troops who accompanied him, and the three thousand that followed him from the Euphrates. He was joined by his valuable and much respected friend Tiberius Alexander, formerly the governor of Egypt, who, soon after he had assumed that office, espoused the cause of Vespasian, and contracted an alliance with him, to which he adhered, without suffering the uncertain events of fortune to shake his fidelity. He was a man of deep penetration, sound judgment, great courage and fortitude; and, in short, his experience, and the many other advantages he possessed, eminently qualified him to direct the operations of war.

C H A P. II.

Titus proceeds to Jerusalem in order to reconnoitre the situation of the enemy, who make a furious sally, and cut off the communication between the two divisions of the Roman army. The providential escape of Titus, who performs great feats of valour, and returns to the camp.

Titus led his army into the country of the enemy in the following order: the auxiliaries marched first; they were followed by the pioneers; to whom succeeded the troops appointed to mark out the ground where the camp was to be formed; next came the baggage of the officers, attended by a convoy; and then followed Titus, escorted by his guards and other chosen troops, and attended by the ensign-bearers; these were succeeded by the tribunes and other officers, with a number of selected men under their command;
the next in course was the Roman eagle, surrounded by the ensigns of the legions, and preceded by trumpets; then marched the body of the army in rank and file, the men being drawn up six in front, and followed by the domestics with their baggage: the rear was formed by the victuallers, artizans, and other mercenaries, escorted by their guard. Thus, according to the military discipline of the Romans, Titus led his army, by the way of Samaria, to Gophna, which Vespasian had formerly subdued, and therein established a garrison. On the following morning he proceeded towards a place called by the Jews the "Valley of Thorns," situated near thirty furlongs from Jerusalem, and adjacent to the village of Gabath Saul, or, the valley of Saul, where he arrived and encamped his army the same evening.

Titus now led a body of six hundred select cavalry towards Jerusalem, in order to reconnoitre the city, and inform himself of the situation of the Jews. He was sensible that the people were disposed to peace, and desirous of being relieved from the oppression of the factious parties, whom they were heartily inclined to oppose, but were deterred from attempting the enterprise by the want of a force adequate to the undertaking: and he conceived that the appearance of his army might probably induce them to surrender without proceeding to an engagement. Titus marched forward, and while he continued in the direct road to the city, none of the Jews appeared upon the battlements: but upon his crossing towards the turret called Psephinos, a great concourse of Jews suddenly issued from the gate opposite the sepulchre of Helena, on that quarter called the woman's tower, and forcing a passage through the cavalry, intercepted all communication between the two divisions of the Roman army. Titus found himself, accompanied by only a small number of his troops, in a situation whence he could not advance on account of the gardens, enclosures and ditches between him and the city, or retreat since a powerful body of Jews had stationed themselves between him and the rest of his army. Such of Titus's men as were ignorant of their general's danger, believing him to be among the crowd engaged in providing for his own safety, conceived that their business was to elude the vengeance of the enemy, and to follow their commander. In the terrible extremity to which Titus was reduced, he was conscious that his safety must wholly depend on the success of an extraordinary effort of courage; and therefore he called to his people, commanding them to follow him, and at the same instant rode furiously amidst the body of the Jews, in order to force a passage to the rest of his army. He meant not, as we have already observed, to encounter the Jews; but his whole view was to make observations and discoveries; and therefore he had omitted to provide himself with armour for the defence of either his body or head: but he received not the least injury, notwithstanding immense numbers of darts, arrows, and other weapons were discharged against him by the enemy. Titus put every man who opposed his progress to death, and trampled great numbers of the enemy under his horse's feet. The surprizing exploits performed by Titus, inflamed the Jews with additional rage; and they exhorted each other to exert their utmost efforts for effecting his destruction, as the only means of interrupting the success of the Roman arms. The Jews pressed upon Titus, both in flank and rear, but wherever he turned
turned the enemy fled before him, and his people kept close to him, and behaved with great resolution. Titus and his party now conceived that there remained no probable means of escape but by forcing a passage through the adverse army; and this desperate exploit they attempted. In the action two of Titus's friends were slain, and the horse of one of them was killed, and that of the other seized by the enemy; but the general and the remaining part of his company gained the camp without receiving a wound or being otherwise injured. Hence it appears that the providence of the Almighty is interposed to direct the events of war for the preservation of emperors and princes. The flight and temporary advantage obtained by the Jews gave them hopes of more important success; but their flattering expectations were disappointed, as will hereafter appear.

**CHAP. III.**

The factions unite to oppose the Romans, who are surprized and put to flight. Titus leads a party of troops to the relief of the fugitives, and the Romans kill several of the Jews, and pursue the rest into the valley. Their general being missing occasions a great consternation among the Romans. The Jews retreat, still disputing the advantages gained by the enemy; but Titus drives them into the valley.

The legion from Ammaus joined Titus that night, and early on the following morning he directed his march towards Scopos, situated seven stadia from Jerusalem, on the northern side. Scopos stands in a hollow, but it commands a view of the city and temple, and therefore it is not improperly denominated. Titus ordered two legions to use all possible expedition for an encampment, and the legion which, by performing a tedious march during the night, was greatly fatigued, he appointed to form their camp at the distance of three stadia farther from the enemy. The troops had no sooner begun to carry their general's orders into execution than the tenth legion arrived from Jericho, which had been lately taken and garrisoned by Vespasian. Titus ordered this legion to encamp at six stadia eastward of Jerusalem and the mount of Olives, which is opposite the city, they being separated by the valley of Cedron.

The appearance of the Roman army proved a circumstance highly alarming to the three seditious parties, who now divested themselves of the animosity they had entertained against each other, and united to oppose the common enemy. They thus argued with themselves on the necessity of compromising the domestic contentions: "We are surrounded by an hostile army "who have made every preparation for a vigorous prosecution of war, and "both our lives and liberties are now in the most imminent danger. Thus "situated, shall we suffer intestine divisions to prevail, to the certain destruction of ourselves, and consequently to the advantage of our enemies? Our "conduct (said one of the people) is calculated to give victory to our adversaries without putting them to the trouble of fighting, or subjecting them..."
"to the loss of blood; for the destruction of each other seems to be the ob-sject that claims our principal attention." Hereupon they assembled in par-ties, and furiously rushing across the valley, with violent shouts and cla-mours, assaulted the tenth legion, who were then employed in forming the in-trenchments of their camp. The Romans were surprized while they were at work, and unprovided with weapons of defence; and they entertained not the least apprehension of danger, judging the dispositions which prevailed in the city a sufficient security against receiving any annoyance from the enemy. When the attack was made, all the Romans quitted their stations in great conflagration; some fought their safety in flight, others ran to take up arms, but before they could make use of them, they were cut off by the enemy. The success of the Jews animated considerable numbers of people of the fame profeffion to reinforce them; and though they were not remarkably numerous, their victory inspired them, as well as the Romans, with the idea of greater strength than they possessed in reality. It must be generally acknowledged that of all the people of the univerfe the Romans are by far the moft skilful in the art of war, and that they perform all the military exercifes and duties with unrivalled grace and regularity: but upon being so unexpectedly at-tacked, they trembled with apprehenfion, deserted their posts, and were pur-fued; still, however, as they were overtaken by such as had gained ground of the body of the Jews, they turned in order to repulfte them, and they killed and wounded several. As, on the one hand, the number of the Jews continued to encreafe, so, on the other, did the terror and confideration among the Romans, who, at length, abandoned their camp; and the whole legion would inevitably have been destroyed had not Titus, attended by a body of chosen troops, arrived to their relief; the appearance of the general put a flop to the flight, and he upbraided the fugitives with being deficient in point of courage. He attacked the Jews in flank, killed several, wounded a greater number, and drove the reft into the valley: the Jews crossed the val-ley in great disorder, and in their flight a considerable number was slain: having gained the further side of the valley, they made a stand, and main-tained a contest with the Romans till mid-day. Early in the afternoon Titus re-inforced the legion with the troops he had led to its succour when it was put to flight by the Jews; and having stationed parties in proper places to guard against excursions of the enemy, he ordered the remaining part of his people to proceed up the mountain, on the summit of which they were to encamp and raise fortifications.

The Jews, obferving the Roman troops to be in motion, imagined that they were actually flying; and this idea was strengthened by the shaking a garment in the air by one of the centinels upon the walls of the town, which was a signal that had been previously agreed upon. In confequence of this intimation, the Jews pressed towards the enemy in so impetuous a manner, that they rather appeared to be furious and savage beasts than human crea-tures. The Jews rushed to the assault with such violence, that their adver-saries were not able to withstand so great a shock, but were dispersed as if by the stroke of some terrible engine: but they exerted every possible effort to preserve themselves by endeavouring to gain the top of the mountain. Titus made
made a stand about the middle of the hill, being attended by only a small number of intrepid friends, who professed that they entertained the highest veneration for his sacred person, which they exhorted him no longer to expose to the dangerous rage of a profligate banditti, but to preserve a necessary regard to his exalted station and character; they represented that the Jews were driven to such a state of desperation that death was the best event that could happen to them; that he was not to be considered merely in the character of a warrior, but as the sovereign of the world, and therefore it was necessary that he should listen to the suggestions of prudence, which dictated that it became a point of duty to preserve a life on which so materially depended the honor and safety of the Roman empire. Wholly regardless of the friendly advice of his companions, Titus maintained his ground, resolutely opposing the assailants, some of whom he cut over the face, others he killed, and drove some into the valley. The bravery of Titus kept the Jews in some awe, but still they did not deem it necessary to seek refuge in the city: they formed an opening to the right and left, and assaulted Titus and his party on each side; but the Romans attacked them in flank, and fought with astonishing bravery.

The Romans who were employed in fortifying their camp at the top of the mountain, were struck with such astonishment and horror upon perceiving their companions fly, that the whole legion deserted the camp, and ran from place to place in the greatest confusion; they imagined that their countrymen were not able to withstand the superior power of the Jews, and that their general had actually quitted the field, or his troops would not have abandoned him. Some of the Romans perceiving Titus engaged in the midst of his enemies, called to their companions, apprising them of their general's danger, and urging them to haste to his relief. The alarming situation of Titus transported the Romans to so violent a desire of revenge, that, wholly regardless of their own safety, they furiously assaulted the Jews, and pursued them down the mountain. In their retreat the Jews continued to oppose their adversaries, and lost not a foot of ground without resistance: but the Romans having the advantage of the higher ground, compelled their enemies to retire, and pursued them into the valley. Titus valiantly fought against those who opposed him, and his example greatly animated his followers. He remained with his own party for the purpose of keeping the foe at a distance, and ordered the legion to return to the summit of the mountain and complete the intrenchments. Without making any flattering additions or envious detractions, I may safely assert that the legion was twice in one day indebted to Titus for their preservation. The troops were now at liberty to form their camp and raise their intrenchments.
Under a religious pretext John meditates the execution of a horrid scene of villainy. The factions form themselves into two parties. Titus advances towards the city, and orders a considerable tract of land to be levelled.

Suspension of hostilities now took place, during which the dissensions among the Jews revived. The Paschal feast, or the feast of unleavened bread, which is celebrated on the fourteenth of the month Xanthicus, whence the Jews date their deliverance out of Egypt, was now approaching; on which account Eleazar caused the gate of the temple to be opened, that all who repaired thither from religious motives might have free admittance.

John impiously determined to take advantage of the opportunity which the religious occasion afforded; and therefore he selected a number of his adherents, whose persons were least known, and providing them with daggers and other weapons, to be concealed under their garments, instructed them as to the measures they were to pursue. According to the directions they had received, these people, who were of profane and dissolute principles, dispersed themselves among the people who had assembled in the temple for the purpose of performing the duties of religion, and then, throwing open their garments, exposed their weapons. The worshippers imagined that the design of the armed men was hostile towards all the other people who were in the building, and the utmost confusion prevailed; but Eleazar and the Zelotes were perfectly sensible that they were the objects against whom the resentment of John was principally directed. The guards now drew off from the gates, others leaped from the towers where they were stationed, and without attempting the least resistance, fled to conceal themselves in the vaults of the building. Some of the people who repaired to the altar were pressed or trampled to death by the crowd; others lost their lives by the sword, and many were destroyed by means of cudgels. Those who entertained private animosities gratified their desire of revenge by murdering their adversaries under the pretence of their being friends to the opposite parties. Notwithstanding the unrelenting cruelty which was exercised upon the innocent, many of the guilty were permitted to escape from the holes and vaults where they had concealed themselves. The interior part of the temple being now in possession of the Zelotes, they assaulted Simon with additional vigour; and the factions were now reduced into two divisions.

At this time the Roman general formed the resolution of advancing his army nearer to Jerusalem; and preparatory to his removal he appointed a sufficient number of troops to repulse the Jews in case parties of them should attempt to make inroads or offer obstruction to his progress; and another body of his people he ordered to level and make good all the ways between the place where his army was now posted and the city. In consequence hereof, the walls, hedges, fences about the gardens belonging to the country people, and all other enclosures were removed; the trees were cut down, not even
those producing the most choice fruits being spared; the hollows were filled up; the crags were made even; and the space of ground extending from Scopos to Jerusalem was entirely levelled.

C H A P. V.

The Jews concert measures for deceiving the Romans: but Titus puts no confidence in their pretence. A stratagem formed by the Jews prevails. The Roman soldiers condemned to suffer the martial laws: but, through the mediation of the officers, Titus pardons them. Jerusalem besieged.

A Plot was now concerted among the Jews for deceiving the enemy. A number of the most resolute of the people left the city, going out near the place called the women's towers, pretending that their dread of the party who were advocates for a reconciliation had compelled them to leave the town, and keeping themselves as close together, and as much concealed as possible, they appeared to be fearful of venturing farther lest they should be attacked by the Romans. Another party, who were stationed upon the walls, raising their voices to the utmost extent, in the name of the inhabitants called for peace and alliance with the enemy, supplicating them to agree to a compromise; and promising that the gates should be opened: and to give their deception an air of plausibility, they counterfeited a domestic contention; some pretending to be defirous of going over to the Romans, and others casting stones and using other means as if to obstruct them. After several feigned attempts and repulses the former party retired, affecting to be violently enraged and much disappointed. The deception operated upon the common soldiers, who imagined that there was nothing wanting to give them absolute possession of the city but the ceremony of opening the gates, and they eagerly pressed forward to reap the fruits of ideal conquest. On the preceding day Titus had made the Jews an offer, through the agency of Joseph, of the very matter which they now seemed so anxious to obtain, and the proposal was rejected; and therefore he conceived that they had adopted their present conduct with a view of taking advantage of his credulity, and strictly enjoined his troops to maintain their posts and resolutely stand to their arms. In the interim some of the soldiers who were stationed upon the trenches took up their arms and eagerly went towards the city. The Jews who pretended to have been driven out of the town, permitted them to pass without obstruction: but when they had proceeded nearly as far as the towers adjacent to the port, they followed them close upon the rear, and hemmed them round within reach of darts, stones, and other weapons discharged from the walls. Thus situated, great numbers of the Romans were slain and wounded: and, being unable to retire, the survivors were greatly affected by the sense of disobedience and the fear of punishment, they became hardened into a determination of pursuing the cause in which they had engaged. After a long and obstinate contest, in which the parties sustained an equal loss, the Romans were forced
forced a passage through the body of the Jews, who pursued them as far as
the sepulchre of Helena, continuing to annoy them with lances and other
weapons, and uttering contemptuous speeches reflecting upon them for hav-
ing submitted to be the dupes of their stratagem. The Jews expressed their
satisfaction by leaping, dancing, waving their bucklers over their heads, and
uttering shouts of triumph and joy.

The Romans being returned to their quarters, they were severely reprimanded and threatened by their officers; and the general reproved them in the
following terms: "Whence is it (said he) that our enemies, even now,
when reduced to a state of the utmost desperation, behave with such deli-
beration, good policy and courage? The answer must be, because they are
perfectly obedient to the directions of their superiors, and live in a state of
unanimity among themselves. But the Romans, on the contrary, who
have hitherto been so justly celebrated for their exact observance of the
military order and discipline, and for their consequent success in war, are
now degenerated and ruined by their impetuosity in presuming to engage
without the sanction and directions of their commanders: and what ag-
gravates the crime, is, that it was committed in presence of the emperor's
son. How vile a disgrace will your late conduct prove to the military pro-
fession; and when it is represented to my father, how greatly will you be
debarred in his opinion? In the long course of a military life he never ex-
xperienced a similar incident. The martial law declares that the smallest
violation of discipline constitutes a capital crime. In the present instance
you have proved yourselves defectors: and be informed that, according to
the Roman institutions, when soldiers engage without the order of their
commanders, even victory is disgraceful, and will not secure them from
the punishment which is due to their disobedience." From the indignation
and resentment which Titus manifested while delivering the above speech,
the officers imagined that the martial law was to be put in force; and the off-
fenders, conscious that they had deferred the punishment that they feared
would be inflicted upon them, entertained no expectation of escaping destruc-
tion. But the officers of the legions supplicated Titus in favor of their un-
fortunate fellow soldiers, entreating that, for the sake of those who had in
no instance violated their duty, he would remit the punishment due to a few
 rash and inconsiderate people, whose future services would compensate for
their past offences. It was both the interest and inclination of the general to
listen to the mediation of his officers; for though it may be necessary to use
severity towards individuals, political considerations will not permit similar
measures to be pursued in regard to multitudes. Upon receiving an assurance
that the offenders would in future conduct themselves in a manner perfectly
consistent with their duty, Titus granted a pardon of all past offences; and
he now directed his attention towards discovering the most effectual means for
wreaking vengeance upon the enemy for the treacherous conduct by which
his people had been enframed.

He ordered the ground from the spot where he was stationed to the city
wall to be formed on a level; and this work was completed in the space of
only four days. He now commanded the most intrepid and best disciplined
of
of his soldiers to proceed towards the ramparts between the north and west; the infantry were drawn up in seven battalions, and the cavalry were formed into three squadrons, archers being stationed between them. This force being sufficient to prevent the success of any excursions that might be made by the enemy, the baggage and train belonging to the three legions were perfectly secure.

Titus established his camp at the distance of two stadia from Jerusalem, opposite the tower named Ploeephinos, on that angle of the wall of the city running from the north to the westward; he intrenched another part of his army towards the tower Hippicos, about two furlongs from the town; and he appointed the tenth legion to remain on Mount Olivet.

C H A P. VI.

The city of Jerusalem fully described. It is surrounded by three walls. The strength of the old wall. Account of the towers named Hippicos, Phaæthus and Mariamne. Mention made of a dreadful conflagration. The situation, magnificence and structure of the temple. The place of worship for the women. The sacred sanctuary. The interior part of it, with its partitions. Account of the candlestick, table and altar. The beauty of the temple on the outside. Its roof; and the altar in its front. No admittance for unclean persons. The holy lives and conversation of the priests. Of their veil. Of the ephod. Account of Fort Antonia.

Three celebrated walls surrounded the city of Jerusalem on every side, except on that part which was deemed inaccessible, on account of the valley beneath; and in this place there was only one wall. This city is built on two hills, the one situated opposite to the other; and a deep valley lies between them, the whole of which is likewise built on. The mountain on which the upper town is situated is much more steep and lofty than the other. In regard to the strength of its situation it originally received the name of the Fortres or Castle, from king David, the father of Solomon, who erected it: but the Upper Market is the name by which it has been distinguished in more modern times.

The situation of the lower town is on another hill, which is called by the name of Acra, round about which there is a declivity remarkably steep. Opposite to this there was formerly another hill, not so high as the Acra, from which it was separated by an extensive valley: but during the power of the Amonaean princes, they caused this valley to be filled up, and detaching a part of the hill Acra, they united the town with the temple; in consequence of which it commands and overlooks all the adjacent parts.

Tyropeon is the name given to the above-mentioned valley, which divides the upper from the lower town: this valley extends even to the fountain of Siloe, the waters of which are equally distinguished by their great abundance, and the excellence of their flavour.

Without the city there are two other towns, which are rendered almost inaccessible, by the crags and precipices which surround them on every side. The
The most ancient of the three walls was remarkable for its extraordinary strength; being erected on a hanging rock, and protected by the depth of the valley beneath it. Exclusive of the advantages of its natural situation, it was repeatedly strengthened, at an immense expense, and by all the arts of industry, by David, Solomon, and a number of other princes. Its commencement on one side was at the tower named Hippocos; and it continued to another place, named the Galleries, stretching away by the Town-House, to the western porch of the temple. On the other side, reckoning from the same spot, it extended by Bethfo, down to the Esique-Gate, and thence, bending southwards, by the fountain of Siloe, at which place it turned eastward, towards the pool of Solomon, and was from thence continued to the east porch of the temple, by the way of Ophlas.

At the gate called Genath, which belongs to the former wall, the second wall commences, and is carried on by the north side of the city, to the fort Antonia.

The beginning of the third wall being at the tower Hippocos, it extended northward to that named Psephinos, opposite to the sepulchre of Helena, mother of king Izates, and queen of the Adiabenians: and hence it continued by the Royal Caves, from the tower at the corner, towards the place which is denominated the Fullers Monument; after which it met the old wall in the valley of Cedron. This was the extent of the third wall, which was built by Agrippa, as a protection to that part of the city which he had erected; which, before this wall was built, had been totally undefended. About this period the city had so far increased in the number of its inhabitants, that it was unable to contain them; in consequence of which a fort of suburbs were by degrees erected: and the buildings increased to a very great degree on the north side of the temple next the hill.

Opposite to the fort Antonia there was a fourth mountain: but, between this mountain and the fort, ditches of an amazing depth had been cut, so that it was impossible to come at the foundation of the fort, so as to undermine it; and exclusive of this advantage, the sinking of the ditches apparently added to the height of the tower. This fourth mountain received the name of Bezeth, or the New Town; being, in fact, nothing more than an addition to the former buildings. No sooner was this place well peopled, than the inhabitants requested that it might be fortified: whereupon Agrippa, the father of king Agrippa, adjusted his plan, and laid the foundation of the wall about it, as hath already been mentioned: but afterwards, on more mature deliberation, he thought that Claudius Caesar might possibly be offended at his undertaking a work of such importance and magnificence: wherefore Agrippa dropped the farther prosecution of his plan, after he had laid the foundations: but if he had proceeded to have completed it, the capture of Jerusalem would have been rendered totally impracticable.

Twenty cubits was the length of the stones that formed this wall, and the breadth of them ten; and they were so remarkably hard and firm, that mining or battery could have no effect on them. The thickness of the wall was ten cubits, and it would have been built of proportionable height, if Agrippa had
had not dropped his design (as hath been hinted) in apprehension of the jealousy of Claudius Caesar. After this, however, the Jews carried up the wall to the height of twenty cubits, and erected on it battlements of two cubits, and parapets of three, making, in the whole, twenty-five cubits. Towers of twenty cubits square formed the fortifications of the wall; and these towers were built with as much strength as the wall itself; nor were the stones and workmanship even of the temple superior in beauty and strength to those of this wall. The towers were elevated twenty cubits above the wall, and they were ascended by circular stair-cases. On the top of them were dining-rooms and chambers, and cisterns for the reception of rain-water. The third wall was distinguished by having on it ninety towers, all built in the same style of architecture, and situated from each other at equal distances of two hundred cubits. The old wall had sixty towers, and the middle only fourteen; and the extent of ground round the whole city was thirty-three furlongs.

The architecture of the third wall was deemed a piece of workmanship of very extraordinary merit: yet it was considerably inferior to that of the tower named Psephinus: this tower is situated on the angle of the wall, to the north-west of the city: and it was on this quarter that Titus encamped. Its height was seventy cubits; and the prospect from it so extensive, that, in fine weather, it commands a view of Arabia, the sea, and the whole extent of the Jewish dominions; and there were eight angles to this tower.

Directly opposite to it was the tower named Hippocos, and near it were two others, which had been erected by Herod, on the old wall, which were held in the highest estimation, on account of their magnitude, strength and elegance: for Herod, impelled by other motives than his own ambition, gratified his inclination in consulting, on all occasions, the advantage and dignity of the city. His three towers he consecrated to the memory of three persons, for whom he maintained a more sincere regard than for all the rest of the human race. These three were his brother, his friend and his wife. An honourable death in the field of battle had distinguished the two former; and, of the latter, he himself, in a transport of jealousy, had occasioned the destruction.

One of the towers received the name of Hippocos, which was that of one of Herod's friends. It had four angles; was thirty cubits in height, and five and twenty in breadth; and the whole body of it was of solid stone. On the first story of it was a platform of stones, twenty cubits in depth, formed in a most admirable manner, for the reception of rain-water. Above this terrace were two stories, each twenty-five cubits high, which were divided into separate apartments: and above these were battlements of two cubits in height; and the parapets surrounding the building were three cubits high: eighty-five cubits being the elevation of the whole edifice.

To the second tower Herod gave the name of Phasael, being that of his brother. It was a square building, being forty cubits every way, and of the same height, and was massive from the top to the bottom. Upon the building was a porch of ten cubits in height, supported by arches, and adorned in a most curious manner. Above the center of this porch was another, in
which were rich baths and other apartments corresponding with the magnificent taste of the royal builder. There were several battlementst and fortifications on the top of the tower, the elevation of the whole building being little less than ninety cubits. At a distance it had some sort of a resemblance to the famous watch-tower of Pharos, which was distinguished as a celebrated landmark for persons sailing towards Alexandria: but it was much larger than Pharos, and, at the period of which I am writing, was inhabited by the tyrannical oppressor, Simon.

The third tower obtained the name of Mariamne, from that of the wife of Herod; it was of a square form, being twenty cubits broad, and the same in length, and of the height of fifty-five. The other two towers were distinguished by the curiosity of their structure, rooms and furniture, the latter being very superb and rich: but this of Mariamne as much exceeded them in every article of curiosity, beauty and ornament, as it fell short of them in strength and dignity: for Herod, in these buildings, consulted the laws of propriety; and therefore made a manifest difference between the delicacy of such a lady as Mariamne, and the manly and heroic virtues of Hippocles and Phaæcl.

The height of these three towers was undoubtedly very great; and yet the situation of the place on which they were built made it appear much more than it was in reality. The old wall above which they stood was erected on a very high piece of ground; and these towers were built on the top of a mountain that was thirty cubits above the top of the old wall. They were not less distinguished by their admirable structure, than by theingular materials of which they were formed. The stones were of a scarce kind, and too large to be removed without the use of machines. They were of white marble, cut into planks of five cubits in depth, ten in breadth, and twenty in length; and they were joined together in so ingenious a manner, that no kind of breach was to be seen; but each of the towers had an appearance as if it was formed out of a single block of marble.

The situation of these buildings was on the north side of the city; and just within them stood a royal palace, far more costly and magnificent than it is in the power of language to describe. It was entirely enclosed with a wall of thirty cubits high: the turrets which were designed and executed by the most accomplished workmen, were placed at equal distances from each other, round the whole building, which contained a great number of elegant apartments, and rooms appropriated to entertainments, sufficient for the accommodation of an hundred people. The ornaments consisted, in part, of an amazing number of the most curious marbles, which had been purchased at an immense expence, and were distinguished by their beauty and variety. All the decorations tending to complete the work were incredibly magnificent: and the beams and timbers by which the roofs were supported were of a very extraordinary size and strength. There were a great number of apartments, and passages between them, of the most admirable contrivance, equally calculated for convenience and elegance; the whole place being adorned in the most magnificent manner with gold, silver, and other valuable articles. There was likewise a great variety of porches and galleries, built
built in a kind of circular communication with each other; and in each of these was a row of pillars. Between these pillars, which were in the open air, there was the most agreeable prospect imaginable of groves and well-planting gardens. These gardens were ornamented with long and agreeable walks, cisterns, fountains, and pipes of brafs contrived to throw out the water; while flights of tame pigeons haunted the place for their recreation. It is not in the power of any pen to do justice to the elegance of this palace; besides, I am fiung to the heart at the consideration of the story, when I reflect what a horrid devastation hath been made there, by the infamous hands of an associated crew of abandoned russians: for the conflagration, of which notice hath been already taken, was not occasioned by the Romans, but by a band of profligate miscreants, who, at the commencement of the seditious proceedings, burnt the place as far as the fort of Antonia, and then, continuing their depredations to the palace, burnt also the roofs of the three towers.

I have already remarked that this temple was erected on a solid rock, which was so steep on every side, that at first its summit was insufficient for the erection of the temple, and to make the enclosure that was to surround it: but when king Solomon began to erect this building, he directed that a wall should be built to the eastward of it, to support the earth: which being done, he erected a porch on the rampart. At this period there was not any other fortification; but the people continually carrying up earth to supply the defective ground, the extent of the hill was gradually increased. In process of time the north wall was likewise broken down, and as much ground gained by that circumstance, as, with the former, served for the foundation of the whole temple.

Every thing having thus succedded even beyond what was expected, the inhabitants encompassed the hill with three walls, but in the course of a long period, and at an astonishing expence: for the building of which we are speaking was the work of ages, and religious donations from every part of the world, contributed to the honor of God, and the advancement of his devotion; including the expence of the upper as well as of the lower temple. This last was built on a foundation of three hundred cubits in depth; but this depth was not apparent; for the valley was filled up even to the level of the streets of the city. The stones of which this immense pile of building was erected were forty cubits in length: a proof that no undertaking is so difficult, but that riches, resolution, time, patience, and unremitting assiduity may complete it.

The grandeur of the superstructure of this work was by no means inferior to the extraordinary foundations on which it was laid. The upper galleries were all double, supported by uniform pillars of white marble, of the height of twenty-five cubits. These galleries were wainscotted with cedar, which being of the smoothest grain, and wrought up in the most curious manner, needed neither the additional ornaments of carving or painting, to render them extremely agreeable to the sight. The galleries were each thirty cubits in breadth, and, including the tower of Antonia, the whole circumference of them was six stadia.
In the open exposure the ground was paved with a great variety of different stones; and the approach to the second temple had stone balustrades on each side of it, of three cubits in height, carved and polished in a most curious manner. The pillars in this passage were disposed in regular order, and adorned with Latin and Greek inscriptions, recommending the virtues of continence and charity, and prohibiting strangers: from entering into the sacred place: for the second temple, which was situated fourteen steps above the first, was deemed holy. Its figure was a regular square, and it was surrounded by a wall, which was forty cubits on the outside, and only twenty-five within, the other space being covered by the steps that led up to it. This wall being built on a rising ground, with stairs to it, part of the inside of it was so hidden by the mountain, that it did not appear to the view.

Above these fourteen steps there was a level ground of three hundred cubits up to the wall; from the end of which there were five more steps to the gates of the temple. There were likewise two steps from the east, four from the north, and the same number from the south. A particular place was appropriated for the worship of the women: it had a partition wall to it, in which were two gates, one on the north, and the other, on the south side, which were the only places at which the women were allowed to enter; nor was it lawful for them to pass their own boundaries: but these entrances were free to all women, strangers as well as inhabitants, who came thither for the purposes of devotion. On the west side there was only a dead-wall, in which there was no door. Between the gates above-mentioned, and opposite the interior wall, near the treasury, there were galleries supported by pillars not much inferior to those below, and in a style of decency and elegance.

Of the gates above-mentioned some were plated with gold and silver, even to the posts and front; but on the exterior part of the temple there was one gate of Corinthian brays, which is deemed more valuable than either of the other metals. Every gate had double doors, each thirty cubits in height, and fifteen in breadth. On the inside of the doors there were withdrawing rooms, on each side, of thirty cubits square, and above twenty cubits in height: they were built according to the fashion of turrets, and each of them was supported by pillars of twelve cubits in thickness; and the other gates were, in proportion, of similar dimensions. With regard to the Corinthian portal, on the eastern side of the temple, which was the entrance appropriated to the women, it was larger than all the others, and exceeded them in magnificence: for it had forty gates, was fifty cubits in height, and was embellished with a greater profusion of gold and silver plates than had been bestowed on the other nine gates, by Alexander, the father of Tiberius. From the wall that separated the men from the women there were fifteen steps to the great gate; but to each of the other gates there were twenty.

Twelve stairs formed the ascent to the place properly called the temple; that is the sacred temple or sanctuary. The height of this building was one hundred cubits; the breadth of it, in front, was of equal extent; but, on the back of it, it was only sixty: for, on the entrance of it, there were two additional risesd buildings, each of twenty cubits. The first gate measured seventy cubits in height, and twenty-five in breadth: but it had no doors, being
being intended as an emblem of Heaven, and therefore left visible to all mankind. The outsides and the front were gilt in a most costly manner; and the inside of the temple had an equal effect to strike the eye with an idea of magnificence.

The interior part of the sanctuary was separated into two partitions: and of these the first which appeared to view was open to the top, which was of the height of ninety cubits, of the length of forty, and of the breadth of twenty. I have already observed that the inside of the gate was plated with gold, and the wall about it gilt on all parts. Depending from the top there were leaves and branches of vines, and large clusters of grapes hanging down five or six feet, and all these were made of gold. The other division of the temple was covered with a ceiling, and therefore appeared the lower of the two. The doors which opened to it were fifty-five cubits in height, and sixteen in breadth, and were made of gold. Before the doors hung a piece of Babylonian tapestry, of equal height and breadth with the doors; and this tapestry was a mixture of scarlet, purple and blue, interwoven in a most curious manner, and wrought up to the highest degree of art. Nor was this intermixture considered merely as a curiosity, but as a mysterious allusion to the four elements, either by the materials of which the piece was formed, or the colours that were interwoven: for the scarlet represented fire; the silk itself the earth from which that fire was produced; the purple was held to be a resemblance of the sea, and the blue of the air. So that this extraordinary piece of tapestry was a kind of emblem of the universe, the heavenly signs alone excepted.

From this place the next approach is to the lower temple, which is twenty cubits broad, sixty high, and the same number in length. At the period of which I am writing, this length of sixty cubits was divided into two parts, one of forty and the other of twenty. The division which consisted of forty cubits contained three very extraordinary curiosities, which have been celebrated throughout the whole world. These were the candlestick, the table, and the altar of incense. The candlestick consisted of seven branches, proceeding from the same foundation, with seven lights, resembling the seven planets. The twelve loaves of shew-bread on the table had reference to the twelve signs of the zodiac, which take their course through the seasons of the year. In a censer on the altar of incense were placed thirteen kinds of perfumes, many of which were extracted from the bottom of the sea: and by these perfumes it was intended that we should consider God as the great sovereign of the universe, and that every thing most valuable in it should be devoted to his honor and glory.

Twenty cubits only was the height of the interior part of the temple, which was separated from the other part by a veil, and was totally unfurnished. No person was permitted to enter into this place, or even to take a view of it. The name it was called by was the Santium Sanctorum, or Holy of Holies. There were several apartments on the sides of this lower temple, which communicated the one with the other, and had three stories above them; and from them were passages that led out of the great gate. The upper.
per part of the building being narrower than the other, the order of the chambers was disproportioned; and though less splendid than the other, they were forty cubits in height. In fact, the elevation of the whole building was one hundred cubits.

The elegance and curious workmanship of the temple on the outside is beyond the power of language to describe: it was adorned with solid plates of gold that rivalled the beauty of the rising sun, and were scarcely less dazzling to the eye than the beams of that luminary. Those parts of the building that were not gilt had, to persons viewing it at a distance, the appearance of a pillar of snow, or a mountain of marble.

A great number of pointed spikes of gold were placed on the roof of the temple, as a preventive against the birds settling on it, and defiling it. Many of the stones which composed this extraordinary building, were five cubits in height, six in breadth, and forty-five in length.

The altar which was situated before the temple had four angles something like horns. It was forty cubits square, and fifteen in height. This altar was approached on the south side; but the ascent was difficult, on account of the declivity of the ground. In the construction of this altar no iron tool was used, nor did a hammer ever touch it.

The temple and the altar were inclosed, and the people separated from the priests by a partition of stone one cubit high, and wrought in the most elegant manner.

Persons infected with the leprosy, or other filthy disorders, were not admitted to come into the temple, or even to reside in the city. Women in certain circumstances were likewise excluded from approaching the temple; and even when they were in perfect health, they were not to enter at any places but those appointed for their admission. No men were permitted to pass into the interior temple without having been first purified; and even when this purification was performed, it was not lawful for them to associate with the priests.

Persons of the rank of the priesthood who were prevented, by some bodily defect, from the exercise of their duty, took their stations with those against whom there was no such objection, and had the customary allowances granted them: but they were obliged to wear the habits of laymen; for no man but he who executes the office of a priest is permitted to wear the garment appertaining thereto.

It was a requisite circumstance that priests who were to serve in the temple and at the altar, should be of exemplary lives and behaviour, so that no kind of objection could be made to their character. They were to be remarkably temperate and abstemious with regard to eating and drinking, for the credit of their order; and their clothing was of fine linen. On every seventh day the high-priest used to advance to the altar, with the other priests, and likewise on the first day of each month, and also on such annual festivals as occurred in the year. On these occasions he officiated with a veil gilt round him, which hung considerably below his waist: under this was a linen veil, which hung to the ground; and over these two garments he wore another of a violet-colour, fringed at the bottom, to which were affixed golden bells and pomegranates admirably intermixed: the former being designed
signed to represent thunder, and the other lightening. On his breast hung an ornament, fixed on with ribbons of various colours, viz. scarlet, violet, purple, gold-colour, &c. I have already observed that the veils of the temple are of these colours.

The ephod was likewise a composition of the same kind of colours, but the gold was the most prevalent: and with regard to its shape, it bore a considerable resemblance to that of a breast-plate. It was embellished with Sardonyx stones, the largest and most costly that could be procured, on which were inscribed the names of the twelve tribes of Israel; and it was fastened together by means of two buckles of gold which united as a clasp. From this ephod hung twelve valuable kinds of stones, in four rows of three each, viz. the fardonyx, topaz, emerald, carbuncle, jasper, sapphire, agate, amethyst, lynx, onyx, beryl and chrysalite: and the names were inscribed on these also, as on the above-mentioned.

The priest wore on his head a tiara of silk, on which was placed a crown of violet colour, and above that a crown of gold, on which the sacred vowels were engraved.

The habit worn by the high-priest on ordinary days was less sumptuous than that above-mentioned, which was reserved for the serious annual solemnity, and then appropriated to the use of the high priest alone; nor might he wear it, except when he entered into the Holy of Holies: for the annual festival was observed in the strictest and most solemn manner. It will be here-after proper for me to speak of the city, the temple, and of the laws and customs of the Jews; as occasions may arise.

The fort Antonia was erected in an angle between the two galleries of the first temple, which angle faced the north and west. Its situation was on a rock, fifty cubits in height, so steep on every side as to be inaccessible; and, in fact, a proof of the magnificent taste and ingenious contrivance of Herod. The rock on which this fort was built was faced with thin flabs of marble, designed equally as an ornament and a security; for this marble was so slippery that it could not be ascended or descended. The enclosure of the fort, or tower, consisted only of a wall of three cubits in height, within which was situated the castle of Antonia, of forty cubits in extent. This castle was as flately, splendid, and convenient as a court; being provided with lodging-rooms and offices for a variety of purposes, together with extensive halls, and places of parade for the use of the military: so that, in fact, the whole place, in point of convenience, might be considered rather as a city than a fort; and with regard to its magnificence it had the appearance of a palace. To the view it looked like a tower, encompassed by four other towers, situated, in a quadrangular form, at equal distances from each other. Of these towers, three were fifty cubits high, and the fourth seventy cubits. This fourth looked towards the east and south, and from it there was an excellent view of the whole temple. There were two pair of stairs, one on the right, and the other on the left hand of the spot where the galleries joined. These stairs were for the purpose of the soldiers going into the temple: for at the time that Jerusalem was in the hands of the Romans, guards were constantly stationed in this quarter, to prevent seditious riots, on occasion of any public
public meeting or festival. The city was commanded by the temple, in the
same manner as the temple was by the fort Antonia. On this fort there was
a guard placed, and the palace of Herod was a kind of fort to the upper
town. The mountain Bezech (the highest of all the mountains) was detached,
as I have before observed, from the fort Antonia, and annexed to part of
the new town; and this was the only defence on the north side of the tem-
ple. I have nothing farther to add at present, respecting the city or its walls,
as I shall have occasion to make mention of them in future.

C H A P. VII.

Simon at the head of fifteen thousand men. The temple in the possession of John; the
upper town in that of Simon, and the hill Acre in that of Monobazus. At this
time the Romans were at the gates, and the seditious within the walls continued
with its former violence. The place reconnoitred by Titus, to determine on a pro-
per spot for the attack. Nicanor, while advising peace, is wounded. Titus de-
termines on revenge, by besieging the place. He divides his army, so as to make
two separate attacks. The factions unite in a common defence. The machines are
supported by Titus. The Romans surprized, and driven back to their camp. The
honour of the day recovered by a party of Alexandrians. The work completed by
Titus. An Arabian kills John of Idumæa with an arrow.

At this time Simon had an army of ten thousand men, exclusive of the
party of Idumæans, who were five thousand in number; so that he was
at the head of fifteen thousand. Of these, fifty captains were appointed over
the ten thousand, and twenty officers over the other five thousand, which left
were the most mutinous of the whole faction: the chief of these mutineers
were deemed to be Simon, the son of Cathlas, and James, the son of Sofas;
but Simon was commander in chief of the united forces.

The possession of the temple was now held by John, who had under him
twenty captains commanding six thousand men. Two thousand four hun-
dred of the Zelotes now likewise repaired to him, and enlisted under the
command of Simon, the son of Jair, and Eleazar, who had formerly com-
manded them.

The two parties now violently opposing each other, the people fell a sacri-
fice to their mutual rage, and the most unoffending were the foremost sufferers.
At this time Simon had possession of the upper town, with the great
wall as far as Cedron, and the old wall that extends to Siloe, and then,
turning eastward, is continued to the palace of Monobazus. Now Monoba-
zus, who was king of the Adiabenians, a people coming from the other side
the Euphrates, was in possession of the hill Acre (the station of the lower
town) even to the royal residence of Helena, who was his own mother.

During this period John still kept possession of the temple, and some of
the places in its neighbourhood; but Ophias, and the vale of Cedron, which
was situated between him and Simon, had been consumed to ashes, and could
answer no other purpose than that of a field of battle. The Romans were
now
now in arms before the gates of the city, yet the tumult within it continued to rage with its former violence. Occasionally, however, when the enemy pressed hard upon them, the insurgents appeared to change their sentiments for a short time: but on the slightest relaxation of this vigilance, they had immediate recourse to their usual animosities and contentions, and a renewal of all their former quarrels. Now this was a circumstance highly advantageous to the interest of the Romans, for they treated each other with greater severity than either party would have been treated by the common enemy: yet they had this consolation amidst their misfortunes, that they had little to fear beyond their present sufferings. Something more, however, they did suffer, before the city was utterly destroyed. But the Romans obtained a greater conquest than that of taking the place; for whereas the city was destroyed by the sedition, the conquest of it tended to destroy the sedition itself. Wherefore, in the issue of the affair, the Romans were nothing more than the executioners of that Divine justice which the impiety of the Jews had brought on themselves. But this will be more evident by the sequel.

During the present situation of affairs within the city, Titus, taking with him a select party of cavalry, made a general survey of the walls, to see where they might be approached with the greatest probability of success. He found that neither horse nor foot could make any penetration by way of the vallies; and he found that it would be equally fruitless to attempt an attack by battery on the other side, owing to the strength of the wall; wherefore, after some deliberation, he concluded that the part of the line towards the sepulchre of John, the high-priest, would be best exposed to an attack, for the following reasons: the first wall was lower in that place than any other, and detached from the second wall; the fortifying of it had been also neglected; the inhabitants of the new city not being yet sufficiently numerous to have attended to it; wherefore it would not be a difficult enterprise to pass from this place to the third wall, and thence to the upper town; and through these means, possessing themselves of Antonia, even to the temple.

During the time that Titus was debating these things in his mind, and while he was exerting all the power of his oratory with Joseph to prevail on the Jews to solicit a peace, an arrow was shot from the wall, which wounded Nicanor (an intimate friend of Titus) in the left shoulder. This instance of the ingratitude of these people towards their friends, who would have advised them to peaceable measures, incensed Titus to such a degree, that he instantly resolved to make a formal attack on the town, and reduce it by force. Hereupon he ordered his soldiers to plunder the suburbs without loss of time, and to use the rubbish and ruins of what they should destroy for platforms and other works. His army he separated into three divisions, assigning to each its proper duty. On the mounts, in the midst of the main body, he stationed his archers and slingers, who were provided with engines to throw stones, and other missive annoyances; which answered the double purpose of keeping the enemy engaged on the walls, and of repelling their attacks. No time was lost in felling the trees, and laying the suburbs bare; and the fortifications were made good with the timber thus obtained. In fact, on the part of the Romans every hand was engaged, nor did the Jews lose their time in idleness.
The inhabitants, who had been heretofore so much exposed to the calamities of robbery and murder, finding the insurgents so earnestly engaged in defending themselves, began to conceive a hope that they should at length be at ease; flattering themselves that if the Romans should be successful, they would enable them to do themselves justice, by revenging their own quarrel. The forces under the command of John opposed the besiegers vigorously; while himself, in fear of Simon, dreaded to quit the temple. In the mean time Simon, being stationed near the temple, was constantly in action. The shot and engines which he had heretofore taken from Cestius, and out of the fort Antonia, he placed along the wall: but his troops, being unskilled in the use and management of these engines, made very little advantage of them; and this little arose from the knowledge they occasionally acquired from defectors. However, the Jews used these engines to affail the enemy from the ramparts with arrows and stones: and, occasionally, they fellied forth, and fought hand to hand with the Romans; who, on the contrary, defended their agents by gabions and hurdles. Each of the Roman legions was provided with extraordinary machines for repelling an attack of an enemy, particularly the tenth legion, which could throw larger stones, and farther than any other. Each stone weighed a talent, and not only did execution on the spot, but even to the top of the ramparts. They would destroy at a furlong distance, and a whole file fell before them wherever they came. The Jews had three opportunities of being informed of the approach of these stones: the first by their colour, which being white, they were seen at a distance: the second by the noise they made in passing through the air: and the third by an intimation that was constantly given by persons that were appointed to watch them: for a number of people being stationed on the towers, to observe when the engines were played, whenever they observed this operation, they constantly cried out, "A stone is coming;" by which every man had an opportunity of retreating, and securing himself from the impending danger. This becoming known to the Romans, they coloured the stones, so that they might not be seen in their passage; and by this device a number of Jews were frequently killed at a stroke. All this, however, did not deter the Jews from making an opposition to the Romans in the erecting of their fortifications; for they still endeavoured, equally by the exertions of courage and policy, to do every thing within their power to retard their proceedings.

The works of the Romans were no sooner completed, than they took the distance between the mount and wall by a line and plummet; for this could not be effected in any other manner, owing to the shot and darts which were thrown down in abundance. When the place was found to be properly adapted for the battering rams, Titus directed that they should be brought forward, and the other machines likewise brought nearer the wall, that they might play with the greater convenience. In obedience to these orders three batteries began to play at the same time on three different parts of the wall. The noise occasioned by these engines was heard in all parts of the city, and appeared not to be less dreaded even by the faction than it was by the citizens. At length the insurgents, though divided among themselves, finding that
THE WARS OF THE JEWS.

that their danger was general, thought it might not be improper to unite in the defence of each other. Their argument was, that, while thus disputing among themselves, they were only advancing the interest of the enemy; and that if they could not agree for a continuance, it would at least be proper, for the present, to make a joint opposition to the Romans. Hereupon Simon dispatched a herald, to inform those who had enclosed themselves within the temple, that as many as were disposed to quit it, and approach to the wall, had full permission so to do. The purport of this embassy did not strike John as a circumstance that could be relied on; but he permitted his people to act as their own inclinations might direct them.

Hereupon the different factions united, and, forgetting their old animosities, marched immediately in a body to the walls, where they had no sooner taken their stations, than they co-operated with their fires and torches on the Roman engines; plying darts and other weapons, without intermission, on those who had the conducting of them. During the violence of this determined rage, great numbers of the Jews adventurously descended from the walls, on the engines, the covers of which they tore off, and attacked the guards who were appointed to their defence.

At this juncture Titus, who was never deficient in aiding his friends at a time of necessity, appointed a party of horse and archers to guard the machines, and find employment for the Jews on the walls, while the engineers should carry on their operations. This attack, however, had, for the present, very little effect: indeed the battering-ram of the fifth legion shook the corner of a tower, which being placed higher than the wall, the tower fell to the ground, without bringing any of the wall with it.

Some time having passed since the Jews had made any sally, the Romans thought they were either tired or disheartened, and thereupon wandered about carelessly, as in a state of security. This inattention on the part of the Romans being noticed by the Jews who were in the town, they rushed violently from a sally-port belonging to the tower Hippocos; set fire to the Roman works, and, during the heat of the action, drove the Romans back to their own camp. An alarm being immediately spread through the whole army, the Romans assembled from all parts to the assistance of their associates; so that the courage of the Jews was unequally matched with the admirable discipline of the Romans. The former, indeed, were for a while victorious, making an attack on every combined company they found; but the greatest struggle was near the engines, one party seeking to burn, and the other to preserve them. The outcries of the contending parties rent the air, and many a gallant man fell a sacrifice in the encounter. The Jews behaved with the most determined courage, and intrepidity. By this time the fire had taken hold of the machines; and there is not a doubt but that they would all have been destroyed, with all those who attended on them, but for the critical arrival of a select party of Alexandrian troops, whose behaviour on the occasion cannot be sufficiently applauded, since it contributed, in a great degree, to the honor of the day.

The proceedings of the Jews were impeded by these troops, till the arrival of Titus, with a body of cavalry. He killed twelve men with his own hands, and
and drove the remainder of the party into the city: and by this enterprize the engines were saved from destruction.

A Jew being made prisoner in the above-mentioned engagement, Titus gave orders that he should be crucified on the walls, in sight of the people, to try what degree of influence might be produced by terror. Notwithstanding this circumstance, an Idumæan officer, named John, was shot by an Arabian through the heart, with an arrow, as he was conversing before the walls with a soldier. As he was a man equally distinguished by his courage and wisdom, his unfortunate end occasioned great distress among those to whom he was known, whether Jews or Zelotes.

**CHAP. VIII.**

The Roman camp terrified in a high degree by the fall of a tower. The Jews not in fear of any difficulties but what arose from the towers. The first breach made by the ram called Nicon. The Jews abandon the first wall, and retreat to the second. Several desperate sallies made by the Jews. The Roman discipline more than a counterpoise to the Jews' temerity. Every danger resolutely braved by the Jews. Simon's men entertained for their commander. Longinus performs a gallant action.

About this period a singular alarm happened in the camp of the Romans. Orders having been given by Titus, for constructing three towers, each fifty cubits in height, on the ramparts, in order to have the command of the wall of the city, one of these towers fell suddenly to the ground during the night, and made so horrid a noise in its fall, that the whole army was alarmed in the highest degree. The Romans, unacquainted with the cause of the noise, had immediate recourse to their arms, and every legion was in a perfect tumult of confusion. Some of them imagined that the Jews caused the commotion; but very various were the conjectures on this occasion. After a while, when no enemy appeared, they began to form suspicions of each other; and every one demanded the "Watch word" of the man who was next him, with as much strictness as if the Jews had actually been in the camp. The terror arising from this circumstance continued for a considerable time; till Titus having informed himself of the particulars of the cause of the confusion, ordered proclamation of the matter of fact to be made in every part of the camp; in consequence of which, though not without great difficulty, the tumult at length subsided.

In the interim the Jews maintained their courage in the highest degree, and appeared not to dread any other difficulties but what arose from the towers; and the danger from them was indeed very obvious. They were unavoidably assailed from these turrets, by archers, slingers, &c. and by various sorts of machines: for the Jews could not carry up their platforms to a level with these towers, and they were of too solid a construction to be thrown down: and, as they were all plated over with iron, it would have been a work of equal impracticability to burn them. Wherefore all that remained in the power
power of the Jews to do, was to keep at such a distance as not to be wounded by the darts, arrows and stones of the Romans: for it was fruitless for them to think of opposing the force of the battering-rams, which, by degrees, effected the purpose for which they were designed. The Romans were possessed of one ram, dreadful in its execution, which the Jews distinguished by the name of "Nicon," or "the Conqueror," the first breach having been made thereby.

The Jews had now been at hard duty during the whole night, and were extremely fatigued by fighting and watching. Thus dispirited, they came to too hastily a determination to abandon the first wall, as they had yet two others to depend on for their security. Having formed this resolution they immediately retreated to the second wall: on which some of the Romans ascended the breach which had been made by the battering-ram above-mentioned, and opened the gates to the whole army. The Romans became masters of the first wall on the seventh day of the month Artemius, and destroyed a great part of this wall, and also of the northern quarter of the city, which very quarter had heretofore been ravaged by Ceilus.

This being done, Titus withdrew to a place known by the name of the Assyrians Camp, possessing himself of all between that and the valley of Cedron, the distance of which from the second wall is something more than a bow-shot. From this place he came to a resolution of beginning his attack, and immediately commenced his operations. The Jews took their stations in a regular manner on the wall, where they made a formidable opposition. John and his associates commanded the troops in the fortress Antonia, and from the sepulchre of Alexander on the north of the temple. From the monument of John, the high-priest, to the gate by which water is conveyed to the tower Hippocos, Simon and his people held the command. A number of resolute sallies were made by the Jews, in which they came to close quarters with the Romans; but the military knowledge of the latter was more than a counterpoise to the desperation of the Jews, who were repulsed with considerable loss: yet, on the walls, the Jews had the advantage. Skill and good fortune equally favoured the Romans; while the Jews, from a native hardiness, and an animation arising from despair, seemed insensible to danger or fatigue. It should be observed that the Romans were now fighting for glory, and the Jews for life and security: each party equally disdainful to yield. They were continually employing themselves in violent assaults, and desperate sallies and combats of every kind. Their labours commenced with the day, and they were separated only by the darkness of the night: and, even during the night, both parties were kept watching, one to protect their wall, and the other their camp: they continued all night under arms, and were ready for battle by break of day. On this occasion the Jews defpised danger and death so much, that they seemed emulous who should brave them most undauntedly, as the best recommendation to their superiors. They entreated so great a fear of, and such a perfect veneration for Simon, that they would have sacrificed their lives at his feet, on the slightest intimation that such a sacrifice would be agreeable to him.
The Romans had been so accustomed to victory, that they were perfect strangers to defeat: wherefore they wanted no other incitement to their valour, than the recollection of their former successes. Add to this, that war was familiar to them, being in constant exercise, in the service of the empire: and they were now inspired with more than common courage, by the presence and assistance of a warlike prince. They considered that cowardice, witnessed by the general, would be infamy in the abstract: and, on the contrary, that Caesar's bounty and esteem would be such a reward of, and such an honor to, glorious actions, as were worthy their highest ambition. It must be confessed that the military ardor thus inspired and encouraged, tempted many of them to aim at exploits which were wholly beyond the compass of their abilities to perform.

At this period a large party of Jews were assembled in military order before the walls, and had approached so near to the Romans, that lances and blows might be mutually exchanged. At this critical juncture one of the Roman cavalry, named Longinus, galloped forward into the midst of his foes, two of the best soldiers among whom he killed: one of these he struck through the jaws with his lance, and then, with the same weapon, ran the other through the body; which being done, he expeditiously retreated to the Romans, unhurt. By the singular gallantry of this action he acquired great reputation, and tempted others to emulate his conduct.

During this period the Jews were so anxious to destroy their enemies, that they paid no regard to their own sufferings. They looked on death as an object unworthy their notice, provided they could destroy as many of their opponents as fell of their own party. Titus, on the contrary, consulted the preservation of his troops as much as the acquiring victory, and looked upon an intemperate zeal as a degree of madness. He insisted that caution and prudence were the essence of true valour, consisting equally in the annoyance of our enemies, and the most effectual preservation of our own forces.

C H A P. IX.

The courage, craft, and treachery of a Jew named Caflor. A treaty solicited by Caflor, and granted by Titus. A proof of the falsity of the whole device. Caflor drives the tower, and escapes through the flames.

The tower on the north side of the city was the object against which the battering-ram was now directed. Those who defended this tower were assailed by Titus with such repeated flights of arrows, that every man of them abandoned his post, except a crafty Jew, of the name of Caflor, and ten of his associates, who concealed themselves behind the battlements. These having remained quiet for a considerable time, at length felt a shock, by the force of which the tower appeared to be shaken to its foundations. On this alarm they quitted their present station, when Caflor, assuming the language, manner and behaviour of a suppliant, entered
treated that Titus would pardon all that was past, and grant him quarter. Titus, willing to believe that the Jews were now tired of the war, directed that his archers should cease their operations, and that the battery should play no longer: at the same time informing Caielor, that if he had any proposals to make, he was willing to attend to what he had to say. To this Caielor said that, it was his utmost ambition to commence a treaty: and Titus replied, "I grant it with all my heart, and if all your companions coincide with you in sentiment, I am freely disposed to extend my pardon to you." This offer being made, five out of the ten who associated with Caielor pretended to join with him in opinion, while the other five exclaimed that they would never submit to live slaves, while it was in their power to die freemen. A stop was put to all hostilities, during the period that this dispute was in agitation. In the interim, however, Caielor sent privately to Simon, directing that he would make the best advantage of the present opportunity, and submit to his management the best method of amusing the Roman general, under pretence of recommending terms of peace to his associates. In a word, Caielor acted his part with so much artifice, that swords were drawn, mutual blows passed, and men appeared to be killed: but the whole device was founded in falsehood and diffimulation.

Titus and his people were astonished at the stubborn obstinacy and persevering resolution of the Jews; and, at the same time, entertained a generous compassion for their distress; but having the disadvantage of the ground, they could not be proper judges of what was done above them. At this juncture Caielor received a wound in his nose from an arrow; but immediately drew it out, he shewed it to Titus, seeming thereby to demand justice.

Titus was so highly enraged at this injury, that he turned to Joseph, who stood near him, directing that he would go immediately, in his name, to Caielor, and give him all possible assurances of friendship and fair treatment. Joseph, however, desired to be executed from executing this commission, in which he not only consulted his own safety, but likewise dissuaded his friends, who would have undertaken it, assuring them that this apparent submission was founded in the deepest treachery. However, notwithstanding what was said, Æneas, one who had deferted to the Romans, seemed willing to undertake this expedition, to which he was the rather encouraged, by Caielor's directing him to bring with him something in which to put a sum of money that he intended to compliment him with. Thus encouraged by the hope of advantage, Æneas advanced so as to accept the present, when Caielor let fall a large stone from the wall, and Æneas narrowly escaped being crushed by it, while it wounded the man who stood next to him.

From this circumstance Titus was aware of the ill consequences that might arise from benevolence ill-timed; and was convinced that determined rigour ought to be opposed to plausible pretensions, and fair promises. He thereupon began to ply his batteries with greater violence than heretofore, in order to revenge himself for the contumacious affront that had been offered him by Caielor, and his associates. When the batteries had played some time, Caielor and his people found that the tower shook under them, and appeared to be on the point of falling; on which they set it on fire, and running through the
the flames, escaped into a vault. The Romans, imagined that, by this action, they had devoted themselves to certain destruction, and were generous enough to extol their courage and magnanimity to the skies.

Titus took possession of this part of the wall, at the end of five days from the time that he had become master of the first. As the passage to the second wall was now opened, he made the Jews fly before him; and having selected a thousand of his best troops, he entered the city at that quarter inhabited by the salesmen, clothiers, and braziers, and passed up the narrow cross streets to the wall. The laws of war would now have justified Titus in breaking down this wall, and if he had instantly demolished the greater part of it, he would certainly have obtained a complete victory with a very inconsiderable loss; but reflecting on the utter distress to which the Jews would on the one hand be reduced, if they continued to make resistance, and on the other, how easy a matter it would be for them to effect their escape, if they were disposed so to do; generous sentiments once more prevailed in his breast; as he flattered himself that they would think properly of their situation; and not be so ungrateful as to betray a man who had consulted their welfare and preservation with so peculiar a zeal.

CHAP. X.

Instances of the generosity and humanity of Titus. The malicious disposition of some of the faction. Some smart encounters, in which the Jews have the advantage of the Romans; after which the party of Titus prevails. The Romans are driven from the second wall, after they had gained it. A severe famine rages in the city. Titus makes an attempt to recover the second wall, of which he gets possession after three days opposition.

No sooner had Titus entered the town than he issued out his orders that not a single house should be burnt, nor even one prisoner put to the sword. He was so indulgent likewise even to those of the faction, that he offered to permit them to end their own disputes among themselves, on the single condition that they should not oppress the inhabitants. To these last likewise he promised that he would support them in all their legal possessions, and that what had been taken from them by violence should be restored.

These terms were highly agreeable to the majority of the people, of whom some wished that the city might be spared for their own sakes; and others, that the temple might be spared for the sake of the city. However, the abandoned part of the faction ascribed all the generous benevolence and humanity of Titus to fear; and they argued in this manner; that Titus would never have offered such favourable terms, if he had not himself despaired of accomplishing the work he had undertaken: and the faction now threatened instant death to any person who should propose a peace, or a treaty of reconciliation.

No sooner had the Romans entered the city, than the Jews did all in their power to obstruct their proceedings: they blocked up the narrow passages,
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This piece of success gave such spirits to the most determined of the inhabitants, that they flattered themselves, that the Romans would not again venture to attack them; or that, if they did, it would be totally impossible to subdue them; whereas, if these desperate men had not laboured under an actual infatuation, they must have reflected that the Romans, over whom they had at present obtained an advantage, were not to be mentioned with the immense numbers that were yet to be encountered. But, exclusive of this consideration, a severe famine now raged in the city, the effects of which were daily felt in a more sensible manner. Hitherto the ruin of the public had been the support of the insurgents, and they had, almost literally, drank of the blood of the citizens. In fact, the most worthy of the inhabitants were reduced to great distress, and many of them fell a sacrifice to absolute famine. The faction, however, rather pleased themselves in the loss of these people; those only who wished to continue the war with the Romans, being objects of their regard. The rest they considered only as useless in themselves, and burdensome to the public.

The Romans having once gotten possession of the wall, and then lost it, they made another attempt to recover it. They made repeated, and almost constant assaults, for the space of three successive days: during which period they were repulsed with as much valour as they shewed in the attack; but Titus made so furious a charge on the fourth day, that his opponents were no longer able to resist his force: whereupon he took possession of the wall, the northern part of which he destroyed, and in all the towers to the southward he placed garrisons without loss of time.
After four days spent in procuring provisions for the camp, Titus prepares for action. He tries what may be done by persuasion and advice. The Jews addressed by Joseph. He represents the effects of the famine: gives instances of relief afforded to the distressed by Providence; particularly mentions the cases of Pharaoh Necho; the Egyptian bondage; the plagues of Egypt; the taking of the ark by the Assyrians; the prodigious army of Sennacherib, king of Assyria; the destruction of Jerusalem in the time of Zedekiah; the history of Antiochus Epiphanes: he mentions the mercy of God to those who repent; and makes a generous offer for the good of his country. The burning of Jerusalem represented as the act of the Jews.

The storming of the third wall was now an object that engaged the attention of Titus: but as he did not deem it a work that would be attended with much time or difficulty, he first considered how, by more lenient methods, he might bring the people to consider their true interest; hoping that they might be induced to listen to him, through the dread of his power, and the fear of famine; for by this time their plunder and provision were nearly consumed; while, on the contrary, the forces under Titus were supplied with everything they could wish for their ease and accommodation. This being the case, Titus issued orders that, on the day of a general muster, his troops should be drawn up, and paid within view of the enemy. On this occasion the infantry advanced with drawn swords, and the led horses were adorned in so splendid a manner, that gold and silver seemed to prevail over all the field. This sight was equally agreeable to the Romans, as disgusting to the Jews, who had assembled in immense numbers on the old wall on the north side of the city: the houses were likewise crowded, and every part of the city was filled with people, gazing at this splendid spectacle. In fact, the courage of the bravest among the Jews was repelled by the appearance; and, in all probability, they would have now submitted to the Romans, had it not been for a consciousness that they had offered provocations of such a nature as not to be readily pardoned; and that if they abandoned the point in dispute, they would be devoted to certain destruction; wherefore, rather than submit to be sacrificed at present, they chose rather to fall in the bed of honor, by the chance of war. But in fact, Providence had so determined, that the faction was to prove the ruin of the city, and the innocent were to be involved in the consequence of the crimes of the guilty.

After four days spent without any act of hostility, and in procuring provisions for the camp, Titus, on the fifth day, separated his army into two divisions; and finding that the Jews were not in the least disposed to peace, he caused works to be thrown up against the fort of Antonia, near the monument of John, in the hope that from that quarter he might get possession of the upper-town, and then, from Antonia, become possessed of the temple: for it was impossible to keep possession of the city, unless the fort was taken. He made separate attacks against each of these two places; and at
every rising ground he placed a legion of soldiers to defend and protect the engineers. Those who carried on their works near the monument were violently affailed by the Jews, and the people under the command of Simon; while those who opposed the fort Antonia were still more vigorously opposed by the party of John, and the Zealotes in his direction: for these had the advantage of the higher ground, and were also supplied with machines, of the use of which they were now perfectly acquainted, in consequence of daily practice. The Zealotes had likewise the possession of forty slings for stones, and three hundred cross-bows, by which the Romans were much annoyed, and a check was given to their proceedings.

Though Titus had hitherto entertained no doubt but that he should make a compleat conquest of the city; yet, while, on the one hand, he continued to urge the siege, he, on the contrary, joined to the power of force every effort of persuasion and advice, in order to induce the Jews to a compliance with the terms of reason. Reflecting that an appeal to the passions had sometimes a better effect than that to the law of arms, he, in the first place, personally addressed the Jews, requesting that they would have so much regard to their own interest as to surrender a place of which he could make himself master at any time. This done, he committed the rest to Joseph; thinking that when they were addressed by their own countryman, and in a language familiar to them, success would probably be the consequence of the humanity which inspired him to undertake so benevolent an office. Agreeable to the directions given by Titus, Joseph first walked through several parts of the city, and then, flopping on an elevated spot, within the hearing of the enemy, though not within reach of their shot, he made a speech, the substance of which is as follows:

"Countrymen and friends; it is my earnest request to you, that if you have any esteem for your lives and liberties, any veneration for your city, your temple, and your country, you will, on the present occasion, give a proper testimony of your sensibility, and learn, even from strangers and enemies, to have a true regard for your own interest. You may have observed that the Romans entertain so great a veneration for sacred things, that they make a scruple of seizing any thing that is deemed holy; and this they do, though they never presumed to have any share, concern, or interest, in your communion; whereas you, on the contrary, instead of protecting the religion in which you were educated, seem conspiring to compleat its destruction. Are you not by this time convinced that, your fortresses being beaten down, and your walls left in a defenceless condition, your weakness is sufficiently exposed; and that it is an absolute impossibility to support yourselves much longer against so formidable a power as that with which you have to contend? However, in any event, if the Jews should be compelled to submit to the Romans, it will be no more than what has frequently happened before. It is true, that engaging in the cause of liberty is a glorious task, provided it be undertaken before that liberty is lost or forfeited: but after a people have once submitted to the yoke, and became confirmed slaves, it is idle then to think of attempting to throw it off; and is, indeed, rather the way to die in disgrace, than to live in freedom."
freedom. A state of bondage to a master whom a man of honour would blush to acknowledge his superior, is, indeed, a scandalous state: but submission to a people whose authority is acknowledged by the whole world, is by no means thus disgraceful. I would ask if you think there is any part of the Globe that has not submitted to the Roman power, except those inhospitable regions where the extremities of heat and cold prevail? Fortune appears to have devoted herself to these people; and even the providence of the Sovereign Disposer of empires hath, for the present, decreed Italy the seat of universal empire. Agreeable to that supreme law of nature which rules even beasts as well as men, the weaker must ever yield to the stronger; for superior power will ultimately prevail. Conscious of this truth, your ancestors, who were more wise and powerful than you are, were induced to pay allegiance to the Romans; which they would have disdained to have done, if they had not been fully convinced that it was the will of Heaven that they should submit. But wherefore would you any longer urge a contest that is, in effect, already decided? For if your walls were yet perfect, and the siege was actually raised, you would soon be starved into submission. Famine has already made great havoc among the lower orders of the people: the soldiers will be the next sacrifice; and the calamity will daily encrease; for there is no guarding against the consequence of the severities of hunger. It will therefore well become you to recollect yourselves in time, and not refuse to take good advice while such advice may avail you. Your enemies, the Romans, are of a liberal disposition; and will be ready to forgive all that is past, if you do not continue to exasperate them till forgiveness would look like weakness. These people are not accustomed to sacrifice their interest to sentiments of revenge, and to burthen themselves with uninhabited cities, and desolate provinces: they will rather receive you into the arms of friendship. But if you refusal till they storm the city, you must expect death from the point of the sword; particularly such of you as shall presumptuously reject, to the last mercy offered by the conqueror. You have nothing farther to expect with regard to your third wall, but that it will share the fate of the other two, which are already destroyed. But supposing that your fortifications were absolutely impregnable, I have before-mentioned what you know to be true, that famine would be your portion."

The people, far from being grateful for this friendly admonition of Joseph, reviled him in the most contemptuous manner from the walls, and accompanied their farcical speeches with darts and stones: so that finding neither the difficulties they had undergone, nor the advice he gave them had any effect, he had recourse to the history of ancient times, to enforce his documents; and now delivered himself to the following effect.

"Ungrateful and unhappy people! How is it that you can be so thoughtless as to forget your best friends, and attack the Romans with common weapons; as if you could attribute to your own wisdom and virtue the victories you have formerly obtained. Will you presume to insinuate that the Omnipotent Creator of heaven and earth ever denied his assistance to the Jews under all their oppressions? Will you never learn wisdom? Reflect,
but for a moment, on whence you came, your present situation, your present conduct: and how the outrages you are now committing must incense your generous protector. Reflect, I beseech you, on the glorious exploits of your truly venerable ancestors; and the signal and astonishing deliverances with which they were favoured by Heaven, through the sacredness of this place. I am filled with horror to think of recounting the history of the manifestations of the Divine favour to a people so unworthy of it; but on this occasion, I shall repref the sentiments that would otherwise restrain me, and endeavour to convince you that the contention in which you are now engaged, is rather against the power of God, than that of the Romans.

Sarah, the common mother of us all, was carried away by Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, who commanded a powerful army. Now as Abraham, our common father, and the husband of Sarah, had at that time three hundred and eighteen officers, who were at the head of a prodigious number of troops, you would conceive that he should have attempted to do himself justice by force of arms; instead of which he only entreated the Divine assistance, by offering up his prayers towards this holy place, which you have polluted. The consequence was, that the king, on the second night after Sarah had been taken away, sent her back to her husband, uncontaminated. In the mean time Pharaoh began to venerate a place which you have polluted with the blood of your countrymen: and being uneasy in mind, he was terrified with visions and dreams; till, at length, he retired into his own country: but not till he had gratified the inhabitants with large presents of gold and silver, in testimony of his respect for a people so highly favoured by Heaven.

In what language shall I describe our ancestors travels into Egypt; their residence there, under a foreign tyranny, for four hundred years; and their patient submission and resignation to the will of God, at a time when they were sufficiently numerous and powerful to have forcibly obtained their own liberty? If I were to recite to you how the Egyptians were infested with serpents; how they were contaminated with all kinds of diseases; if I were to speak of the blighting the fruits of the earth; the corruption of the river Nile, and the ten plagues which succeeded each other, I should relate only circumstances that are generally known. Those of our progenitors, whom God had pre-deflined to succeed to the priesthood, were conducted under the guidance of an especial Providence, free from bloodshed, and even from danger.

In another instance; when the Assyrians took away our holy ark by force, Palæstine and Dagon, and the whole people concerned in this infamous transaction, had ample cause to repent of it; for they were seized with such racking inward pains, that their bowels came out of their bodies: and the consequence of this judgment was, that those very persons who had carried our ark away, anxious to make some atonement for the guilt they had perpetrated, brought it back again, accompanied by the sound of musical instruments. This was evidently the operation of Providence in safeguarding the ark from the hand of the enemy.
flav i u s  j o s e p h u s  u p o n

Your of our fore-fathers, as a reward for their abstaining from the com-
mon means of seeking redress, and relying absolutely on the mercy and
providence of God.

I might now mention Sennacherib, king of Assyria, and that immense
army of his, comprising the whole strength of Asia, with which he sat
down before this place. It will not be said that this army was destroyed
by any human power. On the contrary, while the Hebrews were engaged
in their devotions, the angel of the Lord descended, and, in a single
night, confounded that immense army; for, on the following morning,
Sennacherib found no less than one hundred and eighty five thousand of
his troops dead on the spot, and the remainder flying in terror from the
Hebrews, who were unarmed, and did not entertain a thought of pursuit.

It is no secret to you that our ancestors were seventy years under the Ba-
bylonish captivity, without attempting to obtain their liberty; till Cyrus,
inspired by Heaven, permitted them to return to their own country;
where they instantly offered up sacrifices to God, as to the great author of
their deliverance. In a word, what great achievement, with, or without
arms, have our ancestors ever effected, but by the immediate assistance of
God, when acting in strict obedience to his commands? When they
remained at home, it often happened that victory was obtained without
fighting, as it was the supreme will of God that it should so happen;
while they were always unsuccessful, when they fought in a confidence of
their own strength. For instance; when the king of Babylon besieged this
city, our king, Zedekiah, in opposition to the advice of the prophet Je-
remiah, would give him battle: the consequence of which was, that the
whole army of Zedekiah was put to the rout, himself taken prisoner, and
the city and temple destroyed, even in his own presence. It is worthy your
regard to observe the difference between the moderate conduct of that
prince and people, and of yourselves. The prophet assured them that the
displeasure of God was the certain consequence of their wickedness: and
that the city would be taken from them by violence, if they did not sur-
srender: yet notwithstanding this melancholy warning, he was not in the
least insulted, either by the prince or people. I would not advert to your
present conduct within the walls of the city; which is, in fact, more atro-
cious than I can express. It is sufficient if I hint at the inhumanity with
which I have been treated, both by your words and actions: and of what
crime have I been guilty, except it be criminal to offer you good instruc-
tion and advice, and freely to recount your faults? But the more recital of
your daily practices is more than you have patience to bear.

Somewhat similar to the case above-mentioned, is that respecting Anti-
chus Epiphanes, when he laid siege to this city. Our ancestors, who, by
various methods had incurred the displeasure of the Almighty, urged the
enemy to a battle, without waiting the direction and assistance of Al-
mighty God. The consequence was that the city was taken and plundered,
and the sanctuary was totally abandoned for the space of three years and a
half. It was owing to the incorrigible obstinacy of our own people, that
the Romans were first irritated against them. To what are we to attribute

our
our slavery, but to the seditious disposition of our countrymen, who divid-
ing themselves into factions under Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, gave
Pompey an opportunity of entering the city; when he made slaves to the
Romans, such Jews as were underving of liberty. After a refusal of
three months they surrendered the place, though they were then better
able to have defended it than you are at present, and had by no means
such offences against the laws and liberties of their country to answer for,
as you have. The fate of Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, is known to
us all. In his reign, the sins of the Jewish people were visited by another
judicial captivity. You are not acquainted that Herod, assisted by the
Roman general, Sosius, and at the head of a Roman army, laid siege to
Jerusalem; when after a refusal of six months, the judgment of Heaven
punished the sins of the inhabitants, by a reduction of the city, which was
entirely plundered by the conquerors.

I have said sufficient to make it evident that this mode of proceeding by
arms and battle hath always been fatal to the Jews, and that inevitable ru-
in would be the consequence of such a war. For my part, I hesitate not
to declare, that those who are in possession of this sacred place, should rely
implicitly on the dispensations of the Divine providence, which will never
fail those who worship God in sincerity, and obey his righteous commands.

For your parts, your lives have been spent in a total opposition to his holy
will, farasmuch as you have done every thing that was forbidden, and left
undone all that was commanded you. Those whom you have known to
have been destroyed by the avenging hand of justice in the full career of
their wickedness, have been in many instances less guilty than yourselves!

The sins of treachery, fraud, theft, and adultery, you have considered as
venial offences; while you have prided yourselves in oppression, murder,
and other crimes of the blackest dye, which ought never to be thought of.

You have even made our holy temple the scene of your horrid impurities;
a place which the Romans themselves venerated, though their religion be
so inconsistent with ours: this very temple, which even they have held in
such veneration, has been blasphemed and polluted by you, who were edu-
cated to worship therein. How then can you expect to receive assistance
from that Divine power whom you have defied in so impious a manner?

But admitting, for the sake of argument, that you are righteous, humble
and just; and that your hands are as unpolluted as were those of our king,
when he lifted them towards Heaven, to pray for aid against the Assyrians,
and the consequence was the destruction of the enemy's army on the follow-
ing night: if you can prove that the Romans conduct themselves as the
Assyrians did, you might expect that the vengeance of the Almighty would
punish them in a similar way; but the cases are widely different: for the
Assyrian, after having received a sum of money to spare the city, afterwards
violated his oath, and caused the temple to be set on fire: whereas the
Romans demand nothing more than an annual tribute; and of this they ask
not a greater sum than has been paid them in former times. Let then this
tribute be paid, and you will have nothing to apprehend for your city and
temple: you will be secure in your persons, your families, your liberty,
"your fortunes: the free exercise of your religion, and the full dispensation
of your laws, will be granted you. You ought to understand that tyrants
and murderers, and men of justice and honor, will be treated according to
their deserts by the Almighty: and this will strike you forcibly, if you
reflect that vengeance, in his hand, is but the work of a moment.

The above recital informs you how the Assyrians were destroyed on the
first night they sat down before the city; and if the Divine vengeance had
determined that one party should be chastised, and the other protected, that
vengeance would have fallen on the Romans, as it did on the Assyrians.
This would have been evident when Jerufalem was reduced by Pompey;
when Sofius made a similar assault; when Galilee was ravaged by Vepfa-
bian; and in this final attack made by Titus. But the vengeance of Hea-
ven did not pursue either Pompey or Sofius, for they were both successful
in their attempts on this place. With regard to Vepflian, the command
of the empire was the reward of the successful war he made against us.
What idea can you form of an affair which appears almost miraculous, and
which has happened in favour of Titus? You know that Silo, and the
other fountains without the city, were so defective of water before the ar-
ival of Titus, that it was scarcely to be purchased at any price: but since
he came, the springs have supplied them so plentifully, that the Romans
have not only sufficient for their own immediate ufe and accommodation, but
likewise for the ufe of cattle, and the watering of the gardens. A similar
circumstance happened, when the king of Babylon, whom I have already
mentioned, advanced to Jerufalem with his army, took poffeffion of the
town and city, and burnt them both to the ground: and this portentous
event preceded the ruin and conflagration.

Now it is not within the scope of my imagination to conceive that the
people of those times were more abandoned than those of the preient; but
it appears as if God took part with the enemy, to the punishment of his
own house and people. Let us imagine the cafe of the master of a family,
whole dependants are wicked and corrupt. If he be a man of strict honor
and character he will abandon them, disdaining a cohabitation with
people of their infamous character. Is it then possible you should think
that God will abet your abominable proceedings? A God of infinite dif-
cernment, who is acquainted with all the sentiments of your minds, and
knows all your thoughts in the very moment you conceive them? But the
fact is, that you have no referves, no secrets: but even your enemies are
the confidents of all your transafions. You seem to endeavour at a rival-
ship in the prostitution of your behaviour, and pride yourselves in a display
of your enormities.

You know that God is merciful to all such as acknowledge and truly
repent of their crimes; and this course you must pursue, if you expect to
receive favour from Heaven. Wherefore I befeech you to abandon your
arms, and repent of the calamities your country has derived from your
conduct. Look around you with attention: consider the elegance of this
situation, the magnificence of the city, and the dignity of the temple
which you are labouring to bring to ruin. Reflect on the immense trea-
ure
"Sure which it contains, and which consists of offerings from all parts. Is it possible that any of you can patiently submit that these valuable effects should be plundered and burnt; or that you would wish to see those things destroyed which are better worth preserving than all others in the world? You would be influenced by these considerations, if your hearts were not less penetrable than a stone. But if nothing else will have weight with you, consider the miserable situation of your parents, your wives, your children, and all of those who depend on you, to whom the famine or the sword threaten equal destruction, even in the moment I am thus appealing to you. It is possible it may be urged that as I have a wife, a mother, and a family (heretofore of some consideration), whose fate will be involved in the common danger, I have given this advice on their account, and with a view to my own interest; but I hereby pledge myself that if the surrendering their lives, or my own, or the lives of all of us, will contribute to the common safety, the sacrifice shall cheerfully be made, on the single condition that you will act with more wisdom and integrity when our lives have paid the forfeit."

Joseph wept abundantly at the recital of his own speech; but it appeared to make no impression on the opposing faction, who did not think that they could, with safety, agree to the terms offered by the Romans, even if they had been disposed to have done. But of the common people, many were so impressed with what had been said, that they began to consider on the most effectual means of consulting their safety by flight: and for this purpose they sold all their most valuable effects, though at prices greatly inferior to their real worth; and swallowed the gold they received as the purchase money, lest they should be deprived of it in their journey. Thus provided, they repaired to the Romans, where they were supplied with what they wanted. In the interim Titus permitted the deserters to enjoy their full liberty; which was an encouragement to others to desert, as they avoided the misfortunes of those in the city, without being subjected to the enemy. However, Simon and John, and their adherents, placed guards at all the outlets, and were not less assiduous to keep the citizens from departing, than the Romans from making an entrance. The least cause of suspicion was sufficient to deprive a man of his life; or even a pretence on which to found suspicion, had the same effect. Persons in affluent circumstances were certain to be sufferers: those who had any thing to lose were assiduously suspected, and that suspicion ended in their final destruction.

The faction now grew more tumultuous, and the famine daily increased. When corn was no longer offered to sale, they broke open houses in search of it; and, if none was discovered, the owners were tortured, to make them declare where their stores were deposited: and if it was discovered, they were severely punished for concealing it. The very appearance of the wretched was construed into the effect of guilt. If they seemed to be in health, it was inferred that they had a secret supply of provisions. Those who were in a low habit of body were immediately killed: though it appeared to be a work of supererogation to destroy those who were already perishing for want of the.
common necessaries of life. At length, such was the distress, that people in tolerable circumstances disposed of their whole effects for a bushel of wheat, and the poorer people for an equal quantity of barley. The purchasers being made, they secluded themselves from all observation, when some of them began to eat the corn before it was ground, while others waited till it was baked, according to the different degrees of their hunger. The ceremony of setting out a table was totally dispensed with, and happy was he who could snatch a morsel of meat, half raw, half roasted, from the fire.

The calamity above-mentioned afforded a sight truly melancholy. The most powerful fared the best, while the weaker had only to lament their misfortunes.

Starving is certainly the most deplorable kind of death, as it deprives people of the common emotions of humanity. The wife seized the meat from the mouth of the husband; the child from that of the parent, and even the mother from that of the infant which lay perishing in her arms; thus depriving it of the last sustenance in the moment of the utmost necessity: yet these horrid robberies were not so privately committed, but that others robbed them of what they had pilfered from their friends. Whenever the inhabitants saw a house shut up, they concluded that the people in it had something to eat; therefore, breaking it open, they seized the meat, even from the mouths of the persons who were swallowing it. Neither age nor sex was spared: the old men who endeavoured to defend the provision they possessed were violently beaten: while the women who sought to conceal any thing were dragged by their hair. Even children at the breast escaped not the general fury: so that the same treatment attended infancy and old age.

Among the freebooters, who were continually in search of prey, nothing was deemed a more atrocious offence, than for the unhappy man who was pursued to outrun him that followed, and eat his bread before he was robbed of it. No kind of cruelty was omitted in the search for food: persons were tormented in the most exquisite manner, and in those parts the most sensible of pain. Sharp sticks were thrust up their bodies, and they were otherwise so severely treated that the recital would give horror; and all this, perhaps, in order to discover a handful of flour, or a loaf of bread, which had been concealed. These crimes, however, were greatly aggravated by the consideration that those who executed the tyranny had not the plea of unavoidable necessity to urge in their behalf. In fact, it was the mere effect of barbarity, when they were provided with six days provision in advance. Some unhappy creatures, who had evaded the vigilance of the guards, and slipped out of the town by night, in order to gather fallad and herbs, were unfortunate enough to fall into their hands at a time when they thought themselves least in danger; and having been stripped of all they had procured, at the hazard of their lives, were happy to receive a small part of their own property, in consequence of their earnest prayers and entreaties.

Such was the treatment that the common people received from the soldiers: but persons of a superior degree were carried before the usurers, who directed that some of them should be put to death, on a charge of treason; false witnesses being continually produced, to swear that they had an intention
of betraying the city to the Romans; and one of the constant charges against them was, that they were disposed to have combined with the enemy. Those who had been plundered by Simon were carried to John, and the prisoners brought to John were transmitted to Simon, as if they had mutually agreed to triumph in the distresses of their fellow-creatures. In a word, though Simon and John contended for the superiority, they appeared to entertain similar sentiments with respect to the practices of usurpation and the arts of tyranny. They were partners in robbery; and he was accounted the greatest villain, who cheated his accomplice of that part of the booty which each deemed to be equally his property.

To recite the whole history of their iniquities would be an endless task: but to sum up all in a few words, I am fully convinced that so barbarous a people, or so miserable a city, never before existed in the world. These wretches, as a sort of apology for their inhumanity to strangers, calumniated the whole Hebrew people, and acknowledged themselves to be, what they were in fact, an association of lawless vagabonds, and abandoned slaves. In truth they were the occasion that the city was laid in ashes, and that the temple was burnt; for their precipitancy gave rise to these horrid facts, against the inclination of Titus, who was compelled to the violent procedure. While the upper town was burning the Romans gave many proofs of their benevolent feelings, as will appear in the sequel; but the Jews neither heaved a sigh, nor shed a tear on the occasion. But of this I shall hereafter treat more at large, and make proper remarks on the event.

CHAP. XII.

The unhappy situation of the Jews, who are tortured and crucified. Titus compelled to act severely for his own security. The obstinate perseverance of the Jews. Four capital works raised by the Romans. The bulwarks burnt by the Jews. Simon makes an attempt on the Roman erections. A gallant action performed by three of the Jews. The Romans driven from their works. No Roman to quit his post, on pain of death. An obstinate encounter between the Romans and Jews. The Romans despair of accomplishing their design.

In the interim Titus plied his operations with incessant affiduity, in the course of which he left many men from the walls. The Jews had a practice of quitting the city during the night, in search of the necessaries of life; and in these excursions they were often attended by soldiers, who could not obtain within the city sufficient to satisfy the demands of nature. The people who thus went out were chiefly very poor: but they were afraid to desert absolutely, left their wives and children, whom they left behind, should be murdered; nor did they dare to take their families with them, from the apprehension of discovery. These circumstances being well known to Titus, he sent a party of his cavalry to wait for the Jews in the valleys; and these latter, being reduced to despair through hunger, fell into the snare laid by the enemy. When they found their unfortunate situation, they were compelled to fight, in the dread
of a punishment even worse than death in battle: and, in fact, it was now too late for them to think of demanding quarter. In a word, the Jews were subdued; and having first been put to a variety of tortures, were crucified in sight of their brethren who were besieged. The exertion of this rigour was disagreeable to Titus, but he could not spare men enough from their military duty to attend them as prisoners, nor did he think it prudent to give liberty to such a number. Exclusive of these considerations, he hoped that the terrible example might tend to influence those within the city to avoid a similar fate. The unhappy persons above-mentioned were all crucified, but in a variety of forms, expressive of the hatred, contempt, or rage of the enemy: but the number of miserable wretches was so great, that crosses were wanted, and even room for executing them. Yet this horrid spectacle was so far from having its proper influence on the faction, that it wrought an effect directly contrary to what was intended: for the friends and relations of the fugitives, and all those who seemed inclined to listen to terms of accommodation, were compelled to come down to the walls, and observe what was to be expected by those who deserted to the Romans: and on this occasion it was inflected that the sufferers were not prisoners of war, but deserters who had made their submission, and implored mercy. By this contrivance many were prevented from going off, till the fact came to be known: though there were a number who escaped to the enemy, in the mere dread of being starved, which they considered as a more deplorable death than that of crucifixion.

Hereupon Titus gave orders that several of the prisoners should have their hands cut off; and in this condition he sent them to John and Simon, so that it was not possible they should be mistaken for deserters: and by these people he sent his advice that an end might be put to the war, before he should be absolutely compelled to destroy the city; intimating that the Jews, on a proper submission, had yet an opportunity of preserving their lives, their country, and their temple. In the mean time, however, Titus did not neglect to forward his works, encouraging those who laboured on them to be indefatigable; having determined that his preparations should be followed by convincing proofs that what was not to be effected by the laws of reason should yield to those of force.

In the interim the Jews on the walls vented their execrations, cursing both Vespasian and Titus; declaring that they held their liberties more sacred than their lives; that they were above the fear of death; and that if they could be happy enough to torment the Romans, they despised all consequences to themselves or their country, though Titus had afflicted that both were on the point of destruction. With regard to their temple, they said the universe was by far the more magnificent edifice: or, at any rate, they entertained no doubt but that the Almighty would protect his own house: and they depended on him for protection, nor feared the threats of the Romans, which God would never permit to be carried into execution. This was the substance of what the Jews said on the occasion.

By this time Antiochus Epiphanes was arrived, having under his command a body of armed troops, among whom was one particular company of young men, nearly of an age, who were accoutred, and had been trained
after the Macedonian fashion, from whence they obtained the name of Macedonians: though their birth gave them no claim to that name, nor did their characters correspond therewith. There never was a prince who had been so fortunate and successful in the former part of his life as the king of Comagena: but fortune forsaking him in the decline of life, he furnished a proof of the truth of the ancient observation, that "No man is to be declared happy till his death." This king had a son distinguished by great personal strength, a spirit uncommonly enterprising, and a degree of courage that approached to rashness. On a particular day this son observed that it was amazing the Romans should thus lose their time before the walls, and not vigorously assault the place. To this Titus, in a smiling manner, replied that the way was open to those who were disposed to make the attack. He had no sooner spoken these words than Antiochus advanced, with his Macedonians, and in the course of the assault gave equal proof of his courage and military skill; while his followers, who had heretofore boasted what wonders they would perform, thought it inconsistent with their honor to retreat, and, in consequence, most of them were either killed or wounded; the latter being brought off by their companions, who were obliged to abandon the attempt; and were hereby taught that Macedonian courage must be seconded by the good fortune of Alexander to ensure success.

The Romans began their platforms heretofore mentioned on the twelfth day of the month Artemisius, and, after seventeen days incessant labour, completed them on the twenty-ninth. There were four of these platforms, and they were works of a very capital nature. One of them, which was near the fortresses of Antonia, was constructed by the fifth legion, opposite the middle of the Struthian Pool: the twelfth legion threw up another, at the distance of twenty cubits from the former: opposite to the pool named Amygdalon, another work was thrown up by the tenth legion, which was more numerous than the other legions: and a fourth mount was erected by the fifteenth legion, at a small distance from the monument erected to the memory of John, the high-priest.

As soon as the works above-mentioned were completed, John gave directions for digging a mine under that facing Antonia, and that a number of props should support the earth from falling. This being done, the woodwork was covered with a bituminous inflammable matter; after which John ordered that the pillars should be fired; and the props being destroyed, the whole fortification fell to the ground, with a hideous crash. At first no fire appeared; only dust and smoke, till at length the flames burst forth to view. The Romans were astonished at the sight, and perfectly distracted to think that their views were thus defeated, in the moment that they thought themselves certain of success. As their ramparts were destroyed, they conceived it would be fruitless to attempt to quench the fire.

Two days after this circumstance Simon and his associates made an attempt on the other mounts, where the Romans had by this time planted their battering-rams, and began their operations. Jephthaeus, a Galilean, of the city of Garis, Megalissus, a domestik of queen Mariamne, and Agiras (other-
wife the lame), the son of Nabateus of Adiabena, greatly distinguished themselves on this occasion. They ran with torches in their hands, and forcing their way through the troops of the enemy with as much unconcern as if there had been no opposition, they set fire to the works; and though they were opposed by darts and arrows, they resolutely persevered in their intention till the whole erection was in a flame. These three men were esteemed among the bravest that took part in the war of which I am relating the particulars.

When the flames began to ascend, the Romans sent a body of troops to the relief of their brother soldiers; but, in the mean time, the Jews violently assailed them with shot from the walls, and, in total disregard of their own safety, made a vigorous attack on those who were endeavouring to stop the progress of the fire. The Romans used every effort in their power to save the battering-rams, the covers of which were by this time consumed; while the Jews advanced even into the flames to prevent them; nor would they let go their hold, though the iron work was then of a burning heat. There was now no possibility of preventing the fire passing to the ramparts; and when the Romans found that they were encompassed with flames, and that no hope remained of saving their works from destruction, they retreated to their camp.

Such numbers from without the city now came in as reinforcements to the Jews, that this additional aid gave them such fresh spirits and courage, that, flushed with the hope of conquest, they advanced even to the camp, and made an attack on the guards. The office of the Roman guards, according to the strictness of their discipline, was to perform their duty alternately, relieving each other; and the man who quitted his station, under any pretence whatever, was certain of suffering death without mercy. Thus assured, from the very nature of their station, that they must suffer the infamous death of defectors, if they did not fall like men of honor, they made so resolute an opposition, that some of those who had fled thought themselves under a necessity of returning; when they made such resistance by means of their engines, that the excursions of the Jews from the city were stopped. These Jews had fallen forth with the utmost fury, unprovided even with weapons for their defence, attacking all they met with, without distinction, rashly rushing among their enemies, and throwing themselves on the points of their pikes. In a word, the advantages the Jews at any time gained over the Romans were less acquired by real courage than rash precipitancy: while the Romans, little afraid of any essential injury the Jews could do them, often yielded to the violent impetuosity of their opponents.

When Titus returned from Antonia, where he had been to fix on a proper spot for carrying on the siege, he severely reprimanded his troops for permitting themselves to be attacked in their own works, when they had possessed themselves of those of the enemy, and yielding to be besieged by those who could be considered as no other than prisoners. After this Titus made a selection of some of his best troops, and surrounding the Jews, charged them in the flank; while they, on the other hand, sustained the charge with astonishing resolution. When the two parties met there was such a horrid noise,
noise, and the dust flew in such clouds, that it was impossible to see or hear any thing distinctly; nor could friends be distinguished from foes. This obstinate refusal of the Jews arose more from despair than from any great idea they had of their own power. On the contrary, the Romans were more enraged, partly from a sense of military honor, and partly from a concern for the security of their general, who was in imminent danger, that if the Jews had not retreated to the city in the very moment that they did, every one of them would have been utterly destroyed. Still, however, the Romans were hurt at the reflection of having left their bulwarks; and that what they had been so long in erecting should be demolished almost in an hour. In consequence of this disappointment the Romans began to despair of accomplishing their design.

C H A P. XIII.

A council of officers summoned by Titus, in which some advise a general assault, others the separation of the ramparts, and a third the prevention of provisions being carried into the city. Orders given by Titus that a wall should be built round the city. The course and extent of the wall, which is completed in the space of three days.

During this situation of affairs Titus issued orders that his principal officers should be summoned to a council, to advise with him how to act in the emergency. Some of the most violent among them recommended an immediate attack with the whole army, and coming to a general battle, alledging that nothing had yet been done but by way of skirmish; but if once a vigorous assault was made, the darts and arrows alone would insure victory over the Jews. Those of more reflection gave their voices for the re-edification of the ramparts; while a third party were totally against the having any fortifications, but advised that care might be taken that no provisions should be carried into the city: trusting that famine would effectually do the business, and that victory might be obtained without a blow being struck: alledging that persons driven to despair would hold their resolution even to death.

Though Titus did not think it perfectly honourable to lie inactive at the head of so large an army, yet he was not disposed to attack a people, who sought their own destruction with such determined resolution. The want of materials rendered it impracticable that he should erect new ramparts; and with regard to the preventing provisions being carried into the city, he thought it would be equally impossible, on account of the extent of the place, and the number of avenues. He considered that if the common roads were to be all blocked up, yet the Jews, who were acquainted with all the secret passages in the neighbourhood, would, when driven to absolute necessity, find out some secret places of conveyance. He reflected that if the Jews should, by stealth, convey any relief into the city, it would only tend to protract the siege; and the delay thereby occasioned would leaven the honor of the victory. "But (said he) let us suppose that what I have imagined might possibly be carried into execution: yet there is still a mode of pro-
viding for the safety of the army, and the reputation of the Romans. Ex-
pedition ought to be preferred to glory, and the effectual way to obtain the
object of our wishes, in a short and certain manner, will be to erect a wall
round the whole city. By this it will be impossible that the inhabitants
should make excursions: and the Jews at length, incapable of defending
themselves, and reduced to the utmost distress by famine, will be com-
pelled to surrender the city through mere despair: otherwise there will
never be an end to the contest. However, though I cannot erect new ram-
parts, I will order the old to be repaired; notwithstanding those that re-
main are sufficient to stop the proceedings of the enemy. Some may think
the plan I propose will be difficult of execution; but if it had been other-
wise it would have been beneath my dignity to have undertaken it. Works
of great importance are not effected without considerable labour, except
the immediate interposition of Heaven aid their execution."

The speech of Titus being ended, he directed his officers immediately to
begin the erection of the wall, and let the whole army take a share in the busi-
nesses, assigning to each party its proper station. Those orders were no sooner
issued than every soldier was animated with a wish to exceed his fellows in this
work. The ground was measured out, the legions were divided, and every man
was emulous who should most effectually distinguish himself. The common
soldiers copied the example of the sergeants; the sergeants that of the cap-
tains; the captains that of the tribunes; and the tribunes that of their supe-
rior officers; the whole being under the direction of Titus, whose zeal for the
dispatch of this business was such, that he was continually taking his rounds
to superintend the whole proceeding.

This wall commenced at a place named the Camp of the Assyrians, where
Titus himself held his head quarters. Hence it was continued to the lower
Canopolis; carried forward by the way of Cedron to Mount Olivet, which
was enclosed to the south as far as the rock Periætæron, and this inclosure
comprehended an adjacent hill which commands the vale of Siloam. From
this place it inclined somewhat to the west, and was carried on to the valley
of the Fountain. Its next direction was to the sepulchre of Ananus, the
high-priest; after this it inclosed the mountain on which Pompey had hereto-
fore encamped. It then turned to the north, and was extended to a village
named Erebinthonicus. It included the sepulchre of Herod on the east side;
and soon afterwards was joined to that part of the wall where the building
originally commenced.

Nine and thirty furlongs was the whole extent of this wall, and thirteen
forts were erected on the outside of it, ten furlongs being the compass of each
fort. It is somewhat extraordinary, but no less so than true, that this amazing
work was completed in three days, though an equal number of months might
have been supposed a reasonable time for it. As soon as it was finished, gar-
rions were placed in all the forts, who did duty under arms every night. On
each night, likewise, Titus went the first round in person, Tiberius Alexan-
der the second, and the officers who commanded the legions the third. Some
persons were constantly on guard in the forts during the whole night: but
some of the soldiers were allowed to rest, alternately with others who were appointed to watch.

CHAP. XIV.

Account of the excessive distress occasioned by famine. Some of the Romans make an ostentatious show of their abundance, in order to mortify the Jews. Four ramparts, of greater magnitude than the former, erected at the fortress Antonia.

The above-mentioned inclosure of the Jews within the town reduced them to the last degree of despair; for by this time the famine had increased to such a height that whole families fell a sacrifice to its rage. The dead bodies of women and children were seen in every house: the old men were found dead in all the narrow lanes of the city, while the younger men, who were yet able to walk, appeared like ghosts parading the streets. It became impossible to commit the bodies of the dead to the ground. Many of the living were unable to perform this charitable office; while others were unwilling to undertake it; partly discouraged by the numbers of the deceased, and partly by the reflection that themselves could not survive any considerable time. Numbers of them expired even while they were burying their fellow-citizens; and some, prompted by despair, sought their own graves, and interred themselves, that they might be certain of a place of repose. Yet miserably distressed as the present situation of these wretched people was, not a single complaint or lamentation was heard: for the pangs of excessive hunger absorbed every other passion. Those who last expired beheld those who had gone before them, with unweeping eyes, and looks marked with the near approach of death. The most profound silence reigned through every part of the city; and during the course of the night, heaps of dead bodies were frequently piled on each other. Yet a more melancholy part of the story (if more melancholy can be), still remains untold. This arose from the brutal insolence of a number of abandoned thieves, who broke into the houses, that at this time appeared only like charnel-houses, and having stripped the bodies of the dead, they derided their situation: exclusive of which they ran their swords into the bodies of persons who lay half expiring. When any despairing wretch called for some friendly hand to dispatch him by a sword, that he might no longer endure the miseries of famine, this earnest request was constantly refuted with the most unfeeling barbarity. When any of the unfortunate reached the moment of death, they turned their faces to the temple, and thus closed their eyes; lamenting at the same time, that the vile incendiaries who had profaned the holy place, should be yet left among the living. When the offensive smells arising from the corruption of the dead bodies became insupportable, an order was given that all of them should be buried at the public expense: the abandoned incendiaries threw them from the walls into the valleys: a sight that occasioned so much horror to Titus, that while he was going his rounds, and found the ditches infected with dead bodies, and pestilential vapours arising from them, he extended...
his hands towards Heaven, and made a solemn appeal to God, that these misfortunes arose not from any orders that he had given. At the period of which I am writing, this was the unfortunate situation of the city.

The insurgents were now so pent up within the walls, that they found it impossible for any of them to quit the place. In the mean time they endured all the pangs of famine, aggravated by the tortures of despair; while, on the contrary, the Romans lived at their ease, and passed their time very agreeably, being amply supplied with the necessaries of life from Syria, and the adjacent provinces. Encouraged by their better fortune, many of the Romans advanced to the walls, and made an ostentatious display of their possessions, with a view to reflect on the necessities of those who were in circumstances of distress. All this appeared to have no effect on the unfeeling minds of the turbulent multitude; whereupon Titus, in mere compassion to the residue of an unhappy people, determined immediately on the erection of new works, and resolved that no time should be lost in their completion. One considerable difficulty, indeed, now occurred, which was the providing the proper materials for carrying these works into execution; for all the wood in the neighbourhood of the city had been cut down for the erection of the former works: wherefore they were under a necessity of fetching all the timber for this second supply from a place at the distance of ninety furlongs: and herewith four ramparts, of greater magnitude than the former, were erected at the fortresses Antonia. Titus carried on this business with great affidavit, and the besieged being now at his mercy, he plainly hinted to them that he knew their situation. Still, however, they shewed no concern for what had happened: they seemed to have no regard for themselves or each other. Those who were decaying with sickness they confined in prisons, and tore the dead in pieces, as dogs would have done.

CHAP. XV.

Simon having been introduced into the city by Matthias, the former causes him to be first tortured, and then murdered; Ananus, the most cruel of men, being the executioner. Ananias and others put to death. The destruction of Simon concerted by Judas. The city surprized by Simon. Joseph being wounded by a stone, is said to be killed; but is rescued by Titus, and recovers. The Jews having swallowed their gold, the bodies of two thousand of them are cut open in one single night. The resentment of Titus on this brutal behaviour. Reflection on the inordinate love of money.

The ungrateful return which Matthias received from Simon, for procuring him to be admitted into the city, was, that he first caused him to be tortured, and then put to death. The story of this event is as follows: Matthias was the son of a priest named Boethus, whom the people held in as high esteem as any man of his function. The Zelotes having treated the Jews with very unwarrantable severity, and John having joined the former, Matthias recommended that Simon might be called into their assistance; but took no previous precaution, nor made any condition with regard to his conduct,
Such, however, was the ingratitude of Simon, that as soon as he had become master of the city, he treated Matthias as one of his worst enemies, and the advice the latter had given for opening the ports was attributed to mere thoughtlessness and simplicity. On this ridiculous pretence he was brought to a trial, and charged with holding a correspondence with the Romans; and, without any kind of proof, sentence of death was passed on Matthias and three of his sons: but without permitting them to urge a single argument in their defence: but a fourth son had made his escape to the Romans. The venerable old man made it his earnest request, and the only favour he asked, in return for his admitting Simon into the town, that he himself might first suffer: but even this poor favour was denied by Simon, who gave orders that Matthias should be executed the last, with the cruel resolution of prolonging the term of his sufferings. The influence of this horrid affair was that the good old Matthias was put to death on the bodies of his sons, and within view of the Romans, agreeable to an order which Simon gave to Ananus, the son of Bamadas; which Ananus was distinguished from all the dependants of Simon, by the extreme cruelty of his disposition. Simon, however, was not contented with the simple execution of this barbarous sentence; but in the moment that Ananus was preparing to give the fatal stroke, he said to Matthias, with an air of the most insolent derision; "You had intended to have defected to the Romans: let them now afford you assistance if it be in their power." When the execution was over the barbarity was carried still farther: for Simon gave express orders that the bodies should be denied the rites of sepulture.

At this period the following persons were likewise put to death: Ananus, the priest, the son of Mathalus, descended of a noble family; Aristesus, a native of Ammaus; and fifteen others of the principal people in the city. The father of Joseph was apprehended and committed to prison, and a proclamation was issued that no man should go near him, on pain of incurring the penalties of treason. It was likewise declared that those who exprest any sentiments of pity for the unfortunate sufferers should be punished with death.

Not long after these events, Judas, who commanded one of the turrets (and was son of Judas, one of Simon's officers), being concerned in a high degree for the sufferings of the people, and being willing also to consult his own safety, summoned ten of those friends in whom he could implicitly confide, whom he addressed in the following manner: "Is it not unreasonable that we should longer bend beneath the yoke of this tyranny? What expectation have we of safety while in the service of so barbarous and treacherous a master? We have already the famine and sword to contend with, and the enemy is almost within our walls. Simon is certainly the most ungrateful of any man existing: he lives in perpetual fear of the punishment he deserves. On the contrary, the faith and honor of the Romans is not to be doubted. Wherefore the most prudent measure we can take will be to surrender our walls, thereby consulting our own security equally with that of our country. With regard to Simon, he can have nothing to complain of, only that his sufferings will be in some degree accelerated."
Judas and his ten associates having come to a resolution in what manner they would act, he sent the rest of his people different ways, in order to keep his intentions secret; and, about the third hour of the day, he advanced to the turret, and addressed himself to the Romans, intimating what had been agreed on. Some of the Romans paid no regard to what he laid; others who heard him did not believe his affections; while a third party thought the conquest of a place which they might possess without danger was not worth the least hazard.

Titus had by this time advanced some of his troops quite close to the wall; but the city being instantly surprized by Simon, he killed a number of the guards, even in sight of the Romans, and threw the bodies over the wall. As Joseph was taking his rounds, and offering every assistance possible to the Jews, by advice and encouragement, it happened that he was wounded by a stone from the battlements, which beat him to the ground. Hereupon the Jews fallied forth in a violent manner, and would have carried him off a prisoner, but that Titus, in the critical juncture, sent a number of men to his relief. While the opposite parties were contending the matter, the friends of Joseph carried him off, before he recovered his senses. The factions, supposing that Joseph had been slain, gave themselves airs of great exultation on the occasion.

This report being currently spread through the city, the inhabitants were exceedingly concerned for the loss of a man whom they considered as their friend and mediator among the Romans. Intelligence of the death of Joseph being conveyed to his mother, who was then in prison, she told the guards that she had been already informed of the circumstance, and that she should never again have the happiness of seeing her son. The women attending her consoled her on this melancholy occasion, while she deplored her own unhappy fate, in having been the mother of a son whom she hoped would have committed her remains to the ground; yet, as things had happened, she was not now in a situation to pay the funeral honors to her son. This suspense, however soon ended: the faction received no advantage, nor Joseph's mother any injury from the false report that had been propagated. The danger that Joseph had been in from his wound was soon at an end; and, on his returning to his former station, he intimated that the delinquents should severely suffer for the outrage they had been guilty of: but he still, in the most earnest manner, recommended submission to the people. Joseph's friends were highly pleased, and the faction as much dispirited, on his making his reappearance.

At this juncture a number of the inhabitants went off to the Romans. Some of them defected under pretense of pursuing the enemy with stones; while others made their escape by leaping over the walls. But while they sought to avoid the distresses which prevailed within the city, they met with greater calamities without; for they contracted surfeits in the camp, still more hastily destructive than the famine from which they had fled: for after long fasting, and being infected with a dropical complaint, they durst not venture to eat freely, for fear of bursting. But the most melancholy part of the history remains yet to be recounted.
THE WARS OF THE JEWS. 493

Among the Syrians a fugitive Jew was discovered while he was searching for gold which he had swallowed, and which had passed through his body. At the period above-mentioned there was a very great scarcity of gold in the town, and twelve attacks was as valuable as twenty-five had been in former times; and the faction had searched all the people in the strictest manner. On the above-mentioned discovery it was immediately reported through the camp that the Jews who had defected had swallowed all the gold. Hereupon the Arabians and Syrians seized on the defectors, and cut open the bodies of two thousand of them in one night. This I deem to have been the most inhuman butchery that ever was sustained by the Jews.

The horrid inhumanity of this action gave so much offence to Titus, that he would undoubtedly have ordered his cavalry to destroy every one of the offenders with darts, if their number had not been more considerable than that of those they had murdered; but as this was the case, he summoned together his officers, as well the Romans as the auxiliaries; and finding that some of his own people had been concerned in this inhuman butchery, he delivered his sentiments on the occasion in the following manner. In the first place, addressing himself to the Romans, he said, "I am astonished that any soldier of mine should be guilty of an action so unmanly, in order to possess himself of so uncertain an advantage, without blushing at the mean-ness to which he had been induced by his avarice." Then turning to his auxiliaries, he exclaimed, "Do you think it reasonable that the incontinences offered, and the inhumanities and murders perpetrated by the Syrians and Arabians in a foreign war, in which they act without control, ought to "be imputed to the Romans; and that the crimes of one party ought to "be laid to the charge of the other?"

Titus, so far from excusing his own people, was transported to the highest degree of rage at their conduct, and threatened immediate death to any man who should be guilty of similar acts of barbarity for the future. At the same time he gave orders to his legions to make a strict search after every person who should be suspected, and declared that he himself would sit in judgment on his trial. The love of money; however, will combat every danger. The cruel and covetous by nature; and avarice is the most insatiable of all our appetites and inclinations. In some cases it may happen that a reasonable and upright conduct may be the consequence of fear: but when people are left to all sense of moral honesty, their destruction may arise from the very efforts made to save them. What Titus prohibited publicly with such severity, was repeatedly practised in secret on the defectors from the Jews. Their mode only of proceeding was varied: for when any of the defectors were taken, the custom of the murderers was, first to be assured that they were not within view of any of the Romans, and then to rip up the bodies of the Jews, in search of treasure; though they were seldom successful in the finding money sought after by these infamous means. However, the shocking practice had such an effect on the Jews, that they now no longer defected to the Romans, being apprehensive of the fatal consequences that would ensue.

Vol. II. 6 K C H A P.
From plunder John proceeds to sacrilege. Immense numbers of the Jews destroyed. It is computed that six hundred thousand dead bodies are carried out of the city.

John having obtained all he could by plunder, then proceeded to sacrilege, seizing and appropriating to his own use several cups, dishes, tables, with other necessary vessels appropriated to divine service, which had been presented as gifts, or offered as oblations; not excepting even the pieces dedicated to the honor of the temple, by Augustus and the empress. The Roman emperors had ever entertained a great esteem and veneration for the temple, though at this time it was profaned by a Jew, who stripped it of the presents bestowed on it by strangers, and encouraged his companions to make free with everything that was sacred; saying, "It was but reasonable that "those should live by the temple, who had fought for it." In pursuance of these sentiments he made no scruple of distributing among his people the holy wine and oil which had been reserved for sacrifices in the interior part of the temple: and as John was free of his distributions, the people were equally free of receiving them, drinking and anointing without ceremony. On this occasion, I am so distressed that I cannot express my feelings. I am fully convinced that if the Romans had forborne to punish the atrocious wickedness of these people, the city would either have been drowned, or swallowed by an earthquake; or it would have been destroyed by thunder and lightning, in the same manner as Sodom; for the Jews were a more abandoned people than those of that place. However, in the event, the whole race of them was destroyed, as the reward of their iniquity.

The task of recounting the various miseries of the Jews on this occasion would be endless. One of the gates of the city was commanded by Mannaus, the son of Lazarus, who deferring to Titus, informed him that from the day when Titus first encamped before the city, which was on the tenth of the month Xanthicus, to the first of the month Panemus, no less than one hundred and fifteen thousand and eighty dead bodies were carried through that gate; this being the number that he had kept a register of, in consequence of the duties of his office. But this did not include those buried by their relations, or, more properly, thrown out of the city, for they had no other mode of burial.

Some time after these several men of eminence, who had deferred, made a computation, by which it appeared that six hundred thousand dead bodies had been carried out of the gates; besides which, incredible numbers, who had not friends to carry them out of the city, were either enclosed in large buildings, or laid in heaps in the open air.

At this juncture wheat had arisen to the price of a talent for a bushel: and since the city had been surrounded with the wall, the inhabitants were prevented from obtaining any kind of provisions; and were at length re-
duced to such an extremity of distress, that they were under a necessity of searching vaults and sinks for sustenance; and even fed on ox-dung, and other articles too offensive to be mentioned in this description.

This bare recital of their misfortunes engaged the compassion of their enemies: yet, in the mean time, the rebellious faction in the city, who witnessed, and even felt these sufferings, seemed insensible that they arose entirely from their own pertinacious obstinacy. Still they continued, fatally blinded by an infatuation which led them insensibly to the destruction of themselves, and the ruin of the city.

End of the Sixth Book.
Account of the dreadful miseries that prevailed in Jerusalem, and the desolation of the circumjacent parts. The Jews appear too powerful for their adversaries: they form a design of setting fire to the Roman machines, but the attempt proves unsuccessful. The Romans assault the city, which is bravely defended by the Jews. The assailants employed in undermining the wall. In the course of an address to his soldiers Titus declares his sentiments on futurity, and exhorts his auditors to a strict observance of their duty. One of Titus's guards, named Sabinus, performs an heroic exploit.

In proportion to the calamities which prevailed in Jerusalem, and continued daily to increase, the faction became more desperate and outrageous. The famine had now arrived to such a height that all ranks of people were equally affected by it; the streets and passages afforded a most dreadful prospect, being encumbered with dead bodies, by which the air was infected
infected to an intolerable degree; and so dead to every sense of remorse were the people, that they trampled upon the carcases with as little scruple as they would have done in a field of battle; nor did they appear to be in the least affected by the consideration that every moment threatened to number them among the deceased. In the domestic contentions they barbarously murdered their countrymen, and then directed their attention to a war with a foreign enemy; thereby seeming to offer an impious insult to the Divine Being for having withheld the punishment due to their enormous crimes; for their despair and rage urged them to a war with the Romans, in which they entertained but little hope of escaping destruction.

The Romans were put to great difficulty in procuring the necessary materials for completing their works: but they cut down all the woods within the circuit of ninety furlongs of the city, and finished their platforms in the space of twenty one days. A most dismal alteration took place in this delightful part of Judæa, which abounded in curious gardens, plantations, and houses of pleasure: not a building or tree was now to be seen, but the marks of devastation and ruin occupied the whole prospect. So great was the difference between the present and the former state of Jerusalem, that even strangers could not refrain from tears on the comparison. So terrible was the devastation and havoc of the war, that people in the heart of the city might reasonably have enquired where Jerusalem, that place so peculiarly favoured by Heaven, was situated.

The Romans having raised the mounts, the Jews became greatly alarmed; for matters were now arrived to such an extremity that they were conscious they must inevitably surrender the city if their endeavours to destroy the Roman works proved ineffectual: on the other hand the Romans were exceedingly apprehensive lest the attempts of their adversaries should prevail; for the wood of the adjacent parts of the country being wholly exhausted, and the men greatly harassed by incessant and hard duty, if the mounts were destroyed, all hopes of success must end, since there appeared no possibility of constructing other works.

Notwithstanding the enmity subsisting between the parties, the Romans were more concerned on account of the miseries of the Jews than they were themselves. In despite of all the difficulties and dangers they had undergone, and the prospect of what they had still to encounter, the Jews preserved their spirits and resolution. The disadvantage they had sustained in several combats, the inefficacy of their engines against a wall of such surprising strength, and the disappointment of divers stratagems by the superior policy of the enemy proved highly discouraging to the Romans. They reflected that they had to contend with people, who, notwithstanding the disadvantages of intestine divisions, the miseries of famine, and the horrors of a foreign war, suffered no abatement of fortitude and courage; but, on the contrary, appeared to derive additional vigour from the difficulties in which they were engaged; and they exclaimed: "Were these people favoured by fortune, to what great undertakings would they not be equal, since, in despite of the great disadvantages under which they at present labour, they conduct
"themselves with such surprizing courage and address!" The Romans now doubled the number of their guards, and took such other precautions as occasion required.

Before the rams were mounted no measures that were likely to prove effectual were omitted by John and his adherents, who guarded the castle of Antonia, to prevent a breach being made in the walls. They made a sally with a view of setting fire to the mounts, but they went out in small parties, and they did not act with that courage and unanimity which was usual to the Jews. Their measures were not well concerted, nor were they carried into execution with the necessary spirit, to which may be attributed the failure of their design. The Romans became unusually vigilant; and, left their works should be set on fire, they planted a strict guard upon the bulwarks, and adopted such other precautionary measures as were necessary for preventing any advantages being taken by the enemy. Rather than submit to the irreparable injury of relinquishing their advantageous station, they unanimously resolved to die in defending the mounts. They considered that the honor of the Roman name would incur indelible disgrace if they suffered their courage and discipline to be baffled by the headstrong impetuosity of a desperate and outrageous multitude; and to submit to the power of the Jews was a circumstance that they could not reflect upon with any tolerable degree of patience.

The Romans were prepared with darts to encounter the enemy as they advanced; and such of the foremost as were slain or wounded obstructed the progress, and damped the courage of their companions. Those who pressed forward were astonished and deterred upon observing the exact regularity of the Roman discipline; others were alarmed at the great numbers of the enemy; and those who were wounded availed themselves of the first opportunities that offered for effecting an escape. In short all the Jews retired, each man endeavouring to preserve himself from censure by attributing the common calamity to the misconduct of his companions.

The Jews having retreated, on the first day of the month Panemus, the Romans advanced their rams in order to batter the walls of the castle of Antonia. To prevent the approach of the engines the Jews had recourse to their swords, fire, stones, and such other means as were likely to prove effectual; and they defended themselves with singular resolution: they greatly depended on the walls being sufficiently strong to resist the force of the machines, but still they exerted every possible effort to prevent their being advanced, and placed in a manner proper for action. Hence the assailants concluded that the great activity of the Jews proceeded from a conscientiousness of Antonia being in danger. For a considerable time the battery was continued without effect; but, despairing of being able to effect a breach by means of their engines, the Romans applied themselves to mining, carefully guarding themselves with their bucklers from the stones, lances, and other weapons discharged from above. With immense labour they, at length, boofened four stones of the foundation. The night now arrived, and both parties retired to repose. In the mean time that part of the wall which John had undermined with a view of destroying the former works, suddenly gave
The Wars of the Jews.

But this unexpected event had a contrary effect upon the contending parties. The Jews, who by a proper attention might have prevented the accident, were but little concerned when it arrived; for they deemed the place to be still sufficiently secure. The Romans were greatly rejoiced at a circumstance so favourable to their views as the falling of the wall; but their transports abated upon observing a wall which John had constructed within the circuit of that wherein the breach appeared. They still, however, entertained hopes of conquering the place; for the ruins of the outward wall greatly facilitated access to the other, which was not yet sufficiently settled and hard to make any considerable resistance to the force of the battering-rams. The assailants judged that infant death would inevitably be the fate of those who should attempt to scale the walls; and therefore all thoughts of that exploit were declined.

Being sensible that by plausible insinuations, the force of argument, encouraging exhortations, and the promise of reward, men of enterprising spirits were to be animated to an equal disregard of dangers, difficulties and death, Titus assembled such of his people as were most remarkable for bravery and military skill, and addressed them to the following effect:

"My faithful followers and brave fellow-soldiers! To exhort you to undertakings where the danger is not great would be equally inglorious to you and to myself. But the cause in which we are engaged is worthy the Roman character. I must acknowledge that the wall before us is an obstacle which we shall find it difficult to surmount; but enterprising souls are given us for the performance of great and heroic achievements; and to yield our lives when the reward will be immortal glory is an event too desirable to be considered with indifference. Such of you, my friends, as shall manifest a conduct entitling you to favour will find me neither insufficient to merit nor destitute of liberality. The fortitude, constancy, and perseverance of the enemy, instead of depressing your spirits, should animate you to an extraordinary exertion of courage; for true valour conforms in a generous contempt of danger, and a readiness to attempt the removal of every obstacle that obstructs the way to honourable victory. It is the constant practice of the Romans to study the art of war in times of tranquillity; and their successes have been so great and frequent that to conquer seems to be almost natural to them. How degrading then will it prove to the character we have hitherto maintained if, at this time, when we are evidently favoured by the providence of Heaven, we should suffer our resolution to relax, and yield to the superiority of the Jews, who do not maintain the war from a principle of martial honor, but are urged to acts of desperation by the extravagance of despair? Their intestine divisions, famine, siege, and the destruction of their wall, rendering our endeavours to effect a breach unnecessary, sufficiently indicate that we pursue the war under the immediate protection of Heaven, while our adversaries daily suffer the judicial vengeance of an offended Creator. To submit to the enemy would not only brand us with eternal ignominy, but would even be offering an insult to the Almighty, who, in his Divine pleasure, hath granted
granted us assistance and protection. Being accustomed to slavery and servitude, the Jews have but little reputation at stake: and shall the prospect of being again reduced to a servile state inspire those people with sufficient courage to rush amidst the body of the Roman troops? They cannot entertain the most distant prospect of success, but their situation has rendered them desperate and regardless of death. We are actually the lords of the universe, having subjected so great a part of the land and sea to our dominion; and to be conquered, or fail in our endeavours to subdue our enemies, would reflect upon us an equal share of disgrace: and shall we neglect to attempt some glorious enterprise, and remain in a shameful state of inactivity till famine and other calamities shall deliver the enemy into our power, and deprive us of the honor of conquest? Let us assault Antonia, and when that place is subdued we may consider ourselves as under an absolute certainty of obtaining a complete victory. If any opposition should be offered from the city (but that is a circumstance that we have no sufficient reason to apprehend will arrive), it must necessarily be so feeble as scarcely to deserve our attention; for having possession of the more elevated ground will afford us a considerable advantage over the enemy that they must inevitably yield. It is not my purpose to extol those heroes who, having gloriously concluded their lives in the field of battle, shall still survive in the memory of the latest posterity. Let those contemptible creatures who can descend so far beneath the dignity of human nature as to wish their souls and bodies may sink into the grave together; let them, I say, meet their fate in a manner proportioned to the abhorrent and groveling state of their minds. Are there any among you so grossly ignorant of the state of departed souls as to imagine that upon being separated from the body the spiritual part is not instantly translated to the Heavens, and placed among the stars, there to influence their descendants, and prepare them for the regions of eternal bliss? This is the case with men of honor, who fall by the chance of war. But those who fall miserable sacrifices to the infirmities of the body, and ingloriously die in their beds, however virtuous their dispositions, are sunk in obscurity, and their names are buried in eternal oblivion. Since death is the inevitable lot of the human race, and the sword is to be greatly preferred to any other means of yielding our lives, must not that man be degenerate and base who has not virtue sufficient to hazard his existence in the service of the public, when life is a debt, which, according to the course of nature, must unavoidably be discharged? From what I have said you may, perhaps, infer that I suppose death will be the certain consequence to those who shall adventure to assault the walls: but, bravery and fortitude are superior to every danger; and the man who boldly despises fear can never despair of success, in despite of obstacles which to mean spirits may appear impossible to surmount. The ruin of the outward wall has opened a passageway for victory; and the second wall will prove an obstacle of no material consideration, provided that you animate and support each other with a generous firmness and resolution. Our numbers are so great that
it is scarcely possible we can suffer a repulse: and perhaps we may be able to effect a complete conquest without proceeding to such extremities as will be attended with the loss of blood: Rest firmly assured that the enemy will not be able to withstand our force; and that the man who shall first mount the breach, whether it proves his fortune to fall or to succeed in the glorious exploit, shall have signal honors paid to his memory, or be rewarded with benefactions worthy his heroic character.”

Though it might have been expected that the generous address of Titus would have inspired his soldiers with extraordinary valour, the danger of the intended enterprize had made so deep an impression upon them, that a soldier of the guards, named Sabinus, a Syrian by birth, was the only man who had courage to undertake the hazardous commission of making the first assault. He was a man of remarkable courage and military skill; but so unpromising was his appearance that strangers would scarcely have supposed him to be of a martial character. He was of low stature, thin, and of a black complexion; but he was of a disposition singularly active and enterprising. He made a reverential obedience to Titus, and addressed him to the following purpose: “I presume, mighty prince, to offer myself as the man to be trusted with the honor of making the first assault upon the enemy’s walls. May the success of the Roman arms prove correspondent with the hopes of Sabinus. If it shall be my fortune to fail in the proposed enterprize I shall be amply recompenced for the loss of life in the glorious reward of yielding my last breath in the service of my general; life and death are, therefore, with me considerations of equal indifference.”

Having delivered the above words, Sabinus grasped his sword in his right-hand, and casting his shield over his head with the other, he advanced towards the wall, being followed by eleven men, who were induced to support him merely by an emulation of his superior bravery and generous contempt of danger. It was about the sixth hour of the day when Sabinus attempted the brave exploit; and he was annoyed by innumerable darts and arrows discharged by the enemy; notwithstanding which he continued to pursue his purpose with a degree of resolution that appeared to be more than human; and in the action some of his followers were slain. Having nearly mounted the wall, his extraordinary courage, and escape amidst such a variety of dangers, proved so alarming to the Jews that they quitted their stations, fearing that the example of Sabinus would encourage his companions to support him, and that they should be oppressed and overpowered by numbers.

But the fate of Sabinus affords reason for lamenting the inconstancy and malevolence of fortune, who frequently delights in the disappointment of glorious designs. When Sabinus had nearly accomplished the great exploit, he was most unhappily encountered by a stone of considerable bulk, which forced him to the ground. The noise occasioned by the fall of the stone induced the Jews to return; and upon observing Sabinus lying alone on the earth, without motion and apparently senseless, they violently assaulted him with darts and other weapons. He raised himself upon his knees, and

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throwing his buckler over his head, bravely revenged himself with his sword, by killing many of the enemy and wounding others. But such immense showers of darts were aimed at him that he became wholly unable any longer to maintain so unequal a contest, and, at length, he resigned his breath.

When we consider the astonishing bravery of Sabinus, we cannot but lament that he did not experience a more happy fortune: but his death, however, like his life, was perfectly consistent with the character of a true hero. The death of Sabinus happened on the third day of the month Panemus. Three of the companions of Sabinus were crushed to death by the fall of stones from the wall; and the other eight being wounded were conveyed to the Roman camp.

**CHAP. II.**

*A silent march to the walls of Antonia, where the guards are surprized, while asleep, and destroyed by the Romans; in consequence of which an obstinate engagement ensues, wherein terrible slaughter is committed. The Jews prove victorious after a contest for the space of ten hours.*

Two days having elapsed, twenty of the guards of the platforms, the ensign of the fifth legion, two cavaliers, and a trumpet, assembled; and in the dead of the night these people silently advanced over the ruins of the wall up to Antonia. They marched without meeting the least obstruction, and finding the advanced guard oppressed with sleep, they cut their throats, and having gained possession of the wall, the trumpeter sounded his instrument, which aroused the rest of the guard, who were thrown into so great a consternation that they instantly fled, being ignorant that only a small number of the enemy had entered the place, but strongly possessed of the opinion that they were exceedingly numerous.

Upon receiving intimation of the state of affairs at the fort, Titus put himself at the head of his most resolute troops, and immediately marched thither over the ruins already mentioned. So astonished were the Jews by the sudden and unexpected attack that some fled for safety to the interior temple, and others to the mine that John had formed with a view of destroying the Roman works. The factions under the command of John and Simon were convinced that every prospect of success must end if the enemy obtained possession of the temple: and hereupon a desperate engagement ensued before the doors of the sacred building; one party fighting for the preservation of life, and the other for the honor of conquest. Neither party could use lances or darts with effect; for they were so closely engaged that the sword was the only weapon on which the issue of the battle was to depend. Jews and Romans were promiscuously crowded together, and neither order or discipline was observed, but the utmost confusion prevailed. The outcries were so loud and various that, notwithstanding the difference of language, there was no possibility of distinguishing from which party they respectively
The rear of each army so violently pressed forward that the soldiers in front were wholly unable to retreat; and therefore they had no alternative but either to destroy their adversaries, or surrender their own lives. The encounter was maintained for the space of ten hours, being commenced at the expiration of the ninth hour of the night, and not concluded till the end of the seventh on the following morning. The determined rage of the Jews, however, proved too powerful for the discipline and bravery of the Romans; and that this was the case was a fortunate circumstance for the former, whose last adventure being at stake, had they been vanquished in this action utterly destroyed to them must inevitably have been the consequence. The Romans judged that they had reason to be satisfied with the advantage they had acquired in gaining possession of the fort of Antonia; for they had performed the exploit with only a part of the army, the legions on whom the greatest dependance was placed not being yet arrived.

C H A P. III.

A centurion, named Julian, performs an heroic exploit. Account of a remarkable accident, by means of which he lost his life. The Romans are repulsed, and shut up in the fort of Antonia. The Jews who signalized themselves in the action are particularized.

A centurion, named Julian, who was a native of Bithynia, and a man descended of an honourable family, observing, while he stood near Titus in the fort of Antonia, that the Romans were so hard pressed as to be on the point of retiring before the enemy, availed himself of a favourable opportunity, and with a degree of intrepidity truly astonishing, made a sudden and desperate leap into the thickest part of the adverse forces, who, by the efforts of his single arm, he put to flight, and pursued to the most interior court of the temple. The bravery and great exploits of this man so astonished the Jews that they could not believe but that he was influenced by a supernatural power. Julian continued his progress with undaunted courage and unremitting agility, fearless of danger and insensible of fatigue, putting some of the enemy to death, and wounding others; and the wonderful feats of valor that he performed proved a most glorious and pleasing spectacle to the Romans, while the Jews were affected in a very different manner, being terrified and astonished beyond the power of description.

A fatal accident, however, which neither his wisdom could foresee, nor his best judgment avoid, attended this heroic soldier: according to the custom of
the martial people among the Romans, he wore shoes studded with iron, which, while in pursuit of the enemy upon a part that was paved with stones, occasioned him to slip down. Upon hearing the sound caused by the clanking of his armour against the pavement, the Romans united in a loud and general outcry, being terribly apprehensive of his having received some injury by the fall. At the same instant the Jews turned, and furiously assaulted him with stones and darts. He for some time bravely defended himself against the assailants, several of whom he wounded, and made divers efforts to rise, but was as constantly oppressed and overborne by multitudes. Being unable any longer to guard himself with his buckler, he fell at his length upon the ground: and even while in this situation the Jews found some difficulty in depriving him of life. The loss of blood, the pain occasioned by his wounds, and fatigue produced such weakness that Julian, being unable any longer to contend with the frailties of human nature, yielded to inevitable fate: but by his heroic actions his memory is immortalized; and he died an honourable object of admiration to both friends and enemies.

I may safely assert that I have not heard of a man, who, in the whole course of the war, was so eminently distinguished by military qualifications as Julian. Titus was exceedingly grieved upon seeing so great and valuable a warrior fall, and be exposed as a public and miserable spectacle; and when he had observed him to be in danger from the Jews, he was deeply concerned, and severely lamented the total impracticability of hastening in person to the spot where so valuable a life was threatened with destruction. There were, however, many of the Roman army, who, on account of their situation, might have gone to the rescue of Julian, had they possessed sufficient bravery to venture their own persons for the preservation of a man of the most exalted martial character.

Alexas and Gypthaus*, adherents to the faction under the conduct of John; Judas, the son of Merton; James, the son of Sozas, captain of the Idumeans; Simon and Judas, the sons of Jair; and Malachias, who were attached to the interests of Simon, were the Jews who signalized themselves in the above-recited action.

* Al. Tiphæus.
C H A P. IV.

HAVING formed the determination of breaking up the foundations of
the fort Antonia, and forming a level passag for the more convenient
march of his army, Titus commanded Joseph into his presence, and, under-
standing that on this day, being the seventeenth of the month Panemus, the
Jews were greatly distressed on account of their incapacity of performing the
daily sacrifices and oblations, through the want of a congregation, com-
mmissioned him to repair a second time to John, and repeat a former proposa,
which was to the following effect: that if John was still disposed to reftift, the
Romans would be ready to give battle to any numbers that he might bring
into the field; that he proposed this method of deciding the controversy from
no other motive than that of preserving the city and temple from being in-
volved in the common destruction: if John accepted the proposal it was to
be on the condition that he should offer no farther profanations to the sacred
name and worship of the Almighty: and it was added that if he was inclined
to restore the services of religion, he had full liberty to nominate such Jews as
he approved to officiate in the duties of the sacred function.

Joseph was not satisfied with acquitting himself of the matter which Titus
had entrusted him to communicate to John; but repairing to an eminence,
for the purpose of being more distinctly heard, he exalted his voice, and in
the Hebrew language related to the multitude what, in obedience to the
command of Titus, he had already reported to John. He exhorted the Jews
to reflect upon the deplorable state to which their country was reduced, and
left the opportunity should elapse, immediately to pursue the necessary mea-
ures for preventing the destruction of the temple; adding that they would
not be abridged of the privilege of solemnizing prayer, offering sacrifices, and
observing their other customary ceremonials of religion.

The Jews were greatly affected by the discourse of Joseph, but they dared
not venture to express their sentiments. John violently exclaimed against Jo-
seph, and ironically said that, "Since Jerusalem was the city of God, it

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could not possibly be liable to danger." He was now interrupted by Joseph, who, raising his voice to a louder tone than before, spoke as follows:

"The great concern you manifest for preserving the city in purity and holiness, must, undoubtedly, infuse to you the favour and protection of Heaven. Should a man deprive you of the means of daily subsistence, you would naturally consider him as your bitterest enemy. And yet you make no scruple of committing the most horrid impieties, and are so affectingingly abandoned as to apply to profane uses the victims dedicated for the daily sacrifices and oblations in honor of the Almighty. Whence arises your contention with the Romans, but because they resolutely undertake the defence of the legal institutions and religious worship, as established by your ancestors, which even yourselves labour affiduously to abolish? Without being sensible of the most poignant sorrow, what man, who is not divested of every virtuous principle, can behold the deplorable change in the state of civil and religious matters. Strangers and enemies, who are actually engaged in hostilities against you, are left to assume the friendly office of restoring your religious worship. The Jews, connected by blood, and educated according to the laws of our nation, are guilty of more shocking acts of cruelty to each other than could be expected from the most uncultivated barbarians. Notwithstanding the enormity of your guilt, a sincere humiliation and repentance may still prove acceptable to the Almighty. That repentance is not rejected, even in the most desperate cases, may be proved in the instance of Jechonias, king of the Jews: the Babylonians having entered Judæa with a mighty army, Jechonias quitted Jerusalem, surrendering himself, his mother, and other near relations, as hostages to the enemy; and to this pious conduct he was influenced by the desire of preserving the holy city and temple from the destruction with which it was threatened. An anniversary solemnity is observed, even to this time, in acknowledgment of the great obligations which our nation owe to Jechonias; whose illustrious conduct in the above instance, I earnestly recommend to your serious consideration, as a precedent instructing you in the only means by which you can relieve yourselves from your present calamities. Desperate as your situation is, an happy change may yet arrive; for I here solemnly pledge my word that the Romans will pardon your offences against them, and relieve your calamities, provided you do not so exasperate them as to render yourselves wholly unworthy of forgiveness. That you may repose a due confidence in what I say, recollect that it is one of the Jewish profession who has given a promise to infuse your safety; consider his character, the motives by which he is influenced, and under the authority of whose name it is that he thus exerts his endeavours to persuade you to avert impending destruction. Heaven defend me from degenerating into so great a wickedness as that of disregarding the place to which I owe my birth, and the laws established by our ancestors! Is it just that my zeal in your service should meet so ungrateful a return as new and repeated injuries and insults? But I acknowledge that I deserve this treatment from you, since I have presumed to interfere in behalf of a
"people whom the justice of Heaven has condemned to exemplary punish-
ment. You cannot be ignorant of the frequent predictions that are to be
found in history, evidently alluding to the utter ruin of this most calam-
tous city: and the prophecies are so far verified that not only the habitations are rendered impure, but even the holy temple is polluted with the
blood and carcases of those of your own tribes, who have been most bar-
barously massacred. Hence we can draw no other conclusion than that
the Romans are sent as the instruments by which the Almighty means to
expiate by flames the various abominations of this miserable and devoted
city." Joseph's voice was now interrupted by sobs and tears, and he was
unable to continue his discourse; which had already impressed the Romans
with an admiration of the great tenderness he entertained towards his country. But as Joseph's grief encreased, so did the inveteracy of John and his
adherents against the Romans; and they became still more anxious to dis-
cover some stratagem by means of which they might get him into their power.
Joseph's address, however, was not entirely without effect; for it had made
a deep impression upon many people of distinguished rank.

The arguments of Joseph prevailed with divers of those people who com-
posed the faction, and heartily disposed them to revolt to the Romans; but,
notwithstanding they deemed it impossible that the city should escape ruin,
a dread of the guards which many of them entertained prevented a compli-
ance with their inclinations: others seized the opportunity of escaping to the
Romans; and in the number of these were Joseph and Josephus, the high-
priests; three sons of Ithmael, who was beheaded at Cyrene; four sons of
Matthias; and one son of another Matthias, who escaped to the Romans,
after Simon, the son of Gioras, had put his father and three brothers to
death, as we have already related; and exclusive of the above, a considerable
number of other persons of rank revolted to the enemy. They experienced
a most gracious and generous reception from Titus, who conceiving that it
would prove both inconvenient and disagreeable to reside among people
whose laws, customs, and manners, so materially differed from those under
which they had been used to live, ordered them to Gophne, promising to
grant them considerable privileges when the war should be concluded; and
the fugitives expressed the warmest sentiments of gratitude for the liberal
treatment they had received from the Roman general.

When the faction observed that the fugitives were no longer to be seen from
the city, they circulated a rumour that the Romans had put them to death.
For some time, this stratagem had the desired effect by deterring other Jews
from following the example of the defectors: but being apprized of the de-
sign with which the report had been propagated, Titus recalled the defectors
from Gophne, and ordered them to make the tour of the walls attended by
Joseph. The calumny being thus refuted, a still greater number of the people
were induced to revolt to the Romans. Being assembled on this occas-
ion within sight of the Romans, with tears and lamentations they supplicated
the faction to preserve their country by admitting the Romans into the town;
or, at least, to depart from the temple rather than provoke the enemy to de-
stroy
trov'd it by fire, to which extremity they would not proceed, unless aggra-
vated to adopt the measure by an inconsiderate perseverance in a fruitless op-
position. This conduct served but to inflame the faction to a more extrava-
gant degree of outrage; and having planted machines even at the gates of
the temple, they affailed the defervers with darts, arrows, stones discharged
from slings, and other missive weapons; so that the sacred building had a
greater resemblance to a place of war and slaughter, than a house dedicated
to the worship of God; and the bodies of the deceased lay in such numbers
in the space of ground before the temple as to give it the appearance of a
cemetery. They forcibly entered the holy sanctuary, their hands yet reek-
ing with the blood of the murdered citizens, and were guilty of the most
horrid impieties, which proved the source of great affliction to the Romans,
there not being a man in the army under Titus that did not observe a due re-
spect to the holy temple, and the rights and ceremonies of the Jewish reli-
gion, and entertain the highest veneration towards the eternal Being to whose
service the sacred edifice was dedicated; and they were unanimous in the,
with that the faction would repent of their horrid impieties and abomina-
tions, and thereby avert the destruction with which they were threatened.
Greatly affected by the miserable situation of the Jews, Titus determined
to adopt another effort to reclaim them to reason, and addressing himself to
John and his associates, he spoke to the following purport:

"Ye barbarous and sacrilegious people, are you not conscious that your
ancestors environed the holy place with partitions, and that the pillars
bear Latin and Greek inscriptions, on severe penalties prohibiting all
persons from trespassing beyond the inclosure? Have not the Romans
given a signal proof of their tender regard to your privileges, by denounc-
ing death as the punishment of those who should presume to pass the pre-
scribed limits, without exception even of their own countrymen? Whence
is it, then, that you suffer yourselves to be transported by an extravagant
rage to profane the sanctuary with massacres and afflications, and pollute
the holy temple with domestic and foreign blood? I here solemnly appeal
to the gods of my country; to that power who was of late the patron of
the temple, but who has now abandoned it; to the army under my com-
mand; to the Jews who have revolted to me; and even to yourselves,
that I have in no manner been concerned in, or accessary to, any of the
profanations that have been committed; and I pledge my word that,
if you will acquiesce in my desire of quitting the holy place, it shall be
my peculiar care to prevent its being approached, or the least violation
offered to it by the Romans; and that, even in opposition to your inclina-
tions, I will exert my utmost endeavours to preserve and protect the sacred
edifice."


CHAP. V.

The provocations offered by the Jews determine Titus to prosecute the war; and, in compliance with the advice of his officers, he stations himself upon the fort Antonia. The assault is made in the night, and a terrible confusion ensues. Upon the return of day light the Jews are restored to order. An obstinate engagement: it is doubtful which party gains the advantage. The Jews who signalized themselves in the action are named. The passes about fort Antonia are levelled, and four mounds are erected. A desperate and bloody engagement. A Roman cavalier, named Fabianus, performs an heroic exploit. The Jews set fire to that part of the temple-gallery, extending from the north to the east, and facing the fort Antonia. A Jew named Jonathan, a man of contemptible character, insolutely proposes to encounter any man of the Roman army in single combat. Pudens is slain by Jonathan, and Jonathan by Priscus.

Joseph, as the interpreter of Titus, delivered the above address in the Hebrew language; but the faction put a false construction upon it, attributing the application made by the Roman general as proceeding from motives of fear rather than good-will; and in consequence thereof their insolence increased. Finding that the Jews were wholly regardless of their own safety and the preservation of the temple, Titus determined vigorously to prosecute the war. The place not being sufficiently extensive for drawing up his whole army, he selected from each company thirty of the most resolute troops, appointing a tribune to head every thousand men, and Cerealis to the chief command of the party that was thus chosen for making the assault. He ordered all necessary preparation for proceeding to action about the ninth hour of the night, intending himself to lead his troops to the attack. The officers of Titus's army being assembled in a council of war, they were unanimously of opinion that it would be highly impolitic for the general to expose his person to danger; and therefore they advised him to station himself upon the fort Antonia, whence he might issue orders, and observe the behaviour of his troops, who would be inspired with extraordinary valour by the consideration of fighting under the immediate inspection of their general.

Titus informed his troops that, in compliance with the advice of his officers and friends, he meant to withdraw to Antonia, whence he might give the necessary instructions to his officers, and, at the same time, accurately distinguish those who, during the action, should merit punishment or reward; adding that those who should prove themselves worthy the character of Roman soldiers should be recompensed with liberal donations, and that, on the other hand, the delinquents should be configned to the severity of the martial law. The hour was now appointed for making the assault, and Titus repaired to a watch-tower in the fort Antonia.

The Romans were deceived in the expectation they had formed of surprizing the Jews while asleep: the advanced guards resolutely opposed the assault.
affilants, and, at the same time, joined in a general shout, which awakening their companions, great multitudes immediately came to their support. The Romans bravely withstood the shock made by the advanced guard; and when the other Jews came up, a scene of horror took place: through the darkness of the night, the confused sound of voices, fear, and the impulse of rage, their consternation was so great that they destroyed both friends and enemies without distinction; and the Jews who fell by the hands of their own countrymen were considerably more numerous than those who were slain by the enemy. The losses on the part of the Romans was not great; for they preferred a regular discipline, carefully defended themselves with their bucklers, and had the advantage of knowing each other by means of the watch-word. Upon the appearance of day-light the Jews discovered their error, and pursued the encounter with more regularity. Each party now employed darts, arrows and other weapons, and, notwithstanding the contest that had been maintained in the night, they appeared to suffer no abatement of courage or strength. The Romans, conscious that their general was posted in a situation where he could form an exact judgment respecting the behaviour of his troops, and considering that their future prospects in life would depend on their conduct in the present action, fought with a noble emulation to surpass each other in martial exploits. The presence of John, who threatened and even struck those of his people who appeared to be tardy in their duty, and encouraged the rest with promises of reward, added to the consideration that their own lives and the safety of the temple were at stake, induced the Jews to exert their utmost endeavours in opposing the enemy. Neither party was able to make any considerable retreat, the place not being sufficiently large for that purpose, and the battle was mosty maintained hand to hand, victory sometimes appearing to incline to one and sometimes to the other side. The fort of Antonia was as a theatre, whence Titus and his friends commanded a full and perfect view of those who were actively engaged in the scene, urging the Romans resolutely to pursue the advantages they gained, and exhorting them firmly to maintain their ground when they appeared to be in danger of a repulse from the Jews, and giving such directions as circumstances required. In short, the contest continued from the ninth hour of the night to the fifth on the following day; and when it was concluded, so resolutely had the combatants maintained their ground, it could not be decided which party had gained the advantage.

In the above action several noble Romans distinguished themselves by feats of great heroism; and the Jewish captains who signalized themselves on this occasion were the following: Judas, the son of Merton, and Simon, the son of Jofias, adherents to the party under Simon; Jacob, the son of Sofia, and Simon, the son of Cathlas, who were Idumæans; Grypheus and Alexas, friends to the party under John; and a Zealot, named Simon, who was the son of Jair.

Titus ordered the foundations of Antonia to be broken up to the very bottom; and in the space of seven days this work was completed, and a level glacis formed for admitting the Roman legions to march conveniently up to
to the walls. Titus now employed his troops in erecting four mounts: the first facing the angle of the interior temple that looked towards the north and east; a second against the gallery, to the northward between the two gates; a third towards the west porch, and the fourth towards the north porch of the outward temple. This work was not completed without great difficulty and expense; for the Romans were under the necessity of conveying what materials they had occasion for from places at an hundred furlongs distant from Jerusalem; and placing great confidence in their strength, they neglected to guard against surprizes from the Jews, who waiting for them on the way, frequently made desperate forays from ambushes, and put them to considerable loss and inconvenience.

When the Romans went out in foraging parties, they frequently unbridled their horses, and turned them to graze; and when opportunities offered, the Jews followed them, seized, and carried off the animals. This being often repeated, Titus attributed the loss to the negligence of his troops rather than to the enterprising spirit of the enemy. He was not deceived in his conjecture; for having caused one of his soldiers to be put to death, as a punishment for losing his horse, no instance of the like nature occurred in future.

The platforms being now raised, and the Romans having made every other preparation necessary to the assault they had meditated, on the following day a number of Jews belonging to the faction, who, being unable to procure the necessaries of life by their usual practice of pillage, were nearly on the point of starving, formed the resolution of attacking the Roman guards who were stationed on Mount Olivet; and they advanced about the eleventh hour of the day, when they imagined their attempt would be most likely to succeed, as at that time it was usual for the enemy to take some respite from the fatigue of duty.

The Romans observing the approach of the seditious multitude, collected all their force in order to repulse them. A terrible contest ensued, in which great exploits were performed by both parties. The Romans founded their hopes of success on their superior knowledge in the art of war: and the furious rage and impetuosity of the Jews induced them to believe that they were able to succeed in the most desperate attempts. The valour of one party was excited by the dread of shame, and that of the other by the pressing exigency of their situation; for the Romans conceived that they should incur indelible disgrace if they did not revenge themselves upon the Jews for the insolent attempt they had made; and the Jews had no prospect of escaping the vengeance of the enemy but by mere dint of force.

The following exploit, which is so remarkable as almost to exceed credibility, was performed by a Roman cavalier, named Pedanius: the Jews being repulsed, and pursued into the valley by the Romans, Pedanius rode after the fugitives, and overtaking a corpulent young Jew, bearing very heavy arms, who, in order to preserve his life, was urging his horse full speed, he seized him by the leg, and carrying him away a prisoner, presented him to Titus. The general complimented Pedanius on his courage, and surprizing strength
strength and activity; and he configned the Jew to death for having been concerned in the audacious attempt to surprize the Romans in their camp. Titus continued to direct his principal attention towards completing the mounts, by means of which he entertained the hope of becoming matter of the temple.

Finding themselves considerably weakened by the losses sustained in diverse combats; that the war daily raged with additional violence; and that the temple was in the most imminent danger of being destroyed, the Jews resolved to ruin a part of the sacred edifice in order to preserve the rest: as it is usual to amputate the extremities left mortification should be communicated to the more noble parts of the body. They set fire to that part of the gallery extending from the north to the east, and facing the fort Antonia; and in a short time as much of the building as occupied a space of near twenty cubits was entirely consumed. Thus were the Jews the first who actually put the design in execution of effecting the destruction of the superb and holy structure, so deferredly celebrated throughout the universe.

Two days having elapsed, the Romans, on the twenty-fourth of the same month, set fire to the remaining part of the gallery; and when the flames had gained fourteen cubits, the Jews destroyed the roof, as well as every other matter which was likely to serve as a communication with fort Antonia, though they might, had they been so inclined, have saved the place from the rage of the flames: but they were wholly regardless as to what course mischief took so it tended to promote their private views. During this time daily skirmishes took place in the neighbourhood of the temple.

A Jew named Jonathan, a man of obscure birth, desperate fortune, low stature, and every way contemptible in appearance, at this period repaired to the sepulchre of John, the high-priest, and, making himself the subject of a vain-glorious discourse, he insolently challenged any man of the Roman army to come with his sword in his hand, and engage him in single combat. Some of the Romans were actually afraid of meeting the vain-boaster; some held him in the most sovereign contempt; others declined the combat, urging the folly of encountering a man grown desperate by despair, and equally regardless of God and man; and that the challenger being influenced by a brutal fury rather than the sentiments of honor, no share of glory could possibly be acquired by the conquest of so contemptible an adversary. Jonathan waited a considerable time before any champion appeared to oppose him; and during that interval he continued to insult the Romans by charging them with cowardice. At length a Roman cavalier, named Pudens, being naturally of an impetuous temper, and no longer able to brook the provoking insults offered by Jonathan, inconsiderately accepted his challenge. The contemptible idea he entertained of his adversary rendered Pudens careless, and by some accident he unfortunately fell: the Jew seized the opportunity, and put him to death while he lay on the ground: he now trampled the body of the deceased under his feet; and, his sword yet reeking with blood in his right, and his buckler in his left hand, he exultingly clattered his arms together, and vented the most scurrilous reflections upon his deceased adversary.
The faction in the temple made war upon those on the mounts. The Jews make use of a stratagem to confound the Romans. The sufferers compassionated by Titus. The singular valour of Longus. Atilius escapes in a manner almost miraculous.

At this juncture the faction in the temple were engaged in open war with the soldiers on the mounts; and the Jews devised the following stratagem on the twenty-seventh day of the month above-mentioned. They placed a large quantity of dry wood, sulphur, and bituminous matter between the timbers and the top of the roof of the western porch; and then affecting to give way, as if an attack had been made on them, they retreated, with every appearance of being driven out of a place of which they could no longer hold the possession. Hereupon a number of their opponents pursued them closely, with the utmost eagerness, and put up ladders, to get possession of the place, which the others had abandoned: but those who reflected on the affair, deemed it to be a mere artifice, and therefore did not join the pursuit.

As soon as the Romans had crowded into the porch, the Jews set it on fire, and the whole building was immediately in flames, to the horror and confusion of those who were within their power, and the astonishment of those who viewed the conflagration at a distance. Some of the unhappy people threw themselves into wells and pits; others leaped from the houses, and ran for their lives; others again were smothered in the flames, while some threw themselves on their swords, to avoid a death still more dreadful.

Titus was greatly affected by this horrid sight, compassionating in a high degree the misfortunes arising from so fatal a miscarriage. In the mean time he was highly offended at his soldiers for having embattled in such an enterprise, without previously receiving his orders. They had, however, one satisfaction in the midst of their distress, to compensate for the loss of life; that they were pitied by the prince in whose service they suffered: for they could behold him giving his orders, and using his utmost endeavours to afford them relief; and all the evidences he gave of his regard were deemed memorials to his lasting honor. With regard to those persons who escaped the fury of the flames, they were attacked by the Jews, and every man of them was slain, after they had made all the resistance in their power.
Great numbers of gallant and courageous men fell on this unhappy occasion; among whom one of the most distinguished was Longus, whom it will be necessary to mention in particular, while I am paying all possible respect to the valour of the rest in general. Longus was by birth a Roman, and in the prime of life. The Jews, who were acquainted with his bravery, and thought him a dangerous person, saw no mode by which they could destroy him; unless they could prevail on him to come to them by pledging their honour that he should return in perfect safety. This being done, his brother Cornelius called to him, warning him by all that was sacred, not to be guilty of any act, for which either himself or his country should have cause to blush. Thus situated, Longus flopped within fight of both parties, and killed himself with his own sword.

On the above-mentioned occasion, a person named Artorius escaped from the fire in a very extraordinary manner. Being reduced to the utmost extremity of danger, he observed Lucius, his fellow-soldier and companion, within hearing: on which he called out to him, "Catch me in your arms, and break my fall, and I will make you heir to my estate." Lucius prepared himself to catch him; Artorius leaped down, and with his weight crushed his friend to death, for he was dashed to pieces on the spot. The misfortunes I have just related caused great uneasiness among the Romans for the present: but it made them in future, more cautious against the subtle craft and insidious artifices of the Jews; which were of the most dangerous tendency to those who were not provided by prudence against their stratagems.

The fire destroyed the porch as far as the tower which John had built (during his war with Simon) on the pillars that led to this porch. After the Romans had been burnt by the Jews, in the manner above recited, they destroyed the remainder of the building; and, the following day, the Romans set fire to the north porch, and continued this fire to the porch facing the eastward, which commands the valley of Cedron, from a precipice to take a downward view of which affords a prospect almost distracting.

**C H A P. VII.**

The excessive distress attendant on famine.

Thus unhappily were affairs situated in the neighbourhood of the temple. The extreme severity of the famine had almost depopulated the city; and the miseries consequent on this calamity are beyond all number or recital. If it was but suspected that there was any concealed food in a family, this circumstance was sufficient to dissolve the tenderest ties, and create a general insurrection among the parties. Those who absolutely perished of mere hunger were not credited, even at the hour of death, when they declared that they had no food: for no sooner had the breath left their bodies, than immediate search was made about their persons on the supposition that they had concealed some bread. When the survivors found not...
what they searched for, they ranged the streets like mad dogs, reeling like drunkards through weakness, repeatedly prying into every corner of every house; seizing whatever they could find; even such articles as a canine appetite would have refused. The skins of beasts, leather girdles, and shoes were eaten, and even a handful of old hay bore the price of four atticks. But wherefore should I trouble myself with a description of this dreadful calamity, in the mention of these inanimate substances, when I have before me a pregnant instance of a circumstance never equalled among the Greeks and Barbarians; a story of so horrid a nature that it shocks humanity but to think of it? I should be willing to omit this unfortunate narrative, left future times should confine me for relating falsehood; but I have so many testimonials of its veracity, that if I should seek to suppress it through partiality to the deceased, I should be deficient in duty to my country.

CHAP. VIII.

The flesh of a son dressed and eaten by his mother. Titus solemnly declares his innocence in the whole affair.

In the village named Vetezobra (that is the house of Hyssop), beyond the river Jordan, lived one Eleazar, who had a daughter named Mary. The family was rich, and the decent respectable. Now this Mary fled, in company with several other persons, and took refuge in Jerusalem, where it was their misfortune to be besieged. All the more valuable effects that this woman brought with her she was deprived of by the tyrants; and with regard to such articles as she had concealed, whether goods or provisions, the soldiers frequently broke open her house, and stole them from her. Irritated by this treatment she reviled the faction in terms of the utmost acrimony; but no language of which she was mistress, however severe, could provoke any of this abandoned set to put her to death, either from motives of rage or pity. At length, tormented with the excruciating pangs of a devouring famine, from which she saw no possibility of escaping, having no farther means of sustaining life, and being abandoned to the utmost rage of despair, she determined on a resolution more horrid than it is in the power of language to describe.

At this time Mary had a child suckling at her breast, whom she took hastily to her embraces, and regarding it with the tenderness of a mother, she cried, "In what terms shall I address thee, most unhappy infant, who art born during the raging of such horrid judgments as rebellion, famine, and war! To which of these shall I recurve thee? It is possible the Romans will grant thee thy life, but not thy liberty: famine will prevent slavery: but our present tyrants will be worse foes than the other two. What, in thy present situation, canst thou do better than to supply a meal to thy starving mother, and terrify the party with the horror of the deed? Thus shalt thou compleat the history of the Jews, with the only atrocious act that is yet wanting to render their misery perfect."

Having
Having made this apostrophe, she killed her infant, and having boiled it, she ate the half of it, and covering up the remainder, put it away. This circumstance soon came to the knowledge of the faction, some of whom went to the house of the woman, and threatened her with immediate death, if she did not produce what provisions she had in the house. Hereupon she fetched out that part of the child which still remained undevoured, and told them that was all the food she possessed. This sight had such an effect on the spectators, that they at first appeared petrified with horror, then trembled at the idea of what had passed, and were shocked at the consequences to be dreaded from it. On this the woman addressed them as follows: "Be assured that this is my son, and that I have dressed this dish, the half of which I have eaten myself, and request that you will eat the remainder. I flatter myself that you will not pretend to have more delicacy than a woman, or more compassion than a mother. But if you refuse the oblation through scruples of conscience, you are welcome to leave the food where you have found it; only remember that I have eaten a part of it already." She had no sooner ended speaking, than they departed with evident signs of terror, leaving, though against their inclinations, the remainder of the child with the unfortunate mother: the only circumstance of their whole conduct attended with any degree of delicacy.

This horrid deed became immediately the subject of conversation throughout the whole city; and every man appeared to detest the crime as much as if he himself had been immediately concerned in it. The famine now raged with such violence, that the people wished for immediate death, in the mere fear of starving; and those remaining alive envied those who had died before the calamity increased to such an alarming degree. The melancholy tale soon spread from the Jews to the Romans, some of whom commiserated the calamities of the Jews, while others hated them the more for their misfortunes, and a third part gave no credit to the recital. In the mean time Titus solemnly declared his innocence respecting the whole matter, vowing, in the presence of God, that he had exerted his utmost influence to render the Jews easy and happy in their fortunes, lives and liberties: "But (said he) if the Jews were determined rather to destroy each other, than to live in the bands of fraternal affection; if they preferred war rather than peace, and famine rather than plenty, it was not in my power to prevent them. As they were determined to set fire to the temple with their own hands, while I did everything in my power to preserve it, the flesh of their own children is as good food as such parents deserve. For my part, I am resolved that their iniquities shall be the forerunners of their ruin; for I will not longer permit the existence of a city, in which mothers feed on their own children; and the fathers, with a still more horrid degree of impiety, continue the war, after such plain and evident demonstrations, that the doing is contrary to the will of Almighty God." Having said this, and reflected on the amazing obstinacy, and incurable stubbornness of the faction, he looked on them as a people devoted to destruction: for he thought that the miseries they had already endured, would have changed their sentiments, if it had been in nature that such an effect could be wrought.
Mines and batteries are tried without effect. The Romans have recourse to the scaling-ladders. An obstinate resistance on the part of the Jews. The bravery of the Romans. Titus commands his people to set fire to the gates. Two defectors from the Jews repair to Titus. He suspects and pardons them; but resolves not to trust them. The Jews encircled in flames, which totally destroy the galleries. Titus calls a council of general officers, to advise respecting the temple. The difference of their opinions. Titus delivers his opinion for sparing the temple. The Jews fully forth desperately on the Romans: but Titus advancing with a number of cavalry, effectually relieves them, and compels the Jews to take refuge in the temple. This second burning of Jerusalem happens on the same day of the year as the former conflagration.

TWO of the legions having compleated their platforms, Titus directed his battering-rams to be planted against the western gallery of the outward temple, on the eighth day of the month Ious. For the space of six days successively he played his best piece of battery against this place; but without effect; for the engines could make no impression on the work. In the interim some of the troops were employed in fapping the foundations on the north side: but, after a prodigious labour, they found that they could only move the outward stones, the porch still remaining firm: wherefore finding that mines and batteries were ineffectual to answer the purpose, the Romans had recourse to the use of their scaling-ladders.

Though the Jews were unable to prevent their enemies fixing their ladders, yet they made an obstinate resistance in every part where it was possible to be made. Those who ascended the ladders they attacked immediately, before they had time to put themselves in a posture of defence: others they threw down as they were ascending: some they destroyed as they were advancing with relief, and sometimes they overturned the ladders with the men upon them. On the whole, the Romans sustained a very considerable loss in this attack; especially in those contests which happened for the defence or recovery of their colours, which military people deem to be an affair of the utmost consequence. In the end, however, the Jews killed a number of the ensign-bearers, keeping such ensigns as they got possession of; a circumstance which so discouraged the rest of the assailants, that they thought it prudent to retreat. However, to do justice to the besiegers, it must be acknowledged that not a single man among the slain disgraced the character of a Roman. Their opponents of the faction, who had behaved well on former occasions, lost not their character for intrepidity; and Eleazar, the nephew of the tyrant Simon, was distinguished by his courage. Titus now finding that his own men were only devoted to ruin, by his wishes to spare the temple of the enemy, he issued orders that his troops should set fire to the gates without loss of time.
At this juncture two defectors from the Jews repaired to Titus, flattering themselves that their abandoning the faction at the time they had some advantage in their favour, would secure them the better reception. One of these defectors was Archelaus, the son of Magadames, and the other Ananus of Emmaus, one of Simon's guards, and deemed the most inhuman of all his attendants. The character of these men for cruelty was so well known to Titus, that he entertained some thoughts of putting them both to death, notwithstanding their pretended attachment to his interest; being convinced that it was not an affection for his service, but the consideration of their own safety, that influenced their conduct. He thought that those who had first inflamed their country, and then abandoned it, were unworthy to live: but having reflected more seriously on the affair, he came to a resolution to spare them.

By this time the gates of the temple were burning furiously; the timbers being all on fire; and the silver-work above the gates melted, while the flames extended even to the adjacent galleries. The Jews were so much surprized by this unexpected event, that finding themselves encompassed by the flames, they regarded each other with looks of the most extreme astonishment, not even attempting to preserve what yet remained uninjured, or affecting any concern for what was already destroyed. In a word, they were totally dispirited for any kind of enterprise; so that the fire continued to encrease all that day and the succeeding night, till at length the galleries were totally burnt to the ground.

On the following day Titus issued out orders for the suppression of the fire; and that the roads might be levelled for the march of his troops. His next step was to summon a council of his general officers, to concert the best mode of proceeding. These officers were Tiberius Alexander, his lieutenant general; Sextus Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion; Lorgius Lepidus of the tenth; and Titus Tigrinus who presided over the fifteenth; and to these were added Eternius Fronto, a captain of two of the legions of Alexandria; and Marcus Antonius Julianus, governor of Judæa; exclusive of colonels and other officers, whose opinions it was though proper to take, on the mode of proceeding requisite to be pursued with respect to the affair of the temple. Of these some recommended a strict adherence to the law of arms, urging that while the temple remained, and the Jews continued their frequent associations in it, they would never desist from their opposition. Others gave their votes for sparing the temple, on the condition that the Jews should abandon it, and that it should be no longer considered as an object of contention: but that if possession of it should be acquired by dint of the sword, in this case that they should not hesitate to burn it; not considering it as a temple, but as a castle: since the blame would then rest with those who compelled the burning it, not with those whom necessity urged to the deed. Hereupon Titus gave his opinion, saying, "If the obstinacy of the Jews will convert a temple to a citadel; shall I take vengeance on their perfidiousness, by wreaking my wrath on the stones of the building, and burn to ashes the most magnificent structure in the world on their account? In
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Indeed I am of opinion that the robbing the empire of so distinguished an ornament would be a disgrace to the characteristic majesty of Rome."

Alexander, Cerealis and Fronto, finding the sentiments of Titus, coincided with him in opinion, on which the council was dismissed. Orders were now issued that the army should be allowed to rest, and take refreshment, in order to be better prepared for future enterprizes. In the mean time some select battalions were directed to observe the ravages made by the fire, and to make proper passages through the ruins.

The courage and strength of the Jews beginning now equally to fail them, they remained at peace during this day: but on the following day, about the second hour, having by that time recruited their spirits, and acquired fresh resolution, they made a desperate sally through the eastern gate, on the guards of the outward temple. At first the Romans, under the protection of their bucklers, sustained the shock with the utmost resolution, it making no more impression than it would have done against a stone wall: but all their courage and perseverance would not have enabled them long to hold out in opposition to so fierce and numerous an enemy, if Titus (who beheld the action from Antonia) had not instantly come to their relief, before they had yielded to their antagonists. On this relief some of the Jews fell back, and the Romans breaking in on their front, the main body fled with precipitation. After this the Romans retreated in their turn, while the Jews rallied and advanced in order of battle. Thus they continued, alternately advancing or retreating, one party having now the advantage, and then the other, till about the fifth hour of the day, when the Jews were compelled to retreat into the temple, and there enclose themselves. Hereupon Titus retired to Antonia, having come to a determination to make an assault on the temple on the following day with his whole army. But it seemed evident that Divine providence had originally destined this place to be destroyed by fire, and that the period was at length arrived: that is to say, the tenth day of the month Louis, being the return of that day on which it had been heretofore burnt by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. Of this last conflagration, however, the Jews themselves were the evident occasion; for no sooner had Titus left them at their repose, than the insurgents made a violent sally on his guards, while they were engaged by the general's orders, in extinguishing the fire. But on this occasion the Romans routed the Jews, and compelled them to retreat to the temple for refuge.

Chapter X.

A soldier sets fire to the temple under pretence of a Divine impulse. Titus uses his endeavours to stop the progress of the flames. A horrid massacre ensues.

An event happened at this period which took rise from the conduct of a private soldier, who thought himself actuated by a Divine impulse, without pretending to any other authority for what he transacted. Having got on the shoulders of one of his brother-soldiers, he threw a fire-brand into the
the golden window that was opposite the apartments on the north side of the temple. This action was no sooner done than the place was in flames, which occasioned so violent a tumult among the Jews, that their countrymen hastened as fast as possible to their relief; for the present juncture, when every thing dear to them was at stake, was not a period in which to think of saving their lives, or indulging themselves.

Titus was just now laying down to repose himself in his tent, after the fatigue of the action, when intelligence of the conflagration was brought to him; on which he immediately arose, and ordering his chariot, proceeded to the temple, to use all his authority towards the extinction of the fire. He was followed by his principal officers, and the legions, but in a confused manner, as may be supposed of such an immense number, who had not received regular orders for their proceeding. Titus exerted himself to the utmost of his power, both by words and signs, in giving directions to stop the progress of the flames: but all his efforts were vain: the lesser noise was lost in the greater; nor were his words left unheard than the signs and motions of his hand attended to. The soldiers were not to be governed by commands or threatenings; but, following the impulse of their rage, some were trod on, and pressed to death by the crowd, while others were suffocated by the smoke arising from the ruins of the galleries over the porches. The common soldiers who were in the temple, urged, in excuse of their disobedience of the general's orders, that they could not hear what he said; while those who followed them gave orders that they should throw fire. In a word, the faction, had no way to prevent what happened, and on which side ever they turned, destruction stared them in the face. The poor people, the sick, and the unarmed, were destroyed by the sword wherever they were found: numbers of unhappy wretches were left streaming in their own blood: dead bodies were piled in heaps around the altar, and the stairs were floated with deluges of blood.

The fury of the soldiers had now arisen to such a height that Titus finding it impossible to restrain it, and that the fire continued to make additional ravages every day, he immediately proceeded with some of his officers of the first rank, into the interior temple, where, on a careful survey of the place, he found that its splendor and magnificence greatly exceeded what common fame had reported, and were at least equal to the very account propagated respecting them even by the Jews. Titus having now remarked that the fire had not reached the sanctuary, and being of opinion that it might not yet be too late to preserve the holy place undestroyed, he instantly exerted himself, and entreated the soldiers, in the most earnest manner, to use their utmost endeavours to stop the progress of the flames; at the same time issuing strict orders to Liberalis, a centurion of the guards, to urge the accomplishment of this business, and to punish those who refused their assistance. But so violent was the rage of the soldiers for revenge, that they were not restrained within the bounds of their duty either by the motives of respect or fear. There were great numbers of them whose avarice prompted them to seek for plunder, as they entertained no doubt but that the inside of that place
place was filled with hidden treasure, the very doors of which were plated with gold.

At the very time that Titus was thus exerting his utmost endeavours to preserve the temple, one of the soldiers set fire to several of the door-posts; on which Titus and his officers were obliged to retire to such a distance that their services could no longer avail; so that, in the end, the temple was destroyed, notwithstanding every generous effort that Titus had made for its protection.

It is a painful task to recite the circumstances of this misfortune; which ruined the most astonishing fabric that ever was constructed, whether we consider its architecture, its dimensions, its splendor and magnificence, or the sacred purposes to which it was dedicated. But one circumstance arises, equally for our instruction and consolation: we learn that all the works of the created universe, whether animate or inanimate, are governed by an inevitable destiny; and that all things must come to an end. It is not a little remarkable (as hath been already mentioned), that this conflagration should happen on the same month and day as the former in the time of Nebuchadnezzar. From the commencement of the first temple by Solomon, to the destruction of this in the second year of Vespasian, we reckon a period of eleven hundred and thirty years, seven months, and fifteen days: and we account six hundred and thirty-nine years, and forty-five days, from that of Haggai, in the second year of king Cyrus.

**CHAP. XI.**

The cruelty of the soldiers, without distinction of age, sex, or rank. Fire and blood only present themselves to the sight. A number of priests engaged in this contest with the Romans. The temple and all its contents reduced to ashes. An impostor advises a proceeding that terminates in the destruction of near six thousand people.

During the time that the temple was in flames, the soldiers seized every person they could find, and having first plundered, they slew them, without paying the least attention to age, sex, or quality. The slaughter on this occasion was immense: the old, the young; those of the priesthood, and those of the laity; persons of all ranks and all degrees; whether they resisted or submitted; whether they fled for quarter or otherwise, were all involved in the general calamity of the war.

As the fire continued to increase, the noise of the flames was heard intermixed with the groans of persons in the agonies of death: and to those at a distance the whole city appeared to be on fire, owing to the extent of the conflagration, and the depth of the hill. The confusion and disorder occasioned by this event were so great, as it is not in the power of language to describe them. The Roman legions made the most horrid outrages: the rebels, when they found themselves at the mercy of the fire and sword, screamed in the most dreadful manner; while the unhappy wretches enclosed between the
the enemy and the fire, lamented their situation in the most pitiable complaints. Those on the mountain and those in the city seemed mutually to return the groans of each other. Those who were already on the point of expiring through famine, acquired fresh spirits to deplore their misfortunes, when they saw the dreadful effects of the raging flames. The complaints and lamentations from the city were repeatedly echoed from the adjacent mountains and places beyond Jordan: but the calamity exceeded in reality all that could be expressed by the bewailings of the sufferers. The flames of fire were so violent and impetuous, that the mountain on which the temple flood resembled one large body of fire, even from its foundation. The blood of the sufferers flowed in proportion to the raging of the flames; for the number of those who were slain exceeded that of their executioners. Dead bodies strewed the ground on every side, and the Roman soldiers trampled on the bodies of the slain in pursuit of the survivors. At length, however, a body of the insurgents repelled the Romans, and having forced a passage into the outward temple, effected their escape into the city; while the outward porch was gained by the remainder of their number.

Many of the priests who had engaged in this contest with the Romans made use of the spikes belonging to the temple, instead of darts; and, in the place of lances, they threw their seats, which had lead in them; but at length, finding that the efforts of all their resolution were fruitless, and that fire pursued wherever they attempted to fly, they took refuge for some time under a thick wall that was not less than eight cubits in breadth. Among the principal persons who exerted themselves on this occasion, were Meirius, the son of Belgas, and Joseph, the son of Dalæus, who might have preserved their own lives if they would have taken part with the Romans; but they rather chose to adhere to their associates, and plunging themselves into the fire, were buried in the conflagration that destroyed the temple.

The Romans now finding that the temple was reduced to ashes, were less anxious as to the preservation of any other particular buildings; wherefore they set fire to most of the gates and galleries at the same time, sparing only one on the east side, and another on the south: but, in a short time afterwards, these underwent the fate of the former. They likewise burnt the treasury and the wardrobe, containing an immense treasure in jewels and money, and rich habits to a very large amount: for, in fact, the Jews had made this place a repository of every thing that they deemed most valuable.

There was yet standing one gallery on the outside of the temple, to which had retired an immense number of women and children, with a variety of persons who had fled from the multitude; the whole number amounting to almost six thousand. The soldiers, enraged to the utmost degree of fury, set this place on fire before Titus had an opportunity of giving any directions concerning it: and they continued their operations against it with such vehemence, that not a single person escaped with life, numbers throwing themselves precipitately from the ruins, and all the rest being consumed by the flames.

This melancholy event happened through the artifices of an impostor, who, on that day, pretended to be commissioned by Almighty God to declare his will
will, which was that they should immediately go up to the temple: and be accompanied this order with an assurance that the Divine favour and protection would be manifested to them by an infallible sign.

It was no unusual custom with the faction to pretend to have received revelations of the will of God, in order to prevent their people from deserting, and to induce them to encounter every kind of danger. Persons in circumstances of distress, when they are flattered with relief, even on the report of a false prophet, are generally inclined to believe that their real misfortunes have been magnified by their fears.

C H A P. XII.

Remarks on the credit usually given to false reports. Account of a comet resembling a sword. Of a remarkable light seen round the altar. A lamb produced by a cow. A brazen gate opens without bands. Chariots and armed men seen in the air. A countryman, named Jesus, makes a strange exclamation. He is first punished, and then dismissed as a man out of his senses. At length he foretells his own ruin. Account of an emperor who was to come out of Judæa, explained in the person of Vespasian.

With what readiness did these enthusiastic wretches give credit to impostors, counterfeit and false reports! While admonitions flowing from the lips of truth, and confirmed by prodiges, and other prodigies of their approaching ruin made no impression on them. On these occasions they seemed to be deprived of the faculties proper to make a right application of the events, and of course they paid no regard to them. This may be illustrated by the following singular examples:

A comet, which bore the resemblance of a sword, hung over the city of Jerufalem for the space of a whole year.

A short time before the revolt, a most remarkable and extraordinary light was seen about the altar. This spectacle, which continued for about half an hour, gave a light equal to that of the day, and happened on the eighth of the month Xanthicus, at the ninth hour of the night preceding the celebration of the feast of the passover. Ignorant persons considered this unusual and wonderful appearance as a happy omen: but those of superior judgment averred that it was a prediction of approaching war; and their opinion was fully ratified by the event.

At the time of the festival above-mentioned another singular prodigy occurred. As the proper persons were leading a cow to the altar to be sacrificed, she was delivered of a lamb in the midst of the temple.

Solid brass composed the eastern-gate of the interior temple; and this gate was of such an immense weight, that it was the labour of twenty men to make it fast every night. It was secured with iron bolts and bars, which were let down into a large threshold consisting of one entire stone. About the fifth hour of the night this gate opened without any human assistance; and
and immediate notice of this event being given to the officer on duty, he left no time in endeavouring to restore it to its former situation; but it was with the utmost difficulty that he accomplished it. There were not wanting some ignorant people, who deemed this to be a second good omen, insinuating that Providence had hereby set open a gate of blessings to the people; but persons of superior discretion were of a contrary opinion; and concluded that the destruction of the city, and the success of the enemy, were predicted by the opening of the gate.

On the twenty-first day of the month Artemisius, not long after the festival was ended, a vision of so extraordinary a kind made its appearance, that I should be scrupulous of venturing to relate it, but that the events which were foretold have already actually happened, and I could yet produce several witnesses who saw the circumstance to testify its truth. Before the setting of the sun, chariots and armed men were seen in the air, in various parts of the country, passing round the city, among the clouds.

While the priests were going to perform the duties of their function according to custom, in the inner temple, on the feast of pentecost, they at first heard an indistinct murmuring made, which was succeeded by a voice, repeating, in the plainest and most earnest manner, "Let us be gone, let us be gone."

But the most extraordinary story of the whole yet remains unrelated. About four years before the commencement of the war, and while the city appeared to be in the most perfect peace, and abounded in plenty, there came to the feast of Tabernacles, which is annually celebrated to the honor of God, a simple countryman, named Jesus, who was the son of Ananus, and who, without any previous intimation, exclaimed in the following manner: "A voice from the east; a voice from the west; a voice from the four quarters of the world; a voice to Jerusalem, and a voice to the temple; a voice to men and women newly married, and a voice to the nation at large." In this manner did he continue his exclamations night and day, in various places, through all the streets of the city. Some persons of eminence in the government were so offended at the freedom of the illomened exclamation, that they directed that the man should be apprehended and whipped severely. He bore his sufferings not only without complaint of the injustice of them, but without saying a word in his defence; but his punishment was no sooner ended, than he proceeded as before with his denouncing exclamations. By this time the magistrates were suspicious (and indeed not without reason) that what he had said proceeded from the Divine impulse of a superior power that influenced his words. Hereupon he was sent to Albinus, the governor of Judæa, who directed that he should be whipped with such severity that his bones appeared; yet, even in this situation, he neither wept nor supplicated; but in a voice of mourning he repeated, after each stroke; "Woe, woe to Jerusalem!" On this extraordinary conduct, Albinus was induced to interrogate him with respect to his character, and the places of his birth and residence; and what could induce him to proceed as he had done: but he replied not to any of these questions: where-
Jesus the Son of Ananias, foreboding — the destruction of Jerusalem.
wherefore Albinus found himself under a necessity of dismissing him, as a man out of his fences. From this period to the commencement of the war, it was not known that Jesus visited or spoke to any of the citizens; nor was he heard to say any other words than that melancholy sentence, “Woe, woe to Jerusalem!” Those who daily punished him received no ill language from him; nor did those who fed him receive his thanks: but his general speech to every one was an ominous prediction. It was remarked that on public festivals he was more vociferous than on other occasions: and in the manner above-mentioned he continued to proceed for the space of seven years and five months; nor did his voice or strength appear to fail him till his predictions were verified by the siege of Jerusalem. When this event had taken place, he went, for the last time, on the wall, and exclaimed, in a more powerful voice than usual, “Woe, woe to this city, this temple, and this people;” and concluded his lamentation by saying “Woe, woe be to my self!” He had no sooner spoken these words, than, in the midst of his predictions, he was destroyed by a stone thrown from an engine.

From what has been above-recited it will be evident to mankind in general, that our destruction arises from our misconduct; and that providence, by the gift of our reasonable faculties, as well as by the aids of prediction and revelation, has contributed, in an abundant degree, to the general good, and lauding advantage, of all its creatures. Our ruin is certainly to be attributed to ourselves, when we refuse to take warning after being premonished of future events. It is astonishing that the Jews, after possessing themselves of Antonia, should have reduced the temple to a square form, when they knew that the sacred writings contained a prediction, importing that the city and temple should be both taken, whenever it should be reduced to that figure. But the principal motive by which they were induced to undertake this destructive war, was the doubtful meaning of another text, which intimated that, in those days, a person should come out of Judæa, who should have the command of all the world. This text they applied to their own nation; and the error prevailed even among men of superior rank: while, in fact, the prophecy related to Vespasian, who became an emperor while in Judæa. Fancy appears to be the general guide in interpretations: thus, at least, it happened with the Jews, till the destruction of themselves and their country, convinced them of the error in which they had been involved.
The army proclaims Titus emperor. The influence of thirst on a child. Titus commands that the priests should be put to death. A treaty requested by the faction, to which Titus condescends, and makes an admirable speech on the occasion. He offers terms, which the Jews refuse, alleging that they were bound to the contrary by oath. Hereupon Titus orders that no Jews should be allowed either protection or quarter. The Romans attack with fire and sword. An instance of the humanity of Titus.

By this time the insurgents had fled into the city, while the temple, and all its adjacencies, continued on fire. The Roman army now placed their ensigns against the eastern gate, where they made sacrifices of thanksgiving, and proclaimed Titus emperor with every possible demonstration of joy. So large a treasure in gold was now obtained in Syria, that it was reduced to half its accustomed value.

Among the priests on the wall there happened to be a child, who requested the Roman guards to give him a draught of water to quench his thirst: this, on the promise of good faith on both sides, they readily did, in compassion to his tender age and great necessity. On going down to drink the water, he took with him a flaggon, which he filled, and run off with it to his friends, with such expedition, that the guards found it impossible to catch him. On this the Romans accused the boy with having forfeited his word: but, in his defence, he alleged that he had only contracted with them for permission to fetch the water, but not to remain with them when possessed of it, and of course had not violated his agreement. The Romans submitted to the imposition, in consideration of the innocence of the fraud.

The priests having continued on the wall yet five days longer, an extremity of hunger at length compelled them to go down, and surrender themselves prisoners; whereupon the guards conducted them to Titus, before whom they humbled themselves, and entreated his merciful regard. To this the emperor replied that they were too late in their application: for as the temple was now destroyed, it was not unreasonable that the priests should share its fate; since they ought to perish with the temple to which they belonged: and hereupon he ordered them to be put to death.

The leaders of the faction now finding how they were beset on all sides, and surrounded so that there was no possibility of their escape, proposed to enter into a treaty with the emperor; to which he, from his wonted benevolence of disposition, lent a favourable ear, partly indeed, on the recommendation of his friends, and partly with a view to spare the city, in the hope that the insurgents, by their future conduct, might deserve his mercy. Titus took his station on the west side of the interior temple, near the gates which led to the gallery; and between the temple and the upper town there was a bridge of communication, by which the Romans and Jews were at this time separated. On each side the soldiers crowded round their commanding officers;
cens; the Romans, on the one part, eager to see how Titus would receive
the suppliants; and the Jews, on the other, equally eager to learn what
chance there was of their being pardoned. Titus having ordered his men to
forbear making any acclamations, and to keep the strictest peace and most
profound silence, intimated to the Jews, by an interpreter, that it was his
province to speak first; and then addressed himself to them in the following
manner:

"Are you not yet convinced that your country has already suffered suffi-
cient variety of wretchedness? Will you never so far recover your senses
as to be convinced of your own weakness, and the power of the Romans;
but still persist, like idiots and madmen, to the destruction of your city,
your temple, your countrymen, even when you know yourselves will be
included in the general ruin? Is there a period since the time that Rom-
pey reduced your city to ashes when you have been free from tumults and
contentions? Why then will you persist to make open war on the Ro-
mans? You cannot, certainly, depend on your numbers, when you must
be already convinced that you are not able to cope with the half of our
army. If you flatter yourselves with the steady adherence of your
auxiliaries and allies, you should recollect that there is not a people in the
world, who are not in some degree under our subjection, or that would not
much rather have the Romans than the Jews for their friends. If you
value yourselves on the number of your people, remember that the Ger-
mans are in subjection to us. If you depend on the strength of your walls,
they are less able to protect you than the ocean, which guards Britain;
and yet the people of that country opposed us in vain. If you rely on
the good conduct and magnanimity of your officers, remember that even
the Carthaginians have submitted to the Romans. But the enemies that
our countrymen have made, have arisen from their own humanity; in
permitting you to possess lands, and allowing your tribes to be governed
by kings chosen from among themselves. We have likewise permitted
you the free exercise of the laws of your own country; and contented to
your living in the way agreeable to yourselves, whether in your own coun-
try or in distant places. But above all, and which is a favour you could
not have expected, we have permitted you to receive, collect and employ
all the contributions and sums of money within your department, to sup-
port your religion and the worship of your God in the way most agreeable
to yourselves, and those of your opinion. But you have made no other
use of all this singular favour and indulgence, than the accumulation of
riches which have enabled you to employ our own treasures against our-
selves. In a word, your conduct bears a nearer resemblance to that of the
serpent, that stings to death the man whose bosom affords him protection.
I must acknowledge that the supine behaviour of Nero inspired you with
a degree of contempt that induced you to forget the ease and repose you
then enjoyed, and gave rise to the future extravagance of your ambition.
It is proper that I tell you that my father did not visit Judæa with a
view to chastise your defection from Cælius, but wishing to give you such
advice
advice and premonition as might tend to your reformation. If it had been
his object to depopulate the nation, he would at once have struck the im-
portant stroke, beginning with Jerusalem rather than Galilee; but he
chose the latter proceeding, to admit leisure for your repentance: but his
benevolence was construed into weakness; and your future insolence hath
been founded on the lenity of the Romans.

Agreeable to the practice of other abandoned people, you took advan-
tage of our intestine divisions after the death of Nero. No sooner had my
father and I retired from Egypt, but, in our absence, you sought the op-
opportunity of laying the foundation of a war: and notwithstanding all the
benevolent exertions of which we gave proof in the government of that
district, you were yet hardened enough in iniquity to concert measures
against us, at the period when my father was declared emperor, and my-
selves his successor. Nay you proceeded still farther; for after our dignities
were confirmed by the general consent, and we were in the actual poiffession
of the empire, and were congratulated by deputies from all the foreign
powers on our accession to the government, the Jews still continued our
enemies. This was evident by their sending ambassadors even beyond
the Euphrates, to solicit aid to assist them in their revolt. I would forbear
to mention your newly-erected fortifications, and the factious contrivances
by which you have produced a civil war; since they are proofs of ingrati-
tude worthy only of the most abandoned of the human race.

At the time my father, much against his inclination, dispatched me to
subdue this obstinate city to obedience, I flattered myself that the inhabi-
tants would be glad to accept of terms of peace. Did I not beseech you
to prevent a war, before a blow had passed on either side? Was I not af-
afterwards anxiously solicitous to render it as easy to you as possible? Did I
ever refuse to receive any man who surrendered himself to me, or violate
my faith to any one after he had surrendered? I treated your prisoners
with unusual tenderness, nor ever punished one of your brethren who did
not seek to extend the unhappy breach between us. It was with great re-
luctance that I first began to demolish your walls; and I prevented all
executions among you to the utmost of my power. As often as I obtained
any advantage over you, I besought you to listen to terms of peace, with
as much clemency as if you had been the conquerors. When I approach-
ed your temple I did not destroy it, as, by the right I had acquired by the
law of arms, I might have done. I only desired you to have mercy on
yourseBelves, and spare the sacred places appertaining to you. At length I
offered you full permission to depart, and on terms of the utmost security:
but when you preferred war rather than peace, I left the choice of time and
place to yourselves: yet what is the consequence of my humane consider-
ation, but that you have set fire to the very temple which I would have
preserved? And, after all that has passed, you have the assurance to invite
me to a treaty, as if you had a single argument to urge, in atonement for
the devastation you have made. Is it to be thought that I can on any
terms grant a pardon to those who would not spare their own temple? You

even
"even present yourselves now in arms, nor put on the least appearance of" petitioners for favour. But let us examine the foundation you have for "this confident behaviour. Your people are totally dispirited; your tem-" ple is destroyed; your city is mine by the law of arms, and you remain "entirely at my disposal: yet even to the present moment you persist to "demand terms of honor. But wherefore should I longer remonstrate "with a folly to obstinate? Lay down your arms and submit, and I will "yet spare your lives. It is true that I will cause exemplary justice to be "done on the principal offenders; but the rest shall feel the best effects of "my humanity."

To this address the faction returned an answer, importing that they could not surrender on any promise or assurance of safety that the emperor could make, as they were solemnly sworn not to make any such submission: but, with his permission, they were ready to retire with their wives and children, into the desert, and leave to the Romans the possession of the city.

Enraged by the idea of prisoners giving law, and prescribing terms to the conqueror, Titus caused proclamation to be immediately made, intimating that, for the future, no Jew should presume to apply to him either for quarter or protection: but that they now might have recourse to arms, and defend themselves in the best manner in their power: for that the laws of war should hereafter determine his conduct towards them.

Hereupon the soldiers had immediate permission to attack them with fire and sword, and to apply the plunder they could obtain in the city to their own use. On the present day no step was taken: but on the following morning they set fire to the council chamber, the castle, the register-office, and a place named Ophlas; whence the flames spread to queen Helen's palace in the middle of the mount, destroying wherever they came, and burning a great number of dead bodies, which crowded the streets and houses in every part.

On the day last mentioned the sons and brothers of king Izates, with divers other persons of distinction, united in a petition to Titus to spare their lives; to which, agreeable to his accustomed humanity, he consented; though he was highly enraged at their conduct. The suppliants, however, were all lodged in prisons; and the sons and near relations of Izates were sent to Rome as hostages, in a short time afterwards.
CHAP. XIV.

The insurgents retreat to the royal palace, where they kill upwards of eight thousand persons, and seize money to a large amount. A singular point of honor among the Romans. No regard paid to the good advice given by Joseph. Ruins, vaults, and other places being searched for the defectors, all those who are taken are put to death. The singular misery of perishing by famine. The insurgents place their last hope in concealing themselves.

The next proceeding of the insurgents was to advance to the royal palace, a place of great strength and security, in which treasure to an immense amount was deposited. From this palace the Jews routed the Romans, of whom they killed about eight thousand four hundred, and made prize of all the treasure, to an immense amount. In the course of this engagement two of the Roman soldiers were made prisoners; one of them of the cavalry, the other of the infantry. The latter was first put to death, and then dragged through the streets of the city; as if the intention had been to deride the whole nation, by the insult offered to one unhappy wretch. The other prisoner, pretending that he had a circumstance of some consequence to disclose, was immediately conducted to Simon: but, on his arrival, he had nothing to mention that was deemed of the least consequence; wherefore Ardalas, one of Simon's officers, received orders to put him to death. Hereupon his hands were bound behind him, a cloth was tied over his eyes, and he was conducted from Simon's presence, to be beheaded within view of the Romans: but just in the instant that the executioner was drawing his sword, to perform his duty, the prisoner slipped from him, and effectcd an escape to the Romans. This circumstance being made known to Titus, he considered the case, and would not adjudge him to death for defecting from the enemy in so critical a situation; but deemed it too disgraceful for a Roman soldier to be taken prisoner, that he ordered him to be disarmed and cashiered; a punishment even worse than death in the opinion of a man of honor.

On the following day it happened that the Romans routed the Jews from the lower town, on which occasion they set fire to all the buildings as far as Siloah, and were happy to see the destruction occasioned by the conflagration; but they acquired no treasure; for the insurgents had already safely deposited this in the upper town. It is worthy of remark that the rebels were not of a disposition to lament any calamities their vices had occasioned; and they comported themselves with their accustomed pride, even when fortune appeared to be their determined foe. They seemed to behold the burning of the city with a degree of pleasure; and publicly said that, as affairs were then situated, the approach of death would not create in them the least degree of concern or regret. They had seen the destruction of the people, almost to annihilation: they had been witnesses to the temple being burnt to
the ground: they had viewed the city in flames; and were now pleased that the Romans, who were to succeed them, could not take possession of any thing that might afford them satisfaction.

While affairs were in this situation, Joseph exerted his utmost endeavours for the preservation of the few remaining inhabitants of a ruined and almost depopulated city. He applied himself to the passions of the people by every art of invective, complaint, advice, and encouragement: but all that he could say tended to answer no valuable purpose: the Jews were not only bound by the sacred obligations of their oaths, but almost subdued by the superior numbers of the Romans: exclusive of which they were insured to blood, and familiar with destruction.

In this unhappy situation of affairs they dispersed themselves throughout the city, searching all the ruins, vaults, and other places of seclusion, for such as had deserted. Great numbers of these being seized, they were all put to death, for they were so weak that they could not seek their safety by flight; and the dead bodies were thrown to the dogs. Still, however, famine threatened a death more dreadful than any other. Many of the Jews now deserted to the Romans, in mere despair, for they could not entertain any other expectation than that they might be immediately put to death, to prevent the miseries of starving. The insurgents likewise shared the same fate, having been instigated by the same motives. At this unhappy juncture there was not a single street in the city but what was beset with dead bodies, some of which had been starved, and the rest fallen a sacrifice to the rage of the famine.

The insurgents placed their last hope in concealment. They sought out every private place of retreat, vainly hoping that they might remain concealed till the contest should be at an end, and the Romans had abandoned the place: they then imagined that their escape might be safely effected, without reflecting that the all-discriminating eye of justice could penetrate into the most secret recesses.

The Jews who had taken possession of the subterraneous retreats, were the authors of more calamity than the Romans in setting fire to the place. They first robbed, and then murdered all who retired for safety to these places. The famine now raged to such a degree, that violent contentions arose respecting the coarsest and most loathsome food: and I am of opinion that if the famine had continued for any considerable time longer, those who survived would have made no scruple of feeding on the bodies of the deceased.
Titus finding that the upper town cannot be taken without new mounts, he begins
those evolutions. Five Idumean deputies offer the service of that people, and solic-
it his forgiveness. Titus consents to their request, but Simon immediately cauys
the five deputies to be put to death. The common people fold like beasts in the
market. Titus grants liberty to above forty thousand persons, who had defected
to him. A priest, named Jesus, compounds with Titus for his life. A discovery
made by Phineas, the treasurer.

Such was the situation of the upper town, on craggs and precipices,
that Titus thought it would be an impossibility to get possession of it,
without the erection of new mounts; wherefore he ordered that these works
should be commenced on the twentieth day of the month Lois. It has been
heretofore remarked that carriage was very expensive, and attended with
great trouble; for, to the distance of a hundred furlongs from the town, the
materials had all been cut down, for the construction of the works heretofore
erected. The four legions now threw up a mount on the west side of the
city, opposite the royal palace; while the auxiliaries and the other forces
threw up another mount near the gallery and the bridge, and fortified the
place known by the name of Simon's Tower, which had been constructed
by Simon, during his war with John.

At this period some of the Idumean officers held a council together, con-
erenting how their whole body should go over to the interest of the Romans.
Having fixed on their plan, they dispatched five deputies to Titus, to make
an offer of their services; and by these they sent a petition, imploring the
emperor's mercy in the name of their whole people. It must be acknowledged
that this application was made very late in point of time; but Titus, thinking
that Simon and John would make no farther resistance after so capital
a defection, dismissed the deputies with an answer, importing that he would
grant the petitioners their lives; for the truth was that he deemed the
Idumæans to be the most formidable of his opponents.

The above-mentioned plot having been discovered, Simon gave orders
that the five deputies should be instantly put to death, and that imprison-
ment should be the lot of those from whom they had received their direc-
tions; of whom James, the son of Sofas, was deemed to be the principal.
As the leaders were now in subjection, no great mischief was apprehended
from the common soldiers: notwithstanding which a stricter guard was kept
over the remainder of the Idumæans than had been heretofore thought nec-
cessary; but every effort that could be devised proved ineffectual to prevent
their deferring to the Romans. It is true that many of them were slain in the
attempt; but still great numbers effected their escape, all of whom were re-
ceived by Titus, who had so much generosity and benevolence, that he de-
clined to press the rigorous execution of his former orders: while even the
common
common soldiers, partly satiated with the blood that had been spilt, and partly in the hope of obtaining booty, began now to conduct themselves with more lenity and moderation than they had heretofore done.

By this time there were none remaining but the inferior kind of people; and these, together with their wives and children, were publicly sold like beasts, in the market; and at very low prices too, for the purchasers were but few in number. Titus now reflecting on this circumstance, and on the proclamation which he himself had issued, directing that no more of the Jews should desert to him singly, thought it his duty, as a man of humanity, to preserve as many of them as possible, and therefore determined to revoke his former order, and to receive as many of them as should come to him separately; but he would not receive any number together. He appointed proper persons to enquire into their characters, to discriminate between the worthy and the unworthy, and to treat every man according to his deserts.

At this period there was a priest named Jesus, the son of Thebuth, who compounded for his life with the emperor, on the condition of his delivering up several of the ornaments belonging to the temple, with some vessels, and other articles that had been presented thereto. In pursuance of this contract, he conveyed out of the temple, and handed over the wall, several tables, goblets and cups, with a pair of candelsticks, all made of the finest gold. He likewise presented the emperor with a considerable number of the vessels used in sacrifice, with precious stones, veils, and the habits used by the priests.

About this time likewise, Phineas, the keeper of the sacred treasure, being taken prisoner, he gave up a vast number of the habits and girdles belonging to the priests; together with scarlet and purple stuffs, which had been carefully laid by for future use. He likewise made a discovery of a quantity of cinnamon, cassia, gums and perfumes, which were used for the incense daily offered; together with a number of sacred ornaments, and effects which were the property of private persons. Now though Phineas was a lawful prisoner, regularly taken in open war, yet, in consideration of these discoveries, he was treated with as much lenity, as if he had made them through the mere effect of his own inclination.
The erection of the mounts being completed, the Romans advance with their engines for battery. Some of the besieged secrete themselves, while others endeavour to maintain their ground. Simon and John are terrified, even to the borders of despair, being misled by frightful stories and alarms. They at length abandon three forts, which could never have been taken unless the besieged had been starved out. The Romans are now successful in all they undertake. The calamity of Jerusalem, in being destroyed by her own sons. Titus acknowledges the Divine interposition in favour of the Romans. He spares the turrets as a monument of his good fortune. The orders issued by Titus, respecting the prisoners.

After the expiration of eighteen days the erection of the mounts was completed, on the seventh day of the month Gorpiaus (that is September), at which time the Romans advanced with their engines for battery. Many of the insurgents now despairing to hold possession of the place any longer, abandoned the walls, and retired to the castle; while others concealed themselves in vaults, and subterranean passages. Still, however, there were some, more obstinate than the rest, who were determined to oppose those who had the management of the batteries. In the mean time the enemy was greatly superior to them in numbers and strength; and the Romans had the farther advantage that their troops were in full health and spirits, and animated with the success they had obtained over an enemy that, having been unfortunate in their undertakings, were dejected by their losses, and almost abandoned to despair.

As often as any of the Jews observed a flaw in the wall, or that any of the turrets yielded to the impression made by the battering engines, they sought their safety by immediately flying from the place of apprehended danger; till, at length, even Simon and John were terrified even to the borders of despair, and fled, before the Romans were advanced within such a distance as to be able to do them a personal injury: for their fears operated to such a degree, that they were frightened at danger, whether real or apprehended. Though these men were some of the most abandoned of the human race, yet the extreme calamity they endured could scarcely fail of exciting pity in the breasts of those who so lately knew them boasting of their imagined consequence, and triumphing in all the height of presuming arrogance. The change in their affairs was indeed very great, and distressing in the highest degree.

John and Simon now made an attempt on the wall which had been erected round the city by the Romans. They succeeded, in fact, so far in this attempt, as to make a breach in the wall; and their intention was to have attacked the guards, and by that means to have effected their escape. But when they expected to have been properly supported in this attack, they found that all their friends had abandoned them: wherefore they retreated in confusion, as they were led by their fears and apprehensions.
In this distracted and wretched state of affairs, every man told such a tale as was inspired by his own apprehensions. While one brought intelligence that the whole of the wall to the westward was overthrown, others asserted that the Romans were at the foot of this wall; and a third party declared that they had entered the city, and that some of them were in actual possession of the towers. Their imaginations appeared to realize their fears: they fell prostrate on the ground, lamenting their unhappy fate, bewailing their follies; and remained in a state of desperation of which no language can convey an idea.

The goodness and the power of God were remarkable, and likewise equally conspicuous, on this singular occasion: for the tyrannical leaders of the opposition were, eventually, the occasion of their own destruction, by abandoning those forts of their own accord, which could never have been taken, unless the besieged had been starved out: and this they did after the Jews had in vain spent much time on other erections of inferior strength. By this providential turn of affairs the Romans became masters of three impregnable forts, which they could never have acquired in any other manner: for the three towers I have mentioned were absolute proof against battery of every kind.

No sooner had Simon and John, influenced by the impulse of a judicial infatuation, abandoned the towers above-mentioned, than they hurried away to the vale of Siloah, where they reposeh themselves for a short time, after the fatigue they had undergone. Having refreshed themselves, and recalled their scattered ideas, they assaulted the new wall at the above-mentioned place: but their efforts were so feeble that they were easily repulsed by the guards: for their misery, despair and fatigue had so reduced them, that they had no strength remaining, and were glad to creep away, with their adherents, and conceal themselves in vaults and caverns.

The walls being now in possession of the Romans, they hoisted their colours on the towers, and exulted with the most chearful acclamations, at the happy conclusion of a war which promised so little in the commencement: for they were compelled to believe that the war was at length ended, unless they had been disposed to disrelish the evidence of their own senses.

By this time the soldiers had spread themselves into every part of the city, ranging through the streets with drawn swords, and sacrificing to their rage every one they saw, without distinction. They set fire to the houses, and burnt them, and all their contents, to the ground. In many houses into which they entered in search of plunder, they found every person of the families dead, and the houses in a manner filled with the bodies of those who had perished through hunger; wherefore, shocked at such a sight, they frequently returned without seizing their intended booty. Yet, notwithstanding this apparent respect they shewed to the deceased, they gave no proofs of their humanity to the living; for they put every man to the sword who fell in their way, till at length the bodies of the dead filled up all the alleys and narrow passages; while their blood flowed to such a degree, as to run down the channels of the city in streams. Towards night they gave over the practice, but renewed their depredations by means of fire.

The
The conflagration of the city of Jerusalem ended on the eighth day of the month Gorpæus. Jerusalem was a city that must undoubtedly have been the envy of the universe, if all the prosperity that attended it from its original foundation, had borne any proportion to the misfortunes and calamities which befel it in the course of the siege above-mentioned: and what aggravated these judgments was, that her own sons proved her destruction; and that she had nurtured a race of vipers to prey on the body of the parent.

Titus employed himself in taking a survey of the ruins of this distinguished city: while admiring the works and fortifications, and particularly the fortresses, which the usurpers, in the extravagance of their folly, had abandoned: while he was contemplating the situation, dimensions, and elevation of the towers, with the elegance of the structures, the curiosity of the design and workmanship, and the masterly execution of the whole, he expressed himself in the following manner: "If our military operations had not been aided by the immediate interposition of Heaven, it would have been impossible that we should have ever possessed ourselves of these fortresses. In a word, it was God who fought for, and aided us, against the Jews: for a deed has been accomplished, which the hands of men, or the force of engines could never have effected."

Titus having delivered himself to this effect, and said much more to the same purpose; his next business was to restore to liberty all those prisoners whom the oppressors had left in the towers. This being done, and the razing and demolition of the city completed, these towers alone excepted, he gave orders for the sparing them, as a memorial of his good fortune and success; for, unless they had been abandoned, this success could never have arisen.

By this time the soldiers were perfectly fatigued with the work of slaughter, notwithstanding that much appeared yet to be done. However, Titus commanded his men to desist, so far as to the sparing all who should not be found in arms, or offer to make resistance: yet, notwithstanding these directions, the soldiers exceeded their orders, and put to death the sick and the aged, without pity or remorse. Those who appeared to be in full health, and fit for service, were imprisoned in the temple, in that quarter heretofore denominated the use of the women. Fronto, one of the freed-men and friends of Titus, was deputed to enquire into the cases of the prisoners, and to treat them according to their deserts. The abandoned, the seditious, and those who mutually charged each other with crimes, were put to death without mercy: but Titus reserved the young and healthy, particularly those of a comely appearance, to grace his triumph on his entrance into Rome. All those who remained after this selection, and were above seventeen years of age, were sent in chains into Egypt, to be employed as slaves; and those who were under seventeen exposed to sale; some only excepted, who were sent into the various provinces of the empire, to be engaged as gladiators in the several theatres.

In the interim, no less than eleven thousand of the prisoners who were under the care of Fronto were starved to death; partly owing to their own obstinacy in the refusal of provisions, and partly to the severity of their officers,
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The emperor Nero entertained so great a degree of contempt for the Jews that Cestius, with a view to convince the emperor that the Jewish nation was by no means such an object of derision as he thought it, made application to the high-priest, to fix on a method of numbering the people. This computation was commenced at the time of the celebration of the feast of the passover; and the following mode was adopted. From the ninth to the eleventh hour of the day the people came to offer their sacrifices; when they counted no less than two hundred and fifty-five thousand six hundred oblations; and reckoning that ten persons at least were to eat of each lamb (though in some instances there were twenty), the number would amount to two millions, five hundred and fifty-six thousand persons, all of them in perfect health: for neither persons troubled with the scurvy or leprosy, nor men infected with a particular disorder, nor women in certain circumstances, nor any who were labouring under malignant distempers, were admitted to any share in this solemnity: neither were any strangers admitted to partake, unless they came to Jerusalem on motives of devotion.

Thus did the all-wise providence of God decree that these immense numbers of people who had come to Jerusalem before the siege, should be afterwards pent up within the city, as in a prison: and the number of slain in the course of the siege, gave proof of a Divine judgment unequalled in the annals of history. Many of them were killed openly in the streets; while great numbers, retreating to the vaults and sepulchres, were pursued by the...
Romans, who put to the sword all they could find. Exclusive of those who perished in consequence of the severity of the famine, there were above two thousand, who either died by their own hands, or mutually contented to destroy each other. Not a few, likewise, were poisoned by the putrid effluvia arising from the dead bodies: some bore the nauseous smells as long as they could endure them, and then retired to consult their own safety; but others, intent on acquiring all the booty in their power, rifed some of the bodies of the deceased, while they trampled on others which were in an absolute state of putrefaction: but avarice disclaims all ideas of delicacy.

A great number of prisoners were released, who had been laid in chains by the two usurpers, whose cruelty continued as long as they had the least power to exert it: but at length the vengeance of Heaven effectually pursuied these monsters of iniquity: John and his associates, who had secrerted themselves in the vaults, were reduced even to the point of starving; so that, at length, they were compelled to implore that protection from the Romans, which they had heretofore affected to despise: while Simon surrendered himself, after a long struggle with the most pinching necessity; as will be hereafter mentioned. John was committed to prison for his life, and Simon referred to grace the triumph. Soon after this the Romans demolished the walls, and burnt the rest of the city.

C H A P. XVIII.

The utter destruction of Jerusalem. Melchisedec was the first founder of this city, and changed its name from Solyma, to that of Jerusalem. The city and temple laid level with the ground.

It was in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, and on the eighth day of the month Gorpiæus, that Jerusalem was thus finally taken and absolutely destroyed. Before this, however, it had been taken five times; viz. by the Egyptian king Azochaus; by the Syrian king Antiochus Epiphanes; by Pompey; and by Herod, assisted by Sohius: but all these preferred it after they had conquered it. The fifth capture of which I speak was that of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, who laid it waste after it had been built one thousand three hundred and sixty years, eight months and six days.

Melchisedec, a king of Canaan, was the first founder of the city of Jerusalem. In the Hebrew language the name Melchisedec signifies an "Up-right king;" and this prince was so in a distinguished degree. He first dedicated this city to God; built a temple therein, and officiated as a high-priest; and changed its former name of Solyma to that of Jerusalem.

In a series of time, when David, the king of the Jews, drove out the Canaanites, he placed his own countrymen in Jerusalem; and after this, the Babylo-

* The learned Bochart says that, in the following lines, are "almost as many errors as words."
Babylonians destroyed the city, at the expiration of four hundred and seventy-seven years and three months.

There elapsed eleven hundred and seventy-nine years between the reign of David in Jerusalem, and the destruction of the city by Titus; and this last event happened at the expiration of two thousand one hundred and seventy-seven years from its foundation. But by this great event it is evident that the inevitable decrees of fate pay no regard to antiquity, riches, fame, or even the dignity of religion.

Thus ended the important and melancholy siege; and the Roman soldiers having no living object on which to wreak their farther vengeance (for if they had, that vengeance would have been continued), Titus gave orders that they should reduce the city and temple to a level with the ground; and not to leave any building standing, except the three distinguished towers, so often mentioned, which bore the names of Hippococas, Phaïael and Maimanne; and a part of the wall to the westward of the city, on which he intended to erect a garrison. The towers were ordered to remain as an evidence to future times of the skill and power of the Romans in becoming possessed of them. This order was executed with the utmost strictness, and the rest of the city totally demolished, and razed even to the ground; so that it scarcely appeared to have been the residence of human creatures. Thus the factious multitude, whose seditions had created all the misfortunes, were reduced: and thus likewise was reduced the most distinguished city on the face of the earth.

CHAP. XIX.

The war being ended, Titus determines to encourage and reward those who had distinguished themselves in the enterprise. His benevolent speech to his followers, whom he rewards with bounties proportioned to their merit. He offers a sacrifice of thanksgiving for his success.

A Resolution was now formed by Titus, to leave some squadrons and battalions of horse and foot, together with the tenth legion, in garrison in Jerusalem. The duty of a careful and vigilant general having been fully discharged by Titus, he now considered how he should most effectually encourage and reward those whose services had tended to contribute to his present glory. For this purpose he ascended a tribunal in the front of his camp, and on an eminence where he might be heard to the greatest advantage; and being surrounded by a select number of his principal officers, he from thence made a speech to his army, the substance of which is as follows:

"My gallant fellow-soldiers! I have no language in which to express the sense of that gratitude I entertain for your faithful and respectful behaviour to me during the course of the late war. Your regular obedience and strict discipline have been commendable beyond all example. You have been
been resolute in your behaviour, on every occasion, and firm in all dangers, even the most alarming. You have acquired the highest degree of reputation, in having advanced the honor, and enlarged the territories of your country. It is proper that all the world should know, that neither the superiority of numbers, the advantages of forts, the strength of situation, the power of well-peopled cities, nor the desperate zeal, and aggrivated fury of the most brutish adherents, can ever be an equal match for the calm conduct and courage of the Romans. It is true that some favourableness and advantageous turns of fortune have occasionally attended the Jews: but you have amply performed your duty in putting a happy end to a war of so long continuance, in a way as flattering to our wishes as could have been hoped for on its first commencement. A circumstance still more happy than this arises, on which to congratulate you; for the choice that you have made of Roman emperors and generals is not only admitted, but universally approved and applauded. It is impossible that I should sufficiently admire and esteem you, on account of what you have already so admirably performed. With regard to those who have distinguished themselves by their singular bravery, and by their exemplary conduct in hazardous adventures, by which they have done honor to their private characters and public profession, it shall be my particular care to see that they do not go unrewarded. Those who have approved themselves emulous to excel their fellow-soldiers shall be certain of meeting with an acknowledgment adequate to their merits: for I have left pleasure in punishing the guilty, than in promoting and rewarding the meritorious.

As soon as Titus had ended this speech, he addressed himself to the proper officers, demanding a list of the names of such of the soldiers as had distinguished themselves in an exemplary manner in the course of the war. These being separately called, and their names announced, Titus acknowledged their merit, saying he was as anxious for their welfare as for his own. Having addressed them in the most obliging terms, he proceeded to give them substantial proofs of his friendship, and princely bounty. He placed coronets of gold on their heads; adorned them with chains of gold; presented them with lances pointed with the same metal, and with medals of silver, and promoted every man in proportion to his rank. He also gave them gratuities of minted money in gold and silver, out of the treasure that had been taken, and likewise presented them with robes, and other valuable articles.

Every man being thus rewarded according to his merit, by the proper distribution of the imperial bounties, Titus descended from his tribunal, amidst the acclamations, vows and prayers of the whole army.

The next proceeding was to offer sacrifices and return thanks for the victory. A number of oxen had been previously provided, and brought near the altars, which were sacrificed on this occasion, and distributed to the army; and Titus feasted his officers, at his own expence, for three days. Soon after this the troops were dismissed to their respective quarters; and
the tenth legion, which had been brought from the Euphrates, took possession of the city of Jerusalem.

The affront which the Jews had offered to the Romans under Cælius was yet fresh in the memory of Titus; wherefore he dispatched the twelfth legion (which had formerly been stationed at Rapanæa), to Militence, which is situated near the Euphrates, on the borders of Cappadocia and Armenia. The fifth and the fifteenth legions he retained, as a guard to attend himself into Ægypt. From Ægypt he went a coasting-passage to Cæsarea: but as the winter was now set in, he did not think it prudent to proceed to Italy: wherefore, for the present, he deposited his treasure in Cæsarea, and secured his prisoners in the most effectual manner.

CHAP. XX.

During the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, a number of sea-ports are visited by Vespasian. The singular manner in which Simon, the son of Gioras, is taken prisoner, after having intended to make his escape through a vault; but the project fails. He is seized and put in chains by Terentius Rufus. His capture proves the means of discovering his companions. Domitian's birth-day celebrated with uncommon splendor and magnificence; and likewise that of Vespasian.

At the time that Titus was laying siege to Jerusalem, Vespasian employed himself in visiting the sea-ports. Having embarked on board a trading vessel for Rhodes, he engaged a galley at that place, in which he failed from Ionia to Greece, calling at all the towns on the coast, where he was received and entertained in a manner consistent with his rank. Hence he went to Corcyra, and so on to Japygia; from whence he continued his journey by land.

When Titus had returned from Cæsarea on the sea-coast to the place called Cæsarea Philippi, he there remained a considerable time, amusing himself with a variety of public entertainments; particularly combats between men and beasts, likewise between one single man and another; and engagements between different parties of men; and the lives of a considerable number of his slaves were sacrificed in these amusements.

About this period Simon, the son of Gioras, was made a prisoner, in consequence of the following singular circumstance. When Jerusalem was so closely besieged that Simon was compelled to take refuge in the upper town, and when the Romans had actually got into the city; he was almost diftrained to know how to dispose of himself; and at length he adopted the following plan. Having sent for a number of flone-cutters, miners, smiths, and persons well skilled in iron-works; and having provided a great number of tools and materials proper for their purpose, and provisions for a considerable time, they descended all together into a dark and private vault. In this place they worked their way as far as they were able; but finding the passage too narrow to answer their intentions, they began to dig and mine,

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with
with a view to open a passage through which they might effect their escape; but though they managed their provisions in the most frugal manner possible, they fell short before they had made any considerable progress in their work; by which the whole plan failed. Reduced to the utmost necessity, Simon had recourse to a singular device to terrify the Romans. In pursuance of his plan, he dressed himself in a white garment, which was buckled round him, over which was thrown a purple cloak. Thus habited, he ascended from the ground, under the ruins of the late temple, to the astonishment of the soldiers, and others who beheld the apparition. As he advanced towards them, the soldiers assumed sufficient courage to demand his name and business; but Simon refused to answer their questions, and demanded to speak with the captain of the guard. Hereupon they immediately sent to Terentius Rufus, who at that time had the command; and he soon discovering who Simon was, ordered him to be immediately put in chains, and then related all the particulars of the affair to Titus.

Thus did Divine justice pursue and punish an execrable tyrant, who had, by the means of suborning false evidence, caused the destruction of so many of his own countrymen, on the pretence that they were about to desert to the Romans: thus was he, by an act of his own, delivered into the hands of his enemies, without any contrivance on their part, to take him prisoner. But the vengeance of Heaven will always pursue the guilty: justice and innocence will finally prevail: the punishment which is deferred is frequently felt the more severely from that circumstance; since the danger is then thought to be at an end, and the guilty deem themselves secure. This was the situation of Simon, with respect to the Romans; and his ascent from the vault, in the strange manner above-mentioned, proved the means of discovering the place where his companions were concealed.

When Titus had returned from Caesarea, on the sea-coast, Simon was presented to him bound in chains: whereupon he gave orders that he should be detained a prisoner, to grace his triumphal entry into Rome. Some short time after his arrival he appointed a day for the celebration of the nativity of his brother Domitian with the utmost grandeur and magnificence. On this occasion a great number of condemned prisoners were sacrificed to the splendor of the ceremony: for of those who were destroyed by beasts, by fire, or in combats with each other, it was calculated that not less than two thousand five hundred perished; yet such was the inveteracy of the Romans against the Jews, that they thought even this number too small.

Some time after this Titus went to Berytus, a city of Phœnícia, and one of the Roman colonies. In this place he continued some time, and there celebrated the anniversary of the birth of his father Vespasian, even with a greater degree of pomp and splendor than he had done that of his brother, both with respect to the article of expense, and the public shews exhibited.
THE WARS OF THE JEWS. 543

CHAP. XXI.

Account of the Jews being dispersed over the face of the earth, particularly in Syria and Antioch. The Jews of Antioch very rich and numerous. The city of Antioch ruined by Antiochus, the son of a Jew. A violent insurrection. The Pagan worship established, and the observance of the sabbath suppressed by Antiochus. The city happening to take fire, the Jews are accused as the instigators by Antiochus, though without foundation.

The situation of the Jews in Antioch was at this time very uncomfortable; for the citizens were their determined enemies, on account of their former misbehaviour, aggravated by some improper conduct of which they had been lately guilty. In this place it may not be improper to make mention of some particular circumstances, by which the meaning of what is to follow will be the more readily comprehended.

There is scarcely a part of the habitable globe, in which some of the Jewish people are not dispersed: but they particularly abound in Syria, which borders on their own country; and there are immense numbers of them in Antioch: a circumstance which arises not only from the city being very large and populous, but from the particular privileges with which they have been gratified in this place, from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (as he was called), who totally reduced the city of Jerufalem, and plundered the temple. All the brazen vessels which had been taken from the Jews at Jerufalem, were restored to them by the immediate successors of Antiochus, for the purpose of their being applied to the service of their temple at Antioch. These successors likewise allowed the Jews to enjoy the same freedom of the city that the Greeks did: and the kings who followed those above-mentioned behaved with a similar degree of lenity and indulgence; so that the Jewish temple became rich and flourishing, and the numbers of their people continually increased. Several of the Pagans, likewise, became proselytes to their religion, and incorporated with the body of the people.

When the war was now compleatly ended, and Vespasian had gone by sea into Syria, the Jews rendered themselves extremely odious; of which the following circumstance will serve as an instance. During a public assembly in the theatre, Antiochus came in, and, before all the company, charged his own father, and several other foreign Jews, whose names he mentioned, with a design of setting fire to the city during the night. This assertion occasioned a violent insurrection, and during the disturbance, the people procured fire, and burnt the supposed conspirators in the midst of the theatre. The mob were now disposed to have burnt every man who was but suspected, in order to save their country from an apprehended ruin. Antiochus did every thing in his power to aggravate the present malicious disposition; and as a proof of the regard which he entertained for the Pagan worship, and his abhorrence of that of the Jews, he sacrificed after the Pagan manner himself, and likewise issued orders that others should do the same, or suffer death if they
they refused. In consequence of this peremptory order, the people of Antioch in general complied, the Jews only excepted, great numbers of whom were put to death for refusing their obedience to the mandate.

By this time Antiochus had a command bestowed on him by the governor, which enabled him still farther to gratify his rage against the Jews; wherefore he began by infringing on the sacredness of the sabbath, compelling the people to labour on that day as they did on others; and he insisted on this point with such rigid severity, that the observation of this sacred day was at length totally suppressed in Antioch; while other places were in danger of following the fatal example.

It was not long before another misfortune succeeded this persecution of the Jews at Antioch; the particulars of which are as follow. A fire happened to break out in the square market, which burnt several magnificent buildings, and public offices for the registering of records; and the flames raged so furiously that the total destruction of the whole city was greatly endangered. Antiochus accused the Jews with being the authors of this conflagration; and the inhabitants of Antioch, already greatly prepossessed against those people, were very fond of giving credit to the charge: in fact, so strong were their prejudices against the Jews, that they were ready to swear that they saw those people in the very act of setting fire to the city; wherefore, taking it for granted that all was true that their imaginations suggested, they made so sudden and violent an attack on the accused parties, that it was with no small degree of difficulty that Collega, vice-governor to Cefennius Petus, kept the people in tolerable subjection till the particulars of the affair could be transmitted to the emperor. At this time Cefennius had received his commission as governor, but was not arrived to take on him the command. Collega having examined into the affair in the most careful and cautious manner, the innocence of all the persons who had been accused by Antiochus was made indubitably evident: and it appeared that the city had been set on fire by a few abandoned miscreants, and men of desperate fortunes, who thought the destruction of their creditors would be the most effectual way of screening themselves from the payment of their debts. Notwithstanding the fullness of the accusation, the Jews were under great uneasiness of mind for fear of the consequences.

CHAP. XXII.

The happiness of Titus on receiving an account of his father's safe arrival in Italy.
Account of the respect with which Vespasian is everywhere treated.

At this time Titus received the agreeable news that his father was happily arrived in Italy, and how magnificently he had been entertained in the several cities of that country, through which he passed: but what afforded him more satisfaction than any other circumstance, was the sincere affection and splendid dignity with which he was received at Rome; which prevented
prevented the son from having any farther anxiety on account of his father. In every place the people treated even the name of Vespasian with the utmost distinction; and supplied the want of his presence by their perfect respect for him.

The senate of Rome, well remembering the unhappy revolutions to which they had been witness, on the transferring of the government from one prince to another, thought themselves happy in having an emperor, whose character was so distinguished by experience, conduct, and reputation. Nor were the people in general less pleased with the happy change in the face of affairs, as they were at that time embroiled in civil wars; and they repaid the utmost confidence in the emperor; expecting that, through his means, they should be restored to their former ease and freedom. The soldiers in general were profess’d admirers of their imperial master, as he had, on a variety of occasions, given abundant proof of his courage and military skill; and their regard for him was heightened by reflecting on the disgrace they had frequently suffered under other commanders: wherefore they promised themselves that, under the command of Vespasian, they should meet with abundant success and applause.

So general was the esteem in which Vespasian was held, that the most eminent people of the city, impatient of his arrival, went to a considerable distance, in order to meet him on the road; and these were followed by such numbers, that there were scarce as many left in the city as came out of it. When intelligence arrived that Vespasian was near the place, and that his address and affability were universally admired, the roads were crowded with the wives and children of the inhabitants, who flocked to see him. Every one now burst into raptures of admiration at the elegance of his person, and the modesty of his behaviour; and they called him by all the endearing names of benefactor, deliverer, protector; extolling him as the only prince in the universe who was worthy to wear an imperial crown.

On this occasion the whole city was decorated with garlands, and looked as gay as a temple; and the streets were crowded to such a degree that it was with the utmost difficulty that the procession could pass to the palace. Vespasian now offered up sacrifices of thanksgiving to his household gods, in grateful acknowledgment of his safe return; and, in the mean time, the people in general indulged themselves in feasting, treating their families and neighbours, offering up their vows for a long and prosperous reign to Vespasian, and wishing that he might be succeeded in the imperial dignity by his son; and that there might never be wanting one of his illustrious family to sway the sceptre. Thus auspicious was the entrance of Vespasian into Rome; and every kind of success and happiness succeeded this event.
A revolt happens among the Germans, and the occasion thereof. The faction is headed by Cassius and Civilis. Petilius Cerealis puts a stop to the sedition by routing the rebels; and Domitian totally suppresses it without bloodshed. An incursion of the Scythians succeeds the rebellion in Germany. The Scythians are routed by Rubrius Gallus.

At the time that Titus was laying siege to Jerusalem, and not long before Vespasian came to Alexandria, a very considerable revolt happened among the Germans, in which they were in a great degree incited and animated by their neighbours the Gauls, who wished to free themselves from the yoke of subjection to the Romans. The Germans being naturally of a vehement disposition, bold, rash and inconsiderate, they were forward enough to engage in an enterprise of this kind: besides, they were instigated by an inveterate hatred which they entertained for the Romans; as they stood in fear of no other people but them. To all these circumstances may be added the critical situation of affairs; for the empire was rent in pieces by factious divisions, and there had been a variety of revolutions in the government.

At this time there were two persons, named Cassius and Civilis, who had great influence among the Germans; and these took advantage of the distracted state of affairs to promote the sedition; though, in fact, this was but carrying on a plan which they had long before concerted. On enquiring into the sentiments of the people, they found that a great majority of them were admirably disposed to acts of mutiny; and their example would most probably have been followed by all the rest, but for the immediate interposition of Divine providence. The particulars of this affair are as follows: Vespasian had sent letters to Petilius Cerealis, heretofore governor of Germany, by which he advanced him to the dignity of consul, and directed that he should immediately march into Italy, to execute the duties of his new office. As Cerealis was on his journey, he received authentic information of the insurrection above-mentioned; on which he immediately marched against the rebels, who were united in a body; and attacking them with great vigour, he totally routed them; great numbers being slain in the action; by which the rest were at once reduced to a due sense of their subjection.

If Cerealis had not been so fortunate as to crush this rebellion in the bud, it must, nevertheless, have soon yielded to the valour of another commander; for no sooner had intelligence of the insurrection arrived at Rome, than Domitian, the son of Vespasian, a young prince of the greatest hopes and expectations, in whom the heroic virtues of his father were hereditary, put himself at the head of an army, and advanced against the main body of the rebels; who no sooner heard of his being on his march, than they were so terrified as to surrender, even without bloodshed. When the affairs of Gaul were adjusted, and there was no farther danger that the people would again rebel, Domitian lost no time in returning to Rome, where he was received with
with the loudest acclamations; his good conduct extolled; and himself honoured as one who had produced happy consequences to his country, and honor to himself, beyond what could have been expected from his age and experience.

An incursion of the Scythians (or Sarmatians), succeeded to the rebellion in Germany. These people having privately transported themselves over the Danube, with an immense number of men, broke into the country of Myfia, where they surprized several of the Roman garrisons; and put all they found in them to the sword, with the most savage inhumanity. They flew Fontiues Agrippa, a person of the rank of lieutenant general, and of confular dignity, at the head of his troops: and they ravaged the whole country, burning, wailing and destroying, wherever they came. Intelligence of these circumstances was no sooner brought to Vespasian, and he had learnt some particulars of the depredations that had been made in Myfia, than he immediately sent away Rubrius Gallus to chastise the offenders: a commission that this officer executed so faithfully, that he destroyed great numbers of them, and the rest escaped to their own habitations with no small degree of difficulty: so that this war was soon at an end: and the commanding officer gave such effectual orders for securing the paflcs, as to render the repetition of similar attempts and incursions much less likely to take place in future.

**CHAP. XXIV.**

Account of the triumphant march of Titus. Particulars respecting the Sabbatical River, and why it is so denominated. The people of Antioch highly rejoiced at the arrival of Titus. They earnestly beg that the Jews may be banished from the city, but Titus pays little regard to their request. The solicitations against the Jews re-urged by the senate: but Titus absolutely refuses them, and retires to Egypt. Titus greatly commiserates the desolate condition of Jerusalem. Immense treasures buried in the ruins of that city. Simon and John, with seven hundred other persons of good appearance, resolved to grace the triumph. The order and magnificence with which this triumph was attended. The triumph concluded in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Simon Giorus put to death. A temple dedicated to peace by Vespasian.

Titus having remained a little while at Berytus, he, on his return from that place (as hath been before observed) exhibited the most magnificent spectacles as he passed through Syria. In this journey he took with him the prisoners that he had made, to do honor to his arms, and to add to the splendor of his triumph.

In the course of his journey this prince took particular notice of a certain river, which is situated betwixt the cities of Arce and Raphane in the kingdom of Agrippa; which river is distinguished by some very remarkable properties. During the flowing of the river the stream is full, and the current is strong: but the springs failling on a sudden, it leaves the channel dry,
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS UPON

dry, even to the middle, for the space of six days: and it fills again on the seventh day, and flows as usual, and pursues its former course, as if no interruption had happened. From these circumstances it has obtained the name of the Sabbatical River, from the festival celebrated by the Jews on the seventh day.

Intelligence of Titus being on his journey having reached the city of Antioch, the people were so overjoyed at the news, that immense numbers of both sexes, and almost all ages, left their habitations, and went out to meet him. Many of them went to the distance of thirty furlongs, being impatient to congratulate him, and to welcome him on his journey. When he came near them they withdrew on each side, to make a passage for him, and thus conducted him into the city, with every possible demonstration of joy and respect; but amidst their shouts and acclamations they solicited him in the most earnest and importunate manner, that he would banish all the Jews from the city. Titus heard all they had to say, but with such apparent indifference, that it was impossible to discover his sentiments on the subject; a circumstance that gave the Jews great anxiety, as they were extremely apprehensive for the event of the affair. Titus remained but a very short time at Antioch, from whence he proceeded to Teugma, which lies towards the Euphrates. At this place he was waited on by ambassadors from Vologesius, king of the Parthians, who sent him a present of a crown of gold, and transmitted his congratulations on his late victory over the Jews. Titus received the present, entertained the ambassadors in a manner suited to their rank, and then returned to Antioch.

Immediately after his arrival the senate and magistrates of the city gave him an earnest invitation to honor the theatre with his presence. With this he very readily complied, and there found a very great number of the citizens waiting in expectation of his arrival. He had scarcely taken his place, when they began to re-urge him earnestly on the subject of the expulsion of the Jews, to which Titus, with equal prudence and generosity, replied, saying, "Their own country is laid waste, and they cannot find admission into any other." The citizens finding that Titus was not to be prevailed on to grant this request, they immediately solicited another favour, which was that he would order the pillars of brass, on which were engraven the inscriptions reciting the privileges of the Jews, to be either taken away, or the inscriptions erased: but Titus paid no more regard to the latter request than to the former; and departed towards Egypt, leaving the Jews of Antioch in possession of the same privileges as at his arrival.

While he was proceeding on his journey he reflected seriously on the deplorable situation of Jerusalem, and all the adjacent country, and could not help drawing a comparison in his mind between its present and former condition. It was heretofore one of the most glorious cities in the universe, and now a heap of ruins: it was in former times a paradise, and now become a desert. Reflecting on these unhappy changes, he sincerely lamented the destruction of so distinguished a city, and execrated the authors of the sedition that had occasioned it. So far, indeed, was he from wishing to extend his own
own fame on a public calamity, that he held in the utmost abhorrence those to whom that calamity was owing.

Jerusalem had been possessed of riches to an immense amount; and amazing treasures of gold, silver, and other valuable effects were buried in its ruins, great part of which had been secreted by the proprietors, that the enemy might not obtain possession of them. Of these effects many were discovered by the Romans, but the prisoners found many more.

In the interim Titus continued his journey to Egypt, and travelling with all possible expedition over that desolate country, he arrived at Alexandria, at which place he took shipping for Italy: but previous to his embarkation he dispatched the two legions that had attended him to their former stations; that is, the fifth legion was sent to Mycia, and the tenth to Hungary. Simon and John, who had been the principal insurgents, together with about seven hundred other prisoners, who were distinguished by the comeliness of their appearance, were ordered to be sent into Italy, that they might dignify the triumph of Titus, on his entry into Rome.

Titus had a most favourable and agreeable voyage, and was received with as great honor and respect as his father had been before him; and exclusive of this general respect from the people, Vespasian went out in person, to meet and congratulate him: a circumstance highly grateful to the public, who now beheld the father and his two sons meeting together in circumstances of the most auspicious nature.

In a short time after this the senate passed a decree for two separate triumphs, the one in honor of the father, the other in that of the son; but, notwithstanding this determination, Vespasian and Titus resolved that the solemnity to their mutual honor should be jointly celebrated. When the day was fixed, on which it was to take place, there was hardly a single person in the city who did not attend as a spectator, so that when the whole multitude was assembled together there was scarcely room enough left for the emperor and his son to pass. Before the break of day the soldiers marched to the palace gates near the temple of Isis, in regular order, preceded by their officers, to wait the arrival of the princes; who had lodged the preceding night in the temple above-mentioned. Soon after the dawn of the morning Vespasian and Titus came forward, being cloathed in purple robes, according to the custom of their country, and having on their heads crowns of laurel. They proceeded to the Octavian walks, at which place the senate, nobility and knights of Rome waited for their arrival. Before the portal there was erected a tribunal, on which they ascended, and reposed themselves on seats of ivory which had been placed there on this occasion: and being thus situated, orations were made in their praise, while the surrounding multitudes testified their joy by the loudest acclamations. On this occasion the princes wore no arms; and while the orators were rapidly declaring in their praise, Vespasian made a signal for silence, which being strictly obeyed by every person present, he stood up, and having thrown his robe over a part of his head, he offered up certain prayers, agreeable to the custom on such occasions; and in this Titus followed his example. This
being done, Vespasian addressed the company in a concise speech, and then dismissed the military people to regale themselves at his expence. In the next place Vespasian and Titus proceeded to the triumphal gate, which received its name on account of the grand procession passing that way. Here they took some refreshment, and being then arrayed in their triumphal habiliments, they offered up sacrifices at the gate, and then proceeded, in great pomp and solemnity, through the midst of the crowd, that all the people might be gratified by a sight of them.

It is impossible for language to convey any adequate idea of the splendor and magnificence of this public exhibition; whether the expence and contrivance of it, or the novelty of its ornaments be considered. On this occasion all the most valuable curiosities which the Roman nation had been collecting through a long succession of ages, were combined to furnish the splendid triumph of one day, and displayed as a monument of the national grandeur. So great a number of very curious performances, in gold, silver and ivory, equally valuable for their cost and their admirable contexture, were now exhibited to the public view, that they seemed rather a confusion than a regular display of riches. There likewise appeared such an amazing variety of purple garments and Babylonian embroideries, together with jewels and other stones of great value, which were disposed into the forms of crowns, and other devices, that what used to be accounted curious was now no longer deemed so. Images of the gods of the Romans were carried in procession, which were extraordinary for their size and contexture; and besides these there were resemblances of various sorts of living creatures, which were dressed so as to answer their characters.

A great number of people, dressed in cloth of gold and purple, carried these pageants through the streets; and those who were immediately appointed to attend the pompous train were habited in garments of a singularly splendid appearance. Even the very prisoners that made a part of the train were dressed with unusual decency, to hide the misery of their condition, and conceal the marks of slavery that appeared in their countenances; but in all the procession nothing was so extraordinary as the carrying of the machines, many of which were three, or four stories in height, so that it is astonishing how the bearers could support them. The expence of these was proportioned to the contrivance of them; for the furniture and hangings were embroidered with gold, ivory and other things of high value.

In the procession were likewise the most lively and picturesque representations of war, and all its attendant circumstances. In one place was to be seen the appearance of a fruitful country totally laid waste: in another the destruction of armies; some being killed, some flying, and others taken prisoners: there were resemblances of walls levelled with the ground, forts destroyed, fortified cities entered through breaches, towns taken by surprize, and streets streaming with blood, while the vanquished were imploring mercy. Houses appeared to be falling on the heads of their owners, while temples were apparently in flames, and rivers found their course through the conflagrations, instead of supplying water to man and beast, and refreshing the
the fields and meadows with their streams. Nor was this any other than an admirable representation of the sufferings of the Jews, so finely contrived by the ingenuity of art, that to those who were unacquainted with the fate of Jerusalem, it might seem to be a well told history of the destruction of that celebrated city.

On each of the pageants was a representation of the manner in which some town or city was taken, with a figure of the governor of the place. To these succeeded a view of the shipping, and then were exhibited the spoils that were taken in various places; of which the most considerable were the golden table, and the golden candlestick which were found in the temple at Jerusalem. The first of these weighed several talents; and the latter was never applied to the use for which it had been designed. This candlestick consisted of a large foot, from which there ascended a sort of pillar, and from that pillar, as from the body of a tree, there arose seven branches, the top of each branch resembling a lamp; and the number was seven in reference to the eftem in which the seventh day is held by the Jews. The next, and indeed the last trophy exhibited of the conquest which the Romans had made, was the code of Jewish laws; which was followed by figures of ivory and gold, intended as emblematical representations of victory; and the procession was closed by Vespasian, Titus and Domitian, all mounted on fine horses elegantly caparisoned, and appearing with a dignity becoming their high rank: and in this splendid manner they proceeded together to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and thus put an end to the procession.

When they had arrived at the temple they remained there for a short time; in conformity to an ancient custom which rendered it necessary that they should stay in that place till they received advice of the death of the general who had commanded the army of the enemy. The general on the present occasion was Simon Gioras (who had been led in triumph through the streets), round whose neck a rope being fixed, he was drawn through the market-place, those who drew him putting him to death, agreeable to the laws and usages of the Romans in the case of notorious offenders.

Intelligence being brought that Simon was dead, the very air was rent with the shouts and acclamations of the multitude. The people then offered up vows and sacrifices; and this solemn business being discharged, Vespasian and his sons returned to the palace, where they gave a most magnificent entertainment on the occasion. Indeed the whole city exhibited one general scene of joy and festivity; and public thanks were every where offered for the final victory which had now been obtained over their enemies: a victory which seemed to promise a lasting tranquillity, while it redounded to the immortal honor of the heroes who had acquired it.

As soon as the triumphs were ended, and the peace of the empire was secured, Vespasian caused a temple to be erected and dedicated to peace. This edifice was remarkable for its richness and elegance, and still more so for the short space of time in which it was constructed. It was adorned with a great abundance of curious pieces of painting and sculpture, which had been collected at an immense expense; and it was, on the whole, so magnificent and
and elegant a building, that persons came from all parts of the world to obtain a sight of it. The golden table and the candlestick, as articles of ineffimable value, Vespasian caused to be placed in this temple. With regard to the code of Jewish laws, and the purple vestments of the sanctuary, they were deposited, with the utmost care, in the royal palace.

CHAP. XXV.

Description of the situation of Machæras. A strong wall with turrets built round it by Herod the great. Account of two singular plants. A great diversity of springs and fountains. Machæras besieged by Bassus. A division between the native Jews and the strangers, the former defending the castle, and the latter the lower town. Not a day passes without skirmishes. Instance of Eleazar's contempt of danger. He is taken, stripped, and cruelly whipped. Bassus gives Eleazar his liberty, and dismisses the garrison.

The emperor having granted a commission to Lucilius Bassus, appointing him to be lieutenant general of Judæa, he thereupon succeeded Cerialis Petilianus in the command of the army, and soon rendered himself master of the castle of Herodion by treaty. This being done, he collected his troops, which were stationed in different parts of the country; proposing, by the assistance of the tenth legion, to reduce Machæras, as a work of indispensible necessity; since that place was so remarkably strong, that it was a kind of incitement to acts of rebellion; and its situation was such as to inspire those in possession of it with fresh courage, though, on the other hand, it was calculated to repress the ardor of an affianit.

Machæras is situated on a mountain of immense height, and is of so strong a nature that it is rendered almost impregnable. It is likewise in a manner inaccessiblę; for nature has surrounded it with vallies that are almost impassable, and cannot be filled up. These vallies are of such a depth as not to be surveyed from the mountain without horror. The mountain stretches sixty furlongs to the west, and approaches almost close to the lake Asphaltitis, and the castle commands a very extensive view of the district on that side. To the north and south the vallies are very extensive, and appear to be equally well calculated for the defence of the place. On the east the depth of the valley is not less than a hundred cubits, and opposite Machæras is a mountain to which this valley extends. This place was originally fortified by Alexander, king of the Jews, who built a castle on it; but this castle was afterwards demolished by Gabinius, when he made war on Ariftobulus: but Herod the great, thinking this mountain well worthy his attention, particularly in case of any dispute with the Arabians, who were remarkably well situated to annoy him, he caused a strong wall, fortified with turrets, to be built round it, and erected a handsome city, in which he placed a colony of inhabitants; and from the city he made a passage up to the castle. Round the castle at the top he built another wall, at the angles of which were turrets
fixtvy cubits in height; and in the midst of the enclosure he caused a large and elegant palace to be erected, which was supplied with water from a variety of cisterns: so that the situation and conveniences of this place seemed to have arisen from a happy conjunction of nature and art, each contributing in a liberal manner to its improvement. Herod likewise deposited in the castle an immense store of military arms, engines, arrows, &c. and stocked it with a great quantity and variety of provisions; so that there could be little danger of the garrison being reduced either by famine or force.

In this palace was a very extraordinary plant which bore the name of Rue, the growth of which was so astonishing, that it equalled the height and breadth of a large Fig-tree. It is said that this plant had remained there ever since the time of Herod, and might have continued to the present day, but that the Jews, when they took the place, tore it up by the roots.

On the north side of Machæras is a valley called Baaras, where a plant is produced which is likewise named Baaras. This strange plant is of a flame-colour; and on the approach of evening it reflects a light like the beams of the sun. It is difficult to draw the root from the ground, and the plant recedes on any one offering to touch it. The method of fixing it is said to be by sprinkling it with a woman's urine; but when it is thus fixed, the touching of the plant will be fatal, unless the party holds a part of the root in his hand. But the following is said to be a method of drawing it without danger. The ground must be dug round the root till it is laid almost bare, and then a dog must be tied to it; this being done, the master of the dog goes away; and being followed by the dog, the root is drawn out of the ground; but the poor animal dies on the spot, as if he sacrificed his own life to the preservation of that of his master. The root being once freed from the ground, the plant may be touched without the least degree of danger. Notwithstanding what has been said, it is related that this plant has a property that is more equivalent to all its noxious qualities. It will not be disputed that to be possessed with evil spirits is one of the greatest calamities to which human nature is subject. These evil spirits, which we place under the denomination of demons or devils, are only the souls of men, who, during their mortal existence, had abandoned themselves to iniquity: having gained possession of living bodies, they would inevitably destroy them, if their operations were not to be counteracted by preventive remedies. Now the plant in question possesses so extraordinary a virtue that upon only touching the patient with it his affliction is immediately removed.

In the valley above-mentioned there is an uncommon variety of springs and fountains, each differing from the other in quality and flavour, being sweet, bitter, hot, &c. and there are likewise a number of cold springs, in the lowest parts of the valley: but nothing of all this is so extraordinary as a cave of small depth, over which is a stone of a hard, rocky nature, out of which stone appear two fountains in the shape of breasts, from one of which flow hot waters, and cold from the other. These waters, when intermixed, form a very pleasant bath, which is a specific in the cure of nervous, and many other disorders. Mines of sulphur and allum also abound in this valley.
When Baffus had taken a careful survey of Machæras, he came to a determination to besiege the place; and for this purpose he intended to have filled up the valley to the eastward of the town, and to make his approach from that quarter. His first proceeding was to throw up a mount, opposite the castle, with all possible expedition, as the readiest way to ensure his success. The Jews who were natives of the city now divided themselves from those who were strangers, whom they dismissed as persons who were unworthy a connection with them, and sent them into the lower town, to support the first shock; themselves taking possession of the castle, which from its strength they thought would be the most defensible; and a place from which, in case of necessity, it was probable that they might make the best terms with the Romans. In the mean time they exerted their utmost industry to repel the attacks of the besiegers. There was not a day passed in which the Jews did not daily forth in a determined manner, when violent skirmishes ensued, and both parties lost a considerable number of men. The advantage lay sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other: the Jews being successful when they attacked the Romans by surprize, and the latter being the victors when they were properly advised of the advance of the enemy, and had time to prepare for their reception. But it appeared evident that the siege was not to end in this manner; since a most singular accident reduced the Jews to the disagreeable necessity of surrendering the castle.

In Machæras there was a young man of a spirit remarkably bold, daring and enterprising. His name was Eleazar, and he exerted himself, in a very extraordinary manner, both by advice and example, to check the progress of the Romans, and encourage his countrymen to oppose their proceedings. This Eleazar frequently fell forth in a most determined manner, and was constantly the first man to begin an encounter, and the last to retreat, when retreat became absolutely necessary.

Now it happened, after the conclusion of a skirmish on a particular day, when both parties were retired, that Eleazar, determined to evince his utter contempt of danger, and to prove that he was incapable of fearing any man, stopped without the gate of the city, and entered into an idle conversation with some of the Jews that were on the walls; seeming to pay no kind of regard to any thing that might pass around him.

Eleazar being now within view of the Romans in their encampment, an Egyptian soldier named Rufus took an opportunity to run to him, unnoticed, and seizing him with all his accoutrements, conveyed him to the enemy. The prisoner was no sooner brought, than Baffus directed that he should be stripped, laid on the ground, and publicly whipped within view of those in the city. The distressful situation of this youth afflicted the Jews to such a degree, that the generality of them burst into tears, and lamented his unhappy fate. Baffus finding how exceedingly concerned the people in general were for the misfortunes of this one man, a thought struck him that he hoped to improve to his advantage; for he conceived that if he could but encrease the ardor of their passions, they might be induced to purchase the life of Eleazar by a surrender of the place. The scheme succeeded to the height of his expectation: a cross was erected, on which it seemed to appear
that Eleazar was to be immediately crucified; but no sooner was this cross fixed, than the whole garrison exclaimed, as with one voice, that "they could no longer bear their sufferings." Immediately hereupon Eleazar entreated them to consider their own situation, and that of himself, who was sentenced to an ignominious death: and he conjured them to desist from contending against the superior courage and success of the Romans, to whose dominion all the world had submitted.

Eleazar being of a distinguished family, and having many friends and relations in the castle, their interest was exerted in support of his earnest supplication; so that, in the end, the besieged, compassionating his case in a high degree, dispatched deputies to the Romans, who were commissioned to offer the surrender of the castle, on the condition that Eleazar's life and liberty should be granted him, and that the garrison should be permitted to dispose of themselves as they thought proper.

Baffus readily consented to these terms: but the people in the lower town, enraged to think that they had not been consulted before the agreement was made, determined to secure themselves by privately retreating in the night. Those who were in the castle gave notice of this to Baffus, as soon as the gates were opened; partly left themselves should be suspected to have been concerned in the plot, and partly through envy of their associates. Hereupon Baffus attacked them: but the most gallant of those who first got out made their escape; while the rest, in number no less than one thousand seven hundred, were slain, and their wives and children made slaves. Notwithstanding the above-mentioned circumstance, Baffus gave Eleazar his liberty, and dismissed the garrison, agreeable to his contract.

C H A P. XXVI.

A number of Jews attacked, in the forest of Jardes, by Baffus, who slays three thousand of them. A poll-tax ordered to be paid by the Jews.

The transactions above-mentioned being at an end, and Baffus having received information that great numbers of the Jews who had effected their escape during the sieges of Jerusalem and Machæras, had assembled together, and retired to the forest of Jardes, he marched with his army immediately to that place; and on his arrival, found that the intelligence which had been brought him was true: wherefore he issued orders that his cavalry should instantly surround the whole wood; which were so punctually obeyed that not a single Jew could make his escape. In the mean time the infantry were employed to cut down the trees and bushes which formed those thickets under which the Jews had taken shelter; so that by this means they were deprived of all possibility of concealment, and had no hopes of safety but in cutting their way through the forces of the enemy. Being reduced to the alternative of perishing, or taking this desperate step, they united in a body, and made a violent attack on those who surrounded them, who received the assault with the utmost bravery. In a word, the rashness excited by despair on one side, and determined courage on the other, combined to render
der the engagement equally obstinate and violent. In the end, however, the Romans obtained the advantage, with the loss of only twelve men slain, and a small number wounded; whereas every man of the Jews was killed in the action, amounting, in the whole, to the number of three thousand. Among these was the commander in chief, named Judas, the son of Jair, of whom mention has been made in a former part of this work. This Judas was an officer during the siege of Jerusalem, from whence he effectcd his escape through a subterraneous passage.

At this juncture the emperor sent a letter to his officer Tiberius Maximus, commissioning him to expose the lands of the Jews to sale, and declaring that he would not rebuild any of their cities, but seize them all to his own use. Tiberius was directed to leave eight hundred soldiers in Emmaus, which is situated about sixty furlongs from Jerusalem. The emperor likewise issued orders that the Jews should pay a poll-tax of two drachmas annually; and this money was to be paid into the capitol, as similar taxes had been formerly paid at the temple. Thus deplorably unfortunate was the state of the Jews at the period of which I am writing.

**C H A P. XXVII.**

The misfortunes of Antiochus, king of Comagene, who is represented by Ceffennius as an enemy to Vespasian. Ceffennius makes an incursion into Comagene. Antiochus determines not to return any act of hostility: but the Romans are encountered by his sons Epiphanes and Callicinus. Antiochus retreating to Cilicia, his sons are left to consult their own safety. They are generously received by Vologessus. Antiochus ordered to be sent prisoner to Rome by Ceffennius; but set at liberty, and treated with great liberality by Vespasian. Antiochus and his two sons conducted to Rome, where they receive the honors due to their rank. A number of confederate Scythians invade Media, and possess themselves of immense property. Twi-dates effects a singular escape.

In the fourth year of the reign of the emperor Vespasian it happened that Antiochus, king of Comagene, and all his family, were involved in very considerable difficulties, which took rise from the following circumstance. Ceffennius Petus, who was at that time governor of Syria, sent an express to the emperor, informing him that Antiochus and his son Epiphanes, being determined to renounce their allegiance to the Romans, were in actual treaty with the king of Parthia: he therefore represented the necessity of putting a stop to the measure by an immediate interposition. Those who heard of this information entertained great doubts of its being founded in fact: but, as the two kings above-mentioned were near neighbours, it would have been imprudent in Vespasian to have slighted the advice: and the danger was considerably encreased by Samofata, the capital city of Comagene, being situated almost on the banks of the Euphrates; so that the Parthians, could pass and repass at their pleasure, and be at all times secure of a safe retreat.

Whe-
Whether the above-mentioned intelligence was well founded or not, Vespasian paid so much regard to it, that he left Cæcennius to act as he thought proper, directing that his own judgment should be the rule of his conduct in the affair. Immediately hereupon Cæcennius began to exercise his authority: for calling to his assistance Aristobulus, king of Chalcis, and Sohemus, king of Emea, he made an incursion into Comagene, with the sixth legion, and several detachments of his cavalry and infantry, to the utter astonishment of Antiochus and his adherents, who had not the least suspicion of such an invasion. His entrance, therefore, met with no kind of opposition, for the inhabitants were wholly unprovided with means to repel the attack. It is not in the power of language to describe how much Antiochus was surprised on receiving intelligence of this incursion; for he had not entertained the slightest idea of forfeiting his good faith with the Romans.

In this extremity he came to the resolution of abandoning his kingdom just in its present situation, and of taking with him his wife and children; which he thought would afford a full proof of his innocence, and that he had no intention of departing from his allegiance. Thus resolved, he retired to a plain at the distance of about one hundred and thirty furlongs from the city, where he encamped. In the interim Cæcennius sent a number of soldiers to take possession of, and keep garrison in Samosata; and marched in person, accompanied by other forces, in pursuit of Antiochus, who could not be induced to take any violent measures to the prejudice of the Romans, notwithstanding all these aggravations. In a word, he did nothing else than lament his misfortunes, and form the resolution of submitting to them with all the fortitude in his power.

However, Epiphanes and Callinicus, the sons of Antiochus, being in the prime of youth, and celebrated for their military skill and courage, thought they were bound in honor to have recourse to arms: wherefore they mustered all the forces in their power, and gave battle to the Romans. The battle continued the whole day, and the young princes sustained very little loss: a proof that their conduct was equal to their courage.

Though the issue of this day's contest was greatly in favor of Antiochus; yet he still held his former resolution of retiring; wherefore he departed with his wife and daughters into Cilicia: and this resolute determination, arising from a principle of integrity, and a sense of conscious innocence, afflicted his soldiers in the highest degree: they were almost abandoned to despair, on observing the despair of the king; and dreaded the thought of deserting to the Romans, and leaving their prince in such distress. With regard to Epiphanes and Callinicus, it became them to consult their own security: wherefore they took with them eight select friends, and all of them being well mounted, they crost the river Euphrates, into the dominions of Vogoges, king of Parthia: and, on their arrival, this prince gave a proof of the magnanimity of his mind, not by treating them as vagabonds, but with all those marks of distinction and respect which their high birth and rank demanded.
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS UPON

No sooner had Antiochus arrived at Tarsus in Cilicia than Cefennius dispatched an officer to apprehend him, and conduct him a prisoner to Rome: but Vespasian, having too much generosity to permit a sovereign prince to be treated in so ignominious a manner, determined rather to shew a regard to the former friendship that had subsisted between himself and Antiochus, than to take advantage of an imagined injury: he therefore sent orders that his chains should be taken off; that his journey to Rome should be delayed; and that he should remain some time at Lacedæmon; at which last place he furnished him with an ample supply of money, that he might be enabled to support the dignity of his rank.

The brothers who had been in great fear and anxiety on the account of their father, were not only relieved from their apprehensions, by this liberal behaviour towards Antiochus; but likewise entertained hopes that they might be themselves reconciled to the emperor; and in these hopes they were encouraged by the intercession of Vologeses, who solicited the permission of Vespasian for their return to Rome: for though they had no reason to be uneasy in their present situation, yet they were anxious to live within the pale of the empire. In a word, they went to Rome; and soon after their arrival their father was conducted thither; and they were all entertained in a manner expressive of the highest esteem and regard.

A number of the people formerly called Scythians, but who were at this period known by the name of Olanes, and resided (as hath been heretofore observed), near the river Tanais, and the lake of Maeotis, confederated with the king of Hyrcania to invade and lay waste the country of Media. Now this king was master of the only passage into that country; and it is said that Alexander had so contrived, that this passage should be shut up with iron gates: but the passage being now laid open, and no suspicion arising of what would happen, no resistance could be made, and the invaders took possession of the place, where, in cattle and other effects, they possessed themselves of immense property. This incursion so terrified Pacorus, at that time king of the country, that he left his possessions to the mercy of the invaders, and flying for refuge among the rocks, he at length redeemed his wife and concubines at the expense of a hundred talents.

The enemy now continued to press forward, ravaging and destroying through the whole course of their progress, without meeting with any opposition, till they came to the confines of Armenia, which was at that time governed by a king named Tiridates. In consequence of this, Tiridates advanced and attacked them, and had a narrow escape from being taken prisoner; for during the battle the noose of a halter was thrown over his head, and his opponents were just on the point of drawing him away, when he had the presence of mind to cut the rope with his sword, by which he effectuated his escape. The invaders met with such success in this engagement that they became more violent and blood-thirsty than before; and were so encouraged in their depredations that destruction marked their steps; they depopulated the country; and took away with them a great booty in cattle, and an incredible number of prisoners.

C H A P.
The castle of Masada is governed by Eleazar. The Jews never so abandoned as at this period. The Sicarii set the example of wickedness, but are exceeded by John of Giscala. Character of Simon, son of Gioros. The savage inhumanity of the Huns. The extreme wickedness of the Zealotes. The Sicarii in garrison in Masada. The place is besieged by Silva. Description of the natural and artificial advantages of Masada. Silva advances with machines, and gets possession of the rock named Leuce; but the engines not succeeding, he sets fire to a wall composed chiefly of timber. Eleazar pronounces an oration on the contempt of death, and the immortality of the soul. His reflections on the philosophers and Brachmans of India: recital of particular sufferings of the Jews: he deems death more desirable than life. The Jews join in a resolution not to survive their laws and liberties. They fix on a method of carrying this resolution into execution. On the following day the Romans proceed to the attack, but find that the Jews had slain each other, and that the place was besmeared with dead bodies.

The death of Bussus, which happened in Judæa, made room for the advancement of Flavius Silva, who succeeded to his government. Silva being informed that all the country was in due subjection, one castle only excepted, he collected all the forces he was able, with a determination to make an attack on it. The name of this castle was Masada, and it was under the command of Eleazar, the leader of the Sicarii, who had obtained possession of this fortress. Eleazar was the lineal descendant of Judas, who, at the time that Cyrenius discharged the office of censor in Judæa, distinguished himself by opposing the Jews entering their names on the roll, as hath been mentioned in a former part of this work.

Now the Sicarii were the determined enemies of all those who exhibited any proofs of their friendship to the Romans: and, in fact, they treated them like enemies: for they robbed them of their effects, drove away their cattle, and burnt their houses. Their argument was, that those men were to be considered as strangers and enemies, who would rather resign their liberties than contend for them, and choose a state of slavery rather than freedom, though freedom is a blessing above all price: they said that persons of such a disposition had better join the Romans without any farther ceremony. This, however, was a kind of language used only to disguise the barbarity and avariciousness of their dispositions; as evidently appeared in the sequel: for when those very men, who had been thus branded as traitors to their country, afterwards united in the common cause against the Romans, they were treated even with more severity than before: particularly those among them who had courage and resolution to oppose the hypocrisy and base practices of the Sicarii.

Since the commencement of the world there never was a period when the Jews were so totally abandoned to all kinds of vice as at present. They had practiced such variety of wickedness that invention itself was lost in the contrivance.
trivance of new crimes. Corruption stalked at large, both in public and private: there appeared to be a harmony of evil; and if there was any emulation, it was who should be guilty of the most atrocious acts of iniquity. Persons in power oppressed the vulgar by every extravagant exertion of their authority; while the common people, in return, plundered them of their effects as often as they could find an opportunity.

This violent and licentious course of proceeding was first encouraged by the Sicarii, who, being determined on doing all the mischief that lay within their power, lost no opportunity either by word or deed, of exciting others to acts of desperation. However, all that they did, or caused to be done, fell far short of the outrageous cruelties of John of Gischala, who ordered many of the citizens to be put to death, as if they had been enemies, merely because they recommended such modes of proceeding as would tend to the advantage of the public: in fact, he committed every possible outrage on his unhappy countrymen. And indeed what better could be expected from a man who made no scruple of confciencce of affronting even the Deity? And this he did, by the use of meats that were forbidden; by abandoning the laws and customs of our ancestors; and by renouncing the purity of his original profession. It is therefore not in the least surprising, that a man who could despise his God, should behave with inhumanity to his neighbours.

Simon, the son of Gioras, was not less distinguished by every species of vice that could disgrace the name of a man: he inflicted the most horrid barbarities on those very persons who had raised him to power; who, having been born freemen, submitted to the ignominy of becoming his slaves. In a word, the men above-mentioned were lost to all those affections arising from the ties of consanguinity, and dead to every sentiment of friendship. Their conduct was the most cruel to those who had a prior right to their compassion; and they disdained to exercise their tyranny over strangers, while they had, what they thought, a more agreeable opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on their own friends and countrymen. Such was the unfeeling disposition of their minds.

Nor were the crimes of the Idumeans much less atrocious. These execrable villains affinitated the high-priests, in order, as far as lay in their power, to strike at the very root of religion: they likewise confounded all good management in the city, destroyed even the appearance of justice and civil government, and established tyranny and oppression in their stead. Those who were called Zelotes were particularly active in promoting the confusions above-mentioned; and indeed their conduct gave them a just title to their name; for they were the most violent patrons and promoters of vice that ever existed, at the same time pretending to the utmost degree of virtue, and the most contemptuous piety. In fact, they imposed on all that listened to their doctrines, making evil appear as good, and good as evil.

In the end, however, the righteous vengeance of Heaven overtook, and punished their crimes; for they suffered every calamity that human nature is capable of enduring; and these calamities continued during the whole
of course of their lives. It may possibly be said that the punishment they sustained was inadequate to the crimes they had committed; and that no punishment could equal their offences: but as I do not intend to enter into the history of those unhappy wretches who suffered by the vices of these monsters of iniquity, I shall here resume the thread of my narrative.

The Roman general Silva now marched to lay siege to Maccaba, in which was a garrison of the Sicarii, commanded by Eleazar, who was the chief of the people bearing that name. Silva soon possessed himself of the adjacent country, and with very little difficulty: he then disposed of his troops in the most commodious manner possible, and ran up a wall round the castle, at once to secure his soldiers, and to prevent the escape of the enemy. He now looked out for a place the most convenient for the station of his camp, which he found to be on the spot where the adjacent mountain communicated with the rock on which the castle stood. One great inconvenience now attended Silva; for the provisions with which his army was supplied by the Jews were brought from a very great distance; and, as there was no fountain near the place, the procuring of water was likewise attended with very great difficulty.

As soon as the above-mentioned disposition of affairs had taken place, Silva prepared to commence the siege, which, as will appear from the situation of the castle, was likely to cost much time, and to be attended with great difficulty. This castle is situated on a large and high rock, which is surrounded by deep and craggy precipices. Those who stand at the top cannot see the bottom, on account of the higher rocks hanging over those that are beneath. Even the beasts cannot climb this rock, so difficult is the access, except by two passages, one of which is from the east side, from the lake Asphaltitis, and the other from the west side; the former being much more dangerous than the latter. One of these passages bears the name of the Snake, from the number of turnings that there are in the ascent: for in many parts of it the stones intersect each other, that passengers are obliged to go backwards and forwards to pass them: and the road is so narrow that the traveller cannot keep both his feet on the ground at the same time. Exclusive of all this, one false step would plunge a man to the bottom of a most horrid precipice. This road is deemed thirty furlongs from the bottom to the top of the mountain; and on this eminence there is a plain, on which the high priest Jonathan caused a castle to be built, to which he gave the name of Maccaba; and claimed the honor of being the founder of this castle, which was afterwards fortified and adorned, with immense labour, and at a large expense, by Herod the great: a wall being also built round it by Herod, eight cubits in breadth, and twelve in height, with white stones of considerable value. Herod likewise caused seven and twenty turrets, each of fifty cubits high, to be erected; and made a communication between these turrets and the buildings on the interior side of the wall. The nature of the soil of the plain being found to be extremely rich, Herod gave orders that it should be well cultivated, with a view that those who might, in future times, have occasion to take refuge in the castle, might be certain of
of being supplied with the necessaries of life. Within the limits of the castle he caused a sumptuous and magnificent palace to be erected for his own accommodation. The entrance of this palace was situated so as to front the north-west: the walls of it were of great strength, and remarkably high; and at each of the four corners was a tower, of the height of sixty cubits. The variety, decorations, ornaments, richness and splendor of the several apartments, baths, and galleries exceed all description. The whole was supported with pillars, each of one entire stone, and so disposed, as to give proof of the strength of the structure, and the judgment of the architect. The pavement and the walls were diversified with stones of a variety of colours. A great number of large cisterns, hewed out of the rock, for the preservation of water, were dispersed in the different quarters of the palace to the castle, which was quite invisible from the outside; and, as hath been heretofore observed, the other passage was rendered altogether impassable: and with regard to the western passage, it was totally blocked up by a tower that was erected in the narrowest part of it, at about the distance of a thousand cubits from the castle. This will serve to shew how strongly the place was fortified by art as well as nature; and how difficult the conquest of it must have been, even with the slightest opposition.

Thus fortified, this castle had the appearance of being proof not only against force; but was unlikely to be subdued by famine; for, when it was surprized by Eleazar and the Sicarii, there were found in it great treasures of corn, wine, oil, pulse, dates, &c. equal to the consumption of many years; and these articles were as fresh as if they had been but newly deposited, though they had been treasured up a hundred years. Perhaps this circumstance might be owing to the extreme purity, and salubrious quality of the air in so elevated a situation.

Agreeable to the king's order there was likewise laid up a magazine of various kinds of arms for the accommodation of ten thousand men; and also an immense quantity of unwrought iron, brasses, lead, and other articles, which it is presumed, were intended for some capital enterprize.

Tradition has handed down to us a report that Herod provided this castle for a retreat, in case of necessity, from two evils which he thought threatened him: the one was that his subjects might depose him, and restore the Hasmonean family to the throne: but the other was an affair of which there was much greater danger: for Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, had formed a design against the life of Herod, of which she made little secret. In several conversations which she had with Anthony on this subject, she avowed her design, and repeatedly urged him to give private orders for the destruction of Herod, and to permit her to govern the Jews in his stead, in the character of queen. Considering the passion that Anthony entertained for Cleopatra, it is astonishing that he denied her request. Be this as it may, however, Herod, apprehensive of the danger, fortified Masada so strongly that there could be scarcely a hope of conquering it; and he knew that without possession of it, the Jews could never be wholly subjected to the Romans.

I have already observed that the Jews were now so closely pent up within the walls of Masada, that it was utterly impossible that they should effect an
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an escape; whereupon Silva advanced with his machines, to the only place which he could fill up, in order to raise a mount. Beyond the tower which blocked up the western paffage to the palace and castle, there was a large rock, which bore the name of Leuce: this rock was larger than that on which the castle of Maffada stood, but not so high by about three hundred cubits. Silva had no sooner taken possession of this rock, than he issued orders to his soldiers to raise a mount upon it; and they were so diligent in this business that they soon got it up to the height of two hundred cubits; but finding that it was not of sufficient strength to support the machines, they raised on it a kind of platform, composed of large stones, fifty cubits in height, and of the same breadth. On this platform they built a tower of the height of sixty cubits, which they fortified with iron. Exclusive of their common machines, they had another kind, which had been invented by Vespasian, and were afterwards improved by Titus.

From the tower above-mentioned the Romans assailed the besieged with such impetuous showers of stones and flights of arrows, that they were afraid to appear on the walls. In the interim Silva directed his battering-rams against the wall, till at length it was damaged in some places. In consequence hereof the Sicarii instantly ran up another wall behind it, which was composed of such materials as to deaden the stroke, and sustain no kind of damage. This wall was built in the following manner. A row of large pieces of timber was mortised into another of equal size, and a space was left between them equal to the thickness of the wall. This space was filled with the earth of the nature of clay, and boards were nailed across the frame, to prevent the earth from falling. Thus prepared, it was as strong as the wall of a house; and the more violently it was battered the stronger it became, the earth being more firmly closed by each stroke it received.

Silva finding that the battering with his machines did not produce the consequence he expected, ordered his soldiers to provide themselves with firebrands to destroy the works of the enemy. The new wall being hollow, and chiefly composed of timber-work, it immediately took fire, and the flames raged with the utmost violence: but the wind being at north, it drove the fire with such rapidity on the Romans, that they expected the almost instant destruction of their machines: but, just at this juncture, the wind veered to the south, and beat so violently on the wall, that the whole of it was in flames in a moment. The Romans, grateful for this providential stroke in their favour, returned to their camp, full of spirits, and with a fixed determination to attack the enemy by break of day on the following morning; and, in the mean time, to place strong guards, that their opponents might not escape in the night.

However, Eleazar had no idea of departing himself, or of permitting any of his people to evacuate the place: but as the wall was now totally consumed, and there appeared to be no longer any chance either of relief or security, it became necessary to consider how their wives and children might be most effectually preserved from the violences to be expected from the Romans, on their taking possession of the place. Having seriously reflected on this affair,
affair, Eleazar determined in his own mind that a death of glory would be greatly preferable to a life of infamy; and that the most magnanimous resolution they could form, would be to disdain the idea of surviving their liberties. His own sentiments being thus formed, he resolved to endeavour to inspire others with the same; and for that purpose he summoned a number of his friends and associates, whom he addressed to the following effect.

"It has been, my friends, the usual custom with the people of our nation, to deny the authority of every other lord than the great sovereign of the universe, the eternal God; and this not with particular exception to the Romans, or any other people. The period hastily advances when we should demonstrate our sincerity by our conduct: wherefore let us act like men of resolution. Till this time we have run every risk in preservation of our freedom: but we must now expect thralldom and tormenting punishments if the enemy take us alive; since we first departed from their dominion, and have been the last to resist them. This being the case, we may deem it a favour if we are permitted to choose the death we would die; a favour that has been refused to many of our people. We shall all be made slaves to-morrow, if we obtain not our liberty this night: but this we may do in a way that our enemies cannot prevent. The utmost of their ambition is to make us prisoners; and it is in vain for us to struggle against them any longer. It is possible something effectual might have been done, if the affurors of our liberties had properly reflected on our situation: they would have seen that we could not have suffered from our enemies, and from our internal divisions; nor would our principal people have been destroyed, and our sacred city fallen a sacrifice to fire and sword, if God had not abandoned us, though we were formerly his chosen people. How happens it now that we alone, of all our people, contend for our liberties, as if we were innocent of the crimes in which we have instigated others? You may now be convinced of the vanity of your hopes, and the extremity of your disappointments. We have here a fortress that has been deemed impregnable, with a great number of arms, and ample provisions for our support: but these avail nothing, since Providence hath decreed our destruction. The wind and the fire that combined to destroy our new wall furnish a proof of the justice of this observation: for you cannot think but that the sudden turning of this wind was intended as a punishment of the crimes of which we have been guilty towards each other. Admitting, then, that our punishment is at once just and inevitable, what remains but that we rather execute justice on ourselves, than leave it to the victorious Romans to pour down on us the vengeance of Heaven; thus acting, we should secure the honor of our wives, and protect our children from slavery. Let us copy the magnanimity of the Romans, make our own terms, and die free. But let us first set fire to the castle, and melt down our gold and silver: and thus the Romans, neither taking us prisoners, nor obtaining our treasure, will even regret the possession of the place. I advise, however, that we leave the necessaries of life undestroyed; to serve as a proof that we were not driven
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"driven to this procedure by famine, but maintained our first resolution of "dying rather than submitting to slavery."

This speech of Eleazar was received in a very different manner by his different auditors; some of whom were charmed with his proposal, and ready to execute it, deeming death an object of desire in their present situation; while others, from the tenderness of their nature, were equally terrified at the thought of destroying their friends, or becoming their own executioners. They regarded each other with looks of the utmost anxiety, while their flowing tears testified the sentiments of their minds. Eleazar was greatly chagrined at what he deemed a weakness that degraded the dignity of his plan, and might tempt those who had appeared to be determined to abandon their resolutions. He therefore pursued his plan of exhorting the people; but in a different manner: for he now discoursed on the immortality of the soul; and addressing himself particularly, and with the utmost earnestness, to those who were weeping, he spoke to the following effect:

"I find that I have been greatly mistaken in the opinion that I had form-
"ed, that brave men would rather lose their lives than their liberties. In "you, at least, have I been mistaken, since you fear to die, to extricate "yourselves from a calamity that is worse than death; and this too, while "you are so situated that delay cannot be admitted, nor have you time to "confer on your affairs. It is an opinion confirmed by all antiquity; by "the sacred scriptures; by the doctrine and practice of our ancestors, and "the laws and customs of our country, that death renders a man abundant-
"ly more happy than life. It is death that gives freedom to the soul, and "permits it to range through eternal regions of purity and bliss. But "while the soul is in conjunction with the body, it partakes of all the evils "incident thereto; its powers are in a great degree suspended, as there can "be no affinity between divine and mortal natures. It is true that much is "effected by the secret conjunction and operation of soul and body; for the "latter is but the instrument of the former. But when the soul is once dis-
"charged of the incumbrance that oppresses it, and regains its proper sta-
tion, it enjoys the most unbounded liberty; a liberty that is as invisible to "human eyes as the Deity himself: and the soul is likewise invisible while "connected with the body. It enters us unfeen, and departs in the same "manner. It causes various changes in the body, though incorruptible in "itself: it gives life and vigour as long as it is present, but death immedi-
ately follows its departure. The soul, however, at all times retains its "immortality. When the body rests from its labours in sleep, the soul en-
joys the most perfect and delightful freedom. All this evidently proves "that the felicity of the soul is centered within itself, and that it has "some kind of communication with the Deity, in the knowledge of future "events. It is absurd that any man should fear death who is not adverse to "repose. What man in his senses would abridge any part of his eternal "happiness, for the sake of a short residence in this world? The laws and "institutions of our nation, my brethren, have taught us not only to de-
"spite the fear of death, but to endeavour to inspire others with the same
degree of magnanimity.

"On this subject it cannot, surely, be necessary that I should refer to the
practice of strangers, or I might instance the conduct of the Indian philo-
sophers and Brackmans, who were distinguished by their wisdom and vir-
tue. These people deemed life a burden that must necessarily be borne;
though they were anxious to be rid of the incumbrance: not because they
felt any singular uneasiness, pain, or inconvenience in this life; but be-
cause they looked forward to that life of immortality in which the happi-
ness of the blessed should be eternal. These people take a solemn farewell
of their friends, and speak with pleasure of the country to which they are
travelling. No one presumes to offer any objections to their design, but
wishing them the perfection of happiness, send messages to their acquaint-
ance in the other world, in the full confidence that they will be delivered.
Those who are about to depart, having received the necessary instruc-
tions, commit their bodies to the fire, and are consumed, amidst the applauses
and acclamations of the surrounding multitude: for among these people it
is customary for friends to follow each other to death with more pleasure
than they would attend them on a common journey; rejoicing that they
are about to enter on a state of eternal bliss, and only commiserating the
fate of those who are to remain in this world.

"Ought not we then to blush at the idea of being excelled by the Indians
in an affair of such great consequence, and of scandalizing the laws and
religion of our ancillors by the pusillanimity of our dispositions? Let us
suppose, for the sake of argument, that we had been otherwise instructed
from our infancy, and had been taught to think the present life the su-
preme blessing, and death the greatest misfortune of human nature; yet,
one would imagine that the necessity of the case, and the will of Heaven
would determine us how to act on this occasion. It appears that the ordi-
nations of a Divine Providence have decreed that we should be now pu-
nished with the loss of life, for our former abuse of it: and it is not to the
benevolence of the Romans, nor to our own valour, that we are to ascribe
our being preserved to the present moment. It appeared that the Romans
conquered us; but this circumstance evidently arose from the intervention
of a superior power. The Romans do not appear to have interfered in
the least in that destructive massacre at Caesarea, when the citizens of that
place destroyed every man, woman and child of the Jews on the sabbath-
day, though there were no grounds to think that a conspiracy subsisted,
nor was any resistance made. The Romans have never considered the Jews
as their enemies, but when they departed from their obedience. It may
be said that an enmity subsisted between the citizens of Caesarea and the
Jews: and that the former chose to revenge themselves in the manner a-
bove-mentioned. Allowing this, how are we to account for the Scytho-
politians joining the Greeks against us, rather than the Romans who were
then our friends? In consequence whereof the Scythopolitans and their
families were utterly destroyed. This, in fact, was the manner in which
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"they expressed their gratitude; we had heretofore rescued them from dis-
tress, and they reduced us to a similar extremity.

"To enumerate many particular instances would be tedious. You are
not ignorant that we have been better treated by the Romans, than we
have been by the inhabitants of any one city of Syria. But let me men-
tion the horrid massacre at Damascus, where no less than ten thousand
Jews, with their wives and children, were put to death, without even the
shadow of a pretence for such an inhuman sacrifice: and it is calculated
that at least sixty thousand Jews were destroyed in ΑΕgypt. You may
argue that, in a foreign country, where they had no friends to support
them, this is not to be wondered at. Let us therefore consider the situa-
tion of ourselves at home. We have not wanted courage to assert our li-
 liberties in opposition to the Romans; we have had a sufficient supply of
men and arms; our cities and fortresses were strong; and we were in all
respects so provided as to inspire us with reasonable hopes of suscess. But
what has been the issue, what are the fruits of all our preparations, but
confusion and destruction? We have lost all the mighty stores of which
we had boasted, and our losses has contributed only to aggrandize the
enemy.

"Happy indeed are those who fell gloriously, with their swords in their
hands, gallantly fighting in defence of those liberties which they lost but
with their lives: Happy indeed! in comparison with us who survyve, to
be disposed of as our different fates shall determine; some to be tortured;
others burnt; others imprisoned; some to be reserved for public specta-
cles; some for the combat; others to be whipped; and others again de-
voured by wild beasts. What man of a common spirit can refuse to sub-
mit to death, rather than endure life under such an accumulated load of
miser! Yet there are among us those who are more contemptibly mifer-
able than all the rest; which are those that behold the approach of wretched-
cness in such a variety of forms; yet have not the courage to be their
own executioners.

"I besech you, my friends, to recollect yourselves for a moment. Re-
fect on the fate of your distinguishing metropolis; your walls, fortifica-
tions, castles and towers; your large magazines and treasuries, and your
immense armies. Your sacred temple is likewise destroyed, which you
called the house of God. The whole is entirely demolished, nothing re-
mainning but the ruins, which serve as a camp for the conquerors; while
a few ancient men lament the destruction of the temple, and some unfor-
tunate women wait upon the soldiers.

"After all that I have said, will any one who is not desitute of the com-
mon spirit of a man with to view the rising of another fun? Nay, would
he wish it, even if he might live in safety? Can any one have so little re-
gard to his country; so mean, so contracted a soul, as not to regret that
he has survived to behold this fatal day? Happy would it have been for
us if we had been all sacrificed, rather than to have witnessed this sacri-
legious destruction; and to have beheld Jerusalem itself become a pile of
ruins,
ruins. While hope remained, however; our courage did not fail, and we despaired not of a happy change in our affairs. But as we have now no farther reason to expect so auspicious a circumstance, and as we are urged by an invincible necessity to the step we ought now to take, it becomes us to have some regard to our wives, our children, and ourselves; and in the plan of our proceeding we should be expeditious, while the means are yet in our power. All men are equally destined to death; and the same fate attends the coward as the brave. Can we think of submitting to the indignity of slavery; can we behold our wives dishonoured, and our children enslaved? Nature has not made this necessary; and if the evil arises, it must be from the force of cowardice, and the fear of dying when we have it in our power. We had courage to abandon the Romans; to defy those who called themselves our masters; to reject their offered terms of quarter and pardon, and to refuse an indemnity when they besought us to accept of it. Will any one think that these circumstances will be forgotten, if they should take us prisoners?

It is a melancholy reflection to consider the situation of our old people or our youth when we are subjected: the former will die beneath their torments, and the latter languish under them while strength remains. The husband must expect to be an eye-witness of the dishonour of his wife, and the parent to behold his children begging for relief from their chains. Yet, while freedom is our own, and we are in possession of our swords, let us make a determined use of them to preserve our liberties. Let us die freemen, gloriously surrounded by our wives and children. This event is wished for even by themselves: our laws require the sacrifice; and the decrees of Providence have rendered it necessary. Expedition, in this case, must be used; and we shall obtain eternal renown by snatching the prize from the hands of our enemies, and leaving them nothing to triumph over but the bodies of those who dared to be their own executioners.

Thus far had Eleazar spoken, and would have proceeded, but that the people interrupted him with the warmest expressions of their readiness to adopt the plan he had recommended, each being ambitious to excel the other in giving this distinguishing proof of his wisdom and courage: thus passionately were these people devoted to the destruction of themselves and their families! It was very extraordinary that, when they came to give proof of their resolution, not a man of them failed in the arduous trial. They retained their kindest affections for each other to the last moment, conceiving that they could not render a more acceptable office, or give a more perfect proof of their regard. While they embraced their wives and children for the last time, they wept over, and stabbed them in the same moment; rejoicing, however, that this work was not left to be performed by their enemies. They considered the necessity of the action as their excuse, and reflected that they only destroyed their dearest friends to prevent their falling by the hands of the Romans. In a word, there was not one man who wanted the necessary courage on the occasion, and they killed their dearest
dearest friends and relations without distinction: and they thought the de-
struction of their wives and children far preferable to the evils to which
they would otherwise be exposed.

Those who had been the principal agents in the slaughter above-men-
tioned, penetrated as they were with grief for the necessity that had occasioned
it, resolved not to survive those they had slain, and immediately collecting
all their effects together, they set them on fire. This being done, they cast
lots for the selection of ten men out of their number to destroy the rest: and
these being chosen, the devoted victims embraced the bodies of their de-
ceased friends, and then ranging themselves near them, cheerfully resigned
themselves to the hands of the executioners. When these ten men had dis-
charged the disagreeable task they had undertaken, they again cast lots
which of the ten should kill the other nine, having previously agreed that
the man to whose lot it might fall, should sacrifice himself on the bodies of
his companions; so great was the trust that these people reposed in each
other. The nine devoted victims died with the same resolution as their
brethren had done; and the surviving man, having surveyed the bodies,
and found that they were all absolutely dead, threw himself on his sword
among his companions, but not till he had first set fire to the palace.

This melancholy scene, which happened on the fifteenth day of the
month Xanthicus, was now concluded; and the deceased had imagined
that not a single Jew would fall into the hands of the Romans: but it after-
wards appeared that an old woman, and another woman who was related to
Eleazar, together with five children, had escaped the general massacre, by
concealing themselves in a common sewer. Including women and children,
no less than nine hundred and sixty persons were slain on this occasion.

On the dawn of the following morning the Romans prepared their scaling-
ladders, in order to make an attack: but they were astounded in the highest
degree on not hearing any noise but the crackling of the flames, and were
totally at a loss what conjecture to form. On this they gave a loud shout,
(such as is customary when a battery is played off), in expectation of re-
ceiving an answer. This noise alarmed the women in their place of retreat,
who immediately coming out, related the truth to the Romans, as it really
had happened. The story, however, appeared so extraordinary that they
could not give credit to it: but they exerted themselves in extinguishing
the fire; and being employed in this service till they came to the palace,
they there found the bodies of the deceased lying in heaps. Far, however,
from exulting in the triumph of joy that might have been expected from
enemies, they united to admire the steady virtue and dignity of mind with
which the Jews had been inspired, and wondered at that generous contempt
of death by which such numbers had been bound in one solemn compact.
The fadious disposition of the Sicarii. The Jews publicly arraign these people as the authors of all their misfortunes. None of the Sicarii will acknowledge the authority of the emperor, even for the preservation of their lives.

WHEN the Roman general Silva had made a compleat conquest of Maffada, he settled a garrison in the place, and then proceeded with his army to Cæarea, leaving the country behind him in a state of the most perfect tranquillity. By this time the continuance and expense of the war had so reduced and broken the spirits of the Jews of Judæa, that no such thing as opposition was to be heard of in all that district; yet the consequence of the war was felt as far as Alexandria in Egypt, where a number of the Jews were put to death. It may not be improper to relate something respecting this affair.

Numbers of the factious Sicarii had fled for refuge to Alexandria, where their refractory dispositions would not permit them to live at ease; but they were continually inciting the citizens to acts of disobedience, by advancing a number of arguments in defence of universal liberty, and decrying the doctrine of submission. They ascertained that the Romans were by no means their superiors, and that they would own no lord but the Sovereign of the universe. When any persons, even the most respectable, of their own profession, opposed their arguments, they did it at the hazard of their lives. Some of these they murdered; and others they induced to abandon their allegiance; while a third sort were tempted so to do, but in vain. These practices were carried to such a length that the principal men among them were afraid to make an example of them; but they summoned a general meeting of the Jews, in which they arraigned the rash and obstinate conduct of the Sicarii, whom they represented as the great source of all their calamities. "What good purpose would be answered (said they) by obliging them to fly, with a view to secure themselves? It would be no advantage to them, and an injury to us; for the moment the Romans should be informed of such a design, they would immediately attack every one without distinction; so that the innocent would be involved in the punishment due to the guilty." For these reasons, the Jews were advised not to hold any correspondence with the Sicarii; but to consult their own safety by surrendering those villains to the Romans.

This representation so opened the eyes of the Jews to their own danger, that they made an infant attack on the Sicarii, six hundred of whom they made prisoners; while the rest fled to Egypt, Thebes and the adjacent country; but they were soon taken and brought back; on which occasion they gave evident proofs of their obstinate resolution. They bore the severest torments rather than acknowledge the authority of the emperor; nor did any of them hesitate on the part they were to act; but they all combined in sentiment with such a degree of firmness, as if they had not felt the
tures that were inflicted on them: but the most incredible part of the story is, that the boys, and even mere children, sustained their sufferings like the older people: and still not one of these people would acknowledge the authority of the emperor, notwithstanding the extremity of sufferings they endured: for instead of feeling their torments, they appeared to despise them.

C H A P. XXX.

Ptolemy is solicited by Onias to permit the Jews to build a temple, and to have the free exercise of their religion. Hereupon Ptolemy grants the request, and gives the Jews a spot of ground for the purpose. The temple is built, but afterwards riased and put up.

A L E X A N D R I A was at this time under the government of Lupus, who sent early intelligence to the emperor of the commotion above-mentioned; and the emperor being well apprized of the seditious temper of the Jews, thought it advisable to prevent their meetings and conferences, lest they should be divided into parties, and factions should ensue; wherefore he commanded Lupus to destroy the temple of the Jews in the city of Onias in Egypt; of which temple and its founder I shall now speak.

At the period of the war betwixt Antiochus, king of Syria and the Jews at Jerusalem, Onias, the son of Simon, one of the high-priests, was obliged to quit that city; whereupon he retired to Alexandria, where Ptolemy, king of Egypt, treated him in a friendly manner; partly on account of his being an enemy to Antiochus, and partly in reference to the following contract which was made between them. Onias made one request to Ptolemy, and engaged that, on condition he would comply with it, he would bring over all the Jews to his interest. Ptolemy promised his concurrence to the utmost of his power; on which Onias named his request, which was, that the Jews might be permitted to build a temple in some part of Egypt; where they might worship God, and enjoy the free exercise of their religion: and Onias displayed the advantages that would thence arise; that Antiochus would become still more obnoxious to the Jews, and Ptolemy altogether their favourite; adding, that immense numbers, tempted by the opportunity of enjoying their religious rights undisturbed, would put themselves under the protection of the latter.

This proposal proving agreeable to Ptolemy, he presented the Jews with a piece of ground which was well adapted for their intended design, situated in the district of Heliopolis, and one hundred and eighty furlongs from Memphis. On this spot Onias caused a castle to be erected, and when that was finished, he built a temple; not indeed to be compared with that at Jerusalem; though it had a tower on the same plan, sixty cubits high, and was composed of stones of an immense size. It had likewise an altar built in the same form as that at Jerusalem, and adorned with a number of valuable things which had been presented thereto: it is true that there was no candle-flick;
flick; but instead thereof there was a golden lamp of amazing brightness, which hung before the altar, suspended by a chain of gold. A wall of brick was built round this temple, the gates of which were of stone. And a large income in land and money was appropriated to its support, that the service of God might be celebrated in the most solemn and distinguished manner. Now in this procedure Onias was inspired not by mere motives of religion, or unaffected goodness of heart; but animated, in a great degree, by the enmity he bore to the Jews of Jerusalem, who had obliged him to quit that place. By the erection of this temple he hoped to entice to him many of those Jews who had abandoned him; and he was encouraged by reflecting on a prediction of the prophet Isaiah, respecting a temple to be erected in future time in Egypt, by a Jew; and on another prophecy of nine hundred and seventy years old, which would well bear a similar interpretation.

This is the history of the building of the temple: but Lupus having received the commands of the emperor, as above-mentioned, went immediately to the place, seized on a number of the valuable presents and offerings, and then shut up the temple. After the death of Lupus the government came into the hands of Paulinus, who ransacked the temple, not only making prey of everything he found therein, but threatening to punish the priests in the most exemplary manner, if they concealed a single article. This being done, he abolished all Divine worship, made fast the doors, and would not permit any person to repair thither on account of religion. This event happened at the end of three hundred and thirty three years after the temple was first built.

C H A P. XXXI.

An enthusiastic weaver, named Jonathan, seduces a number of people to follow him. The whole party routed, and most of them being taken prisoners, are sent to Catullus; but Jonathan effects his escape: however, he is at length also taken, and ingratiates himself with Catullus. The rich Jews being accused by false witnesses, no less than three thousand are put to death. Jonathan himself becomes a false witness. Joseph, the writer of this history, taken prisoner, Vespasian admits the innocence of Joseph and his companions. Jonathan burnt alive, having been first whipped. The miserable end of Catullus. Conclusion of this history.

The whole country of Cyrene now felt the ill effects of the singular in-
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case, they sent immediate intelligence thereof to Catullus, governor of the Pentapolis.

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Hereupon the governor dispatched a body of cavalry and infantry, who intercepted them, and, as they were unarmed, made an easy conquest of them. Most of them were taken prisoners, and conveyed to Catullus; but considerable numbers were killed on the spot.

However, Jonathan, the seducer of these unhappy people, effected his escape. Diligent search being made after him for a considerable time, he was at length apprehended, and sent prisoner to Catullus: but he found a method of ingratiating himself with the governor, and while he diverted the storm from falling on his own head, furnished the other with a pretence to direct it another way. This was to charge the richest Jews of the place with being the contrivers and promoters of the plot. Catullus was charmed with this scheme, however ill-founded, and reflected on it till he had in a manner declared war against the Jews in his own mind. What aggravated the wickedness of this avaricious governor was, that he not only pretended to believe the calumny, against the convictions of reason and common sense, but likewise excited the Sicarii to join their endeavours for effecting the ruin of the innocent people. There was one Alexander, a Jew, to whom Catullus had long been a determined enemy; and having instructed false witnesses to accuse this man and his wife Berenice, they were put to death. These were the first sufferers by this scheme of iniquity: but soon afterwards no less than three thousand persons shared a similar fate, at one time, through the base arts of perjury; all their crimes being that they were men of character and fortune. Catullus left their estates as a forfeit to the empire, which he thought would secure, if not justify him, in appropriating their ready money to his own use.

Catullus, being now apprehensive that the capital Jews in other parts might detect and reveal the vile plot of which he had been guilty, instructed Jonathan, and some other prisoners, to exhibit articles of complaint against such of the Jews of Rome and Alexandria, as were most distinguished for their unblemished reputation. Among the persons thus accused was Joseph, the writer of this history. Catullus now repaired to Rome, taking with him, in chains, Jonathan and the rest of his prisoners. He entertained no doubt but that all enquiry was at an end, and that every thing he had asserted would obtain full credit: but the event of the affair proved that his contrivance had not succeeded as he could have wished: for Vespasian, entertaining great suspicion, enquired diligently into the circumstances of the case, in which he was assisted by Titus, who advised him to declare the innocence of Joseph and the other persons accused. This was accordingly done, and they were set at liberty; while orders were given that Jonathan should be whipped, and then burnt alive; and this sentence was executed in its utmost rigour.

Vespasian and Titus were so merciful to Catullus, that, for the present they permitted him to escape unpunished: but soon after this event he was attacked with a variety of diseases. His limbs were filled with pain, and his bowels with tormenting gripes: but the aggravated horrors of his mind
greatly exceeded his bodily sufferings. He was haunted by the ghosts of those he had murdered, beheld their apparitions, and heard their outcries. He would frequently start from his bed, and shriek out, as if he were burnt in the fire, or tortured on the rack. His torments increased, till at length his bowels putrefied, and fell from his body. Thus ended the life of this wicked man, who fell an exemplary sacrifice to the rigour of Divine vengeance.

Thus concludes this history of the Wars of the Jews and Romans, which I have endeavoured to execute in a candid and faithful manner, for the information of those who choose to be acquainted with so interesting a series of events. The reader must judge how far I have succeeded as to the manner in which I have conducted the narrative: but as to the truth of the relation, I solemnly declare that I have, to the best of my abilities, most rigidly adhered thereto, in every page of the preceding work.

**End of the Wars of the Jews.**
PHILO's EMBASSY

to the

EMPEROR CAIUS CALIGULA,

from the

Jews of ALEXANDRIA.
WILL the time never arrive when the experience and knowledge of age will supercede the folly of youth! When we have arrived to the age of fourscore, and our heads are overspread with grey hairs, shall we still continue to act like children! What can be more absurd than to place a dependance on fortune, which is subject to continual variation and uncertainty, and neglect the dictates of reasonable nature, which is fixed in absolute immutability? Is it not to invert and confound the just order and value of things to consider those as certainties which are every moment liable to change, and neglect those which in their nature are incapable of alteration and decay. The reason of this error is, that present objects strike men of weak discernment, whose sphere of observation is too contracted to reach those at a distance: and people of this character depend more on the evidence of the senses, however deceiving, than on the operations of judgment: but the reasoning faculties must be employed to form ideas respecting future events and the nature of invisible things. The eye of the soul, however, is by far more penetrating and quick than that of the body, excepting when its power is destroyed by an intemperate indulgence of luxury in eating and drinking, or, which indeed may be justly considered as the greatest
great misfortune, by ignorance and stupidity, naturally proceeding from the neglect of rousing the mental faculties from a state of shameful inactivity.

So numerous and wonderful have been the events that have occurred in our own days that it is unnecessary to recur to the history of ancient times to prove the existence of an over-ruling Providence, which protects all people of virtue and piety, but particularly those who adore and serve the Almighty with due humility and veneration. The Chaldeans call such people Israelites, signifying that they are the beholders of the Lord; which is a blessing infinitely superior to all the riches of the universe.

If we are inspired with awe, and disposed to a modest and respectful deportment, by the presence of a father, a governor, or a preceptor, what glorious advantages may we not promise to ourselves in exalting our imaginations beyond all earthly creatures, and familiarizing our souls to the contemplation of an uncreated Being in the person of the Almighty, whose blessedness, beauty and goodness infinitely transcend every idea we can form of perfection. It is not possible for words to give an adequate description of the Supreme Being, who is so far above our weak conception that, if we advance, by the scale of his attributes, with a view to search into the nature of the Great Origin of things, the mystery still appears utterly incomprehensible. If the sentiments of the whole creation were to be declared by one tongue no just explanation could be given of his omnipotence manifested in the formation of the world; his supreme dignity and providential wisdom, by which it is governed; and his unerring justice in the distribution of punishments and rewards. The Divine vengeance is even to be accounted among the things which operate to the benefit of mankind; for it affords us a consciousness of our delinquency, and deters us from regulating our conduct in compliance with wicked examples.
PHILO'S EMBASSY

TO THE

EMPEROR CAIUS CALIGULA.

CHAP. I.

The great and uninterrupted felicity of the first seven months of the reign of the emperor Caius Caligula, the successor of Tiberius.

UPON the decease of Tiberius the imperial dignity devolved to Caius Caligula, who may justly be considered as affording a most striking instance in confirmation of the sentiments given in the above introductory discourse. When this prince assumed the throne the Greeks and Barbarians, soldiers andburghers, lived in a state of brotherhood, and in the mutual interchange of the offices of affection and friendship; and a profound tranquillity prevailed both by sea and land in all the provinces in the different quarters of the globe. The happiness of Caligula was so extraordinary as almost to
to exceed credibility; for the profusion of the good-fortune which he enjoyed exceeded his most fanguine hopes. He possessed an immense treasure in coin, gold and silver manufactured into articles of use and ornament, and a great quantity of those valuable metals unwrought. His force both by sea and land was prodigious; and the source of his revenues was inexhaustible; for every inhabited part of the world contributed towards the expences of his government. The Euphrates and the Rhine are the two rivers which formed the boundaries of his empire; the first bordering upon Germany and other barbarous nations; and the other upon the countries of the Parthians, the Sarmatians, the Scythians, &c. who were people equally uncivilized with those of Germany. Upon the continent, as well as in the islands, nothing was known but the most perfect happiness; for the people of Rome and Italy, and those of the several provinces of Europe and Asia, passed their time in a kind of uninterrupted festival. In short, no instance could be produced wherein people had enjoyed such remarkable ease and freedom under any other prince, or had in other respects been so peculiarly favoured with the blessings of Providence. People in general had such considerable portions of all those advantages which contribute to form the happiness of life, that they had no defires remaining ungratified. In the several villages, towns and cities, altars, victims, sacrifices, men clothed in white and adorned with garlands, horse-racings, musical concerts, merry-meetings, dancing to the lute and harp, and all other kinds of entertainments and recreations that can be conceived were to be continually met with; while the countenances of the people fully expressed the joy and satisfaction of their hearts. In short, such was the abundance of all the necessaries and conveniences of life, and so universal were the contentment and pleasure, that debtors and creditors, domestics and their superiors, common people, and those in exalted stations were equally happy; and it appeared as if the poetical description of Saturn's golden age was realized. This state of general felicity continued during the first seven months of the reign of Caligula.

C H A P. II.

In the eighth month of his reign Caligula is attacked by a dangerous distemper; in consequence of which the inhabitants of the different provinces are deeply concerned; but the recovery of the emperor proves a circumstance productive of joy equal to their former affliction.

HAVING abandoned that temperate and healthful course of living which he had strictly adhered to in the time of his successor Tiberius, and having indulged himself by unseasonable bathing, immoderate eating and drinking, and all the luxuries, riotous excesses and liberties of the court, in the eighth month of his reign Caligula was attacked by a violent and dangerous disease. To such an excess did he carry his intemperance that, unsatisfied with immoderate eating and drinking, it was his custom to take emetic draughts in order that, by clearing his stomach, he might the sooner return
return to the indulgence of luxury. He was violently addicted to every species of the most abominable senuality, and practiced uncleanness with either sex; for, according to the impulses of his depraved inclinations, he gratified the common passion in an intercourse with the other sex, and that unnatural lust, the bare mention of which cannot fail to fill the minds of those who possess the smallest vestiges of the principles even but distantly allied to virtue with astonishment, horror and detestation. In short, his ungovernable and sensual appetites led him into every kind of debauchery that could tend to the destruction of the union between soul and body; for as the blessings of sound health and vigour of body are the natural consequences of temperance and regularity; so on the contrary, debility, disease and death are produced by an unrestrained indulgence of inordinate desires.

The emperor's distemper seized him in the beginning of autumn, at which season the ships employed in trading to different quarters of the globe, which could not winter in foreign parts, were under the necessity of failing for their respective countries. By means of the shipping intelligence of the emperor's dangerous indisposition was in a short time communicated to all parts of the world; in consequence whereof a general mourning and lamentation took place of the satisfaction and pleasure that the people had uninterruptedly enjoyed till the arrival of the afflicting news. The towns and houses were filled with affliction and mourning, in proportion to the great happiness they had before enjoyed: the indisposition of the emperor proved the source of great affliction to the several provinces, who, indeed, were more severely troubled than Caligula himself; for he only suffered corporeal pain, while the people laboured under the most exquisite distress of mind, being terribly apprehensive that the peace they had so long enjoyed would be interrupted, and that their lives, liberties and possessions would be subjected to the most imminent danger; and they reflected that the death of princes was generally followed by war, famine, depopulation, rapine, imprisonment and other dreadful calamities; and these considerations encreased their uneasiness nearly to a state of despair. In short the recovery of Caligula was the only circumstance in which they could place the smallest hopes of future security or happiness.

The emperor now began to recover his former state of health; and the happy news of this event was immediately transmitted to the most distant quarters of the universe; for fame travels with the rapidity of lightning. The grateful information respecting the encreasing health of Caligula created in the people the utmost impatience for the news of his perfect recovery; and, at length, by divers express officers they learnt that he was entirely restored to his former state of health and vigour; in consequence of which the several provinces immediately recovered their tranquillity and happiness; and this was the case with the inhabitants of the ills as well as the people upon the continent. In fine, the memory of man could not produce an instance where the preservation of a particular prince had been productive of such universal transports of joy to any people or nation as were manifested on occasion of the recovery of Caligula. It appeared as if, by a momentary
transition, the people had been removed from a state of barbarism to that of
sociable and civil life; from the disorder and confusion of defearts to the re-
gularity of political communities; and these were the consequences which
the people experienced upon imagining that since Caligula was recovered,
they should still enjoy the happiness of living in subjection to, and under
the protection of, their generous and lawful sovereign. But people immo-
derately rejoiced in their supposed good fortune, without considering on how
very precarious a foundation their hopes of happiness were built.

C H A P. III.

The emperor Caligula proves himself a monster of tyranny. His ingratitude towards
his predecessor in barbarously compelling Tiberius to become his own executioner.

In a short time the conduct of Caligula afforded a convincing proof that
mankind are apt to form erroneous judgments and adopt wrong mea-

ures; and that their actions are more generally the result of precarious opin-
ion than the consequence of a real knowledge as to the certain state and na-
ture of things.

The profusion of bounties and favours which he had distributed in all
parts of Europe and Asia had acquired Caligula the reputation of being the
most illustrious character that had been known, whether he was considered as
a public or a private benefactor: but this prince so far degenerated from
that specimen he afforded in the early part of his reign, whence it was uni-
versally concluded that he would prove a most glorious example to all future
sovereigns, as to become a most execrable monster of tyranny and cruelty.
or, perhaps it would be most proper to say, he divested himself of the mask
of hypocrisy, and betrayed to the world his natural tyrannical, malevolent
and cruel disposition.

The emperor Tiberius had a grandchild, the offspring of his son Drusus;
and this grandchild received the name of Tiberius; and Caius Caligula,
the nephew of the emperor Tiberius, was the descendant of Germanicus.

In preference to the young Tiberius the emperor nominated Caligula to the
imperial succession, on the condition that he should acknowledge the great
obligation of his advancement to the throne by observing a due respect and
attention towards his kinsman. But Caligula, instead of being touched with
gratitude upon his advancement by adoption to that dignified station which
Tiberius had a right to enjoy in virtue of his birth, carried his inhumanity
to such an excess as to cause the death of his near kinsman, the coher of the

throne and the immediate successor of the emperor Tiberius, under the pre-
rent that the youth had engaged in a conspiracy for depriving him of life.

The tender age of Tiberius constituted a sufficient proof that the accusation
adduced against him was founded in utter improbability. It was the gene-

rally received opinion that had Tiberius been but a few years older, he
would indisputably have been appointed the successor of his grandfather,
who, it was also supposed, would have removed Caligula, against whom he
had already conceived some jealousy.

Caligula
THE EMPEROR CALIGULA.

Caligula adopted the following means with the execrable view of effecting the destruction of young Tiberius, with whom common justice should have instructed him to jointly share the sovereignty. He summoned Tiberius into his presence, and assembled a council of his friends, to whom he addressed a discourse to the following purpose:

"Towards this youth (meaning Tiberius) I entertain not only that regard which is due to him as being my cousin german, but I even esteem him with the utmost tenderness of a brother; and there is nothing I more anxiously desire than to admit him to an equal share of the sovereignty, in compliance with the last will and testament of his grandfather. But, alas, we are all fully sensible that youth and inexperience are unequal to the weighty cares of government. The tender age of Tiberius renders it necessary that he should be placed under the direction of a governor. Would it not then be an instance of extreme imprudence to invest the youth with a commission for the exercise of authority over others? But that his time of life is an impediment, I would joyfully divide with Tiberius the sovereign dignity; whereby I should relieve myself from one part of the laborious office of governing so many nations, and render less formidable the danger I am continually exposed to of sinking under the burthen of public administration. So great is my affection for Tiberius that I here solemnly pledge myself to receive him as a son and pupil, and faithfully to acquit myself towards him in the characters of a father and a governor; and, let it be observed, that from this moment he is to be considered as being under my particular and immediate protection."

This artful address so powerfully operated upon the auditors as to remove every obstruction to the abominable design which Caligula had conceived of effecting the ruin of the young prince. His harangue, instead of confirming the adoption, and securing to Tiberius the dignity which by virtue of his birth he had a right to enjoy, effectually excluded him from the benefit of the grant which had been passed in his favour: and Caligula had now a full power and opportunity of putting his treacherous designs against Tiberius into execution, without fear of control or opposition; for the Roman law invests parents with an absolute authority over their children, and gives to the supreme magistrate an equally absolute and uncontrollable power over the people. To effect his infamous purpose, therefore, Caligula had only to accuse Tiberius of being an enemy, and to conduct himself towards the youth accordingly. In short, this mode of behaviour he adopted; nor was he touched with compassion on account of the tender age of his kinsman, the circumstance of having known him from his earliest years, his exalted birth, and the education he had received, as the apparent heir to the throne. Upon the decease of Drusus, Tiberius was considered rather as the immediate son than the grandchild of the emperor.

It is related of Caligula that, in the accomplishment of his cruel design against Tiberius, he commanded the youth to become his own executioner in the presence of a number of tribunes and centurions, who were prohibited from assisting him in the action: and the pretence of the barbarous tyrant on this
this occasion was, that it would prove a circumstance derogatory to the imperial dignity if the blood of the descendants of royalty was permitted to be spilt by any but royal hands. Caligula was ambitious of the reputation of being a most rigid observer of legal forms, though he scrupled not to commit murder, and offer other most daring violations against all the laws of God and man; and to conceal his enormous wickedness he had recourse to an abominable hypocrisy in pretending that he acted under the influence of a religious intention.

This unhappy and innocent young prince who had never been witnesses to the spilling of blood, either in real engagements or the representations of battles, which during the times of peace are practiced by the military people, presented his throat to the spectators, entreating them respectively to put an end to his life: but they all declined a compliance; in consequence of which he took a poniard, and requested to be informed to what part of his body he could most effectually direct the weapon to put a speedy period to a miserable existence. They instructed him where to strike, and he instantly followed their directions, continuing to repeat his strokes while his strength remained. Thus did the tyranny of Caligula urge Tiberius to the desperate extremity of depriving himself of life.

CHAP. IV.

Macro, commander of the Pretorian troops, expostulates with Caligula on the impropriety of his conduct. The tyrant puts both Macro and his wife to death, notwithstanding his being indebted to the former for the frequent preservation of his life, and for his exaltation to the sovereignty.

HAVING effected the destruction of Tiberius, whom he had considered as the only person likely to become a competitor for the possession of the sovereign dignity, Caligula imagined that there now remained no man of sufficient consequence to raise a party against him, or to interrupt him in the tyrannical exercise of government: and he determined that Macro, the commander of the Pretorian bands, should be the next object of his cruelty and ingratitude.

Caligula was indebted to Macro for many important services after his advancement to the throne; but his zealous endeavours in favour of the emperor are not to be considered as any evidence of extraordinary attachment; since it will be found that court-parasites are ever attendant upon persons in exalted stations, whose inclinations it is the business of their lives to consult and gratify. While Caligula remained in a private station, however, he received many instances of friendship from Macro; and it was principally through his influence that Tiberius was induced to nominate Caligula as the successor to the imperial dignity.

The emperor Tiberius being a man of long experience in the world, and of an uncommon sagacity and depth of penetration, it will consequently be
supposed that he possessed a knowledge of the human heart; and indeed he was in this point inferior to no man of his time. Tiberius conceived a very strong suspicion and jealousy that Caligula was an inveterate enemy to the whole Claudian family, and that if he entertained any tenderness of regard towards any of those with whom he was connected by the ties of consanguinity, his affection was confined entirely to his relations on his mother's side; and hence he became exceedingly distressed on account of his grandchild, whom, after his decease, he feared might be exposed to great difficulties and danger. He considered Caligula as wholly unequal to the important office of governing so extensive an empire, deeming him, from the inconsistency of his words and actions, and the levity of his general behaviour, to be disqualified from successfully engaging in undertakings wherein solidity of judgment and patient fortitude were required; and, in short, so volatile and uncertain was his conduct as to possess people with an opinion that he was infected with some degree of lunacy.

Macro used every possible means to remove the unfavourable impressions that Tiberius entertained respecting Caligula; giving the strongest assurances that he held the person and dignity of the emperor in the highest deference and veneration; assuring that he cherished a most tender regard and respect for his kinsman, and had repeatedly declared that he would gladly resign in his favour every pretension to the right of succeeding to the throne; adding that it was the misfortune of Caligula to have the natural modesty and reserve of his temper interpreted into a want of spirit and discernment. These persuasions did not operate with the desired effect upon the emperor; and when Macro perceived this, he proposed to engage his own person as a security that Caligula would not prove unworthy of the encomiums which he had passed upon him. Macro having in many instances approved himself a man of fidelity and discretion, and manifested his firm attachment to Tiberius in the discovery of, and rendering abortive the conspiracy of Sejanus, there appeared no reason to entertain the least doubt of his honor in the present mediation.

Macro was so indefatigable in promoting the interest of Caligula that he availed himself of every opportunity of influencing Tiberius in his favour, by assiduously endeavouring to defend him against uncertain suspicions and surmises, indeterminate accusations and prejudicial reports. In short, had Caligula been his own brother, or even his son, he could not have laboured with a more unremitting attention in his service. Many were of opinion that Macro exerted his interest with the emperor in consideration of the great deference and respect observed towards him by Caligula: but a still greater number supposed Macro's conduct to proceed from the persuasions of his wife; alleging that, being engaged in an intrigue with Caligula, she was induced, by private reasons, incessantly to urge her husband to suffer no occasion to escape of rendering proofs of friendship to the young man: and it is known that it is scarcely possible to resist the persuasive address of an artful woman.
Being entirely ignorant and unsuspicious of his wife’s infidelity, Macro believed her carriages to be proofs of the violence of her affection: and the insinuating artifices practised upon him operated so powerfully that he considered the very persons who were treacherously labouring to destroy his happiness as bearing towards him the most sincere and exalted friendship.

Having manifested his attachment to Caligula by repeatedly affording him relief in great extremities, wherein his life was in the most imminent danger, Macro conceived that his many and signal services entitled him to some authority, and that he might thence presume to speak with more freedom than would be consistent with the situation of any other person. Macro was exceedingly anxious to prevent Caligula from indulging inclinations that would be productive of mischiefful consequences, and to guard his mind from being corrupted by the example and influence of others: and in this instance his conduct bore some resemblance to that of an ingenious artist who is solicitous to preserve his productions in a lasting state of perfection.

When he perceived Caligula asleep at table, it was his custom to rouse him, and to observe that, besides being indecent, his indulgence argued an high degree of imprudence, since it exposed him to the power of any person who might conceive the horrid design of perpetrating an assassination; when dancers and tumblers so engrossed the emperor’s attention that he could not refrain from an imitation of their gestures and attitudes; when he gave way to violent bursts of laughter at the gross conceits and vulgar jokes of a flagitious buffoon; or condescended to accompany the fingers or performers on musical instruments; Macro, on these occasions, if he happened to be seated near him, never omitted his endeavours to discourage him by a wink expressive of his meaning, touching him with his elbow, or by some other private intimation; and he ventured farther than any other man would have done in expostulating with him to the following effect:

"Believe me, sir, that by abandoning yourself to the pleasures of the fenes, like people of an inferior rank, you must necessarily disgrace your exalted character. It is a duty you owe to your own character to render yourself as much distinguished from the rest of mankind by a uniform dignity of conduct, as you are superior to them by your royal station. Can a more glaring instance of impropriety be produced than that of the sovereign of the universe directing his principal attention to, and deriving his greatest satisfaction from, singing, dancing, the agility of tumblers, the insipid jesting of buffoons, and other amusements equally frivolous and contemptible? It is the business of royalty, at all times, and on every occasion, to maintain the imperial dignity; to act, as a prince over the people, with the solicitude of a shepherd over his flock; and to be continually adding some improvement to his character, that he may daily approach nearer to the perfection of human nature. Permit me, sir, to add that, when you attend at the circus, the theatre, or other places for the exhibition of public spectacles, or the performance of exercizes, the entertainments themselves are not what should engross your principal attention, which should be directed to the labour, ingenuity and care, employed " by
"by those whose occupation it is to provide for the public amusement; and
"thence you will naturally suggest to yourself arguments to the following
"effect: Since people employ such attention upon matters which do not
"operate to the advantage of mankind, and have no view in their undertak-
ings but the amusement of the public, deeming themselves amply recom-
penced if their endeavours to please secure the approbation and applause
"of the spectators; must not a prince then promise himself infinitely greater
"satisfaction in the due administration of government, which is an office fo
"much more noble and important? Human nature is not capable of greater
"dignity of character than is shewn in the man who proves himself equal to
"the arduous task of government: he causes the lands to be properly culti-
vated; encourages navigation; and establishes a commercial intercourse
"between the provinces, whereby they reciprocally supply each other with
"all the necessaries and conveniences of life. To interrupt this happy and
"advantageous communication it must be allowed that envy and jealousy
"have diffused their malignity among some particular persons, and even
"throughout a few towns; but so far from the whole universe having re-
ceived the poison, the majority thereof is wholly free from the infection.
"But since the advancement of your illustrious family to the royal dignity
"the evil in question has decreased in a surprizing degree; and those mon-
"sters of iniquity who insolently dared to interrupt the harmony of cities and
"towns are now compelled to seek their security, like savage beasts, in ca-
"averns and other secret places; and we now enjoy an advantageous and
"happy intercourse with all quarters of the globe, over which you are in-
"vested with the supreme earthly authority. We may compare the universe
to a mighty ship, and say that Providence has committed the rudder to
"your charge, and consequently rendered you answerable for the safety of
"the vessel and the good of mankind. Permit me, therefore, to observe
"that it is your indispensable duty to maintain an unremitting solicitude in
"the discharge of the important commission with which you are invested;
"and that the prosperity and happiness of the people subject to your domi-
nion are the great objects to which you are bound to direct your principal
"attention, and the sources whence you must derive those comforts which
"contribute to form the most perfect happiness that the nature of a sub-
"ordinate state will admit. Considerable advantages both to the public and in-
"dividuals may result from a mutual interchange of friendly offices among
"persons in the inferior stations of life: but the blessings of peace, eafe,
"freedom and happiness of a people must alone depend on the bounty, dif-
"cretion, fagacity, justice and paternal care of the prince. The sovereign
"who would reign with honor to himself and advantage to his subjects must
"possess a capacious soul, and his bounties must be confined within no li-
"mits but those preferred by prudence, which will suggest the necessity
"of keeping a constant reserve sufficient for obviating the exigencies inci-
dental to government."

Thus, with a view to effect a reformation in his conduct, did Macro ex-
postulate with Caligula, who, instead of receiving any benefit from what
was.
was intended as a remedy, converted the good and friendly council of Macro into the most deadly poison, and degenerated into a still greater excess of iniquity. The sincerity and freedom with which Macro behaved procured him the contempt of the emperor, who, at length, effected his utter destruction. Caligula conceived a most inveterate and immeasurable enmity against Macro, and when he observed him approaching towards him, he usually spoke to those attending near his person in terms to the following purpose:

"Behold, my good friends, the emperor's governor approaches; but I thank Heaven that the period of my wardship is expired. This man prefers to regulate my conduct; but happily for me the state of infancy is passed; yet he insolently expects that I should observe an implicit obedience to his directions, pretending that no man possesses a more perfect knowledge of the world. The pedagogue has the insolence to obtrude instructions upon an emperor as to the manner in which he should conduct himself towards his people; and even upon an emperor who is indispensably more conversant than himself in the science of politics. Since the man is so extravagantly vain as to suppose himself qualified to instruct me in the duties of my royal station, it would afford me no inconsiderable satisfaction to learn which are the particular branches in the art of government wherein he excels and I am myself deficient. From my tenderest infancy I have been trained up to a knowledge of the mysteries of government and state affairs; and my instructors have been numerous and respectable; for instance, my father, brothers, uncles, cousins, grandfathers, and great grandparents; and surely I derive something from a long and uninterrupted succession of so many great princes, in a direct line, both on the side of my father and likewise on that of my mother; and I might presume on the seeds of the royal virtues which are naturally implanted in those who are born to guide the reins of government. It will be allowed that children frequently resemble their parents in the features of the face, motions, attitudes, deportment, gesture, inclinations, humours, habits, manners, and in many other respects; nor can it be denied that the virtues of royalty, and the qualifications necessary for public administration, are infused into the very blood of those who are destined to the command of a people. Shall this contemptible dotard, then, presume to become my instructor in an art of which, from his obscure birth and inferior station in life, he must of necessity be entirely ignorant, and in the mysteries of which I derived an intuitive knowledge even with my first breath, being descended from a long line of illustrious ancestors, and qualified by nature for command and empire."

The enmity of Caligula continued daily to increase, and it arrived, at length, to so high a degree that he formed the barbarous determination of sacrificing the life of Macro to his revenge. He now employed himself in suggesting the means of executing his horrid design, resolving to exhibit an accusation against Macro, but wholly regardless as to its being founded in fact. While he was revolving this subject in his mind he conceived that an expression used by Macro afforded him a favourable opportunity of advancing a cri-
THE EMPEROR CALIGULA.

a criminal charge against him, which would bear a plausible appearance and effectually answer his purpose. The following are the words on which Caligula determined to found his accusation against Macro:

"Caligula is an emperor of my own making; and the obligations he owes to me are far greater than what he owes even to his father. Thrice did Tiberius resolve to put him to death, but as often did I exert my influence, whereby the violence of the emperor's rage was averted, and the life of the youth preserved. After the decease of Tiberius I surrendered to Caligula the Pretorian bands, over whom I held the command, exhorting them to observe a rigid obedience to him, and admonishing them that the empire could not be preserved entire and in perfect security, unless the sovereign authority was vested in one person."

Many persons bore testimony that Macro had, in their presence, spoken precisely to the above purpose; but these people were entirely ignorant of the treachery, dissimulation and confummate art of Caligula. In short, a few days only having elapsed, Caligula caused the death of the unhappy Macro and his wife. This ingratitude and barbarity was the reward which Macro obtained for preserving the life of Caligula, advancing him to the throne, and rendering him many other most essential services. It is related that Macro was compelled to put an end to his own life; and that his wife was subjected to the same extremity, notwithstanding the intimacy of her criminal intercourse with Caligula. But there is no possibility of accounting for the disgust and loathing which succeeded an inconstant and ill-placed love. Caligula carried his cruelty to such excess as to cause all the domestics of Macro to be put to death.

CHAPTER V.

Caligula is offended with his father-in-law, Marcus Sulpianus, for offering him prudent and friendly advice; he renounces all regard to the memory of his deceased wife, and causes Marcus Sulpianus to be put to death. This murder followed by several others. The people are so extravagantly possessed in favour of Caligula, that they endeavour to justify his sacrificing the lives of Tiberius, Macro and Sulpianus.

The perfidious and cruel Caligula having effected the murder of Tiberius, who was the only person that he apprehended might become a competitor for the imperial dignity, and subjected Macro and his whole family to a similar fate, in requital for having repeatedly preserved his life, and, at length, secured to him the succession of the throne; he now meditated a third exploit, the accomplishment of which he conceived would require the utmost exertion of his skill and address.

Marcus Sulpianus, the father-in-law of Caligula, was a man of great bravery, generous sentiments, and noble extraction. His daughter died at an early period of life; but he still continued to observe an equal, if not a superior, degree of respect and affection towards Caligula, not doubting but he should experience a due return of kindness and esteem; for he was entirely ignorant
PHILO'S EMBASSY TO

ignorant and unsuspicuous of the real disposition of his iniquitous son-in-law. Sylanus, being naturally of a frank and open temper, frequently addressed Caligula on the subjects of morality and politics, recommending to him a just and equitable administration of government, and an irreproachable conduct in private life, as the only effectual means of realizing those hopes the people had formed of enjoying a state of perfect happiness under the dominion of a prince who had already afforded the most flattering specimen of the admirable qualifications which he possessed for the proper exercise of the functions of royalty. To this freedom of discourse Sylanus was in some degree entitled, in consequence of his rank in life and his near relationship to the emperor: and being still deeply sensible of a tender affection consequent on the unhappy circumstance of his daughter's death, he imagined that his friendly expostulations could not be interpreted into the cause of offence, since it was scarcely possible that, in so short a time, the sense of affinity could be obliterated from the mind of Caligula.

Caligula, however, flattered himself in the vain opinion that his wisdom, moderation, valour, justice and other qualifications, rendered his character so distinguished, that it was incapable of greater perfection; and it was an office of great danger to offer him good and friendly counsel, which he understood as reproach and insult, since it implied the possibility of his amendment; and hence he deemed his most firm and faithful friends to be his most inveterate enemies. He conceived a most violent aversion to Sylanus, as being a kind of check to the indulgence of his extravagant and unruddy passions. His enmity increased to such an outrageous degree, that he renounced all regard to the memory of his deceased wife, and determined on the unnatural and barbarous scheme of sacrificing the life of Sylanus, who had incontestibly proved himself a most tenderly affectionate and indulgent father-in-law, and a sincere and disinterested friend.

The death of Sylanus was followed by that of many of the most considerable persons of the empire: and when the news of these murders was propagated among the public they considered them with astonishment, detestation and horror; but they suppressed a public declaration of their sentiments, lest they should incur the reentment of the cruel tyrant. Many people, however, being of unstable tempers, and liable to imposition, could not entertain an idea that a prince who had shewn much remarkable instances of humanity, moderation, generosity and candour could, by a momentary transition, become a most bloody and merciless tyrant; and hence they endeavored to justify the iniquitous conduct of which he had been guilty, by arguments to the following effect:

"No cenure can justly fall upon Caligula for his behaviour in regard to "young Tiberius, since the nature of things will not admit of the supposition "that a divided sovereignty can be consistent with the safety of a state; and "therefore the removal of the youth was a preventive measure indispensably "necessary; especially if it be considered that, had Tiberius possessed the "power, he would unquestionably have taken away the life of the emperor; "and that, with the encrease of time, that power he would have naturally ac-
required. Caligula is by no means deserving to be reprobated as a cruel murderer, but, on the contrary, is to be considered as the instrument of Divine Providence, by whose decree he put an end to the life of Tiberius, in order to secure the safety and happiness of mankind. Had he been permitted to survive, is there not every reason to apprehend that he would have proved the cause of involving the empire in all the horrors of foreign and domestic hostilities? For the contentions of parties and factions would have perpetually subsisted between those espousing the respective interests of the two princes. It will not be disputed that peace is the greatest blessing a people can enjoy; nor that public tranquility must depend on a regular and equitable administration of government. Where the sovereignty is divided, competitions and the most violent and dangerous contentions are ever to be apprehended: to avoid these- evils, therefore, it becomes necessary to secure to one prince the power of exercising the regal authority.

Respecting the murder of Macro the same persons thus argued in extenuation of the accusation adduced against the emperor:

"Macro proved himself a man of an imperious and presuming disposition; he became wholly regardless of the Delphic oracle, which commands every man to know himself; from which admirable lesson we are to understand that we cannot be unhappy while we strictly conform to it, nor fail to be miserable when we hold it in contempt. Can it be said that to interfere in the province of sovereignty is consistent with the duty of a subject; or that he is excusable for obtruding upon a prince instructions for the discharge of the functions of his high office? The province of the sovereign is to command, and it is the duty of the subject to observe implicit obedience."

Thus did people, either through ignorance, or a desire of offering the incense of flattery to the emperor, misrepresent the motives which prompted the honest admonitions of the unfortunate Macro: and they suggested the following excuses respecting the cruelty of Caligula towards Sullanus:

"The conduct of Sullanus was extremely absurd in assuming over a son-in-law an authority similar to that which men have a right to exercise over their immediate descendants. It is usual among private citizens to relinquish the paternal authority when their children are engaged in offices of trust, or meet with honourable preferment. Sullanus could have no claim to the honor of being father-in-law to the emperor; for the affinity ceased with the death of his daughter; but he, notwithstanding, had the presumption to expolotuate with Caligula on affairs of administration, where in he could not justly pretend to have even the least concern. It is beyond contradiction that marriage connects families in a state of alliance: but it is equally certain that the alliance is temporary; for the dissolution of all relationship necessarily takes place upon the decease of either of the contracting parties."

In the above manner did people endeavour to rescue Caligula from the imputation of criminal actions. They were so prepossessed in favour of the supposed
posed extraordinary generosity, moderation, justice, tenderness of disposition, and other perfections in the character of this prince that they could not conceive him capable of a conduct that could merit censure; nor that it was possible, after having most gloriously distinguished himself beyond the example of former sovereigns, he could degenerate, by so sudden a change, to the opposite extreme of wickedness.

CHAP. VI.

The extravagant vanity of Caligula in assuming the appearance of several demi-gods, and claiming the public honors and veneration usually observed towards the deities whom he personates.

The cruel murders of Tiberius, Macro and Sylanus were considered by Caligula as so many victories over the most formidable enemies he had in the empire. The death of Tiberius relieved him from all apprehension of his right to the sovereignty being contested; he was easily respecting the soldiery, since Macro, who had possessed a great influence over them, was now effectually removed; and he judged himself perfectly secure with respect to the senate, in consequence of the death of Sylanus, who commanded a great interest in, and had been esteemed one of the most glorious ornaments of, that illustrious assembly. Having then effected the destruction of every person whom he apprehended might prove an obblace to the unlimited indulgence of his extravagant humors, he conceived the vain design of assuming the character of a demi-god, and exacting the honors and obedience observed towards the deities: and to reconcile himself to this ridiculous scheme, he argued in the following manner:

"Since those who have the command of beasts in the fields, as goat-herds, shepherds, herdsmen and people of other denominations, are neither goats, sheep nor oxen, but are of a very different species, being creatures endowed with rational faculties, and infinitely superior, in every respect, to the animals under their direction; on the same principles it may be presumed that the sovereign of the universe has an equitable claim to an exaltation beyond the scale of human nature, and to exact the veneration of a deity."

Having determined upon this absurd and vain design, his disordered imagination represented the employment which he was preparing to undertake as being worthy the imperial character; and he proceeded by degrees to the gratification of his ambitious views. His first imaginary exaltation was in assuming the character of a demi-god; such as Hercules, Bacchus, Caflor, Pollux, Amphiarus, Amphilocthus, Trophonius and others. He turned the oracles and ceremonies of these deities into subjects of ridicule, but still claimed a right to the ensigns and privileges belonging to them with the view of advancing the honor of his own character.

It was the custom of this man, like a theatrical performer, to be continually changing habits, intending thereby to render his appearance exactly conformable
conformable to that of the parties whom he was desirous to personate. At one time he would strive at an imitation of Hercules, being habited in the skin of a lion, and carrying a club in his hand; sometimes he would assume the appearance of Castor or Pollux, wearing a cap upon his head similar to those used by the illustrious brothers; and to personate Bacchus he would wear the skin of a faun, and provide himself with a thyrsus wreathed with ivy. Caligula, in short, materially differed from the imaginary deities; for they have ever been perfectly satisfied with their respective ensigns and privileges, and equally free from envy towards each other: but the emperor was ambitious of engrossing to himself all the respect and veneration usually paid to the ideal divinities, whose characters he was so highly ambitious to emulate.

The circumstance that attracted the most particular notice and admiration of the public was, not that Caligula, like Geryon, had three bodies, but that he possessed the wonderful power of assuming such an extensive variety of characters as to become the rival of Proteus, whom Homer represents as transforming himself into the elements, rivers, plants, different species of animals and a diversity of other appearances.

What value didst thou, Caius, imagine would be added to your character by a vain resemblance of the figures of the demi-gods, when you wholly neglected an imitation of their virtues, which would have been an employment whence you might have derived immortal honor? Hercules engaged in his laborious and hazardous undertakings from the noble motive of delivering the universe, both by sea and land, from the monsters that infested it, to the great interruption of the happiness and security of mankind. Vines were planted and cultivated by Bacchus, who extracted from their fruit a beverage highly grateful to the palate, and possessing the quality of improving the corporeal strength and the natural vigour of the mind: besides adding to our bodily power, the juice of the grape has the virtue of giving us greater activity and contributing towards the encrease and preservation of health: it charms our cares to sleep, renders us insensible to afflictions, and inspires us with the hope of a more auspicious fortune; a cheerful draught relieves us from the langour and fatigue of long-continued labor. The salutary effects of wine are not experienced alone by people in a civilized state, but even by the most barbarous nations. Feasts, entertainments, music, dancing and merry-meetings would no longer be attractive if the spirits of the company were not to be occasionally exhilarated by the generous juice expressed from the fruit of the vine. But it is unnecessary any longer to dwell on the virtues of wine, which can never prove injurious while it is made use of with moderation.

Castor and Pollux are represented as being the twin sons of Jupiter; one of them is said to have been immortal, but that he shared with his brother the privilege of not being subject to the common lot of humanity, because his fraternal affection was so great that he could not support the idea of being left eternally to deplore the irreparable loss he should sustain in the death of his...
tenderly-beloved brother. The noble behaviour of this man is unparalleled; for what greater sacrifice can be imagined than that of one brother resigning in favor of the other a part of his privilege of enjoying an eternal existence, and rendering himself, in a proportionate degree, subject to the power of death. The contemporaries of these heroic brothers paid them great deference and veneration; nor has their justly acquired renown yet suffered the least diminution. By the great benefits which they conferred upon mankind, and their exemplary virtues, these worthies acquired to themselves the honor of being considered as demi-gods.

But have you, Caligula, pursued a conduct that you could reasonably expect would entitle you to divine honors? Let us first speak of Castor and Pollux. Can an instance be produced of a greater dissimilarity of character than what will appear upon drawing a comparison between yourself and those illustrious brothers? So far from being inspired with a noble emulation of their unbounded friendship, and heroic generosity, you have cruelly bathed your hands in the blood of an innocent youth, whom it was your duty to treat with the utmost tendernefs of a brother; for exclusive of his alliance to you by the ties of blood, he had a just and indisputable claim to a co-partnership in the imperial dignity. With a view to secure yourself in the quiet possession of the throne, you condemned the sufferers of Tiberius to perpetual banishment.

In what respect is it that you have acted in conformity to the example of Bacchus? Of what discoveries are you the author, whereby the world derives any kind of advantage? Have you, in any one instance, contributed towards the peace or happiness of mankind? It must, indeed, be allowed that you are not destitute of invention; but your inventions, like epidemical diseases, convert joy into affliction, and render life insupportable. To gratify your insatiable avarice your coffers are daily replenished with immense treasures from the four quarters of the globe: but instead of paying grateful acknowledgments for the readiness and punctuality with which the people combine to raise so considerable a revenue as you enjoy, you continually oppress them by exacting the payment of heavy and unprecedented taxes. In short, the unrelenting cruelty of your disposition has distinguished you as an object of public abhorrence, and your tyrannical and oppressive measures in the majestic capacity have rendered your government wholly intolerable. These facts are incontrovertible; therefore you, in no single instance, bear the least resemblance to Bacchus.

Hercules engaged and persevered in such heroic and laborious undertakings as appeared too great for human power to accomplish; and in these he proved indefatigable and successful. His glorious actions proceeded from the public spirited desire of enacting such laws as should operate to the general advantage of mankind; of causing a plenty both at sea and land, and establishing peace and promoting commerce throughout the world. This is a concise account of the real character of Hercules. So far from imitating the virtues of this hero, Caligula is of an inactive, dull, and heavy disposition, and to suffingly grounded are his pretensions to bravery, that in the whole human race there cannot
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cannot be found a more timorous creature; this man seems to delight in banishing good order and happiness from society, and introducing in their place tumults, seditions, and every species of misery that can interrupt the felicity of mankind. There cannot be imagined a greater disparity than appears on a comparison of these two characters: and yet Caligula has the effrontery to declare himself the rival of Hercules, and to claim public veneration as being a demi-god.

Could you imagine, Caligula, that the horrid barbarities of which you have been guilty, and the unexampled tyranny and oppression of your reign were merits on which you might presume to be constituted a divinity? Were you desirous of immortality that you might everlastingly subject mankind to the grievous afflictions in which you had already involved them? Is there not every reason to believe that if thou were exalted into a deity the enormity of thy wickedness would degrade thee into thy original subjection to the power of death? For if great virtues can transform a man into a deity, it necessarily follows that atrocious crimes can degrade a god to a state of mortality. No longer, then, indulge the ridiculous vanity of comparing yourself to those illustrious heroes Caflor and Pollux, who are so deservedly celebrated for their fraternal friendship; since you have treacherously taken away the life of an innocent prince, whom you were bound to cherish and protect with the utmost care and tenderness of brotherly affection; nor expect to receive the honors that are paid to Bacchus and Hercules, whose extraordinary merits raised them into objects of public veneration; since you are wholly destitute of every principle of virtue and honor, and pursue a system of conduct diametrically opposite to that which would effectually secure you from the severe reproaches and execrations which are always levelled against those who are so shockingly abandoned to the most abominable wickedness.

CHAP. VII.

The extravagant vanity of Caligula still continues to encrease; and being ambitious of the distinction of a deity of the superior order, he personates Mercury, Apollo and Mars.

The vanity and presumption of Caligula encreasing, at length, to such an immoderate degree that he could no longer be contented in the idea of being considered as a demi-god, but became ambitious of exacting the honors paid to the deities of the superior order, as Mercury, Apollo and Mars. He first determined to personate Mercury; and clothed himself in a mantle, resembling the garment of that deity, carried a white rod in his hand, and wore buskins with wings affixed to them. He now divested himself of the ornaments and ensigns of Mercury, and assumed the appearance of Apollo, wearing a radiant crown representing the beams of the sun upon his head; and to convey an intimation that he would be slow to punish offences
fences and ready to execute benevolent offices, he carried a bow and arrows in his left and the graces in his right hand.

After this he caused holy songs to be sung, and dances to be exhibited in honor of the new deity, though but a short time had elapsed since he had been contented with being distinguished by the names of Liver, Evius and Lyceus. In order to counterfeit Mars, he provided himself with a costly head-piece, sword and buckler, and marched with priests and bravoés attending him on each side, ready to obey his inhuman commands; for he ridiculously imagined that by spreading destruction, and an indiscriminate spilling of blood, he should gain a more near resemblance to the god of war. This spectacle struck the spectators with the utmost astonishment and horror; they were unable, calmly and unmoved to behold an audacious impostor arrogating to himself the honor of the deities, to whose virtues he was an absolute stranger, and to whom he bore not the least similitude in any respect but in a ridiculous imitation of their habits, which convey no other meaning than that the gods are bountiful to those who bear towards them an unaffected love and veneration.

The moral implied by the winged buskins of Mercury is only that, being the ambassador or messenger of the gods, according to the import of the Greek word, and the bearer of happy intelligence (for we cannot suppose that either gods or good and wise men would willingly be the propagators of unfortunate events), rapidity of motion is necessary in the conveyance of intelligence requiring dispatch. The wand, or white rod, of Mercury is to be understood as the ensign of one who is commissioned to make a league or restore peace; for it is the office of the herald, by agreement or truce, to stop the progress of hostilities; and but for this mediation there would be no end to the horrors and devastation of war.

What motive could induce Caligula to affix wings to his buskins? Did he thereby expect to disperse throughout the empire an idea of the abominable wickedness of his life, and the execrable profligacy of his manners? Instead of publishing his crimes to the world, he should have followed the dictates of prudence in burying the recollection of them in perpetual oblivion. What reason had he for adopting the ensign of a speedy passage, since, without changing his situation, he might be considered as the inexhaustible source from which the streams of misery were incessantly to flow, till they had overwhelmed the whole universe? Is not his bearing a white rod a most palpable evidence of absurdity, since his words and actions have so invariably militated against every idea of good order, tranquillity and happiness? In all his concerns both with the Greeks and barbarians, whether in private families, towns, or cities, he has constantly proved himself the promoter of disagreements, insurrections and civil hostilities. It will, then, become this fictitious deity to relinquish the appellations, and divest himself of the honourable ensigns, which are in every respect so highly inconsistent with his character.

Caligula bears not a nearer resemblance to Apollo than to Mercury. He wears, indeed, a radiant crown upon his head, and this ornament exhibits a very ingenious representation of the beams of the sun; but we are sensible that
that the sun and light are not favourable witnesses to the perpetration of the most horrible iniquities. Virtuous actions cannot have too many spectators, and will bear the light of the sun in the fulness of his meridian luster; but let those who are guilty of impious deeds, which are the works of night and darkness, seek to conceal themselves in the regions of perpetual obscurity. To afford a nearer emblem of his real disposition, Caligula should carry the bow and arrows in his right, and the graces in his left hand, or, indeed, it would be more proper if he were to cast the latter entirely from him; for it has been his constant practice to effect the destruction of men, women, children, families and even whole cities; and that he has no kind of pretention to the credit of benevolence, bounty and tenderness, which are intimated by the figures of the graces, is notoriously evident from the intolerable oppressions of which he has been guilty for the gratification of his insatiable avarice. As to the article of physic the counterfeit bears no greater resemblance to the real Apollo than in other respects. So far from being the author of salutary medicines, or exerting a benevolent desire of affording assistance to mankind by preventing or removing bodily afflictions, he infects those in perfect health, makes cripples of men whose limbs are found, and by treacherously poifoning, and other means, barbarously destroys people without regard to sex, age, or rank in life. His rage has been most particularly directed against the people of wealth and distinction in Italy; and had not Divine justice put a check upon his iniquitous proceedings, a virtuous and rich inhabitant of that country would scarcely have been suffered to survive; for his avarice and cruelty were equally without bounds, and a greater profusion of gold and silver had been amassed in Italy than in all the other parts of the globe together. Apollo was not only celebrated for his skill and knowledge in physic, but also for the predictions which he delivered for the benefit of mankind. When people were embarrassed in difficult and intricate cases, by his oracles he always admonished them against mistaking evil for good, and thereby enabled them to avoid the dangers with which they were threatened. So infallible was his knowledge of future events that his predictions were received in the full confidence that, in due time, they would be verified in the most minute particulars. But the predictions of Caligula denounce confiscations, banishment and disgrace against persons of the most distinguished rank and merit. The characters of the real and the fictitious Apollo agree not in a single instance. Is it then not shameful that songs of triumph and joy, to the honor of Caligula, should be sung to the very notes adapted to those in honor of Apollo? It is deemed a crime to counterfeit the image of a prince in order to give the appearance of reality to spurious coin; but to practice a false worship is infinitely more unpardonable.

But no part of Caligula's conduct excites greater wonder than his extravagant vanity in pretending to the strength and courage of Mars; for both his mind and body are effeminate and debilitated; but he makes no scruple of imposing the most gross deceptions upon the multitude; for which purpose he transforms himself into a variety of appearances; and therefore he may be aptly
aptly compared to a theatrical performer. There cannot exist a greater con-
trariety than will be found on drawing comparison between Caligula and the
god of war. I mean not the fabulous Mars, but that which signifies a
promptitude for exertion of bravery and power in favour of the innocent and
oppressed, according to the meaning of the Greek word, ἀπέργε, from ἀπεργεῖν, to help, or assist. Two names are given to the fabulous Mars; he receives one
of them as being the friend and promoter of peace as far as it operates to the
advantage of the public; and the other as being equally languid for the
prosecution of war, wherein blood, confusion and horror must necessarily
prevail.

C H A P. VIII.

The Jews refuse to venerate the emperor as a divinity, in consequence of which he be-
comes extravagantly exasperated against them.

I believe it will be admitted that what has been already said will be deemed
sufficient to prove that Caligula had no reasonable claim to be enrolled ei-
ther among the demi-gods, or the deities of a superior order. He exceeded
every preceding prince in the abuse of power; he gave full indulgence to the
most lewd and profligate desires; his obstinacy was invincible, and his ambition
deferved the name of madness.

The Jews, who had before enjoyed the most perfect felicity, severely expe-
rienced the effects of Caligula’s unexampled wickedness. Being a people edu-
cated by parents and preceptors to a rigid adherence to the doctrines of the
holy scriptures, a due observance of the law of nature, a belief in the exis-
tence of but one God, the Father, Creator and Preserver of the whole world,
the emperor imagined that the principles they so unanimously professed would
naturally induce them to oppose his designs; but he was not in the least ap-
prehensive of obstruction from any other quarter; for all other people,
though actually groaning under the terrible weight of his cruel tyranny, fer-
vilely subscribed to the propriety of his conduct, however contrary to their
genuine sentiments, and made him the subject of their most extravagant pa-
negyrics, thereby encreaing his immoderate vanity and presumption.

In compliance with the humour of the detestable tyrant many of the Ro-
mans combined in offering a most degrading affront to the liberties of their
country by introducing into the empire the modes of worship practiced by the
barbarous nations. But Caligula was convinced that rather than violate the
religious rites of their country, the Jews would cheerfully surrender their
lives, cherishing the firm belief that they should be translated into the regions
eternity. If one stone of a building is displaced, the remaining part may
appear to be in a perfectly sound and lasting condition; but the effects of
time will gradually be perceived, and the whole fabric will inevitably fall in
premature destruction: so every thing is of high importance which regards
the worship of the Almighty. Caligula was guilty of a most horrid blasphemy
in pretending to exalt a man into an immortal god; he would indeed have
been
been more excusable had he endeavoured to change a deity into a mortal creature. He made an opening for the introduction of every species of ingratitude and infidelity towards the Creator of the world, whole blessings and bounties are continually distributed among his creatures with unlimited beneficence.

Such was the cause of the merciless war which was so fatally pursued against the Jewish people. Servants cannot be in a more dangerous or unhappy situation than when they are the objects of the inveterate hatred of their masters. The subjects of emperors are indisputably their servants. So far from continuing in the state of happiness they had enjoyed under the mild government of preceding princes, the miserable situation of the people was rendered intolerable under the oppressive dominion of the tyrant Caligula. He was an absolute stranger to every sentiment of compassion and humanity, and he abrogated all legislative institutions as being wholly superfluous, since he was resolved to have no other guide to his conduct than his own arbitrary and capricious will. The Jews were the people against whom he most particularly directed his vengeance: he reduced them to a state of the most vile and abject slavery that has ever disgraced human nature; and therefore they had sufficient reason to reprobate him for having infamously neglected to act as the common father and protector of his subjects, and disgraced the royal station by proving himself a most detestable monster of tyranny and wickedness.

CHAP. IX.

The barbarous persecutions of Caligula afford the Alexandrians an opportunity of revenging themselves upon the Jews. Horrid cruelties exercised upon the Jews, whose effects are seized. Places of worship and other buildings destroyed. Statues dedicated to the honor of Caligula. Excellent character of the deceased emperor Tiberius.

The inhabitants of Alexandria having gained intelligence of the implacable enmity of Caligula towards the Jews, which was sufficiently evident from the oppressive measures that he constantly pursued against them, they entered into a conspiracy, determining to add every possible aggravation to the misery of those unhappy people who were already sinking under the weight of intolerable persecution.

Our enemies were so unanimous, and the injurious treatment we received was offered in so open and daring a manner, that it appeared as if the emperor actually gave encouragement to those who were labouring to effect our destruction. Our habitations were forcibly entered, and men, women, and children cruelly driven from those hospitable retreats, and the enemy made booty of all the most valuable effects that they could possibly find. Our oppressors entertained not the least dread of being apprehended and rendered amenable to justice, and therefore sought no means for the concealment of their atrocious crimes, but continued their depredations in open day; and
their audacity was such that they ostentatiously exposed to each other the property which they had so infamously obtained, with as much confidence as they could have shown had it descended to them by inheritance, been acquired by purchase, or any other justifiable means. Many who had formed themselves into companies, and agreed equally to divide the spoil they should gain, assembled in the public market for the purpose of allotting and receiving their respective portions of the booty; and the real proprietors of the effects so surreptitiously acquired were the melancholy witnesses to this infamous business; and they were grossly insulted under their misfortunes with contemptuous reflections and virulent abuse.

It was certainly a terribly unfortunate circumstance for people of wealth and distinction to be suddenly expelled their habitations, reduced to the utmost penury, turned, like vagrants, into a wide inhospitable world, wholly destitute of the means for procuring the necessaries indifferently required for the preservation of existence: but still a greater aggravation of misery was to ensue. These cruel enemies confined many thousands of our people, men, women and children, in a small space, like beasts in a pound, and as they were entirely destitute of provisions, it was expected that they would perish in a short time, either through want of nourishment or the corruption of the air, which could not fail of being rendered of a very impure quality by passing through the lungs of such a number of people. The body possesses a natural heat, and a constant succession of fresh air is necessary for the assistance of respiration; but if pure and refreshing air cannot be inhaled, that which is already vitiated operates as fuel added to flames, and the consequence must be fatal.

The miserable people confined in the above-mentioned manner being unable to exist for want of fresh air, some of them retreated to the sea shore, some to the deserts, and others to lonely cemeteries: those who ventured to remain in any part of the city excepting the small space allotted to them, were furiously assaulted with cudgels, tiles, bricks and other weapons, which were directed against those parts of the body where it was supposed wounds and bruises would be most likely to deprive the unhappy sufferers of life; and those who came into the city, being unconscious of the popular fury that prevailed, were treated with equal severity. A strict guard was kept on that narrow quarter of the city where the miserable wretches were confined, and such as were detected in attempting to escape were put to death, after suffering the most excruciating tortures that it was possible for human cruelty to suggest; and admitting that they had fortitude sufficient to bear their own calamities, it is still reasonable to suppose that the hope of rescuing their families from the miserable fate of falling sacrifices to hunger would induce them to attempt effecting an escape.

A numerous party of our enemies stationed themselves upon the banks of the river, in order to seize the Jewish merchants who came to trade at Alexandria. They made fires of the timbers belonging to the vessels, and cast the merchants alive into the flames, and made spoil of all their effects. Other Jews suffered in a still more cruel manner in the middle of the city; where brush-
brush-wood being provided instead of billets, the fuel was kindled, and the unhappy victims were thrown into the fire; the wood being green, and consequently moist, the fnoke operated more powerfully than the flames, whereby the sufferings of the people were rendered more terrible and lasting. Many of our people were drawn through the streets and across the market place by means of ropes, and so implacable was the rage of our enemies that, after putting them to death in this manner, with more than savage barbarity they insulted the dead carcases by quartering and cutting them to pieces, after which they trampled them under their feet, suffering no parts of the bodies to remain in a state that would intitle them to interment.

The Alexandrians finding that the governor of the province adopted no measures for the suppression of the popular tumult, which he could have effected without the least difficulty, but that he pretended to be wholly ignorant of the outrageous transactions, they interpreted his conduct on this occasion into an encouragement of their abominable practices; and in this confidence they proceeded to the exercise of more daring crimes. There were great numbers of oratories, or places of prayer, situated in divers parts of the city, and against these buildings the rage of the enemy was now directed with the greatest violence: they destroyed many of the oratories by fire and other means, and cut down, or tore up by the roots, the surrounding groves and trees. The flames communicated to the adjacent habitations; and it will be naturally supposed that considerable damage was sustained, it being a matter of great difficulty to stop the progress of fire where inflammable materials abound. The gilt statues, with their titles and inscriptions, the crowns, bucklers, garlands, and other illustrious memorials, which several of the Roman emperors had established in testimony of the honor and virtue of the Jews, and which were held in high veneration, were entirely consumed in this conflagration. But no considerations had power to restrain the impetuous fury of these people who so far from entertaining the least apprehension of being brought to condign punishment for their outrageous violence, were conscious that, as Caligula harboured the most implacable enmity against the Jews, they could by no means more effectually ingratiate themselves into his favour than by persecuting them with the most excessive rigour.

That they might prosecute their barbarous and sanguinary designs with the greater security, they deemed it expedient to have recourse to every possible stratagem of insinuation and flattery for the purpose of gaining an interest with the emperor; and with this view they proceeded in the following manner:

The rioters had not ventured to attempt the burning or otherwise destroying a great number of the oratories, on account of their being attended by very strong parties of Jews, with whom they judged it would be dangerous to engage in a contention: but with a design to interrupt our religious worship, offer a gross indignity to our holy law, and, at the same time, ingratiate themselves with the emperor, they determined to erect his statue in all those places for religious meetings which they had not destroyed. In the principal
principal of these buildings they placed the statue of Caligula in a chariot with four horses of brays. This was an example that many of the Alexandrians were anxiously desirous to copy; and being unable to procure perfect figures of horses, they took from the gymnasion, or place of exercises, those mutilated ones which are said to have been dedicated to the honor of Cleopatra, the great grandmother of the last queen of that name.

It was, indeed, extraordinary that they should expect to gain the esteem of a prince so remarkably vain and imperious as Caligula by pretending to manifest a veneration for his person in the dedication of mutilated, old and decayed figures, which had been formerly dedicated to a woman, and were now unworthy the regard of an imperial prince. They had the confidence to expect that the ridiculous mockery which they had practised under the pretext of veneration and respect would intitle them to extraordinary rewards: but the circumstance from which they claimed the greatest merit was the transforming such numbers of oratories into temples, and increasing the number of those buildings dedicated to the honor of the emperor; though it is beyond all dispute that they were not influenced by a regard to the honor of their prince, but by a desire of gratifying the implacable and inveterate rage which they entertained against the Jewish people.

Ten sovereigns reigned in the space of three hundred years, during which time not a statue or an image was consecrated to any one of them; but though conscious that they were no more than men, they placed them among the number of the gods, and behaved to them with the veneration and respect that are usually observed towards the divinities: but this is a matter that will not greatly excite our admiration, since it is their custom to pay adoration to crocodiles, serpents, birds, beasts, fishes and other creatures; and since temples, altars and groves dedicated to the honor of various kinds of animals abound in all parts of Egypt.

The Alexandrians are more remarkably addicted to flattery than any other people in the universe, and it is their custom to cultivate the favour of princes according to the good fortune they enjoy, without regard to their personal virtues or merits: and therefore, they may urge, in reply to what we have said above, that since the Roman emperors greatly surpass the Ptolemies in point of power, grandeur and prosperity, they must consequently be intitled to more distinguished honors. The absurdity of this answer must instantly appear; but let it be demanded of those who may be inclined to contest the matter, What reason can be assigned that similar honors were not observed towards Octavianus, to whom Caligula stands indebted for the possession of the imperial dignity? The reign of this prince continued for the space of three and forty years, during which time he exercised the government with so much wisdom and discretion that he preferred both Greece and Barbary in a state of the most perfect and uninterrupted tranquillity, enjoying the great blessings necessarily resulting from peace; and on his decease there appeared no prospect to threaten a disturbance of the public happiness. But Octavianus received none of those honors which have been paid to his successor. Did this neglect of Tiberius happen because he was inferior to Caligula
gula in point of family? That objection cannot be urged; for it is indisputable that the descent of Tiberius was much more illustrious, both by father and mother, than that of Caligula. Can it be ascertained that Tiberius was deficient in a knowledge of the world, or a capacity for business? The age in which he lived could not boast a man possessing a more sound judgment, a deeper penetration into human nature, or greater powers of elocution. No prince or emperor was ever more justly celebrated for the perfection of the intellectual faculties at an early period of life, or known to have declined into old age with more distinguished honors. It is not usual for the maturity of understanding to arrive but with years and experience: to this, however, Tiberius proved a remarkable exception; for so early in youth did the powers of his mind display themselves in full vigour that he was distinguished by the appellation of the old young prince. The eminent virtues of Tiberius, and his great qualifications for the discharge of the functions of royalty, seemed to have exalted him above the level of human nature. His steady resolution, profound policy, sound judgment, strict administration of justice, and other great virtues, gave him the first title to the glorious name of Augustus; and that honourable distinction, which he derived not from his ancestors by virtue of an hereditary claim, but which originated in his own personal merit, will be transmitted to his descendants. But the folly and ingratitude of man is such, that the merit of this incomparable prince has been entirely neglected, and his memory infulted; for the honors of which he was deemed unworthy have been offered to the barbarous tyrant Caligula.

When Tiberius assumed the government, so general and destructive a war prevailed that the extirpation of mankind seemed to be threatened in the apprehended consequences of the furious and bloody contention; in which nation was opposed against nation, and people against people; and, in short, the greater part of the world was concerned in this dispute for empire, wherever the felicity, and even the existence of mankind seemed to depend. At this important juncture it was the pleasure of Divine Providence to appoint the descendant of an illustrious family as the agent by whom mankind was to be relieved from the alarming prospect of impending ruin. When Tiberius took possession of the helm, the forum, as at the word of a guardian angel, subsided into a profound peace. This incomparably excellent prince put a period to the hostilities and devastations which so violently raged in every quarter of the globe; he cleared the seas of pirates, and caused an abundance of all the necessaries and conveniences of life by promoting a commercial intercourse between the different countries; reformed the manners of the most barbarous nations, and gave them to experience the happiness resulting from civil society; relieved the provinces from oppression, and so great was his bounty to the different towns, that they were fearcely sensible they did not enjoy unlimited freedom. He administered justice with strict impartiality; successfully exerted his endeavours to preserve an uninterrupted tranquillity, and distributed his bounties with unlimited generosity; so that the people had every reason to congratulate themselves on the circumstance of living under the dominion of a prince so admirably qualified to render their happiness in every
every respect complete. Tiberius continued in the uniform pursuit of this excellent line of conduct till the conclusion of his life. This truly great and glorious prince, the common benefactor of mankind, held the government of Egypt for the space of three-and-forty years with unblemished honor to himself and unexampled benefit to the public: but no design has been conceived of commemorating his extraordinary virtues by dedicating images or statues to his honor in any of the places of public worship.

Of all mankind Tiberius had indisputably the most just pretension to extraordinary respect and veneration, not only as being the author of the august imperial family, but also on account of his having assumed to himself the whole powers of sovereignty, which were before divided amongst diverse persons, and continued to exercise his authority with so much moderation, with discretion as to procure the most perfect happiness to his people. It was a just observation of an ancient, that "Danger is ever attendant upon a divided sovereignty, since public evils are to be apprehended from the disagreement of private sentiments." The great merit of Tiberius has been universally acknowledged by mankind, who have deuced to him divine honors, such as temples, groves, porticos and such other proofs of magnificence and ingenuity as greatly surpass all other productions, whether ancient or modern. The most remarkable of these is Caesar's temple in Alexandria, bearing the name of Sebaste. The situation of this incomparable structure is opposite an exceedingly commodious harbour. It is so high that it is to be perceived at a surprizing distance, and it is extensive in proportion to its elevation. All the parts of the building are beautified with gold and silver. In point of architecture it is a most curious and masterly performance. Nothing can be imagined more truly magnificent than the galleries, libraries, porches, courts and halls; and the elegance of the structure is greatly improved by the pleasing disposition of the consecrated groves. It abounds with capital paintings and statues, and various other rich donatives and oblations. In short, the whole work was finished with all the grandeur and elegance that it could receive from the utmost exertions of ingenuity, indefatigable labour, and unlimited expense. It is a conspicuous guide to mariners, whom it enables to navigate their vessels with greater safety both to and from the harbour.

Since such distinguished honors were paid to Tiberius by the common consent of the different nations, can it be urged that the people were deficient in acknowledging their great obligations to that most excellent emperor, because they omitted to erect his statues in the oratories belonging to the Jews? The reason that statues were not erected in those places of worship to the honor of Tiberius was a conscientiousness in the people that he was not more defirous of exacting a conformity to the laws, institutions and ceremonies of Rome than of allowing the inhabitants of the different provinces the full enjoyment of their customs, rights and privileges. Though he did not entirely approve of the great veneration that was shewn towards him, he deemed it not prudent to disapprobation a practice which the dignity of the empire required, and served to inspire the public with respect and obedience to the government. As a proof that he was not elated by vanity, and that he abhorred fervile
fervile adulation, it is only necessary to mention that he would not permit his subjects to treat him in the character either of a deity or a master; nor did he scruple to declare his approbation of the conduct of the people of our nation in holding so abominable a practice in the utmost abhorrence. But for these sentiments it cannot be supposed that he would have suffered so considerable a part of the city beyond Tyber to remain in possession of the Jews, (the majority of whom had been prisoners of war, but were restored to freedom by their masters), and have allowed them the privilege of living according to the laws and customs of their own country. He was perfectly acquainted with the nature of the oratories, and that the Jews assembled in those buildings, particularly on the sabbath-days, for the purpose of exercising the duties of religion, according to the custom of their ancestors; nor was he a stranger to the contributions that were made, and transmitted to Jerusalem, under the denomination of first-fruits; or that sacrifices were offered, and the functions of the priesthood regularly performed. But he never expressed the most distant intention of expelling our people the city. Even in Palestine they were indulged in the uninterrupted practice of the religion of their country, nor was any kind of restraint imposed upon them with regard either to their oratories or their meetings for deliberating upon legislative points. So far from entertaining a disapprobation of the solemnities of our religion, he presented our temple with a variety of rich donatives, which we are yet able to produce in testimony of the function he gave to our customs, thereby manifesting the veneration in which he held our religion. He issued an express command, that entirely at his own expense sacrifices should be daily offered to the most High God: this custom has been observed to the present time, and it will ever be strictly adhered to, and justly considered as an honourable memorial of the virtue and piety of Tiberius. On occasion of public distributions of money and corn, this incomparable prince provided that the Jews should be included in the number of those who partook of the royal bounty; and if the benefactions were to be delivered on the sabbath of the Jews, when they are prohibited from giving or receiving, or performing any kind of work or business, particularly if their interest is concerned therein, he expressly commanded the proper officers to deliver due proportions to them on the following day. The favourable treatment which they experienced from Tiberius gave the Jews a considerable share of consequence with the other nations, who, though naturally enemies to them, dared not venture to interrupt them in the enjoyment of their privileges, since they were so evidently patronized and greatly favoured by the emperor.

The circumstances of the Jews were as auspicious under the dominion of Tiberius as under that of Augustus, although Sejanus exerted his utmost endeavours to effect the ruin of such of our people as resided in the city of Rome, by grossly calumniating them to the emperor. Soon after the miserable death of Sejanus, Tiberius discovered that the injurious reports which he had communicated respecting the Jews, were entirely destructive of a foundation in truth, and calculated to answer no other purpose than that of vio-
lently irritating him against them, because Sejanus had found them to be a people, whom, of all others, he had most reason to apprehend would vigorously oppose the impious design he had meditated of sacrificing the life of his prince. Hereupon Tiberius dispatched immediate orders to the governors of the several provinces, enjoining them to treat the Jews with great lenity, excepting only some few who had been concerned in Sejanus's conspiracy; and that no interruption should be offered to them in the exercise of their religion; for that he considered them as a people whose laws, lives and manners were by no means repugnant to the institutions of government, or dangerous to the public tranquillity.

C H A P. X.

The vanity and presumption of Caligula still continues to increase, and the Alexandrians comply with his desire of being venerated as a deity. Some account of the worship practised by the Alexandrians. An Egyptian, named Helico, who had been a slave, and presented by his master to the late emperor Tiberius Caesar, is in great favor with Caligula, whom he irritates against the Jews of Alexandria.

The phrensy of Caligula was now arrived to so immoderate a degree, that he not only claimed divine honors, but actually believed himself to be a divinity; and neither the Greeks, the Barbarians, or any other people, were so ready to encourage his extravagant pretensions as the Alexandrians. They are a people who greatly surpass all the other inhabitants of the earth in the arts of flattery, diffimulation and hypocrisy: they have a remarkably insinuating manner, a great command of words, and are eminently qualified for creating popular tumults and destroying the order of government. A proper idea of the religious principles of these people will be formed, when it is considered that they pay adoration to their ibes, asps, and diverse other animals; and thus they deceive people who are not apprized of the abominable impieties of the Egyptians: but they are held in the utmost abhorrence by all good men who are acquainted with the real nature of their practices.

Caligula was vain enough to entertain the absurd supposition that the Alexandrians believed him to be a god in reality; for they hailed him with the acclamations, and observed towards him the external formalities, usual in the religious ceremonies of their country, and there was so great a plausibility in their manner, that the emperor could not perceive the difference between a falfe and a true worship. Thus infatuated, he considered the veneration paid him by the people, and the sacrifices they had committed in the oratories, as evident proofs of their great zeal and affection towards his person; and the most excellent poems or histories could not have been more acceptable to him than the accounts he daily received of what passed in Alexandria respecting these subjects. The intelligence was conveyed by his own domestics, who were admirably qualified to gratify the inclinations of their master; for they extravagantly praised whatever he approved, and as severely condemned
condemned every thing to which he expressed an aversion. These domestics were principally Egyptians, an abject, and in every respect a contemptible people, educated from their infancy in the abominable practice of paying adoration to serpents and crocodiles. The chief of these people was an Egyptian, named Helico, a man of obscure birth and abandoned principles, who had insinuated himself into favor at court, by unjustifiable practices. Helico had acquired some literary knowledge while in the capacity of a slave to his first master, by whom he was presented to the deceased emperor Tiberius Cæsar. But this prince, even in the early part of his life, was of a grave disposition, and ever inclined to consider frivolous matters with contempt; and therefore he entertained no regard for Helico, in whom he observed buffoonery to be the distinguishing characteristic. Upon the decease of Tiberius, and the succession of Caligula to the imperial dignity, Helico determined to accommodate himself to the disposition of his new master, whom he observed to be a prince wholly abandoned to the unlimited indulgence of his inordinate and vicious desires; and thus he argued with himself:

"The time is now arrived when thou mayest promote thy own advantage; therefore, Helico, permit not so favourable an opportunity to escape, but roufe thyfelf into activity. Thou haft now a master perfectly agreeable to thy wishes: he will attentively listen to thy discourse, and yield to thy persuasions. Thou haft a disposition that can easily accommodate itself to all persons and circumstances; and there are but few, if any, who can rival thee in the talent of humour, raillery and satirical mirth. Thou art not more deeply skilled in the liberal sciences than those which are deemed illiberal. Thou art not only able to employ the arts of flattery with success, but also to render those against whom thou hast conceived an enmity the objects of suspicion and resentment by oblique insinuations: and thou art well aware that thy efforts will operate the more powerfully in proportion to the degree of art with which thy motives are disguised; and that thou hast now to deal with a prince ever willing to yield attention to reproach and calumny. Thou hast no cause to apprehend the want of subjects; for the Jewish people, their laws and ceremonies will afford thee ample materials for the exercise of thy ingenuity. To execute these people and their customs, thou hast been instructed from thy infancy, not merely by particular individuals, but by nearly the whole body of the Alexandrians. Let it then be proved how far thy abilities are able to render thee service."

Helico's thoughts were now wholly engrossed by the plan he had conceived; and he continually employed himself in endeavouring to exasperate Caligula against the Jews: he paid no regard to proper times or seasons, but either by day or night, as his inclinations happened to dictate, interrupted the emperor in his most private retirements, and during the hours dedicated to pleasure, and adopted every species of artifice that was likely to encrease that aversion which he already entertained against the people of our nation; and his wicked and malicious insinuations had the greater effect, as they were delivered in a style of ironical pleasantry. He judged it not good policy openly
openly to declare himself the enemy of the Jews, but so artfully disguised his meaning, and conducted his treacherous scheme with so much address that he involved our people in greater calamities than he could possibly have done had his intention been obvious.

The ambassadors appointed by the people of Alexandria had no sooner discovered that Helico was a man capable of rendering them essential service, than they pursued every possible means for attaching him to their interest, for which purpose they presented him with very considerable sums of money, and promised to procure him distinguished honors upon the emperor's arrival at Alexandria, where he was expected in a short time; and he engaged to fulfil their requests. Helico greatly delighted himself by anticipating in his imagination the respect and honor that would be paid to him by the ambassadors who would retort to Alexandria from all quarters of the universe for the purpose of manifesting their veneration towards the person of the emperor.

The means of defending ourselves against our open and professed enemies had hitherto entirely engrossed our attention, so that we entertained not the least suspicion that measures were pursuing for our destruction by an insidious and concealed enemy in the person of Helico. But upon discovering that this man was violently prejudiced against us, we exerted our utmost endeavours, by flattery and such other means as we judged most likely to prove effectual, to incline him to our interest, considering him as a man from whom we had the greatest reason to apprehend danger; for he attended Caligula at feastings, balls, wrestlings, bathings, and all other entertainments and exercises, and was his companion in his sensual debaucheries. Being first gentleman of the bed-chamber, he could on no occasion be at a loss for the opportunity of engaging the emperor in conversation. The great object of his desire was to effect the destruction of the Jews; and for this purpose he calumniated us with the most barbarous severity, but in a style of such exquisite humour and raillery, that his malevolent reflections seemed to be unpromoted, without the least design of promoting mischief, but wholly calculated to afford pleasure to the emperor. He pursued his infamous machinations with the most consummate art, connecting his misrepresentations together with such ingenuity that they mutually served to elucidate and add force to each other. In short, the artifices he employed proved so successful, that their effects were never to be eradicated from the mind of Caligula.
The Jews of Alexandria despair of succeeding with Helico, and therefore appoint deputies to represent their cause to the emperor, Philo being the chief of the embassy.

Having assiduously laboured to the utmost extent of our abilities to influence Helico in our favor, and having experienced the mortifying disappointment of finding him to be a man of an insufferably arrogant and haughty disposition, and so difficult of access that it was not possible to gain his attention to our cause, we deemed it necessary to seek redress by other means, not knowing but some particular and personal pique or enmity might be the cause of his prejudicing us in the opinion of Caligula. It was deemed expedient to present a memorial to the emperor representing the grievances we suffered, and supplicating redress. When king Agrippa was going to Syria, not long previous to this time, he stopped at Alexandria, and we then presented to him an address, of which the above-mentioned memorial was an abstract.

We departed in order to repair to Rome, cherishing the flattering belief that we should find Caligula a benevolent prince and an equitable judge; but we were miserably deceived in our opinion; for fatal experience convinced us that he entertained a most inveterate and implacable enmity against the people of our nation. He received us in the field of Mars, adjacent to Tyber, and disguised the real sentiments of his heart by saluting us with great complacency and apparent good-will, signifying by a motion of his right hand that we were perfectly welcome; and he dispatched Homulus, the introducer of ambassadors, to inform us, that on the first opportunity of leisure he would take our caufe into mature consideration. From these circumstances it was imagined, not by the Jews alone, but by all persons present, that our application would succeed to the extent of our wishes.

I had the honor to be appointed chief of the embassy from the Jews of Alexandria to the emperor Caius Caligula; and the experience and knowledge which I had acquired in the world enabled me to avoid the error of judging from superficial appearances; and therefore what afforded satisfaction to other people, inspired me with jealousy and apprehension, and suggested the following reflections:

"Is it not strange that though ambassadors are here assembled from all quarters of the universe, we alone should receive audience? Does not Caligula know that we are Jews, and that we cannot reasonably expect a difference that is refused to other people? It would, indeed, be a degree of lunacy in us were we to expect peculiar favors and protection from a youthful and free prince, of a different nation from ours, and of principles contrary to those we profefs. It is indisputable that he entertains a partiality towards the Alexandrians, and that he is induced by his regard to..."
to them to hasten the decision on our appeal. I am terribly alarmed by the apprehension that he will be a powerful enemy to the Jews, and a firm advocate for the Alexandrians: but would to Heaven he may so conduct himself in the cause which is submitted to his determination as to approve himself worthy the character of an equitable judge.

CHAP. XII.

Philo and the other Jewish ambassadors are informed that Caligula has issued orders to Petronius, the governor of Syria, to cause his statue to be erected in the temple of Jerusalem, in consequence of which they are greatly afflicted. Account of the deaths of Helico and the tragedian Apelles.

My mind was so entirely occupied by the above reflections, that I was unable to take repose either by day or night; but additional troubles were yet to arrive. A circumstance occurred that foreboded the utter ruin of the whole Jewish nation, and I was now most heavily oppressed with affliction.

We had followed the emperor to Puteoli, whither he had repaired for the purpose of enjoying the fresh air on the banks of the sea, and entertaining himself with the view of the palaces and other magnificent buildings which abound in that neighbourhood. We waited in daily expectation of being admitted to an audience, in the last degree of anxiety lest our petition should be rejected.

We were accosted by a man trembling and so out of breath that he was at first unable to speak: wildness and distraction appeared in his eyes, and all his features were expressive of the utmost horror. He retired a little that he might not be over-heard by the strangers who were present, and then, in a low tone of voice, said, "Hark ye; have you not heard the dreadful news?" He endeavoured to proceed, but burst into tears, and was unable to articulate another sentence. After a short pause he prepared again to speak, and frequently renewed his attempts, but his voice was as often interrupted by the same cause. We were greatly surprized at this very extraordinary spectacle, and earnestly entreated the man to inform us what was the motive of his conduct, saying we could not suppose, from what we had observed, but that he came with a design to weep in our presence; adding, that if he had cause of great affliction, we, who had been long and daily exercised in misery, would join him in mourning and lamentations. At length, he made another effort to speak, and, after many tears, sobs and other expressions of grief, he said, "Our temple is inevitably ruined; for the emperor has issued an express order for his statue, with the name of Jupiter inscribed thereon, to be erected in the holy sanctuary." This intelligence operated so powerfully upon all who heard it, as nearly to deprive them of all sense and motion; and in a short time we received a fatal confirmation of its authenticity. We now seclude ourselves in an apartment, where we consoled each other on
the calamitous situation of affairs; for grief is naturally eloquent, and we had ample cause for lamentation.

When we committed ourselves to the mercy of the tempestuous ocean, engaging in a hazardous, fatiguing and dangerous winter-voyage, in the hope of relieving ourselves from intolerable persecution and oppression, we entertained no apprehension of so terrible a storm as we have experienced at land. The tempests of winter, and all the revolutions of the seasons, happen according to the common course of nature, and are to be considered as the works of Providence, being meant to operate to the general good of mankind; and therefore they are not only supportable, but to be submitted to with chearfulness. The tempest which now prevails is caused by a youthful, ambitious and turbulent prince, who delights in public calamity, and who is so entirely divested of all principles of virtue, that he resembles humanity in no circumstance but that of the external form: and he is to be considered as the more dangerous enemy since, the whole power of the empire being at his command, no bounds can be prescribed to his wanton and insupportable tyranny. Who would presume to dissuade the most cruel enemy of mankind from offering sacrilegious violence to the temple? Would it not be contrary to reason and common sense to hope for mercy from a monster whose heart is estranged to all the tender feelings of humanity; or to expect safety and protection from our barbarous and unrelenting oppressors? The man who would dare to violate the holy temple, which, like the sun in the firmament, is conspicuous to the whole world, and is held in universal veneration, must be capable of every species of wickedness, and it would be the height of absurdity to expect that he should, even in a single instance, approve himself the friend of mankind.

"He who submits to death for the laws and religion of his country will inevitably be rewarded for the glorious sacrifice by a life of eternity and inexpressible happiness. Why then (continued we) should we express an anxiety for prolonging the date of mortal existence? But depriving ourselves of life without being influenced to the irrevocable action by the prospect that happy consequences would thence result to the public, must necessarily subject us to just and severe censure. Should we be guilty of a conduct of this nature we should but add to the calamities under which we already labour. Being here in the character of ambassadors we should involve those by whom we are deputed in circumstances of aggravated distress, and afford those among our own people who are unfavourably disposed towards us an opportunity of attributing a wrong motive to any glorious resolution we might adopt. They may, perhaps, urge that being in embarrassed circumstances, we dreaded to encounter the threatened danger, and infamously deserted the public cause.

"Smaller interests must give way to greater and those of individuals must yield to considerations, for the public good. If this rule is violated the order of government will be confounded, and the very existence of government itself, and consequently of the laws by which the national importance and grandeur is supported, will be in danger of falling in a com-
mon destruction. We must not, for a moment, be so insensible of the
great duties which we owe to our country as to entertain the thought of a-
bandoning the cause of the Jews of Alexandria, who have invested us
with powers to negotiate an affair on the issue of which depends the safety
and welfare of the whole Jewish nation, who are now in most imminent
danger of being entirely extirpated from the face of the earth by the vio-
lent and barbarous persecutions and oppressions of the inhuman tyrant
Caligula.

Perhaps it may be urged, that if we can by no means ensure success, we
may still indulge the thoughts of retiring in safety, even under the great
affliction of our disappointments. In reply to this I say, that a proposi-
tion of the above nature cannot be advanced by a man possessed either of
personal bravery or a knowledge of the holy scriptures. It is the natural
disposition of truly generous spirits never to abandon themselves to despair;
and those who believe and heartily embrace the doctrines of the sacred
scripture, will find therein an unerring foundation for sustaining their
hopes. The distresses to which we are at present reduced may, perhaps, be
meant as a trial of our virtue, and to prove with what degree of constancy
and fortitude we are able to support affliction. Farewell then to all ex-
pectations of sublunary comforts, which are so uncertain and deceiving as
to desert us when we have most occasion for their support. Let us, with a
firm confidence and steady faith, rely on the power and goodness of Al-
mighty God, by whom our ancestors were frequently delivered from the
most calamitous circumstances, and by whom we shall never be forsaken
while we hold his sacred name in due veneration.

In the above manner we consoled ourselves on so melancholy and unex-
pected an event. After remaining silent for a short time, addressing our-
elves to the person who had communicated the afflicting intelligence, we
spoke to following purpose:

"How happens it that you appear to be satisfied with having simply rela-
ted to us the matter of fact, which has involved us in extreme misery; as
a single spark may occasion the most terrible conflagrations? We still re-
main wholly ignorant of the motive of the impious resolution which you
fay the tyrant has adopted."

"It is a matter of public notoriety (replied he) that the emperor is ambi-
tious of being distinguished as a divinity. Conceiving the Jews to be the
only people who would endeavour to frustrate his blasphemous design, he
determined to exert every possible effort for obviating the opposition which
he apprehended from them. He judged that he could not proceed in a
more effectual manner towards facilitating the execution of his purpose
than by wreaking vengeance upon the Jews by offering indignities and pro-
fanations to the holy temple of Jerusalem, which is universally allowed
to be the most magnificent and beautiful structure that has ever been
formed by human invention and labour, and which contains immense trea-
urses, donatives and oblations, that have been constantly accumulating
during
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historical references to Caligula and the rise of the empire. The text elaborates on the selection of sacred articles, the granting of favors, and Caligula’s ambition, leading to the execution of treacherous plots.

In a short time the Jews assembled, and laid the altar in ruins; in consequence of which the faction exhibited complaints before Capito, and requested that he would grant them redress for the injury and affront they had received. Capito, who originally concerted the scheme, industriously aided its operation; and when it had arrived to maturity, he congratulated himself on the success of his invention, and transmitted to the emperor an account of the affair, including every aggravation that appeared likely to inflame him to an excess of rage and indignation. The intelligence being received by the impetuous, vain and presumptuous Caligula, he immediately commanded that, in revenge for the destruction of the brick altar in Jamnia, his statue, of the size of a colossus, and richly decorated with gold, should be placed in the temple of Jerusalem. In this matter the emperor followed the advice of those respectable counsellors Helico, who had so greatly distinguished himself as the bulwark of the court, and the tragedian named Apelles. Having signalized himself by the profligacy of his manners in the early part of life, Apelles afterwards Vol. II. 7 R
engaged in the theatrical profession: and it will perhaps be thought
scarcely necessary to observe that there is no class of people more remark-
able than those dependant on the stage, for the lewdness of their principles,
and the licentious course of their lives. Helico and Apelles are the pre-
ceptors of Caligula: it is the business of the first to qualify him in the arts
of raillery, and that of the latter to instruct him in singing and the manner
of reciting poetry. Thus, like a scorpion, did Helico discharge his
Egyptian venom against the Jews, as did Apelles that of an Ascalonite,
which word signifies an irreconcilable enemy to the people of our nation.
The above relation so grievously afflicted us that we could not have been
sensible of more acute pain had a poniard been struck to our hearts at every
word. The execrable advisers of Caligula, however, survived not long be-
fore they received the retribution of their abominable impiety. Apelles be-
ing apprehended and committed to prison, was heavily laden with chains
and subjected to the most excruciating tortures, which were inflicted at cer-
tain intervals that his sufferings might be prolonged, and, at length, they pro-
duced his death. Helico was put to death by order of Claudius, who suc-
cceeded Caligula in the imperial dignity.

C H A P. XIII.

Petronius, the governor of Syria, receives the emperor's order for erecting his statue
in the temple of Jerusalem; but he is greatly embarrassed as to the conduct he shall,
pursue, foreseeing, that if he executes the commission unhappy events must conseqneutly
arise. Babylon and other provinces attached to the interest of the Jews. Appre-
kending the dangerous circumstances in which he would involve himself by a refusal,
Petronius determines to comply with the orders of Caligula.

The emperor now dispatched orders to Petronius, the governor of Sy-
ria, for erecting and consecrating a statue to his honor in the temple
of Jerusalem; and every possible precaution was inserted in the commission
left the sacrilegious scheme should fail of being carried into execution. He
commanded Petronius to summon half the troops forming the army stationed
on the river Euphrates, for the purpose of repelling the oriental kings and
nations, in case of their attempting inroads or other enterprizes, and to em-
ploy them in attending the statue: the design of Caligula, however, was not
to give an appearance of solemnity to the ceremony of consecration, but that
a sufficient force should be ready to destroy such of the Jews as should presume
to oppose the extravagant measure.

"Alas, (exclaimed Petronius) is it thus, inhuman prince, that you de-
clare hostilities against the Jews, who, you are conscious will submit to
the most violent and cruel deaths rather than live to be the miserable wit-
ness of an infringement of their laws and a profanation of their temple?
What purpose will be answered by employing the military power but that
of consecrating the statue with the blood of so numerous a body of innocent
people as will lose their lives on this unhappy occasion?"
The order received from Caligula involved Petronius in a most afflicting embarrassment. He was fully apprized of the great danger that would attend a refusal to comply with the emperor's command, or the least delay in carrying it into execution; and he was perfectly sensible that, in case of his acquiescence, infinite difficulties would necessarily occur, as he knew the Jews to be a people in whom no considerations would repress the spirit of a most vigorous and unremitting opposition when their religion was in danger of violation.

It is natural for the people of every country to be jealous and apprehensive; they should be abridged of their customs and privileges; but the Jews are more remarkably so than any of the other inhabitants of the globe. They consider their laws as being oracles delivered to them by the Almighty; they are instructed from their earliest years in the necessity of paying a rigid obedience to them; the more they reflect upon them the more does their veneration for them increase; and they are so deeply engraven upon their hearts that the impression is not to be defaced. It is their practice to grant strangers, who become profelytes to their profession, the full enjoyment of all the privileges of free-citizens; and in short, so sacred is their veneration for their religious institutions, that they would sooner relinquish life than be guilty of the smallest violation of their duty. There cannot be a stronger proof of their great and ferupulous regard to the dignity of the holy temple, than the law which consigns any man to death without mercy who shall presume to enter the sanctuary; but to all other parts of the building the Jews of the different provinces are allowed the indiscriminate right of admission.

The order which he had received for erecting the statue of the emperor in the temple of Jerusalem proved exceedingly distressing to Petronius, who, anxiously revolved the matter in his mind, and advanced a variety of propositions and objections before he could determine on the line of conduct that it was most eligible to pursue. The result of his deliberations was, that he must carefully avoid any kind of innovation in points of religion; and his reasons were

1st, Because the introduction of a change in the customary manner of the Jewish worship would be contrary to justice and piety: and

2dly, Because the vengeance of an incensed Creator was to be dreaded, besides the consequences that would probably ensue from irritating the passions of a violent and determined people, and driving them to a state of desperation.

He reflected on the immense multitudes composing the great body of the Jewish nation; a people, not like others, confined to any particular province, but differing throughout every part of the universe, in the islands as well as upon the continent, and in such numbers that they were supposed, upon computation, to be nearly equal to all the other inhabitants; and he thus argued with himself:

"In my present situation it will certainly be prudent to defer taking any measures respecting the matter in question until I shall have taken them into mature deliberation. The Jews are so surprisingly numerous, that

"to
to provoke them to a general confederacy would be a measure exceeding-
ly dangerous to the public safety; for were such myriads of people to unite
in a common cause, their force would be sufficient to subdue all the rest of
the world. Vaft numbers of these people at present inhabit the country of
Judæa; and, notwithstanding they are represented by their enemies as bar-
barians, they indisputably poifess noble and generous minds; they are
a people skilled in the arts of war, able to bear fatigue, and of approved
bravery; and they poifess such an invincible constancy that they will ob-
flinately contend for the preservation of their rights, and infinitely rather
yield up their lives, with their swords in their hands, than submit to be
the witnesses of a violation of their religion and the admirable laws tran-
mitted to them by their ancestors.

Petronius was also greatly apprehensive of danger from the troops resident
on the other side of the river Euphrates, in Babylon, and diverse other pro-
vinces, who he was confident were strongly attached to the interests of the
Jews. "These people (faid he) have regularly transmitted their annual
contributions, which they call holy treasure, to the temple of Jerusalem,
under the denomination of fift-fruits; and fo great is their piety, that,
notwithstanding the danger and difficulty of the passage, they have never
entertained the apprehension that the treasure would not arrive in safety.
Upon gaining intelligence of the dedication of the statue of Caligula there
is every reason to believe that they will immediately take the field, and
then we must expect that they will surround us and sacrifice our lives to
their revenge.

Having ruminated in the above manner, the governor turned his thoughts
to the character and disposition of Caligula. "The emperor (faid he) is a
young man of violent and impetuous passions; he has no idea either of
humanity or justice, nor any guide to his conduct but the dictates of an ar-
bitrary inclination; and his pride, arrogance and presumption are fo ex-
cefive, that he is ambitious of being distinguished as a divinity. Whether
I comply with or disobey his command, my life must be exposed to most
in imminent danger. By a compliance I shall expose myself to the dangers
attendant upon war, the events of which, however, it must be allowed
are uncertain: but immediate death must be the inevitable consequence
of disobedience."
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CHAP. XIV.

The Roman officers under Petronius are disposed to war. Petronius employs artificers in forming the statue of Caligula, and endeavors to prevail upon the principal people among the Jews to consent to the placing it in the temple of Jerusalem. The Jews assemble, and proceed towards Phoenicia in search of Petronius, with whom they remonstrate on the subject of the intended dedication, and supplicate his permission to represent their case to the emperor.

In order to avoid the fury of the emperor, which they dreaded would fall upon them as a punishment for their disobedience to the express command respecting the dedication of the statue, the Roman officers who assisted in the government of Syria, under Petronius, recommended the engaging in the war as a measure highly expedient. But it proved a happy circumstance that the time employed in preparing the statue afforded an opportunity of mature deliberation, for orders were not issued either for conveying a statue from Italy, or for making use of the best that could be procured in Syria. Thus it appeared as if a providential interference operated in favor of God's people; for had not the delay happened, the war would have taken place before we could have made the necessary provision against the terrible calamities with which we were threatened.

Having formed the resolution of carrying the emperor's orders into effect, Petronius sent to Phoenicia for the most celebrated artificers to repair to him. Upon the arrival of these people he consulted with them respecting the business they were to undertake, for which he furnished them with all necessary materials, and appointed Sidon as the place where they were to perform the work. He dispatched intelligence of the intended dedication to the high-priests, magistrates, principal officers and other leading people among the Jews, exhorting them to a ready obedience to the emperor's pleasure, as the only means of avoiding the grievous calamities that otherwise must inevitably ensue; adding, that in case of an opposition, death and destruction would universally prevail in all their variegated forms of horror; for strict orders had been issued to the Syrian troops to employ fire and sword in laying the whole country in a state of absolute desolation if the Jews should make the slightest attempt to obstruct the dedication of the statue in their temple.

Petronius proceeded in the above manner, hoping that he should be able to prevail upon the leading people to acquiesce in the measure, and that their example would be readily followed by the multitude: but he was greatly deceived in his expectation. The matter being intimated to the people, they were struck with inexpressible astonishment and horror; their grief was so excessive as to deprive them of the power of speech, and they wept to such excess that their tears seemed to proceed from an inexhaustible source; their passions then became more violent, and they tore the hair from their heads.
and beards, and by other extravagant actions proved that they were driven
to the verge of distraction. Having, at length, recovered the power of ut-
terance, they vented exclamations to the following effect:

"Alas, how deplorable is our fortune to have survived till this time to
experience miseries, of which our ancestors could not form the least con-
ception. But we will never submit to be the miserable witnesses of the
profanation of our holy temple; for rather than behold the abominable
impiety, we will deprive ourselves of the organs of fight, and at the same
time put an end to our existence."

The above resolution soon reached Jerusalem, and was circulated through-
out the country of Judæa; and the Jews, as if by a common consent, de-
serting their cities, towns, castles and other places of habitation, collected
themselves into one body, and directed their march towards Phœnia, in
order to make application to Petronius. Upon the appearance of such an
immense concourse of people, the friends of Petronius urged him to be care-
ful of his safety; adding, that a powerful army was on the march to attack
him; for they did not conceive it to be possible that the Jews alone could
form such an innumerable multitude.

Upon the nearer approach of the Jews they appeared to cover the whole
space of ground as far as the sight could extend, but they were entirely de-
titute of arms either for assault or defence. The air resounded with the most
terrible outcries and lamentations; and when their complaints were sus-
pended the sound was for a long time continued by the echo. At length they had re-
course to such earnest prayers and ejaculations as were deemed proper on
the melancholy occasion. These unhappy people arranged themselves into
five classes; the old men, young men and boys forming the three divisions on
one side; and the old women, young women and virgins composing the three
on the other; and in this order they proceeded.

Being arrived within view of Petronius, who, in order to receive them,
had placed himself upon an elevated seat, they cast themselves upon the
earth, still keeping their ranks with the utmost regularity, and conducting
themselves in every respect perfectly consistent with the character and situa-
tion of earnest suppliants. That they were deeply penetrated by affliction
was apparent from their whole behaviour, which was exceedingly pathetic,
and attended with such an uncommon degree of harmony that they appeared
to be actuated by one mind. The governor ordered them to rise and ap-
proach nearer to him, but such was their humility that it was not without the
greatest difficulty that they were able to persuade themselves to comply. At
length, however, they rose and advanced towards Petronius, being in sack-
cloth and ashes, their eyes bathed in tears, and their hands bound behind
them, like those of prisoners under condemnation; and one of the senators,
in the name of the whole people, addressed the governor in terms to the fol-
lowing purpose:

"Behold, powerful sir, the unhappy people who now present themselves
before you: lest it should be apprehended that we entertain hostile de-
signs, we come entirely unarmed; and even our hands are confined, fo
that we have voluntarily deprived ourselves of all power of making use of offensive weapons; and we submit ourselves entirely to your mercy. We have abandoned our habitations, and brought with us our wives, children and families to unite in supplications to the emperor, through the agency of Petronius, to grant us a common preservation, or suffer us to fall in a common destruction. We are a people naturally disposed to peace; and it is our interest as well as inclination to entertain pacific sentiments; for we are conscious that we thence derive very considerable advantages.

Upon intelligence being transmitted to Vitellius, your predecessor in the government of Syria, who then resided at Jerusalem, respecting the advancement of Caligula to the throne, we were the first people of the whole country who testified our joy on the occasion, and congratulated him on his succession to the imperial dignity, and it was through our means that the news of his exaltation was so rapidly circulated through the different cities and other places. Our temple was the first wherein vows and sacrifices were offered for prolonging the life, and rendering auspicious the reign of the new emperor. Can it be just, then, that we should be the first, if not the only, people to be abridged of the privilege of exercising the duties of our religion, according to the forms which, for so many ages, we have practiced in our holy temple? Our habitations, plate, household effects, and all other possessions, both public and private, of whatever denomination, we are ready to resign into your hands; and we shall do it with the utmost willingness, accounting ourselves even to be gainers by the surrender of our property. We only desire your acquisi
cence to one condition; which is, that our temple may be preserved from profanation. Suffer us to continue in the enjoyment of our religious privileges as they were transmitted from our ancestors, and we shall have no further request to make: but if you are determined to reject our supplications on this head, we most earnestly entreat that you will condemn us to the loss of life; for we can submit to the most violent and tormenting deaths with infinitely more satisfaction than to the violation of our sacred laws.

A powerful military force is in readiness to attack such of our people as shall presume to oppose the consecration of the emperor's statue: but we are not so thoughtless and imprudent as to harbour the most distant notion of offering resistance to our lawful master. The soldiers may assault us and even cut us into pieces without subjecting themselves to any kind of danger; for, be assured, no opposition will be offered on our part. It was unnecessary to draw out so powerful an army for the slaughter of our people, who will, on no consideration attempt a defence of their lives. We will even execute the functions of our own priests; and in offering our sacrifices, the victims shall be our wives, sons, daughters, brothers and sisters; nor, in so desperate an extremity, will we regret to incur the appellation of the slayers of men, women and children; and having spilt the blood of so great a number of innocent people, it will be our next business to deprive ourselves of existence, mingling our blood with that of our friends.
friends. Our lives will be concluded with a supplication to the Almighty that he will not be offended with us for a conduct to which we were actuated by a regard to the authority of the emperor, and the sacred laws and religion of our country. Thus shall we behave, if we have sufficient virtue to persevere in the resolution of holding a life in contempt, by the preservation of which all good men would think themselves degraded.

Among the ancient Greek fables there is related a story concerning Gorgon's head, which had the power of transforming all who looked upon it into stone. Though this matter is a mere fiction, it must be allowed that it bears some emblematical resemblance to truth; particularly in instances of unexpected, great and astonishing events. To be the objects of the displeasure of their prince is the most deplorable misfortune that can befall a people. Suffer me, Petronius, to request that you will picture in your imagination the circumstance of our people being spectators of the dedication of the emperor's statue in the holy temple (but this event may gracious Heaven avert). Do you not suppose that shocking spectacle would give them the appearance of men transformed into lifeless marble? Their eyes would be fixed in their sockets with astonishment and horror, nature would receive a shock, and all the functions of life be suspended.

We by no means intend to insinuate that we are desirous of obtaining a discharge from our allegiance to the emperor: we most earnestly supplicate that you will not precipitate us into the last extremity of distress, but grant us time and your permission to represent our case to the imperial Caligula, through the agency of such deputies as we may nominate to plead for redress. It is possible that the emperor may be prevailed upon to grant us the liberty of living in a strict conformity to the laws and religious institutions transmitted to us by our ancestors: and there will appear some reason to hope that our petition will not be rejected, since privileges equal to those we request are granted to the people of all other nations without exception. Our remonstrance may, perhaps, dispose the emperor to consider our appeal in a favourable point of view. It cannot be supposed that the minds of princes are incapable of change; the possession of the royal dignity does not render the heart inexorable; and the dislike of emperors and kings, like that of other people, will certainly admit of palliation or entire removal. We have been greatly prejudiced in the opinion of the emperor by calumny and undeserved reproaches. Permit us then to do ourselves justice by representing to him the truth; for that we may not be condemned unheard, is all the favor we have to request. Supposing we should find it impossible to prevail upon the emperor to comply with our desire, our endeavours will not deprive him of the power of carrying his purpose into execution. And now, that we may come to a conclusion, we most earnestly supplicate that you will extend your goodness and generosity so far as to grant your permission for us to dispatch an embassy to plead the cause of a miserable people before the imperial Caligula. By a refusal you will blast all the hopes of this vast multitude of people, whose lives entirely depend on the issue of the present cause. Permit me
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"me to add that we have no view to private advantage in our present request, "but are wholly impelled by sentiments of piety; and that we mean not "to promote our own interests any farther than as they are connected with "the interests of our religion."

C H A P. XV.

Petronius compassionates the situation of the Jews, and writes on their behalf to the emperor. Upon receipt of the letter, Caligula is highly offended, and furiously exclaims against Petronius. Caligula dictates a letter in reply to that from Petronius, but from political considerations, he disguises his rage.

PETRONIUS, who was of a disposition naturally humane and benevolent, was greatly affected by the above discourse, as indeed were all who heard it; and the tenderness of their feelings was evident from the expression of their features, their gestures, and, in short, from their whole deportment. The governor was a man of great moderation, and a steady friend to, and advocate for, honor, truth and justice. He considered the request made by the Jews as being perfectly reasonable, and commiserated them as labouring under misfortunes peculiarly severe. In a discourse with the persons appointed to assist Petronius in the government, he observed that the severity of those who had entertained the most violent prejudices began now greatly to relax; and this change afforded him no inconsiderable share of satisfaction. Petronius was perfectly acquainted with the savage barbarity and unforgiving disposition of the emperor; but he conducted himself as if he was influenced by a pious regard to the religion of the Jews. Being a man of literature, perhaps his knowledge enabled him to form a right judgment; or he might be inclined in favor of our people by the natural benevolence of his disposition; by the information he acquired after his advancement to the government in Asia and Syria, where all the towns abound in Jewish inhabitants; or by the just sentiments with which the Almighty inspires virtuous people for the good both of themselves and the public: and the latter, indeed, appears to have been the case on the present occasion.

Orders were given to the statuaries to employ their utmost attention for rendering the image of the emperor as complete a performance as it was possible for the joint efforts of art and industry to produce; they were not enjoined to use expedition, but instructed to take time sufficient for the full display of their ingenuity; for hasty productions meet with but slight regard, and are soon configned to oblivion; while those which long remain under the hands of skilful artificers acquire a celebrity that is continued to distant ages without diminution.

Petronius considered that by sending ambassadors to Caligula, the Jews would expose themselves to the mercy of a powerful, vindictive, capricious, and oppressive prince; and that granting his full consent to, or putting an
absolute negative upon, their request, would be equally productive of unhappy consequences; and therefore he adopted a measure that seemed likely to obviate the danger of either extreme. He dispatched a letter to Caligula, wherein he omitted to mention the late proceedings of the Jews, but contented himself with observing that the delay of consecrating the statue was to be entirely attributed to the considerable space of time which the artificers must necessarily employ in producing a piece of workmanship executed in so masterly a manner as to be worthy the glorious purpose for which it was designed.

Thus did Petronius act with the view of gaining time; and he hoped that Caligula might in the interim alter his resolution; for this being the season for reaping the harvest, there was reason to apprehend that if the Jews were to be driven to despair by the profanation of their temple, they would become wholly regardless of their lives and all other considerations, and set fire to their corn and the other products of the earth, in revenge for the abrogation of their laws and religious rites and ceremonies. In order to guard against the apprehended mischief, Petronius took an early opportunity of causing the fruits to be gathered and the grain to be reaped; and he was partly induced to this measure by a desire of providing for a supply in case of a public exigency.

At this time a report universally prevailed that Caligula entertained a design of going to Alexandria in Egypt; but indeed it did not appear very probable that the emperor, attended by so great a concourse of people as those who composed his retinue, would expose himself to the great dangers and unavoidable difficulties of a long voyage; since he might, with much greater convenience and safety have proceeded by the way of the coasts of Asia and Syria; for, by pursuing the latter route, he might have had the advantage of disembarking and embarking according to his inclination, having, exclusive of the vessels of burden, two hundred long boats, purposely adapted to the use and service of the coasts.

It became necessary to furnish the several towns of Syria with a great supply of provisions, but particularly those situated on the sea coasts, on account of the amazing concourse of people that had resorted to that country from all quarters of the globe. The multitude was composed of men of wealth and distinction, military and naval commanders, civil officers, and persons of every other denomination, and the number of domestics was nearly equal to that of the soldiers. These people were not to be supplied in such a manner as would merely serve for the preservation of existence: but were to be entertained with a degree of profusion and magnificence corresponding with the dignity and illustrious character of the emperor.

It was the generally received opinion that the letter would meet with the entire approbation of the emperor, and that he would applaud the prudent measures suggested by Petronius, and approve of the delay in erecting the statue in the temple; though it was not expected that this moderate behaviour would proceed from any tenderness that he entertained towards the Jews, but merely from the consideration that, by securing the corn and fruits,
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a material advantage would be obtained. The letter, then, having received full approbation, a fair transcript of it was ordered to be made, with which a messenger was dispatched with express commands to use all possible expedition in conveying it to the emperor.

Upon perusing the letter from Petronius, the emperor's colour deserted his cheeks, his eyes sparkled with fury, his gesture was expressive of the utmost violence of rage and indignation, and clasping his hands together, he thus exclaimed against Petronius:

"Is it then thus, Petronius? Have you not yet learnt to obey your master? You seem to imagine that, because you will not submit to the emperor, the emperor will submit to you. The possession of an honourable and dignified commission has exalted you to such an extravagant degree of vanity, that you appear to be insensible that there is such a man in existence as Caligula: but a short time will convince you of your egregious error. The world is not inhabited by any people who are such implacable enemies to me as the Jews; notwithstanding which your desire of preserving the laws and customs of those people is infinitely more powerful than your inclination to observe a due obedience to the commands of your lawful prince. You conceive that there is danger on account of the great numbers of people by whom the Jewish nation is composed: but the apprehension is vain and ridiculous; for you have at command an army sufficiently formidable to oppose the utmost force of the kings of Parthia, and the united power of the whole east. Supposing you entertain a compassion for the Jews: are you, then, not highly criminal in suffering that ill-placed compassion to prevail over the duty which you owe to your prince and master? In excuse for your disobedience to my express commands, you plead a solicitude for saving the harvest, in order that you might provide a sufficient supply of stores in preparation for my intended voyage: but this is a frivolous pretext; for admitting so extraordinary a scarcity to prevail in Judæa as even to occasion a famine, we might, in such an extremity, procure ample supplies from the adjacent provinces. But why do I employ the time in idle words? The life of this inoffensive governor shall be sacrificed to my revenge. He shall be convinced that, although I decline further menaces, my resentment and indignation still subsist with their original fury."

Having delivered the above exclamation, the enraged emperor, after a short pause, dictated to one of his secretaries a letter in reply to that he had received from Petronius: but judging it expedient to avoid all measures that might tend to irritate the different governors, and induce them to excite the people to insurrections, and particularly those commanding in the extensive and populous provinces, containing powerful armies, as was the case in that immense territory extending along the banks of the river Euphrates, he carefully concealed his violent displeasure, and highly applauded the foresight and prudent conduct of Petronius. But after dissembling the rancour of his heart under the appearance of respect and approbation, he strictly enjoined him to suffer all other businesses entirely to subside rather than prolong the
the period for consecrating the statue in the temple of the Jews; adding, that since the haven was now concluded no pretext could possibly be adduced to justify a farther procrastination.

CHAP. XVI.

Upon the arrival of king Agrippa at Rome, he is informed of the emperor's determination to have a statue dedicated to his honor in the sanctuary of the temple, and in consequence thereof is seized with a fainting fit. Towards the evening of the following day his spirits revive, and after receiving some refreshment, he writes an expostulatory letter to Caligula on the subject of the intended dedication, concluding with a recital of the purport of a letter formerly transmitted to the magistrates of Ephesus by the proconsul C. Norbanus Flaccus.

Soon after this period king Agrippa repaired to Rome in order to pay his respects to the emperor according to his usual manner. He was an entire stranger as to the letter written by Petronius, and the answer returned by Caligula. Upon making his salutations he observed that the emperor's countenance was expressive of great anger; and therefore he employed his thoughts in examining into his own conduct; but finding, upon the most strict scrutiny, that he was unconscious of any action that could be interpreted into the cause of offence, he justly concluded that Caligula's displeasure must be pointed towards some other object. But his apprehension was renewed upon remarking that the fierceness of the emperor's eyes seemed to be more violent when they regarded him than when they were directed any other way, and on this account he several times intended to ask the reason of so singular an alteration; but he suppressed this desire, fearing that he might incur the displeasure of the prince by an imprudent indulgence of his curiosity.

No man possessed a greater skill than Caligula in penetrating into the sentiments of people from the expression of their countenances; and judging of the painful state of Agrippa's mind, he addressed him in the following manner:

"I am convinced, Agrippa, that you are perplexed with anxiety and doubt; and I will now relate to you the matter of which you are so desirous to be informed. The period of our acquaintance has, surely, been of sufficient duration for you to have convinced yourself that I make use of my eyes, as well as my tongue, to express my meaning. Those of your nation are the only people of the universe who have the presumption to refuse acknowledging me as a divinity; and from their insolent disregard of my sovereign pleasure, they seem to be desirous of precipitating themselves into irretrievable destruction. I have issued my express commands for placing the statue of Jupiter in the sanctuary of the temple; and in consequence of this, immense numbers of people have abandoned their respective places of residence, and collected themselves into a body in order to make application to me under the character of humble supplicants; but their design is to shew in what contempt they hold my commands."
The emperor was proceeding in his address, but ceased upon observing that Agrippa had on a sudden changed colour, and evidently appeared to be greatly disordered. A violent trembling pervaded the whole frame of the king, and his legs being no longer able to support him, he must have fell to the ground had he not been assisted by the persons who stood near him. While under this indisposition, occasioned by the sudden shock which his spirits received from the afflicting news he had heard from the emperor, Agrippa was conveyed to the place of his residence in a state of perfect insensibility. So far from being sensible of any degree of tenderness on account of the alarming accident that had happened to king Agrippa, it served to inflame the emperor to a more extravagant degree of rage against the people of our nation.

"Since Agrippa (said the emperor), who has professed the most sincere esteem for me, and whom I have entertained as a faithful and familiar friend, and on every occasion gratified to the utmost extent of my abilities, entertains so high a veneration for the laws and religious rites and ceremonies of his country, that all the powers of life seemed to desert him only upon hearing them mentioned with disrespect; how little reason, then, have I to expect that the rest of the Jews, who have no such confessions to influence them in my favor, will do a violence to their sentiments in order to indulge the inclinations of their prince."

During the rest of that, and the greatest part of the following day, the indisposition of Agrippa continued; and he lay dozing and insensible: but towards the evening his spirits somewhat revived, and raising his head a little, with much difficulty he opened his eyes, and cast them towards those who were about him, but without being able to recollect their persons. In a short time after this he fell into a sounder sleep, his respiration being less interrupted, and his body seeming to be gradually acquiring its former temperature; and these were deemed to be very favorable symptoms. Having remained some time in this situation, he awaked, saying, "Where am I? Is this the palace of the emperor: and is he present?" In reply to these questions, they said, "Take courage, sir: you are now at your own place of residence; and Caligula is not here. The time you have slept has been sufficient; endeavour, therefore, to fit up a little; and inform us whether you have any recollection of those who are now about you. Be assured, sir, here are none present but your friends, your domestics and freed-men, and that we are all most anxiously concerned for your recovery." The kind solicitude which the attendants testified contributed to relieve the king, in some degree, from the affliction under which he laboured. That Agrippa might not be disturbed, and that some remedies and refreshments might be administered, the physicians ordered the company to quit the apartment; whereupon he said, "Do not concern yourselves in providing de-licacies for the gratification of my palate: a plain diet is all I require; for under my present afflictions, it is sufficient that I take only what is just necessary to sustain life: I could not, indeed, persuade myself to re-

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"ceive any kind of nourishment but for the pleasing hope that I shall sur-
vive to relieve my country from the deplorable situation to which it is now
reduced." These words were accompanied with sighs and tears; and he
made a slight meal, the refreshments which he received being no more than
what were absolutely necessary for the support of nature. His food was of
the most plain and simple kind, and his attendants not being able to prevail
upon him to have any wine mixed with his water, he drank the element in
its native purity. Having concluded his repast, he said, "I have now dif-
charged a debt to nature; and it only remains for me to exert my utmost
efforts in order to avert the terrible calamities with which my unhappy
country is threatened." He now ordered a tablet to be brought, and wrote
to the emperor in the following manner:

KING AGrippa to the emperor CAIUS CALIGULA.

S I R,

"The dread of incurring your high displeasure, and the veneration
which I have for your sacred person and the dignity of your exalted char-
acter, will not permit me to obtrude into the presence of your imperial
majesty; and therefore I presume, by means of a letter, to address myself
to your majesty with the utmost respect, deference and humility.
"You are sensible, imperial sir, that nature inspires men with an ardent
affection for the place of their nativity, and an awful veneration for the
laws to which they have been taught to yield a perfect obedience. The
justice of this observation is fully confirmed by an eminent example which
is shewn in your own person; for you piously adhere to the exercise of the
duties of religion, and are careful to exact a strict conformity to the legis-
lative institutions of your country. It is the natural disposition of man to
continue his attachment to the principles which he has early imbibed, and
to respect the laws, customs and manners to which he has been long familiar-
ized, however erroneous and undeserving his preference; for there are
certain instances wherein we are rather influenced by our passions and pre-
judices than directed by judgment and reason.
"You are not ignorant, sir, that I am by birth a Jew, and that the place
of my nativity is Jerusalem, in which city stands the glorious edifice dedi-
cated to the honor of the most High and Almighty God. I am descended
from ancestors who were invested with the regal authority. Some of them
were high-priests; and they considered themselves as deriving infinitely
more honor from that dignified station than from the possession of sover-
eignty: they considered that as the Almighty is superior to man, so the fa-
cerdotal character must necessarily be more exalted than that of royalty;
the exercise of the former being directed towards Divine matters, and the
other having relation only to things of a sublunary nature.
"So
"So nearly am I connected with, and deeply interested in the fate of,
this nation, country and temple, to which I am indebted in great and ma-
nilfold obligations, that I cannot suppress the desire of imploring your im-
perial majesty with earnestness, but, at the same time, with due respect,
defereee and humility, that you will be graciously pleased to extend to
them your royal favor. Permit me, sir, to supplicate that you will not
compel the people of our nation to violate that religion which they have
received from their ancestors, the free exercise of which they consider as a
privilege infinitely more dear to them than the preservation of life. Re-
Alect, sir, on the truth, loyalty and zeal that the Jews have on every oc-
casion manifested towards the princes of your illustrious family. It can-
not be advanced that the people of any other profession have been so li-
beral of vows and supplications to Heaven for the prosperity of your em-
pire, or so attentive to the performance of sacrifices and oblations, which
they have constantly observed, not upon solemn festivals alone, but upon
all other days without intermission: and they have fully testified that their
ceremonies did not consist of an idle parade of words and external forma-
lities, but that their expressions of piety, veneration and affection proceed-
ed from them in the sincerity of their souls: and from this line of conduct
they have never deviated except when, on particular occasions, they were
compelled by a reverential obedience due to the holy laws and religion of
their country.
"I must intreat permission of your imperial majesty to observe that Jeru-
salem, wherein I received my nativity, is not to be considered merely as
the metropolis of Judæa, but of many considerable colonies which have
been peopled from that holy city; for instance, those of Ægypt, Phœni-
cia, the upper and lower Syria, Pamphylia, Cilicia, and several other
parts of Asia, extending as far as Bithynia and Pontus; in Europe, Thes-
faly, Bœotia, Macedonia, Ætonia, Athens, Argos, Corinth, and the
greatest part of Peloponnessus; and likewise the most celebrated of the
islands; as Eubœa, Cyprus and Crete. Respecting the country on the
other side the Euphrates I may safely assert that, excepting a small part of
the province of Babylon and some other governments, there is scarcely a
city of any consideration that is not occupied by Jewish inhabitants.
Hence then it appears that I do not intercede in favor of my own country
in particular, but for the general advantage and happiness of Asia, Eu-
rope and Africa, the people inhabiting the islands as well as the contin-
ent.
"By graciously condescending to comply with my petition in favor of the
city where I received my birth, you will confer great and lasting obliga-
tions upon the people of many other places situated in the different quar-
ters of the globe; for on the act of clemency which I now presume to fo-
licit depends the common welfare and happiness of almost the whole body
of mankind. What action can be more consonant with the exalted cha-
racter of the great and illustrious Cæsar than that which will gratify the
desires, and procure the felicity of all mankind, and consequently secure to
him the tribute of admiration, esteem and reverence from the most distant
generations? I am not without hope that the confidence of my address will
meet with pardon; for my zealous endeavours in the present cause are
meant to promote a mediation which will secure great and immortal fame
to the emperor.

In compliance with the intercessions of some particular friends, you have
been graciously pleased to constitute the inhabitants of whole towns
free citizens of Rome, thereby advancing to the character of masters those
who were before in a state of servitude; and on these occasions your royal
beneficence was as great to those who solicited the bounty as to those on
whom it was conferred. Of all the princes who acknowledge you as their
master, there are but few who can justly claim a superiority to me in point
of dignity, and none who bear towards your sacred person a more profound
and sincere respect, esteem and veneration. The instances of friendship which
you have been graciously pleased to confer upon me have been great and nu-
merous; and both honor and gratitude have hitherto prompted, and will
ever continue to excite my most sincere acknowledgments. Nevertheless I do
not presume to solicit your imperial majesty on the score of grants and pri-
vileges, or that you will allow my countrymen an exemption of the pay-
ment of tributes. I only entreat a favor that cannot be productive of any
kind of injury or inconvenience to your imperial majesty, but which will
prove highly advantageous and satisfactory to the Jews; for what greater
earthly blessings can subjects desire than the good opinion, esteem and
friendship of their acknowledged sovereign? Jerusalem was the first place
that congratulated Caligula on his succession to the imperial dignity; and
she communicated the joyful event to the adjacent provinces. May we not
reasonably expect that some favor will be shewn to our holy city, in ac-
knowledgment of the loyal and zealous principles she expressed when she
hailed Caligula in the character of her lawful sovereign? It is judged that
the eldest son is entitled to the greater share of honor, because by his birth
his parents first acquired the venerable appellations of father and mother:
may we not, therefore, conclude that some consideration, superior to such
as can be reasonably expected by any other cities, is due to Jerusalem;
since she first congratulated Caligula on the occasion of his advancement
to the regal station?

Having thus spoken concerning my nation and my country, it now re-
 mains for me most humbly to implore your majesty's clemency towards the
holy temple of Jerusalem. The glorious structure of which I now mean
to speak, is consecrated to the honor of Almighty God, who resides there-
in. The productions of statuaries and painters only represent the visible
deities: but to attempt the representation of the invisible and eternal God
whom we adore, is considered by the people professing the Jewish religion
as a most abominable impiety.

Our temple was held in a high degree of veneration by Agrippa, your
majesty's grandfather. Augustus expressly commanded that the sacred
building should be supplied with the oblations denominated first-fruits from

the
"the several quarters of the globe, and that daily sacrifices should be offered therein. The empress, your great grandmother entertained a pious esteem and reverence for the temple. Neither prince nor potentate, Greeks Barbarians, nor our most deadly enemies, nor all the horrors of foreign and domestic war, sedition, bondage, nor the most terrible calamities to which human nature is subject, could ever prevail upon us to admit of an idol being placed in our temple. It must be acknowledged that there have been enemies to the sacred edifice; but the religion exercised therein was still secure. The building being consecrated to the Creator and Father of the universe, people refrained from placing idolatrous statues therein, lest they should incur the judicial vengeance of an offended God. It will not be necessary to recur to strangers for examples, since so many of a domestic nature may be produced.

During the reign of king Herod, my grandfather, Marcus Agrippa, the grandfather of your imperial majesty, honoured him so far as to visit him in Judæa; and on this occasion Agrippa proceeded by the way of the sea-coast to the city of Jerusalem. The magnificence and splendor of the holy temple, the exercise of the religious rites and ceremonies, the simplicity of the manners of the people, and many other circumstances, served to inspire the illustrious visitor with admiration, reverence and esteem; and he availed himself of every opportunity of testifying his veneration for the glorious fabric. During the time that he remained in Jerusalem he daily attended the temple, employing himself in contemplating the holy vestments, the manner of performing sacrifices, the dignity of the high-priest, seated on an eminence, and superbly habited in his pontifical robes, and the piety which was expressed by him as well as the other priests who officiated in the religious functions.

Previous to his departure Agrippa conferred upon the citizens every indulgence that it was possible for him to bestow, excepting only an exemption from the payment of the usual taxes, and presented the holy temple with many donatives of great value. On his return Agrippa was accompanied by Herod to the sea-shore, where these two great personages mutually acknowledged the great obligations they had received from, and the friendship they entertained for each other. On occasion of the departure of Agrippa the people assembl'd in great multitudes, fling the way by which he was to pass with boughs and flowers, thereby intimating their gratitude for the great bounties they had received, and their veneration for his person on account of the pious regard he had shown to the temple; and they put forth earnest supplications for his happiness and prosperity.

It is a fact that will be acknowledged by the whole world that the sentiments of your grandfather, Marcus Agrippa, were exactly similar to those of your great uncle Tiberius with regard to the laws and religion of the people of our nation.

During the whole reign of the emperor Tiberius, which continued for the space of three-and-twenty years, he intimated not the most distant in-
tention of introducing a change in the accustomed manner of celebrating
the rites and ceremonies of our religious worship, or of offering any kind
of violation or indignity to our holy temple. Though I received very se-
vere treatment from Tiberius, I cannot be so unjust as to omit mentioning
a part of his conduct, the relation of which will reflect high honor upon
his memory. I am sensible, sir, that truth is ever acceptable to you;
and I shall now proceed to some particulars which will enable you to form
an opinion of the sentiments entertained by Tiberius in relation to the reli-
gious institutions and practices of the Jews.

At the time when Judea was under the government of Pilate, he placed
certain gilt bucklers in the palace of Herod, situated in the city of Jeru-
alem, and dedicated them to the honor of the emperor Tiberius. It was
not from any motive of respect or veneration towards the emperor that Pi-
late consecrated these bucklers, but merely from a rancorous and malign-
ant principle to the people of our nation. The bucklers were inscribed
with the two names of the dedicat or and the party in honor of whom they
were dedicated, but they did not exhibit figures or any other work prohib-
ited by our laws. But intelligence of the dedication being circulated a-
mong the populace, they became exceedingly dissatisfied, and soon made
application to the four sons of the king, some other branches of the royal
family, and diverse other persons of the first distinction, requesting that they
would exert their utmost endeavours to prevail upon Pilate to remove the
bucklers, the dedication of which they could not consider but as a viola-
tion of their laws and religion, and the customs transmitted to them by their
ancestors, which had been held in high esteem and sacred veneration by all
preceding kings and emperors. Pilate being of a morose, violent and un-
gracious disposition, replied to the intercessions of the mediators in an ab-
rupt and affronting manner, in consequence of which the populace were
greatly exasperated, and they exclaimed against Pilate in the following
manner:

Cease, Pilate, to interrupt the tranquillity of people who are disposed
to observe a due allegiance to their lawful sovereign, nor endeavour to ag-
gravate them to engage in diffentions and hostilities. Do not deceive your-
self in the opinion that people are so weak as to be amused by the frivol-
ous pretext, by means of which you endeavour to conceal the injustice of
your conduct. Be assured that it is not by embroiling the public peace and
happiness, and offering violations to the law that you will be able to do the
emperor honor, or to convince him of the veneration you pretend for his per-
son. We are fully persuaded that Tiberius is by no means disposed to a-
bridge us of the privilege of living according to the laws and customs of our
ancestors, which we have hitherto enjoyed without interruption. If Tibe-
rius has granted to you an edict or warrant, or signified by letter or any
other kind of instrument that he approves the measures against which we
complain, we request that you will shew us your authority: it will then be
unnecessary to remonstrate with Pilate; the course we must pursue is this:
we must nominate deputies to represent our case to our imperial lord and
master,
THE EMPEROR CALIGULA. 631

―master, and humbly supplicate that he will be graciously pleased to re-
move the cause of our just complaints: and this we shall do in the full
confidence of obtaining redrefs; for we are perfectly convinced that Tibe-
rius will never countenance the oppression of his loyal and affectionate sub-
jects.

"The intimation that the people would reasonstrate with the emperor,
through the agency of deputies, and petition for the removal of the gilt
bucklers, proved a circumstance highly alarming to Pilate, who appreh-
ended that if they proceeded so far as to send a deputation to the empe-
or, the whole delinquency of his conduct must of necessity be exposed;
and he now reflected on the injustice, corruption, devastations, violence and
oppression of which he had been guilty, and that he had condemned many
innocent persons to expire under the most excruciating torments; thence
concluding that if Tiberius should be informed of these facts, the utmost
violence of the royal indignation would be directed against him for having
so shamefully abused the power with which he was invested. His violent
and impetuous man was greatly embarrased as to the conduct that, in his
present situation, it would be most eligible to pursue: he was greatly a-
verse to removing the bucklers, which he had already made sacred by the
ceremony of consecration; and he was besides exceedingly unwilling to
submit to the remonstrances of the people, who had highly irritated him
by presuming to oppose his inclination.

"When the great personages who had undertaken to intercede on behalf
of the Jews discovered that Pilate, notwithstanding his dissimulation, was
greatly alarmed, and appeared to repent of the proceedings which were so
exceedingly disagreeable to the people, they deliberated on the state of the
matter in question, and the result of their considerations was, that the most
expedient means they could adopt for obtaining redrefs would be to make
immediate application to the emperor. In consequence of this determina-
tion they dispatched a letter to Tiberius representing the case of the Jews,
and praying for redrefs; and this letter was written in the most earnest,
but at the same time, in the most loyal and affectionate terms that could
be conceived.

"Tiberius, though a man not easily provoked to sudden and violent ex-
pressions of anger, had no sooner perused the letter on behalf of the Jews,
than with great warmth of passion he reprobated the presumptuous behavi-
our and indecent language of Pilate. The emperor immediately wrote to
Pilate, severely reprimanding him for the impropriety and insolence of his
conduct, and strictly enjoining him to cause the bucklers to be immedi-
ately removed and conveyed to the sea-port named Caesarea, and deposited
in the structure dedicated to the honor of Augustus. By this expedient
the respect due to the honor of the emperor was preserved, and the affront
to the laws and customs of the Jewish nation was removed.

"Upon the above-mentioned bucklers no images were engraven, nor did
they exhibit any other representations prohibited by our law; and they
were placed only in the governor's palace. But I learn that it is now in-
tended
tended to erect a statue in the sanctuary of the temple of Jerusalem. This sanctuary is a place held in such sacred veneration, that all persons, excepting only the high-priest, are excluded from admission; and even the high-priest himself is not permitted to enter the holy sanctuary excepting on one day in every year, when after celebrating a solemn fast, the duty of his sacred office requires him to burn incense to the glory and honor of the Almighty, and fervently to pray, according to the institutions of the Jewish religion, that the Lord, in his unbounded mercy and benevolence, will be graciously pleased to bestow a common peace and felicity to mankind during the ensuing year.

Any person of our nation, excepting only the high-priest, who shall presume to enter the holy sanctuary is condemned by the law to suffer death without mercy. If even the high-priest himself enters this place oftener than on one day in a year, or more than once on the day when he has a right to admission, he will inevitably be put to death, as a punishment due to his presumption. These provisions were made by our great legislator, that the sacred place might be preserved inviolate and held in due veneration.

You cannot but imagine, sir, that, since such severity of punishment is denounced against those who transgress the law respecting the point in question, the public safety would be greatly endangered by the popular tumult that would certainly take place in consequence of erecting a statue in the holy sanctuary, where not even the high-priest is permitted to enter but on certain express conditions. In short, rather than survive to be the miserable witnesses of so abominable an impiety, and so shocking a violation of our sacred laws, our priests would put their wives and children to death, and yield up their own lives in a common sacrifice.

I shall now proceed to speak concerning the conduct of the truly illustrious Augustus, who was indubitably a prince of the most exalted virtue that ever possessed the imperial dignity. His superior wisdom and virtue justly intitled him to the glorious appellation by which he was distinguished. He maintained an uninterrupted tranquillity throughout the whole world; in gratitude for which blessing he became the object of universal admiration and applause.

In a conference respecting the temple of Jerusalem, this illustrious prince was informed that our law contained a prohibition to the placing any carved image therein, because it was improper that a visible figure should be considered as a representation of the eternal and Almighty God. The emperor deemed the prohibition to be perfectly consistent with reason: and being a man of great literary accomplishments, he took occasion of expressing many judicious remarks on what had transpired in the conversation, sometimes deducing his observations from the dictum of the learned men by whom he was constantly attended, and at other times pronouncing the sentiments that were dictated by his own fine genius and excellent understanding.

"Augustus
THE EMPEROR CALIGULA. 633

"Auguftus was fo great an admirer of literature, that while he sat at table, and during festival entertainments, he engaged in conversation with the moft celebrated philosophers and other men of learning; fo that while he received the refreshments which were neceffary for the support of nature, he improved the time to fuch great advantage as to enjoy the exquiufe fafffaftion resulting from the indulgence of the intellectual appetite. Innumerable inftances might be adduced to prove the liberality of the sentiments entertained by Auguftus regarding the people of our perufall: buft on the prefent occafion I fhall introduce only two circumftances; and it is humbly presumed that your majefly will deem them fufficient to prove that he was by no means an enemy to the Jewish laws and religion.

"Upon gaining information that the business of transmitting the treasures, under the denomination of first-fruits, to the holy temple of Jerusalem was not attended to with the regularity that the importance of the matter required, the emperor difpatched letters to the governors of the feveral provinces of Asia, strictly commanding them to offer no kind of impediment or interruption to the Jews in regard to their aflemlbling in the fynagogues. But the liberty of holding public meetings was not extended to any people but thofe of our nation. The emperor observed that the afsemblies of the Jews did not refeemble Bacchanalian entertainments, where encouragement was given to inebriation, fedition, and other disorderly proceedings, but were rather to be confidered as academies, in which people were instructed in the love and practice of virtue, piety and justice; and that the annual contributions called the first-fruits were intended for no other purpofe than that of offering sacrifices in the temple to the honor of the Almighty. In short, this illuflrious and benevolent prince iffued an express command that the Jews fhould uninterruptedly enjoy the privilege of holding their meetings and making their contributions according to the accustomed practices of their ancestors. I do not pretend to have a perfect recollection of the exact disposition of the words of the deceafed emperor's order, but I am confident that I am not deceived as to the purport thereof; and of this, sir, you will be convinced on the perufall of a letter from C. Norbanus Flaccus, of which I now fend your majefly a faithful transcript.

C. NORBANUS FLACCUS, proconful, to the magiftrates of EPHESUS,
greeting.

"The emperor has transmitted to me a letter, wherein he has been pleased to signify, that whereas the people of the Jewish nation hold religious meetings and collect monies to be transmitted to their temple at Jerusalem, under the name of first-fruits, it is his imperial will and pleafure that they be allowed full liberty of continuing the exercise of their privileges in these points, according to the ancient customs of their country. This command you are to obferve, and thereto yield a due obedience."

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There cannot, surely, be a more incontrovertible proof of the favoura-
ble sentiments entertained by Augustus respecting our temple, than the
circumstance of his granting us the indulgence of publicly observing the
rites and ceremonies of our religion, the liberty of making contributions
for sacred purposes, and of exercising diverse other functions of piety, and
living according to the laws of our ancestors.

There is yet another evidence to be produced in confirmation of what I
have said on the subject of the friendly opinion which Augustus entertain-
ed of the people of the Jewish nation; and this matter I shall here intro-
duce. Augustus commanded the observance of a daily sacrifice in the
temple; that the victims should be a bull and two lambs; and that the
expense attending these offerings to the honor of the Almighty should be
destroyed from his own revenue. These oblations have been continued
without interruption till the present period. It was the intention of Cæsar
that the sacrifices should be offered upon the altar: but he was, neverthe-
less, perfectly sensible that there was no kind of image or representation
of a divinity either within or without the temple. This learned and faga-
cious prince was sensible that it was highly expedient to have a glorious
temple consecrated with peculiar veneration to the honor of the invisible
God, and that no statue should be contained in the sacred building, where-
in men were to perform their devotional exercises in the confidence that
their piety would be crowned with the desired reward.

I shall now entreat your majesty's permission to speak of the great distinc-
tion that was shewn to our temple by your great grandmother, the empress
Julia. This truly admirable princess, after the example of her illustrious
comfort, bestowed a profusion of donatives of inestimable value upon the
holy fabric, consisting of gold and silver vessels and diverse other rich and
curious articles. But these donatives exhibited no figures, nor were they
in any respect offensive to our laws. The mental faculties of women are
generally weak, and it is seldom that they are affected but by sensible ob-
jects. But the empress Julia was greatly superior to the rest of her sex,
possessing an acute discernment, and a remarkable strength and solidity of
judgment. She directed her mind to great and noble pursuits, and by un-
wearied study and attention made ample amends for the deficiencies inci-
dental to her sex. Her mind was strongly attached to speculative points,
of which she considered practical matters to be the mere shadow.

Having produced so many remarkable instances in proof of the favor,
clemency and protection which the people of our nation experienced from
the illustrious personages of your own family, and particularly from your
immediate progenitor, to whom you are indebted for your life, and the ex-
alted station which you at present enjoy, I humbly presume to supplicate
that your imperial majesty will be graciously pleased to continue to us the
enjoyment of those inestimable privileges which were confirmed to us by
your illustrious predecessors. Emperors petition the man who is at pre-
sent invested with the imperial dignity, august princes intercede with a
prince of the august line, grandfathers and great-grandfathers supplicate
a grand-
"a grandchild, and divers other exalted personages plead before the great
and powerful Caligula in favor of the Jewish religion, laws and customs,
which from the time of their original institution have been held in sacred ve-
neration to the present period.
"It must be acknowledged that if the abrogation of our laws takes place,
it is possible the transgression may not be immediately followed by a judi-
cial vengeance: but let it be remembered, that to discover the events of
futurity is beyond the utmost power of the human mind; and that though
Divine justice is sometimes delayed, it must, at length, inevitably arrive.
What man who has a heart polluted with guilt, and does not impiously
reject all belief in the existence of an Eternal and Almighty God, can be
so insensible of these considerations as to defy the flings of conscience, and
prove himself to be possessed of so daring a spirit as not to tremble under
the dreadful apprehension of meeting the retribution due to his iniquities?
"The great obligations which your majesty has been pleased to confer up-
on me are so numerous that sufficient time is not allowed me barely to re-
count them; and the subject is of too sacred a nature to be treated lightly.
The mention of some particular facts, however, will suffice to prove your
unbounded benevolence to me, without relating the variety of interesting
circumstances with which they were accompanied. It is a matter of pub-
lic notoriety that it was my fortune to be made a prisoner, and, when re-
cused to that state, thrown into chains. With the utmost gratitude I ac-
knowledge that your majesty was graciously pleased to restore me to free-
dom: but permit me to hope that you did not relieve me from my miser-
able confinement in irons in order to subject me to more insupportable op-
pression. During the time that I remained in irons my sufferings were
confined to a particular part of my body; but my very soul sinks under
the enormous burden of my present misfortunes. You rescued me from
the alarming apprehension of death, and, indeed, from a situation that
was to be considered as but little better than a state of actual dissolution;
and you afterwards bestowed upon me a profusion of kindness infinitely be-
yond what I could reasonably expect.
"The humble petition of Agrippa, whose obligations to your majesty
surpass all powers of expression, is that you will be graciously pleased to
preserve the life you have given; and I am induced to hope that you will
not reject my earnest supplication; for I cannot imagine that you would
rescue me from one calamity, and prolong the date of my existence, that I
might survive to meet destruction in a more terrifying form.
"I am indebted to you, sir, for the possession of the regal dignity; and
after having invested me with that distinguished honor, it was the pleasure
of the mighty Cæsar to afford an additional proof of his royal bounty, and
therefore he extended my authority over Trachonitis and Galilee. Do not,
sir, divest me of those invaluable privileges, the loss of which will render
the great and numerous favors I have received from you entirely defunct
of their use and value. After having advanced me to the most glorious fi-
tuation that the heart of man can aspire to enjoy, do not precipitate me
"into the contrary extreme of misery. I entertain no solicitude for the preservation of the authority with which it was your pleasure to invest me: but on the contrary, with the utmost willingness can resign all the dignity and honors annexed to royalty, and return to my former station in life. The only object of my petition is, that the laws and religion of my country may be preserved from violation. If I prove so unfortunate as to meet with your refusal, the consequence must be that the Jews, as well as all other people, will consider me either as a vile betrayer of the interests of my country, or as being no longer esteemed worthy the friendship of the emperor; and either of these events would be productive of infupportable affliction. If the public imagine me to be still one among the number of those who are honored with the royal favor, and at the same time observe me to be a witness to the profanation of our holy temple, which is the greatest glory of the Jewish nation, they will accuse me as being a traitor to their cause, on the supposition that I had neglected to exert my influence for averting the destruction of my country; for it is not supposed to be probable that emperors can deny such favors as I presume to request when they are petitioned by persons who are honored with the royal friendship. If I am so unhappy as to have forfeited that place which I once possessed in your esteem, I entreat, sir, that you will not, after the example of Tiberius, cast me into chains, but that, instead of depriving me of liberty, you will confign me to infupportable death; for what inducement can there remain to wish for a continuance of life, after having lost the friendship of the imperial Caligula, in which I have reposed my best hopes of sublunary happiness. And now, sir, I submit my own fate, and the cause of my country to your sovereign pleasure."

**CHAP. XVII.**

Agrippa dispatches the above letter to the emperor, and is under great anxiety lest the issue of his remonstrance should prove unfavourable. Caligula deliberates on the contents of Agrippa's letter, and, at length, be writes to Petronius, the governor of Syria, commanding him to offer no profanation to the temple of Jerusalem; but he afterwards revokes this order. He causes a statue to be made at Rome, and transported to Jerusalem without the knowledge of the Jews. Insults of the capricious, inhuman and violent disposition of Caligula. The emperor repairs to Alexandria, where he exacts public honors as a divinity. The presumption, injustice and cruelty of Caligula.

**HAVING** sealed up the letter, and dispatched a messenger with a strict command to use all possible expedition in conveying it to the emperor, Agrippa closely confined himself within the place of his residence, waiting under the greatest anxiety of mind that can be imagined the issue of his remonstrance; for he was conscious that the preservation or ruin not only of Judea, but of the Jews inhabiting the several parts of the universe, would depend
depend on the gracious or unfavourable judgment that would attend his application to the emperor.

Upon perusing the letter from Agrippa, the countenance of the emperor plainly indicated the various emotions of his mind. At one time he was highly offended upon recollecting the disobedience that had been shewn to his express commands in the delay of confectrating a statue to his honor in the temple of Jerusalem; and then the natural austerity of his disposition relaxed, in some degree, in favor of king Agrippa, whose application he could not deem to be ineffectual with either justice or reason, and from the humility of whose address he could not withhold some share of approbation. At other times, according to the impulses of his variable mind, he cenured and approved the conduct of Agrippa. He severely reflected upon the king for the extraordinary zeal he had testified on behalf of his countrymen, whom he knew to be the only people inclined to oppose the dedication: but he acknowledged that the conduct of Agrippa must certainly be dictated by a great and noble soul, and that he was intitled to commendation for the generosity and candour with which he had declared his opinion, and for proceeding agreeable to the genuine sentiments of his heart.

Having employed himself some time in deliberating in the manner above recited, Caligula's mind gradually became more composed; and he, at length, determined to extend his clemency to the Jews. He dispatched a letter in reply to that he had received from Agrippa, saying that the intercessions of the king had prevailed upon him to countermand the orders respecting the dedication. At the same time he wrote to Petronius, the governor of Syria, advising him that a change of inclination had taken place, and that it was now his sovereign pleasure to preserve the temple of Jerusalem from every kind of profanation. But that the prohibition might not operate at a future period in a manner disagreeable to him, the emperor inferred a condition in the same letter of a tendency highly alarming to the Jews; and it was conceived in terms to the following purpose: "But it is provided, that if any person, of whatever denomination, shall hold our will and pleasure in such disrespect as to offer any kind of impediment or opposition to the consecration of temples, altars or statues to the honor of our royal self, or any branch of our imperial family in any city, town or other place whatsoever, excepting only the metropolis of Judæa, bearing the name of the city of Jerusalem, all and every person or persons so offending shall be punished on the spot, during the very act of disobedience to this our express command, or in failure of this, be submitted to our august will and pleasure, in order that such punishment may be inflicted as may be adjudged adequate to his or their demerits."

The above clause was in effect a revocation of the emperor's grant in favor of the temple of Jerusalem. In short, it was laying a foundation for civil hostilities. It was universally expected that the enemies of the people of the Jewish persuasion would sacrilegiously consecrate statues throughout every part of the country, under the sanction of the edict issued by the empe-
ror; but it was not imagined that they would be induced to this conduct so much by their respect to Caligula as by their enmity to the Jews. Our enemies supposed that the Jews would on no consideration patiently submit to be the witnesses of the profanation of their laws, which they had ever held in the most sacred veneration; and that their opposition to his pleasure would so highly incense Caligula that, in order to punish them for their disobedience, he would renew his positive commands for consecrating the statue in the sanctuary of the holy temple.

But notwithstanding the reason that appeared to justify the apprehension of a popular tumult, it was the pleasure of Divine Providence to maintain good order and discipline among the people; and no outrageous proceedings seemed to be threatened. Though the multitude appeared to be disposed to confine their measures within the bounds of moderation, our affairs, notwithstanding their flattering appearance, were by no means in a more auspicious train; for the emperor repented of the determination he had so lately passed in our favor, and renewed his former sentiments respecting the dedication of his statue.

Left the multitude should be provoked to oppose the measure, no farther discourse was held on the subject of preparing a statue at Sidon; but Caligula issued an order that one should be provided at Rome, and that this figure should be composed of copper and richly gilt. He also commanded that all possible care should be employed in secretly transporting the image by sea to Jerusalem, and for adopting such measures as would enable the people employed in this business to erect the figure in the temple before the Jews could be well apprized of the matter: and Caligula's voyage to Egypt was to afford an opportunity of doing this business, which was to appear as the voluntary act of the people, without even the knowledge of the emperor.

Caligula entertained an anxious desire of visiting Alexandria, and he ordered no expense to be spared in providing every accommodation that could contribute to the convenience of his passage. Alexandria being the capital of Egypt, and on account of its advantageous situation a place of universal commerce, Caligula imagined that the example of that city could scarcely fail of influencing those of less consideration, since people in a collective body were to be considered as bearing a similarity to individuals in the circumstance of regulating their conduct agreeable to the example of their superiors. Hence, then, he concluded that he could not determine upon a situation where a greater probability of success would attend his ridiculous scheme of claiming the public honors of a divinity.

The emperor was naturally of a variable, vindictive and cruel disposition; and this assertion will be fully justified by the following instances:

Having restored a number of prisoners to liberty, he almost immediately ordered them again into close confinement, and rendered their situation infinitely more insupportable than that which they had before experienced by depriving them of every hope of recovering their freedom, although no circumstance whatever could be alleged against them to justify their detention.
Some other persons who were entirely unconscious of guilt became the objects of the tyrant's displeasure; and knowing that their fate would be decided by a judge equally a stranger to mercy and justice, they considered it as a matter of certainty that the sentence of death would be pronounced upon them: but they were, however, only ordered into banishment. Notwithstanding their perfect innocence, they deemed this sentence to be a proof of great lenity, considering the character of the man who had acted in the capacity of their judge. In short, they went into exile, deeming themselves happy in having escaped more severe treatment, and patiently submitted to their misfortunes, conducting themselves with unblemished honor and integrity. In a short time, however, the emperor commanded a military power to afflinate the unfortunate exiles; and when his inhuman order had been executed it was not in his power to assign a motive for his extraordinary conduct; for he had received no kind of provocation, the unhappy sufferers having behaved with such exemplary prudence as to avoid every proceeding that could possibly excite the barbarity of the tyrant. On occasion of this melancholy event all the noble families of Rome put themselves into mourning, in testimony of their affliction for the horrid murder of their friends and relations.

When the emperor parted with money, it was ever with a rapacious design, and with a predetermination to effect the ruin of those who received it. He would never acknowledge that the money was to be considered either as a gift, or as a loan, for which interest was to be paid: but constantly pretended that it had been stolen or fraudulently obtained. The unfortunate people were not barely compelled to make restitution, but even to surrender to Caligula their whole estates, whether they had become possessed of them in virtue of hereditary right, or acquired them by their own industry.

It was the practice of Caligula to ruin the fortunes of those people who imagined themselves honored by his most particular esteem. By a complimentary address and the appearance of friendship, he seduced them to provide entertainments for him at an enormous expense. To compliment the emperor on occasion of these meetings, invention was tortured to discover the means of yielding full gratification to the most exquisite luxury; and it frequently happened that the magnificence and profusion of a single entertainment was so great that the attendant expense consumed an ample fortune, and, exclusive of that, incumbered the host with a debt that he could not expect ever to be in a condition to discharge. People of discernment, however, were apprized of the true motive of Caligula's plausibility of behaviour; and instead of endeavouring to ingratiate themselves into his favor, avoided contracting a familiarity with him, which they considered as a dangerous allurement to destruction.

Such was the disposition of Caligula. There were no people against whom he entertained so mortal an aversion as the Jews; and they experienced the most violent effects of his impetuous, cruel and unrelenting temper. He commenced his oppressive proceedings in Alexandria, where he expelled the Jews their oratories, and erected in those buildings statues to his own honor, while
while our people, being awed by the consideration of his great power and authority, dared not venture to oppose the horrid profanation. The temple of Jerusalem was the only sacred place now remaining unviolated; and the emperor had even the presumption to purfue measures for confecrating that holy fabric to his honor, under the denomination of, “The temple of the new ‘Jupiter, the illustrious Caius Caligula.”

The character of Caligula affords the most striking instance that can be produced of arrogance, inhumanity and blasphemous irreverence towards the Almighty Creator. The command of the whole universe was not equal to the gratification of his extravagant ambition, but he impiously presumed to aspire to the sovereignty of Heaven! Can’t thou imagine, Caligula, that the Omnipotent Power who created, is not intitled to the government of the world? Wilt thou not permit a city, a temple, or any part of this sublunary sphere, to be peculiarly dedicated to the most High God, wherein men may acknowledge the pious veneration they entertain towards his sublime Majesty? You have but little conception, Caligula, of the terrible calamities in which you will involve yourself and the whole empire by perceiving in your blasphemous purpose, the accomplishment of which is beyond the power of possibility: but your extravagant presumption is such, that the very idea of it cannot fail to strike men less abandoned and reprobate than yourself with horror and detestation.

CHAP. XVIII.

The insulting and cruel treatment which Philo, and the other persons composing the embassy from the Jews of Alexandria, received from the emperor Caligula.

It is now necessary that we should proceed to the relation of some particulars which transpired in regard to the subject of our embassy from the Alexandrian Jews to the emperor Caius Caligula. The time being arrived when we were to have audience, we were introduced into the presence of the emperor; the fierceness of whose countenance and deportment we interpreted into a certain indication that he was to be considered as an inveterate enemy rather than an impartial judge. Preparatory to a judicial decision on so important a cause, an impartial man would, with the assistance of counsel, have carefully examined into the merits of the case, and, having heard and attentively considered and candidly compared the allegations of either party, have publicly declared his opinion. But Caligula dispensed with the introduction of these and all other judicial formalities. So important was the cause in agitation, that on the issue thereof absolutely depended the privileges and even the lives of the vast multitude of Jews who inhabited Alexandria. The rights for which the Jews contended were so evidently founded in justice, that during the space of four hundred years their claim had remained wholly uncontroverted. Instead of behaving to us with the candor and moderation becoming the character of a judge, and conforming to the usual methods of equity and
and justice, the inhuman tyrant treated us with disrespect and indignity that would have proved degrading to the most contemptible of his vassals.

The emperor had for three or four days retired to the two gardens situated between the palace and the town, and occupied by Mæcenas and Lamias. By Caligula's desire the gardeners were called into his presence; and he ordered them to open the several doors, saying that he was disposed to walk for the benefit of the fresh air, and to amuse himself by examining the curiosities with which the place abounded; and he now gave orders for our introduction.

Upon our appearance before the emperor we prostrated ourselves at his feet, addressing him by the titles of emperor and Augustus, and affording other proofs of the most profound humility and respect. Caligula returned our salutations in a manner that convinced us our application would be rejected, and that our lives were in imminent danger. At length, with a malicious smile, the emperor accosted us in this manner: "I presume you believe long to that detestable fraternity who insolently affront my sacred person, with contempt, by offering adorations to an unknown and nameless god, when all the rest of the world yield a willing obedience to the divinity of Caligula." He now raised his hands towards heaven, and with great vehemence uttered expressions too horrible for repetition. The behaviour of Caligula was underlined by our adversaries as a declaration in their favor, and being unable to conceal their joy at this occasion, they applied to the emperor every attribute, name and honor peculiar to Almighty God.

A man named Icidore, of an insinuating, treacherous and crafty disposition, observing the remarkable satisfaction with which the emperor listened to the extravagant and impious flatteries that were offered him, availed himself of the opportunity of speaking to the following effect: "Your displeasure, sir, would be more violent against these people as well as those by whom they are deputed, were you but sensible of the implacable aversion they have towards your sacred person. The Jews were the only people who with held their concurrence when vows and supplications were offered up for preserving the life, and rendering auspicious the reign of the imperial Caligula." Hereupon we unanimously exclaimed, "We are most grossly traitred to your majesty: we have offered up whole hecatombs for the long life, happiness and prosperity of Caesar; and after sprinkling the blood of the victims upon the altar, we did not, according to the practice of many people, convey the flesh away, in order to feast ourselves, but we committed the whole sacrifice to be consumed in the sacred fire. Three several times have we thus shewn honor to Caligula. First on occasion of your advancement to the imperial dignity; secondly on your restoration to health from an alarming sickness, which had proved the source of infinite affliction to the several nations; and thirdly when we offered up vows and supplications for rendering your troops in Germany victorious."

"I acknowledge (replied the furious Caligula) that you have offered up sacrifices; but they were not intended as an honor to me; they were offerings.
"ings to an unknown imaginary divinity." Upon hearing this horrible blasphemy a trembling pervaded all our bodies, and the course of the blood was stopped within our veins.

The emperor now proceeded to view the several apartments, from the common offices to the rooms of entertainment, pointing out what he deemed to be defective, and ordering the improvements that he was defirous of having introduced. We followed the emperor from place to place, our adversaries making us the objects of raillery and contempt. Like buffoons on a stage they insulted our misfortunes with illiberal and acrimonious jeers. The conduct of our adversaries, in short, was like a theatrical representation, where the man who should have maintained the character of a judge became an accuser, permitting his partiality to be encraeased to a more shameful degree by the irritations of the favoured party. Having so iniquitous a judge and so implacable an enemy in the person of the emperor, we deemed it prudent to remain in silence, considering that as our only defence; for the most powerful arguments could not afflct our cause, and we were unwilling to provoke the tyrant to offer additional affronts to our religion.

Having given some directions respecting the buildings, Caligula said to us, with an affected gravity, "I beg to be informed of the reason you have " for so obstinately persisting in a refusal to feed upon swine's flesh." Hereupon our opponents burst into a violent fit of laughter, which was partly excited by the ridicule of the question, and partly affected with a view of ingratiating themselves with the emperor, by pretending to admire his vivacious and satirical humour. Some persons of distinction, who possessed a greater share of good manners than the rest censured the behaviour of these people, as being exceedingly indifcreet in presence of the emperor; adding that such liberties were not to be excused but among persons of equal rank living on terms of friendship and familiarity.

In reply to the emperor's question concerning swine's flesh, we said that, various customs and manners respectively prevailed in different places and among different people; that we admitted the use of some things were denied to us, but begged, at the same time, to observe that our opponents were prohibited the use of others. It was said by one of the company that some people refused to eat mutton. The people who refuse to eat mutton (said Caligula) certainly are entitled to commendation; for it is by no means grateful to the palate; and these words he accompanied with a smile. It must be confessed that these farcical and insulting reflections proved an aggravation to our distress. At length the emperor addressed us in an impetuous manner, demanding on what foundation it was that we rested our claim to the privilege of citizens. We immediately proceeded to urge arguments in defence of our rights; but the emperor observing that they were founded in such strict justice as to be wholly incontrovertible, and apprehending that it was in our power to adduce others of still greater force, he abruptly interrupted the speech, and suddenly starting from his seat, hastened into the great hall. Having walked for some time in this place he gave orders for the windows to be shut. The glass of these windows was as transparent and brillian
liant as the clearest chrysal, and so contrived as to exclude the sun as well as the wind, and yet afford a free admission to the light. Soon after this, he approached us with a gentle pace, a composed countenance, and an air of complacency, and, in a softened tone of voice, demanded what request we had to urge to him. We now determined to communicate our requisitions in as few words as the nature of the case would admit: but instead of listening to us, Caligula suddenly departed, and went into an apartment in which was deposited a valuable collection of paintings, the productions of the most celebrated masters of antiquity.

The repeated interruptions to the decision of our cause, and the vexatious measures that were pursued to insult and distress us, and a servile attendance upon an imperious, inconstant and cruel prince, became, at length, infupportably afflicting; and we judged that under the terrible disappointments which we had experienced, the most laudable conduct we could pursue would be to make the necessary preparations for death.

In this extremity we humbled ourselves before the throne of the most High God, the Creator of heaven and earth, offering up adorations to his Divine Majesty, and earnestly supplicating that, in his unbounded mercy, he would be graciously pleased to avert the rage and menaces with the effects of which his faithful and humble servants were threatened by a blasphemous impostor. The Almighty was pleased to compasionate the miserable situation of his humble suppliants, and to moderate the fury of our persecutor. In fine Caligula proceeded to no further outrages against us, but ordered us to retire, saying only the following words: "These people who refuse to honor me "as a divinity I consider as being rather unhappy than iniquitous."

In the above manner were we delivered from our calamitous situation. I might, indeed, say that we were rescued from a prison or a theatre. I speak of a theatre because we were made the objects of ridicule, contempt, laughter and other indignities; and the utmost rigours of a prison would have been infinitely more supportable than the torments our very souls experienced upon hearing the abominable blasphemies uttered by Caligula, or the consideration that we were wholly subject to the power of an inhuman, capricious, tyrannical and powerful prince. The Jews were the only people of the world who refused to pay divine honors and veneration to Caligula; and in this determination they uniformly persevered in despite of the tyrant's utmost power. The unremitting confiancy which they testified for preferring their holy laws from violation was the original and only source of the tyrant's im placable enmity and rage.

We now enjoyed some respite from our calamities. But it is not to be underllood that we were alarmed by the dread of death: on the contrary, to have yielded up our lives for promoting the common cause of our country, and for preferring the rites of our religion, we should have accounted the greatest blessing to which human nature could possibly arrive. In the situation to which we were reduced, our deaths could not possibly have been productive of happy effects; but would have incurred disgrace upon our employers, if not have tended to the ruin of our cause. When deputies prove unfue-
unsuccessful in their negotiations, the failure is generally attributed to the improper conduct of their principals. On this consideration we deemed ourselves fortunate in having escaped so material a part of the threatened danger; but we were still under a terrible anxiety on account of the sentence which the emperor was yet to pronounce; for it was not possible that he could judge as to the equity of our claim, since he had not condescended to be informed of the particulars of the cause submitted to his decision. It would have been a most deplorable circumstance had the vast multitudes of people composing the Jewish nation been subjected to the severity of treatment experienced by their five ambassadors. Had the emperor determined the cause in favor of the Alexandrians, we must have expected persecutions in every other place. Our habitations, oratories, and other places dedicated to religious purposes, would have been destroyed, and the sacred laws and religious rites of our ancestors entirely abolished; and thus abridged of every hope of relief from our grievous oppression, the burden of life would have become intolerable. When reduced to the most deplorable state of misery that it was possible for human nature to sustain, we were treacherously deserted by our temporizing friends, on whom we had placed our most sanguine hopes of receiving support, and who were conscious of the justice of our cause, and of the extravagant vanity and presumption of Caligula in exacting public veneration as a divinity.

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